



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

Reel
106

Box
37

Folder
291

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1946.

HEARINGS BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Held in Room 474 of the Department of State Bldg.
Monday, January 14, 1948.

CONTENTS

	Page
Statement of Dr. Isaac Steinberg	2
Statement of Mr. Peter Bergson	14
Statement of Miss Dorothy Dexter	32
Statement of Mr. H.S. Masoud	34
Statement of Rev. T.F. Sumnerhayes	38
Statement of Mr. Jules J. Kohnen	47
Statement of Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr	1a
Statement of Capt. Abraham Talia	11a
Statement of Frank V. Rotenstein	15a



PROCEEDINGS

(The hearing convened at 10:10 a.m.)

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Before we begin, Mr. Tulin asked the privilege last night of reading into the record some corrections of some of the evidence of the witnesses where the stenographic report is erroneous. I told him he could do it when the meeting began this morning.

MR. ROOD: I'm sorry, Mr. Tulin is not present.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Maybe he will want to do it later on when he comes.

MR. ROOD: The first witness will be Doctor Isaac Steinberg of the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: May I ask if the I.L.O. is appearing.

MR. ROOD: The I.L.O. is not appearing before the Committee.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right, Doctor Steinberg

STATEMENT OF DOCTOR ISAAC STEINBERG, REPRESENTING THE FREELAND LEAGUE FOR JEWISH
TERRITORIAL COLONIZATION

DR. STEINBERG: First of all, Gentlemen, I want to tell you the Freeland League for Jewish Colonization is most grateful for the opportunity you have given us to address you today and to tell you about our ideals and activities.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Will you please give us a little preliminary statement as to your name and your connection with the matter so we will know who is speaking?

DR. STEINBERG: My name is Isaac Steinberg, S-T-e-i-n-b-e-r-g. I am representing the Freeland League for Jewish Territorial Colonization.

My friends have asked me to come here and talk because we feel that after the Declaration of November 13 made by the President and the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain, this Committee of Inquiry on Palestine is not confined only to the problems and question of Palestine, but you have in mind to discuss the whole problem of the Jewish homeless in Europe. It seemed to us and to my friends that this is the only possible solution to the problem--to consider the Jewish people as one unit in Europe, and I should say, everywhere. They suffered in Europe during the last terrible years, and the only means of a solution of their problem is to take them as one comprehensive unit.

If you will allow me, I will mention that our people suffered in Europe under the Nazi regime all the same, whether they belonged to this or any other organization, or to any political section of the Jewish people.

When they had to die in Poland, there was no distinction between Jewish people who were religious-minded or whether they belonged to the Zionist movement or whether they belonged to the Jewish socialist movement. They perished as a unit, without distinction--political, religious, or cultural--and it seems to me they should, the remnants of the Jewish people in Europe, be discussed and considered as a unit.

It is difficult to agree to any problem on the dissolution of the Jewish question in Europe if not all of them are considered. I should say one hundred percent, every child, woman, and man should be considered as a unit.

It seems to me the idea of this Committee of Inquiry was somehow inspired by the same thought. This is the reason why we thought it necessary to bring to you our ideas about the possible solution of this question.

If there is some meaning, rational or irrational, to human suffering—if there is some meaning to the great Jewish suffering—I think it is only in that way that we must pave the way for some more or less final solution.

It is intolerable that humanity should be faced with the same tragedy every twenty or twenty-five years. Therefore, looking for some solution, we don't talk only about the survivors or the remnant of the Jewish people, but what we have in mind is a revival. Politically, economically, and culturally, we should revise the whole heritage and they should be one.

That is the reason why it seems to us that a comprehensive problem of the solution of the Jewish question must be a realistic one. I don't believe we have only one type of solution. The problem is so complex that the solution must be realistic. That is the reason why, having before our eyes the problem in Europe, we say that many—we don't know how many—of our people, perhaps, will be forced or will prefer to stay in the European countries.

We know it is a very difficult problem, not only economically or politically, but it's a problem of morality and human endurance.

Something happened to our people in Europe in the last six years—something more terrible than just the political disaster. Something died in the hearts of the Jewish people in Europe, and I am afraid to say, perhaps in Jewish hearts throughout the world. They lost in some way their confidence in humanity. It might take a generation before they will regain their self-confidence and regain their confidence in human dignity.

This is the reason why I don't believe many many of our people will prefer to stay on in Europe. It must take some time for them to regain their confidence and self-confidence. Perhaps the greater part of them will try to find some better place in the world.

What they have in mind is not just any piecemeal emigration.

Gentlemen, I can imagine that many democratic countries might open their doors for some numbers, not unlimited numbers, but that is not yet, and that would be from the point of view not only of their survival but revival. But from the point of view of helping all of them, these piecemeal immigrations in so many countries—this knocking at the doors of every state in every country—is somehow humiliating. This cannot be. There must be something final in the solution, and that is the reason why we are thinking of all of them not just from the matter of immigration, but we are thinking of colonization—of a system under which our people should start life afresh as a unit and not just as individuals, subjected to all possible disasters later.

Now, the latest movement among Jewry along the lines of colonization is this powerful Zionist movement. Neither the Jewish people nor the Free Land League is prepared to forget the great constructive work which is being done by the people in Palestine. It is a wonderful work, because the young people went to Palestine to transform the country and transform themselves. The Palestine colonization shows the results of that and that Jewish genius is quite capable of opening up and building up new countries in the world.

That is the reason why the Free Land League supports this demand for the abolishment—immediate abolishment—of the White Paper which began and has become a symbol of some discrimination against our people. That is the reason why all restrictions should be abolished, so that the people can go to Palestine and continue the building up of a Jewish Home.

But gentlemen, we are not only here to give you some statement, but we are here to face realities, and we know, unfortunately, that the Jewish problem in the settling of Palestine is not only a problem of colonization; it is a political problem, too.

We know that until now, our people did not succeed in arranging political terms with other nations so that the political future would be clear for all of us.

To tell you the truth, we, The Freeland League, are not too much interested in the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, because along general lines, we don't believe that the world as it is developing today is very much in need of a new state. But this isn't the point alone. The point is that a Jewish State today, if it wouldn't be established in cooperation and with the good will of the Arab people, would be a very difficult proposition.

I am afraid not of the fight for the establishing of the State; I am afraid of the consequences after the fight.

A small state in order to help itself and to survive must be always bending its energies to self-defense. I am afraid such a state would have to be militarized, and our unite would be militarized from the start. I am afraid under this condition, the moral and spiritual and economic development of that country might be crippled.

It is no good for a people just to come out of the hell of Europe to start new political troubles, even if not guilty at all. We can foresee political difficulties for some time, and we don't know how the position would be bettered and how much time it will take to arrange for the political status of Palestine.

The Freeland League says we have to prepare another road, too. We have to prepare another way--a new way. I should say the way is not new at all, because this movement that I am presenting here is more than 40 years old. In 1903 and 1904 it was established as a Territorialist Movement in London under the leadership of Mr. Israel Zangwill. When Doctor Herzl, the founder of political Zionism, wrote to the Zionist Congress, he made the proposal to Great Britain of an autonomous colony in Uganda (East Africa). He didn't get the real majority for his proposal. That movement existed for many decades, and it was without results until about ten years ago, when we started a movement again under the name of the Freeland League, with some change in its policy.

What we have in mind is to get a piece of land and territory, somewhere in the undeveloped areas of the world and in non-political lines.

We are not interested in getting the possibilities of a political Jewish State. What we are interested in is giving our people a chance of going on with economic and cultural activities, without political voice. It means we should like to have some piece of land, unoccupied, if possible, uninhabited, in some area of the world--a place where there is not too much of a native population so that our settlers and pioneers shouldn't have troubles and conflicts with some native population.

Of course, the country must be good economically, and it must be a good place for white settlers. It might be a hard place to work, but the people would be prepared to do hard work if they would only know that it is going to become a peaceful place for themselves and their children.

We should very much like that it should be in a country with democratic traditions and ideas, and that the building up of such a country should be done on a business-like basis and not on a charity or philanthropic basis. We have no doubt that there is such a place to be set apart for this special purpose. It would bring a new faith within the Jewish people.

Gentlemen, it is our conviction and history of recent years confirms it that there are many places the world over in the Americas and in the British Empire, in the Dominion of Great Britain, in the Pacific Islands, in Africa, and in many places longing for human activity and searching for some industries and energetic and loyal population.

We are asking ourselves, and perhaps millions of people are asking themselves

Isn't that possible?

In this crucial moment of history when all the great questions must be settled somehow, isn't it possible to bring them together; namely, the countries who are in search of population and the populations who are in search of the land?

The Jewish people of the world, I should say, have more than the right to ask the United Nations to find such a place for them and to let them start life afresh—not in the position of building up Palestine and not in the position of those who might decide to live in Europe—but something new.

When we are talking about a new place for them, we do not mean only the 100,000 individuals who are now in the concentration camps in Germany; we have in mind the million and a half, and God knows it might be greater later, of the people who want to have a place for themselves, not in order to take part in the political developments of the world and power politics, but for people who want to start life on a peaceful basis.

Gentlemen, there has been too much suffering in the past. It is time now to start life afresh. If such a place would be located somewhere in the world, it would be possible for the Jewish people who are now uneasy in their old home countries to go there without fear, to go there because they will go to their own place.

I don't know whether I should apply this to something of family colonization. Our people need the warmth and the atmosphere of a family and home.

Would you allow me, gentlemen, to tell you about one experience I personally had on behalf of The Freeland League in recent years.

They asked me in London to go to Australia in 1939, just before the war, to find out whether such a thing as The Freeland settlement could be established in that dominion of the British Empire. The Australians told us in London at the time that they might be interested, but they were not prepared to discuss it far from their place. They told us we must have witnesses to support the trade unions or the labor unions in Australia.

I spent a little more than four years there.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Four years?

DR. STEINBERG: I went there in 1939 and left in 1943, and I am happy to tell you gentlemen that our proposition met with most remarkable reception.

I went first of all to see the Australian Government, consisting of six states, and the best territory was the Kimberleys. The Australian Government told us in July, 1939, that they were prepared to permit in principle the establishment of such a Jewish settlement of refugees, if it would be along non-political lines, meaning the people would become citizens of that country. It was a place of 10,800 square miles, 7,000,000 acres. The place is free and fertile and is capable of developing into one of the most flourishing provinces in Australia.

When they gave their approval, we had to go to the Federal Government, because they are in charge of the migration problem. But before going to the Federal Government, we had to find out whether the people of Australia in all of the sections would be interested. That is the reason why we had to spend a couple of years there.

The result was that the central body of the Australian trade unions and the joint churches and chambers of commerce and women's movement and the influential press showed their good will and published appeals and manifestos in this regard.

In the meantime, another government, the Government of the State of Tasmania, came out and made the same proposal. They said they would be prepared to have such a Jewish settlement within their boundaries.

But, gentlemen, the Federal Government in 1944 said that such a settlement would be a departure from the established policy of the immigration into Australia. They preferred individual migration instead of group migration.

But most interesting is, even after these pronouncements of the Federal Government, the trade unions, the public, and the press continued their support of the idea, and I have here with me documents that I could put later on the table that show a couple of months ago the Premier of the Government of Tasmania wrote a letter that they are prepared to renew negotiations on the problem.

I want to say this story about Australia is only an illustration of the possibility of such a solution. We are not bound to Australia; it might be Canada; it might be Africa; it might be some other place in the world.

But the important thing to have before us is the idea that the Jewish people are interested in having some place in the world where they can build for themselves--a future country in which they can become an economic unit, a cultural unit bound up with the life of the country.

That is only the first stage. That means if such an idea would be pronounced, if the United Nations would indicate that they are prepared to find such a place for them, I have no doubt, gentlemen, that it would help us in both ways. It would satisfy the immediate needs of our people now in the camps and as a long-range policy, too. Such an indication would help those people who would not go to Palestine or who are not resolved to stay in Europe. Thousands and thousands of them could go to some other place, and that would be the beginning of the solution of the long-range policy--of the problem of the abolishing of Jewish homelessness in Europe.

It is needless for me to say, gentlemen, that such a solution would be in the interest of the world, too. The interest of the Jewish people coincides with the future of mankind--the world of people.

This Committee was organized to go into the whole problem of Jewish homelessness, and we would very much ask you to have in mind all possible solutions when you have decided upon it.

It is our idea that the building up of Palestine should go on and there should not be restrictions in this type of building up; but while you see all the possible political difficulties, we want now, with so many historical problems being decided, to ask you to put aside a new place in the world where our people can settle without fear, without political troubles, and start life afresh in the service of their own ideals and for the service of humanity. Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I had one question. Are you convinced that if some colonization plan such as you propose were endorsed by the United Nations and some suitable place could be found, that there would be any strength in a Jewish movement toward colonization there? Also, is it quite probable that in view of the Zionist Movement toward Palestine, no other movement could now be gotten under way?

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir, I don't believe an indication by the United Nations of new possibilities would disturb the Jewish people.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I didn't say disturb them. Would anybody get behind such a movement?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir, I have no doubt about that. If I may say, the public mind of the Jewish people today is disturbed because all of us are interested in finding a place for a solution of this problem.

If something of this kind would be indicated by the United Nations, it is my firm conviction that not only great masses of thinking Jewish people would be behind such a movement, but I have the conviction that later on there would be cooperation between the Zionist Movement and that; and speaking for The Freeland League Movement, I will say that the whole political position, it seems to me, around Palestine would or might become easy if something else would be on the horizon. The Arab people wouldn't be so afraid and full of suspicion and the Zionists' work would go on without these fears and this uneasiness.

The Jewish people are now in an abnormal mood because there are no outlets, because the people in Europe feel they are somehow caught between fire and fire.

The world would do a great thing for the pacification within the Jewish people and humanity if some idea would be indicated today.

Not only that, I would allow myself to say that The Freeland League Movement would do all possible things in order not to antagonize sections of the Jewish people as we have been doing always, we will do it later on.

This idea of Freeland colonization wasn't created in order to destroy something or interpose something. It was created as a historical necessity, because otherwise we will be put in such a position that our people will think "Either this or nothing," because the next generation cannot live with such an idea. We must put before them other possibilities too.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I hope you will not mind my having asked the Chairman to explain where you were from. I have just been handed the document provided by your body, and I am not very well acquainted with these matters. May I ask you how long has The Freeland League existed?

DR. STEINBERG: It existed for ten years.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: With headquarters in New York?

DR. STEINBERG: Now in New York.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: What is your position in it?

DR. STEINBERG: My position?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes.

DR. STEINBERG: Secretary General.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You indicated to us that you thought there were possibilities of development by way of colonizing various parts of the world. You mentioned Australia in particular. I understood you to say you had been there four years.

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Was that in connection with this scheme?

DR. STEINBERG: Of course.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: For the League?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: And I understand you to say your welcome there was considerable?

DR. STEINBERG: Very much.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You think there are possibilities there?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Are you acquainted with other parts of the world--of the British Empire and the United States?

DR. STEINBERG: Not personally, but our League studies that, and I suppose they know a lot about that.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I would like to know if I have understood your statements correctly. Is it that you propose colonization here or there by groups of Jews going together?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Colonization within the state to which the Jews go?

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You are not envisaging anything in the nature of a Jewish state within that state?

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: In paragraph six of your document, which I have been reading, you say:

"A colonization on similar lines is being carried on in Palestine. While appreciating and supporting the great achievements of Jewish constructive work in Palestine, the Freeland League does not adhere to the opinion that the whole future of Jewry must be bound up with that country."

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do I gather that you think, apart from any question of Palestine, there is plenty of room in the world in which Jews can settle, provided arrangements can be made for them?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: And that they can carry on their industries and live as citizens of those particular states to which they go?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Whatever the future of Palestine, there is open for that sort of thing, alongside with it, helping rather than harming it?

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You mentioned Rhodesia...

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir, I said Africa.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You said they would prefer individual migration rather than group migration?

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Have you considered at all why that may be?

DR. STEINBERG: Of course, I didn't mention Rhodesia because the whole problem of Africa is not yet cleared up, but I would like to emphasize the idea of The Freeland League is...

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You said either Africa or Rhodesia.

DR. STEINBERG: I mentioned Australia.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It may be that any state that is going to receive immigrants may think that there is a greater chance of their being embodied in the structure as individuals rather than as a group.

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, I know.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: One danger of group migration is that the group may enter into disputes with another group within that state.

DR. STEINBERG: I understand.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I was going to suggest, as long as you have a sparsely populated area, that difficulty ought to be overcome. If you have a small area with an active group within that area and another group goes in, there are dangers. Is that what you had in mind?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: As with any other witness, I haven't the slightest objection to your adding anything. Is there something else you wish to say?

DR. STEINBERG: That is the idea. If you are going in a small state and organizing yourself as a group, then there is always the possibility and danger of some political complexities in the future, and it is exactly what we want to avoid. That is the reason why we are looking for some uninhabited country. That is the reason why we prefer this huge area in the Kimberleys in the northwest section of Australia. It might be somewhere in Canada, where there is no conflict from the start, so that the settlers could concentrate on the economic and cultural theories rather than on political theories.

Give them a chance from the start to build up a country in which they will invest not only labor and capital, but something of their inspiration, because they will know it is their home for themselves and their children, and they will become loyal to the soil of the country and to the country. They will live in a Jewish community which is true to their religious pronouncement and cultural heritage, but without specific political ambitions.

It is quite possible if they are citizens of that country and if their economic situation is that of the country as a whole, it seems to me, sire, that there is a possibility of a new type of colonization. You are giving them the chance of doing a great constructive work, and at the same time, they are building up the country.

I want to mention here that the Zionist representatives of Australian public opinion, a couple of months ago, voiced their opinions publicly in favor of such a movement.

I have before me the opinion of the Prime Minister of Australia, Doctor Le Fann. On February 2, 1945, he said:

"I still hope it will be possible to arrange for a Jewish settlement somewhere. I was one of those who favored such a settlement in the East Kimberleys. The Government says there must be no settlement of one particular race, but all the great migrations of history have been migrations of groups and not of individuals."

Then on December 11, 1944, in a Gallup poll in Sidney, Australia, the Executive Committee of the Australasian Council of Trade Unions adopted the following resolution:

"They asked the Australian Government to withdraw its opposition to the project of a Jewish settlement in the Kimberleys. It emphasized that the Jews deserve a refuge in a democratic country and that Australia would benefit from the foundation of such a Jewish settlement."

So it seems to me, without encroaching on the prerogatives of the Government of Australia, or Canada, it isn't our business to tell them how they should develop their country. But we can only speak in the name of a homeless people and tell them it is the best opportunity for them now.

DR. AYDELOTTE: I think my reaction at any rate, and I imagine the Members of the Committee, to this very interesting suggestion of yours about Australia, would be first of all, how solidly is the Australian opinion committed to it;

Secondly, how solidly would the Jewish people be committed to it?

But will you answer this question first:

How many members are there in The Freeland League? How many members does The Freeland League number?

DR. STEINBERG: I should say the world over a couple of thousand.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Could you leave us if possible, some of this documentary evidence of good feeling on the part of Australia?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. BUXTON: Wasn't there a large-scale colonization in Argentina some years ago which wasn't successful? Also, can you give us any other examples of experiments of this kind which you have outlined which have succeeded?

DR. STEINBERG: I should like to reply, but it will require some time.

I wouldn't say that the colonization of Argentina was a failure. I don't accept these traditional words about it.

DR. STEINBERG: When Baron Hirsch started that movement 50 years ago, he hoped to bring a million or two Russian Jews to Argentina, and he didn't succeed, because it is the general opinion of the Jewish Zionists that they didn't apply the necessary methods.

There are about 30,000 Jewish farmers or people who are connected with agriculture in Argentina. I would say—I haven't the dates here because I wasn't prepared for this—that Jewish agriculture in Argentina was a pioneering one. They established the best type of cooperative agriculture. They are getting first prices always. Then they started a fine small generation of Jewish farmers in South America. So, if you ask us, the Argentine project was not a failure.

MR. BUXTON: The number of Jews there has declined. There are fewer Jews there now than there was originally.

DR. STEINBERG: On the farms that may be, sir, because many of them are attracted by the big cities in Buenos Aires.

But I want to remind you gentlemen that the colonization of Argentina was the second in modern times.

After Jewish colonization in Russia, the Russian Czar, Alexander the First and Nicholas the First made their appeal at the beginning of the last century for colonization in what is now the Ukraine. Tens of thousands were established there in agriculture, and they are now there.

After the experience in Russia and Argentina came the experience for Palestine. Historically, I would say that all of them were not failures. They prepared the way for the great colonization in Palestine.

MR. CRICK: Doctor Steinberg, when you were in Australia on this Kimberly project, you no doubt had in mind in your negotiations some hypothetical number of people which you had envisioned as settling down there. Could you give us any number as an indication of your plan?

DR. STEINBERG: We spoke at the time of about 50,000 to 75,000.

MR. CRICK: That would be women and children as well as the working population?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes. Let me say that during the first year or two there would be only a couple of thousand, but the country is capable of expansion and development.

MR. CRICK: That would, I suppose, entail a very large amount of capital construction in the matter of irrigation and things of that sort?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. CRICK: Had you any estimates of the amount of capital that would be involved in settling these numbers?

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir; the idea was that after getting the approval of the Federal Government, to send there a special expedition to have the plans and financial estimates prepared.

MR. CRICK: Did you anticipate any difficulties in raising the required amounts of capital?

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

MR. CRICK: Would they come from external sources?

DR. STEINBERG: What do you mean by external?

MR. CRICK: For example, would you depend on the capital being put up by Jews in other parts of the world?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

MR. CRICK: I see. I suppose the ownership of the land under this project would be vested in some body of representatives of the settlement, would it not?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

MR. CRICK: And then it would be rented out to tenants?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

MR. CRICK: Would there be any restrictions on the race of the tenants?

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

MR. CRICK: So that those colonies might become mixed by the infiltration of non-Jewish settlers?

DR. STEINBERG: Of course. A Jewish settlement cannot bar the way to people of other countries. After all the experiences we had in Europe, how could we do it? But if a settlement is going to be built up by labor and perhaps sacrifice of the Jewish people, it would be a Jewish settlement.

I don't think it's important to ask at this stage of development to decide upon the future of this settlement? The important thing is that the greatest majority from the start would be Jewish, so they will develop an economic and cultural Jewish settlement, but they will never have the right to prohibit an entry of somebody else.

Everytime the Australians would ask me if they would be allowed to come in—and I remember the Bishop asked me that question once—my reply was "of course. How can you put such a question before us?"

We are not going to establish a ghetto. We are going to establish a free land and a free state for the Jewish people, a free land culturally established by the Jewish people for the Jewish people, but not exclusive of all other peoples in the world."

MR. PHILLIPS: Doctor Steinberg, in your opinion, did the Australian Government in withholding its approval of the land base its decision on the large numbers of immigrants which you had in mind?

DR. STEINBERG: No.

MR. PHILLIPS: Or on the fact of the settlement?

DR. STEINBERG: That's it. The Australian Government asks for millions and millions, and I suppose that is now really the public opinion in Australia, but they are afraid to change their policy. As mentioned before, it is a departure from their policy. They don't like to change it, but there was a Gallup poll a couple of months ago in the whole of Australia and this proposal was put before them:

Would you like a Jewish settlement in the North?

It is amazing, but 37 percent replied yes, and 47 percent said they preferred individual migration. Sixteen percent didn't have any opinion at all. So if 37 percent of the public says yes to even a colony, we must appreciate the position of the Australian Government.

If such a settlement should be established in Australia, I would say quite objectively it should be a Jewish settlement, because the Jews would have no political ambitions in establishing anything of that kind.

The Australians tell me it will be a precedent, and what will they do if the Italians would come later. Our reply is:

"All the others have their own countries; they are looking behind them. The Jewish people are the only ones, I should say unfortunately, who have nothing behind them to look at. So if they are building up a settlement there, it isn't only for themselves; it is for the whole country."

SIR FREDERICK: I understood you to say it is the present policy of the Australian Government that immigrants must come individually. Surely the Jews who were admitted would be assigned individually, although they would all go to the same place. You wouldn't think that as unreasonable?

DR. STEINBERG: Absolutely reasonable. I would even prefer it.

SIR FREDERICK: I think that is general in every country.

MR. CROSSMAN: What proposal has the Australian Government turned down?

DR. STEINBERG: They turned down the idea of the establishment of a Jewish settlement as such. As I understand it, gentlemen, if you will bring in, say a thousand individuals and put them in one place, that is one thing.

If you say they are coming to have a Jewish settlement and to live our own religious and cultural lives, that is something else.

It seems to me that we should be quite frank with the Australian Government. We should tell them what the intention is in order to avoid some misunderstandings later.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think you have made a very interesting and a very impartial approach, in that you haven't said "It must be this," and "It must be that." I think you will have to fit into a faction that is versus demand! I am obliged to you. Your seed is small, but the spirit is there.

MR. ROOD: The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, Mr. Peter Bergson.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Before he begins, Mr. Tulin, I called for you earlier, but if you will stay, I will get you in.

MR. TULIN: I apologize for being a little late.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would like to make it clear that because of our time limit, we hope you will stay within the three-quarters of an hour we have allotted.

STATEMENT OF MR. PETER BERGSON
REPRESENTING THE HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

MR. BERGSON: Mr. Chairman, I have with me Mr. Fowler Harper, Professor of Law at the University of Indiana. He will act as an adviser to the Committee. The Committee is a body in exile in the United States, and naturally we are grateful to Mr. Harper as one of our advisers.

Mr. Justice, I did not come here to demand anything and not to insist on any extreme sort of need. I came here to try and describe to you the minimum requirements for survival and the dignified life that we need. I wish we could be in a position of wanting more, and I wish we could be in a position of wanting less. But there is very little less than human dignity and human existence that a man could ask, unfortunately. We are in no position to ask or get more.

There has been a number of witnesses before this Committee. I tried to attend the hearings as much as I could. The witnesses represented very ably in most cases great American Jewish organizations--distinguished leaders of these organizations--people who have sincerely and devotedly for many years endeavored to help the suffering Jews in Europe. There is, however, a basic distinction between all these gentlemen, and I might add, the gentlemen who have lived themselves as Americans of Arab-speaking origin--Americans who are a part of this nation, enjoying its benefits and fulfilling the duties as citizens.

I am Hebrew--a person who has no other national allegiance except to a Hebrew nation--a person who has no other personal ties with any land in the world except Palestine. I live in Palestine. My family is in Palestine. All that I possess in the world, physically or mentally, is in Palestine.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: What country did you emigrate from?

MR. BERGSON: From Russia. I speak, therefore, in a sense for myself. I am speaking for the two million people who are very much in the same position as I. However, whatever I am going to suggest or propose is not something that I wish upon somebody else, which excludes me. It is something which I personally and the people who are associated with me will have to live under and bear the consequences.

This, Mr. Justice, is something which we cannot afford to be in the abstract. The kind of a solution we seek is in terms of our every-day life.

I live in Jerusalem. There are all sorts of people living around me. What I am looking for is not a political formula which sounds very good in Washington, but I am looking for a workable way of life which makes it possible to get up in the morning peacefully, go to work, and come home at night.

I shall endeavor to present three basic points of the way we people feel.

One is that historically, politically, and ethnically, in all concepts of human law and decency, the territory of Palestine is the national territory of the Hebrew people. That is to say, it has an acceptance of lawful, legal ownership, such as most lands of the world have, or all lands of the world have.

I would like, if I may, give two or three brief definitions because of what I speak might sound a little bit strange.

When we speak of the Hebrew nation, we speak only of those people who, as in the case of any other nation, belong to this nation willingly, on their own will, and do not belong

to any other nation and regard themselves as citizens and loyal patriots of their country. We do not speak of Jews the world over.

Throughout these hearings, people were speaking of the Jewish people. I regret to say that here I come to a difference of opinion still existing--I hope not for very long--between us and the friends of Palestine and the friends of our people in this country, particularly American Jews who are working for our people in Europe.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do you mean the Zionists?

MR. BERGSON: I mean the Zionists.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't mean to interrupt, but I haven't seen anything which shows the constitution or the workings of this body. I don't know the difference between different bodies. I thought you must be speaking of the Zionists, but I wasn't sure. Isn't there a document which shows the constitution of the Committee?

MR. BERGSON: We have submitted extensive reports. We hope to have one of these days a constitution of Palestine.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I'm talking of your body--The Hebrew Committee.

MR. BERGSON: I shall give it to you later. I am trying to keep within the limits of your time.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: One document showing the constitution of the body is often more help than all these sheaves of documents.

MR. CRUM: You mean the constitution of The Hebrew Committee.

MR. BERGSON: I will be very glad to furnish you with that.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Thank you very much.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: To show the distinction between yourselves as Hebrews and citizens of Palestine and your friends in this country, including the Zionists, who are friends of Palestine but who are not members of the Hebrew nation.

MR. BERGSON: Correct. I wish we had you as a pleader on our side!

MR. McDONALD: I read his papers, but I don't understand the difference, Judge. I'm sorry I'm so dull. I still feel it isn't wholly my own fault!

MR. BERGSON: I will appreciate it if I may proceed for a certain length of time.

There are Jews the world over. Mr. Levitnoff is a Jew; Mr. Blum in France is a Jew; gentlemen on the bench in England are Jews; many distinguished gentlemen in this country are Jews. They all believe, or were brought into a certain religious faith; they all stem from a certain national origin, national extraction, which, however, they don't share any longer by virtue of having voluntarily, gladly, and enthusiastically accepted membership into other nations, in whose life they have participated, in whose cabinets they serve, in whose uniforms they die.

These are the two basic distinctions. I believe at the time of the setting up of the mandate, these things were borne in mind, and the framers of the mandate had tried to assure in the mandate to the existing non-Jewish population in Palestine and to the status of the Jews the world over that they were not going to become members of this Palestine State or Jewish National Home.

Unfortunately, whereas I believe that the mandate generally was a very clear document in this respect, it did not try and provide for the consequences of the action proposed.

If I may read one sentence from the preamble of the mandate, it says:

"Whereas, recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and other groups for reconstituting their National Home in that country."

Precisely, the consequence of reconstituting a national territory from which a people has been exempt for some 1,800 years, unfortunately, has been overlooked.

In all fairness to our British friends here and to the Americans who helped them, I ought to say the mistake was primarily our own, because we should have gone to them and said "These are going to be the boundaries of the new state, as far as geography goes, and these are going to be the human boundaries. It isn't going to include every Jew the world over. It is going to include those who, through the exercise of the right of self-determination, are going to get up and leave the ghettos in Poland and Russia and Rumania and become Palestinian members of the Jewish National Home."

For the sake of clarity and for the sake of bringing our ancient people up to date, we have been living greatly under a scripture which is very old and has great advantages, and it has some disadvantages.

This is that the Hebrew Nation, when it occupied Palestine, and I am ashamed to admit when it was an Empire, as it was, was a theocratic nation, as all nations of the world at that time, was the unification of a religion and nationality.

MR. McDONALD: Would you define theocracy?

MR. BERGSON: If you will let me finish, I wish to continue. In all deference, I would say the dictionary defines it as an example. It says For Example: Hebrew.

Today, under the leadership of America and the American constitution of thought, the state and church are separate. They are two distinct units. One is American of Jewish, Catholic, Presbyterian--no matter what--faith, whatever it happens to be, and one is an American of certain national descentance.

If I may use names, Justice Murphy is an American of Irish descent of the Catholic faith. In the case of Jews, because of not being up to date and because of the lack of clarity, Justice Frankfurter is a Jew. I say Justice Frankfurter is an American of Hebrew descent and of the Jewish faith. One is active being a Jew like being a Catholic, like being a Presbyterian, whether pious or not.

Mr. Murphy being an Irishman, when you say he is Irish, you say his grandfather or he himself was an Irishman 30 years ago, but today his connection is passive.

We say that had provisions been made at that time limiting and explaining the human boundaries, taking into account the tremendous consequences of what Mr. Churchill called "A historical act of returning the Hebrews to the shores of the River Jordan," a great deal of trouble and tragedy and a great deal of human blood would have been spared.

We propose to do it today. We have done it in the setting up of The Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, which as constituted in 1944, began acting as a temporary Hebrew National authority.

It said the people in the extermination furnaces in Europe are not Germans; they have been de-nationalized; they are not Poles, as a matter of fact, because under the

Versailles Treaty in the case of Polish Jews, they were recognized as a national minority. In all the divided districts of Poland, they did not say 28,000,000 Catholic and 4,000,000 Jews and 6,000,000 Ukrainians. They said three nationalities. The Jews in Europe, practically officially by the Treaty, were given national minority rights and a certain kind of some sort of cultural autonomy. For instance, all the schools in Liberia, Lithuania, and Estonia are Hebrew. Their language is Hebrew. They had a separate school system. They had a Hebrew minister of education in Latvia after the last war, as provided by the Versailles Treaty.

We say, therefore, that these people constitute a nation. There is today in existence in the world a Hebrew nation, small, pitifully beaten, overcome by a massacre, without friends, even a position in which its very existence is debated.

This is the most painful aspect. We want to end the era in which our existence in the world is debated. We want to come to the standpoint in which one thing is taken for granted, and that is that we exist. We are here. The Hebrews are a nation as real as any other nation in the world.

In the number of casualties in this war, it was first. In the number of fighting men called upon as Hebrews--and I don't speak of American or British or Russian Jews--we were eighth. As to population, we are the twenty-fifth. By the way, there are 51 nations participating in the UNO Conference in London, and we are about twenty-fifth in size.

I heard the venerable Professor Einstein here the other day, and I am afraid there was quite a bit of misunderstanding as to what he meant by opposing a Palestinian or a Jewish state.

The Professor spoke in general terms, and I'm sure if he had been asked if he believed in the state, he would have said that he was against nationalism. What he meant was he didn't believe in the system which sets up a whole series of little states. Then begins trouble between one and another.

I am confident, on the basis of authority of a friend of the Professor, that that was his idea. The U.N.O. is composed of 51 nations and not of 10 or 12.

I sometimes ask people What am I? Here I am, an individual, standing before you. What am I? Will you say "He is a Jew?" What do you mean?

I might be working for the Russians or British Intelligence Service, or for the Chinese, for that matter. Being a Jew, what is my position in the world? What is my relationship to human society? In simple words, what nation do I belong to? I say I am Hebrew. My allegiance is to the Hebrew nation. My country is Palestine. The legality of our position I should not burden the Committee with too many details.

We have submitted a legal brief that was prepared by a distinguished American Statesman and Senator, Gus M. Gillette, who analyzed the legal position of Palestine and our rights to it. It is attached to our memorandum.

The documents prove the meaning and the feeling of what was meant at the time of the Mandate.

We have now in this country a visitor from Palestine, Mr. Israel Rosoff, who participated in the conferences in Paris during the peace treaty. He signed the mandate as a representative of a Jewish committee that accepted it.

Mr. Rosoff told me the other day--he is a gentleman of 76 and he likes reminiscing--at the luncheon he attended, given by the French Foreign Secretary, Mr. Pichon, in which

the guest of honor was Professor Thomas Masaryk, who just came from the United States where, by the way, the men are very similar to ours, that they had set up a republican government, a government of the Hebrew Republic of Czecho-Slovakia in Pittsburgh, and Dr. Sokolov, the then president of the Zionist organization was present.

Mr. Richon made a toast and said, "Here is to the first president of the Czecho-Slovakia Republic and to the coming President of the Palestinian Republic", and nodded towards Dr. Sokolov.

This was the feeling, this was the purpose, this was the meaning of the Balfour Declaration, of the Mandate, of the constitution of Palestine as the national territory of the Hebrew nation.

The second point, Mr. Chairman, is the dire need for the interests of all concerned to find a basic integral and permanent solution. This problem has been going on for a number of years. It has caused much of my suffering, and, if I may, I would like to review to whose benefit is it to prevent such solution, and why it is to the benefit of all concerned, the world at large, in the interest of peace and stability, the British, the Americans, the Hebrews, and the Arabs residing in Palestine, as well as the neighboring Middle Eastern States.

Secretary Bevin the other day in London, speaking to representatives of an American movement which supports us and is interested in Palestine, told them how disposed he was and how the rise of anti-Semitism in England is a part of this entire difficulty.

He mentioned in his remarks to Parliament, announcing the formation of this committee. He spoke privately much more clearly about it.

Every now and then many witnesses before this Committee pointed out these difficulties. I believe that nobody stands to gain by palliative solutions such as, I regret to say, the terms of reference of this Committee would indicate the governments of both countries are looking for at this time. The question is not the immediate problem of the some 200,000 acute cases of Hebrews in exile in Europe.

Judge Hutcheson spoke several times here of the problem separating itself into two, the Palestine problem and the refugee problem. If I may point out, there is an inter-governmental committee on refugees. As a matter of fact, it met in council in Paris only 3 weeks ago. It is composed of some 30 nations, including the two nations comprising this Committee.

It has some funds, it is an operating agency, and it would seem perplexing to me if the entire proposition is to take care of some one or two hundred thousand refugees who happen to be Jews, or something--why was it necessary to appoint the specific Anglo-American Commission to look into this entire matter and to recommend solution?

Surely the intergovernmental committee with the help of other nations on it, Australia, and so on could establish a Jewish empire and could have taken care of these 200,000 people, or would have been the better agency to take care of these people.

I believe, gentlemen, that the task that has fallen upon your shoulders is of major historic significance, and it is not because I am a Hebrew--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Would you mind yielding to one question? We are bound by the terms of our reference, aren't we?

MR. BERGSON: Absolutely. As terms of reference they could be interpreted in many ways, and I would propose an interpretation, if I may.

I believe that the importance of this problem is a core, is a basic problem in human relations, and in the future of the world as it stands today could not be overestimated. As I said, it is not because of my personal concern, because it happens to be my skin that is going to be affected. It is not a question which could be separated from the entire complex of human psychology, of human thinking, of basic human decency, which is the only hope of the world digesting the atomic energy and the atomic age and the atomic power of destruction and revising some sort of a system through which nations could continue to have amicable and friendly relationships.

It is in the heart of Europe, it is in the minds of most people in the world who today are bothering with the shaping of the world and it must be viewed as such and not as some minor question of giving the right of independence-- and I certainly am a great believer in independence--to a couple of million people.

Unfortunately, there are still close to one billion of people in the world who have no independence. Therefore, the immediate considerations, of independence, if Hebrew independence, is very much secondary. What is important is to solve once and for all this plague, this curse, that has been misnamed into what is called the Jewish problem. This has to be solved, and has to be solved basically and has to be solved integrally. And by solving it we believe in transforming the Jews into a normal entity such as anybody else in the world.

The recognition of the Hebrew nation and the establishment of Palestine as its national territory and independent state, republic, would normally--it would cease reports on pogroms in Europe, it would cease reports on charities here for the victims in Europe, it will cease the very bad feeling I must confess I had when one gentleman said here at the opening of the hearings, with the kindest of intentions, with the best wishes, his eyes were moist and he spoke of "these poor suffering people. Let's give them a home somewhere; let the civilized nations of the world take a few; let some go to Australia; let some go to San Domingo and Brazil."

I said then, "Why should somebody speak of me like that? Why should somebody call me poor? Why shouldn't I have the principle of self-determination, of me making up my mind what my future should be, where I should live and how I should live the same as anybody?"

This paramount question, not whether the Province of Kimberley would be gone to except under certain conditions and guarantee an influx of poor suffering Jews--by the way, I would have chosen Texas. It is much more beautiful. At least I have been there, and it is just as great and there is enough space there.

But the question is, what do the Hebrew nationalists, the surviving Hebrews of Europe--I would give every one of them a page of honor not as a Hebrew patriot but as a United Nations patriot.

What do the people of Bucharest, who have been decimated from 1,000,000 to 450,000 by their Rumanian neighbors, the compatriots within a short few years, what do these people want? They fought, they were shot as enemies of Rumania, as enemies of Hungary, as traitors because they were friends of the United Nations, friends of the United States, and friends of England. Those who miraculously survived should be given the human consideration and their elementary right, which is sacred in this land of self-determination, of a free expression of the determination of their future and the way to live.

Now we come to the third point, and this is the territory of Palestine and the people inhabiting it. What, in brief, is called here the Arab problems.

I would be the last man, Mr. Justice, to suggest the right of self-determination for the Hebrews at the expense of anybody else, although it has been done in the world before

in the case of many nations. I don't believe in it and I don't suggest it.

Palestine, when it was set up as Hebrew national territory by the Mandate, had a population of some five to six hundred thousand, including people of many national derivations and religions. There has not been either then, today, or at any time, an Arab nation living in Palestine. There is no such thing in history, nor did there exist for one day a desire to have a government.

There is no Arab nation living in Palestine. Had there been a nation our problem would have been, instead, sharper than it is today. But there is no nation, there was no nation.

There were lots of people who resided in a territory, in a province of the Ottoman Empire who had no specific nationality. Some resided there longer, some were born there, and some came there. It was mostly transient because the country was terribly poor and could not support any large population.

These 600,000 people were divided into approximately 90,000 Jews by religion, some 100,000 or so Christians, and the balance predominantly Moslem, with quite a number of Greek Orthodox. Every church group in the world had some sort of affiliation in Palestine, a little monastery, or a little mission or hospital and so forth.

Today the non-Hebrew population of Palestine has been enlarged. I don't think it is nearly as large as the officials of the Palestine Administration pretend it to be. There was no census for the last 15 years. There have been grave doubts as to the accuracy, and as to its intentions.

I was a student of geography and topography in the Hebrew University in Jerusalem and covered Palestine on foot from one end to the other. I did not see--this was in 1933--where there could possibly live about a million Arabs. I tried to tabulate the places and there just aren't. But it is generally accepted there is approximately a million, to be exact, 1,200,000 Arab people living in Palestine.

The contention is that these people are the rightful owners of the land, and to me, with the best intentions of being objective about the issue, it is absolutely perplexing why on earth an Egyptian or a South Arabian or Assyrian who left his country some 12 years ago, or 15 years ago and went into what rumor and campfire stories told him was the fabulous land of the Hebrews, and went to settle there because of it, why the table should be turned and he should become the rightful owner of the land and there should be a question as if we are seeking to dispose him, or dispossess him, as was suggested in many of the questions of the democratic process in Palestine.

I believe in democracy as a freedom of life because without it it would be very hard indeed to live in the Middle East, which is very far from democracies all around us, and I want to show you, Mr. Justice, and gentlemen of the Committee, that upon careful examination of our proposals you will not find one suggestion, or one step which is in any way contrary to the best and the finest traditions of American democracy. You will not find one suggestion which tries to infringe on the rights or to take over the rights of any people.

What we propose is this: Palestine is the national territory of the Hebrew nation, its position in the world, how the Hebrews are represented in the world community of nations. That is why we seek the UNO; that is why we believe we ought to be under the Reparations Commission; that is why we should have been on the UNRRA, on the intergovernmental committee, on all international agencies in which the interests of our nation are represented.

But as a state within its inner structure, we propose Palestine to be a republic, a

free republic without a state religion, with no more rights than for the Moslem and no more rights for the Moslem than for a Christian or an atheist, without the state church, without state religious privileges, with fullest equality for all the citizens of the country.

There was some talk here as to whether there were Moslems in the Hebrew University. I studied in the Hebrew University and on my right sat an Arab. He was a nice guy and we had many talks, and he spoke very fine Hebrew. He was a relative, by the way, of Mr. Hussaini, about whom I will speak in a little while. He told me how upset they were as to the artificial cleavage which has been put into the country.

I want this guy to have the chance to run for the senate or to be appointed secretary of state, to vote and to be elected, as I seek for any of the Hebrews who are there in Palestine and participate as citizens of the country's political and social life.

The question of rights of the Arab majority in Palestine has been brought up again and again. I don't believe that a solution could ever be found by building up these two settlements as one majority and one minority, and then switching it around into one majority here and a minority here. It can't work.

If you just imagine for a second established today, as Mr. Hussaini and the Arab gentlemen propose, an Arab state in Palestine, it could not exist. It will have a 35 percent national minority that is as tough, as pioneering, as devoted, as self-sacrificing as any nation in the world today.

Do you believe a nation and state can exist in such a place? When we propose the full equality of rights to non-Hebrews in Palestine it is on the basis that they do not constitute a nation, because they don't, and on the basis of having no national rights whatsoever, because there are five Arab nations--Egypt sits not only in UNO, Egypt sits on the Security Council, Lebanon sits on the Social and Economic Council. Five states have a voice in the international affairs of the world and they are campaigning and speaking for the Arabs in the loudest form possible.

There is no need, no reason, no justification, even if it weren't at our expense, even if it weren't at the cost of our lives, there is no need to establish artificially a sixth Arab nation.

MR. CROSSMAN: There are enough Palestinians?

MR. BERGSON: The individual rights of Arabs in Palestine, these are the ones I am very much concerned with, and these are the ones I believe we adequately cover in advocating fullest equality.

Let us forget the majority and minority debates if we want a solution. But there is a group that does not want a solution, that prevented a solution from the very beginning, that artificially fomented those two categories, that is preventing the solution for the future.

This group is composed--and I have to say with some dismay to our British friends here--of a clique of people in the British colonial office who started out being good solid imperialists, it used to be a dignified term, and did a great deal of good in many parts of the world, some 50 years ago, who are today outdated, who feel that they have no place in the modern structure of the world, and who have become desperate, who are what I regard as sort of desperate imperialists who will do anything for the sake of maintaining the status quo, for the sake of averting a change, for the sake of having the Middle East exactly as it is, for the sake of binding an alliance exclusively with the country that is 99-1/2 percent illiterate, and maintaining it illiterate, and who oppose and who are afraid and detest the idea of a Middle East in which the common man is taken

care of, in which their progress, in which all segments of the population have a real expression.

They oppose democracy in the Middle East; they oppose democracy in Palestine.

There was talk here the other day at one of the sessions about the fact that the colonial office suggested a legislative council in Palestine some years ago, and the Jews opposed democracy. Somebody suggested to elect a council, to appoint a council.

Last week the British Government, unfortunately at the instigation and influence of this very tough core of imperialists in the colonial office, has applied in the Arab Higher Committee for permission to admit 1500 Hebrews a month into Palestine.

Its chairman, in absentia, is a gentleman called Amin Hussaini. He is a criminal, a common law criminal who has been absented from Palestine by the same Palestine administration, who refused to play ball with the Nazis, who has led organized and participated in the Moslem Division which fought in this war, who is today a prisoner in Paris. He is the chairman of the Arab Higher Committee with whom the British administration deals, and whose permission is requested for the Warsaw ghettos to enter the territory.

Naturally in such a system there are pogroms. The other day there was a massacre in Tripolitania. I regret again to have to say, but it is my conviction, these people will stop at nothing to avert a dignified democratic solution of the problem; they will stop at nothing, not even short of massacre, which has been threatened and repeated again here from this chair, of the Hebrew people who are today residents of the Middle Eastern Arab countries.

Tripolitania was a beginning, 1,000 casualties. The world has become used to it. A thousand Jews more or less doesn't seem to matter. But it is quite a bit and it can't go forward.

Naturally under such conditions there is struggle in Palestine. Naturally Jewish trade unions don't want to accept Arabs, and Arab owners don't employ a single Jew. The country is artificially divided.

I propose, gentlemen, that we look to the future, we look to a solution which can make things workable, and I say that the recognition of the Hebrew nation is the solution of the problem once and for all of this, excuse me, political impossibility, of the Jews of the world as a political entity, the normal accepted answer of Jewish history, of Hebrew history and Hebrew heritage, of our position as one of the oldest and, I am happy to say, most civilized and glorious nations of the world, our restoration to full nationhood, to full dignity, to a seat in the councils of nations, our restoration to a territory which we build as a free republic in which we have full equality to all citizens, the same privilege that other people are giving to us in other lands.

Any guarantees that you gentlemen might conceive to insure that the Arabs individually would have the fullest right in Palestine, I will sign gladly, and I assure you every Hebrew in Palestine, every Hebrew in Europe will sign gladly.

The recommendations that we propose, based on this presentation, are before you and they were, and I speak--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Will you refer to the paper?

MR. BERKSON: That is in the basic memorandum on page 15, the one in the blue folder, on the last page.

These proposals are made within the terms of reference of the Committee as we understand them to be. It says:

"Pending the recognition of the Hebrew nation and its admission to the United Nations Organization following the formation of a provisional Hebrew government, the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation submits the following immediate steps to be recommended:

"(a) Recognition of the right of repatriation to Palestine of all Hebrews in exile and the immediate issuance to them of Palestinian identity papers as a preliminary to their repatriation."

This aims at a solution in Europe even before the physical repatriation takes effect. The most horrible thing of the status of the Hebrew survivors in Europe is the lack of status, their anomalous position.

An American ~~sergeant~~ or Lieutenant who was in charge of a camp says, "These people are crowds. I hate them. I don't care whether they are Catholics, Jews, or Protestants, they shot at me and killed my buddy."



That is because of the lack of recognition of the specific national status of the Hebrew people.

I believe it is sad indeed to force a Hebrew who is a sole survivor of a family massacred by German to be called a German against his will even for one day. I believe it is equally evil to force him to be a Rumanian, because the Rumanians exterminated 550,000 Hebrews.

This situation in Europe is not something that can be overlooked. Here, again, the basic difference between the very distinguished and good friends who appeared here on behalf of the Jewish organizations--maybe they can forget, maybe they can overlook, but I can't, the Hebrews in Europe can't.

Just think for one minute, gentlemen, how the views of Americans toward Japan changed in 2 months. In November or even early December 1941 the Japanese were people. Nobody liked them particularly, but they were people. By December 10 they were the despicable Japs, with an intense hatred on the part of every American because of one sneak attack, because of the murder of 3,000 Americans.

And you want us to forget, to close our eyes, to return to normalcy after the emasculation, the decimation of some 75 percent of our total population in Europe. It is inhuman, it is impossible, it is unfair, and it won't work. This is why Hebrews in Europe are moving under guards, beneath guards through zones, beneath boundaries. They are going to Palestine and they are going to get there. They are going to get there because it is their right. They are going to get there because it is the only means of dignified survival.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: As to all those others, you have already taken beyond your 45 minutes. We can refer to these. All of us are taught to read.

MR. BERGSON: I shall finish up in about 3 minutes, if I may.

"(b) That an inter-governmental committee be appointed to assist in the speedy repatriation of the Hebrews to Palestine."

We believe that this commission, rather fervently hope than believe, will recommend some concrete and large-scale action, no matter what the plans or schemes of the people who appointed it were. We believe the Committee ought to suggest the appointment of a body which will carry out these actions and not leave them again to the slow-moving hand of general governmental machinery.

"(c) That an ad hoc Hebrew interim representative body be recognized for the purpose of co-operating with the inter-governmental--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Your 3 minutes are running out.

MR. BERGSON: One more minute. The last proposal is in connection with civil liberties in Palestine. I am sorry I do not have time to elaborate on them, but from the proposals you will see there is no trial by jury, no writ of habeas corpus, no protection for a citizen to do anything, to think anything, or speak anything. I do not believe under such a procedure there are political and economic conditions possible which call for a solution.

I would suggest to the Committee an immediate improvement and the liquidation of these discriminatory laws as specified in paragraphs 1 to 5. Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Sir John wants to know if the memorandum submitted by Gillette is a part of the submission of those you represent.

MR. BERGSON: No sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The reason I mentioned that is if that document which appears to be submitted under the document put forth by this witness, there is no point in this Committee sitting at all.

MR. BERGSON: May I clarify that, Mr. Chairman?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: If it doesn't represent you, I don't think you can.

MR. BERGSON: I want to clarify, Sir John, the American League for Palestine is an American organization which backs the Hebrew struggle for freedom. It has submitted a memorandum which is completely its own, completely independent of my testimony or of our committee. I referred to a memorandum by the Senator which is a legal brief, which is part of the memorandum. It is called "The Legal Position of the Territory of Palestine," which is a different document.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: If there are no questions--

DR. AYDELOTTE: I would like to ask one question. You said you were in favor of a free republic in Palestine now. Is that correct?

MR. BERGSON: I said I was in favor of establishing Palestine as a free republic.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Would you mean to give all the Hebrews and all the Arabs in Palestine the right to vote, indifferently?

MR. BERGSON: I proposed a series of proposals. They established a national sovereignty of the Hebrews in Palestine territory. On this basis I am for the establishment of a free republic in Palestine any time.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Wait a minute. You call it a free republic. Would it be a republic in which the Arabs would vote?

MR. BERGSON: Absolutely.

DR. AYDELOTTE: You would be willing at once to put the destinies of Palestine in the hands of all the people in Palestine, Jew and Arab alike?

MR. BERGSON: I said, sir, that the Hebrew nation, whose territory Palestine is, wished to constitute Palestine as a free republic with full equality of votes and with any provisions that no harm will be done to any individual citizen who does not happen to be of Hebrew stock.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Wouldn't you be afraid if the Arabs could outvote you they would limit immigration?

MR. BERGSON: I don't believe this is possible under the structure we propose.

DR. AYDELOTTE: What would make it impossible?

MR. BERGSON: If you recognize the Hebrew nation as I do you would automatically recognize the right of every Hebrew, whether he is in Jerusalem or Warsaw, or in Bergen-Belsen, to participate in the national life of the country. You don't deny the American rights to an American GI stranded in Berlin. I say the guy in Bergen-Belsen who has been prevented by force, who would have been in Palestine 15 years ago, who would have been in Palestine a year ago or tomorrow, if you removed the British fleet and British army, who doesn't let him go there, I say has as much right of voting as a South Arabian who walks in freely across the borders and becomes a Palestinian.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Just answering the question, what you mean to say is that a ballot would be given to every person whom you call a Hebrew, no matter where he is, and if there are more of them than the other they could always outvote the Arab.

MR. CROSSMAN: Would every American Jew vote? Or how would the Hebrew be defined?

MR. BERGSON: I defined the Hebrew as a person who belonged to the Hebrew nation, just as solidly and as strongly as you belong to the British nation, and American Jews belong to the American nation. I would no more suggest they vote in Palestine than I would suggest they vote in the elections of Britain.

MR. CROSSMAN: You mean anybody could vote?

MR. BERGSON: No sir. May I repeat again, the Hebrew is a person who is either in Palestine today or is in Europe and who expresses his Hebrew nationalistic views and who wishes to go to Palestine, who is a Palestinian who is prevented from exercising his right as a Palestinian.

For instance, when President Truman--let's speak concretely--recommended 100,000 Hebrews in concentration camps be taken into Palestine, had Mr. Attlee accepted his proposal today, 6 months after the proposal, they would have been Palestinians to all intents and purposes. All that would have happened, you took them out of Belsen and put them in a ship and took them across. I say when President Truman asked Mr. Attlee to take these people to Palestine and not to Texas, it wasn't because he was stingy or because he didn't want them in Texas. It is because he believed that Palestine is their country and he asked Mr. Attlee to admit them into Palestine. Therefore, they had the right to exercise the duties and privileges regarding Palestine even while they are not physically there.

DR. AYDELOTTE: How would you make up your voting list? By polling all the Jews of the world and saying, "Do you want to declare your citizenship for us or Palestine?"

MR. BERGSON: The system is very simple. The difference, you see, between a Hebrew and a non-Hebrew--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Between a Hebrew or a Jew?

MR. BERGSON: Or a Catholic is that one is a nation and one is a religion.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are drawing a distinction between a Hebrew and a Jew. What is the difference?

MR. BERGSON: A person residing in Palestine regards himself as a Hebrew, and any person of Hebrew extraction who has national rights in Europe who wishes to go to Palestine.

MR. CROSSMAN: What does Hebrew extraction mean? Race or what?

MR. BERGSON: It is very simple. I am sorry you think this is funny, but when you are going to a camp, or as one American major told me, "I haven't been in Dachau, I smelled it." You will know exactly. You will see the guys with the big J stamped on them.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Just a moment. Many a German and other persons not Jewish are in those camps. Did he become a Hebrew?

MR. BERGSON: He went on personal grounds.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You say Dachau makes a Hebrew. I say it does not.

MR. BERGSON: I agree, Judge. Did you go to Dachau simply because you are a Hebrew? They didn't go because they committed an offense.

MR. CROSSMAN: I have been to Dachau and I have not found it so simple. Do you mean that anyone who was characterized as a Jew by the Nuremberg laws, which means anybody who had a grandmother but who hadn't been recognized and fully Christianized, do you mean he is a Hebrew or that the Hebrew is someone who has a religion? You have really not made this point clear as to the definition of Hebrew. Your whole case falls on whether or not you can define that clearly.

MR. BERGSON: I shall try to redefine it for you. The principle I stated was one of self-determination. Its basis was not to accept anything that anybody else has asked, whether it is Hitler or a kindly gentleman who says, "Let's give them some soup." They are both external powers. We speak of the definition of people who come and say, "I am a Hebrew."

I could ask you what makes an Englishman.

MR. CROSSMAN: Not simply saying you are one.

MR. BERGSON: Exercising certain duties and being one. I say to you it will take you exactly one week to realize the position of the Hebrews in Germany, because you will have identification papers issued and these people will be in a normal position.

DR. AYDELLOTTE: I would like to repeat, any Jew in the world who wishes to renounce his national allegiance and proclaim allegiance to Palestine could vote in the Palestine elections?

MR. BERGSON: No sir. There is an emergency in Europe; there is what I described before, the Jewish national status in Europe which we propose to recognize as the Hebrew national status. There is no reason why an English Jew or an American Jew should participate in the life of Palestine unless he of his free will gets up and physically moves over there. If he wants he can move to Argentina and become an Argentinian.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Are you a Russian Jew?

MR. BERGSON: I am a Palestinian. I was born in Lithuania; I was a refugee at the age of 4. I went to Russia, and from Russia to Palestine at the age of 11. With all respect and admiration for the Russians, I don't consider myself a Russian any more than you do.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: You have indicated very clearly that you regard yourself as a Palestinian. How many years have you spent in Palestine?

MR. BERGSON: I was in Palestine about 18 years.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: And you have talked a lot of people of your race or nation being prevented by force from going to Palestine. Did you leave Palestine of your own free will?

MR. BERGSON: Yes sir.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Why did you come here?

MR. BERGSON: I shall be very happy to amplify this, sir. I left Palestine to go to Europe for the purpose of helping those Hebrews who were prevented from entering Palestine to get there. I am very happy to say that with the assistance of a group of Palestinians, which included myself, some 40,000 such people were evacuated from Europe into Palestine in the years 1938 and 1939, and I am very happy to say that it is a

gratifying feeling to know that what was called the legal immigration--God knows what the definition is by law--has actually helped save the lives of 40,000 people.



I proceeded to the United States on a mission on behalf of the Hebrew people. I am not here for my personal aggrandizement. As a matter of fact, I have had quite a bit of trouble personally because of it. I am here in the same sense that any official of the British Embassy is representing and pleading for British interests in the United States. I am here to secure the friendship, the understanding of the American people and the American Government.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Mr. Bergson, you said you left in 1941 and then you referred to illegal immigration from the year 1938 onwards. I do want to get this clear. Do I understand that you came here in 1941 and you regard yourself now as on a mission and that it is your intention to return to Palestine in the near future?

MR. BERGSON: I came here in 1940. I have been on a mission ever since I left Palestine for Poland in 1938. All this time I was an official, a servant of the Hebrew nation.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: When did you leave Palestine? Will you repeat that again?

MR. BERGSON: I left Palestine last in 1938.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Can you tell me one other matter? How many members have you got of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation in this country?

MR. BERGSON: The Hebrew Committee is a body in exile, as you realize. It is a temporary national authority. Its membership is limited necessarily to people of a certain caliber and standing. The total number today is nine.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: I understand that you regard yourself as representative of another body. I rather thought you were speaking as a representative of a body which was purely American.

MR. BERGSON: No sir. We are, for the sake of brevity, affiliated with the French Committee of National Liberation, the Greek Committee, etc.

I am very sorry that Mr. Crossman seems to feel this is funny, but I think I have as much right for existence in the world as a Greek or Yugoslav or Frenchman, or Englishman, for that matter.

MR. McDONALD: I have just one question, not about all of these things which have been discussed, and with Mr. Bergson's help I have slowly begun to understand. It is about something else, quite.

Mr. Bergson, you said that you were opposed, and your group were opposed to a religious state in Palestine, or a theocracy. Right?

MR. BERGSON: Right.

MR. McDONALD: ^{Do} You think any official Zionist body favors a religious state, or has come out for any form of a theocracy in Palestine?

MR. BERGSON: If I may, I am very grateful to state that there is no intention, to the best of my knowledge, on the part of any Zionist party, with the exception of one. There is one Zionist party which advocates a theocracy. With the exception of this one, which is not too large, the overwhelming majority of Zionists is in favor of Palestine without any religious denomination. That one is Mizrahi, Orthodox Religious Zionist Organisation of America.

MR. McDONALD: There was a spokesman from Mizrahi before the Committee last week, and I don't think that Dr. Gold gave the impression he was advocating a theocracy.

MR. BERGSON: I am happy to know that, and the difference arises from the simple fact that when you say 'Jewish state' you can't just separate -- you use the term 'Jewish' twice, one to signify religion and the Zionists say, "We use it not as a religion but on a national basis," and hence the confusion. If our good friends, the Zionists, would say "in the Hebrew state" at least you will know it does not mean that it forces religious type.

MR. McDONALD: Thank you.

SIR FREDERICK: Mr. Bergson, on the whole I think Great Britain has been regarded as a friendly country to the Jews and to Hebrews, as you understand. But in the course of these documents, without reference to specific facts, you have made statements which indicate that Great Britain is somewhat the same as Germans in regard to their treatment of the Jews. I am going to ask you now now, because I am afraid you can't supply it, but we should like to have specifically--it is no good making charges of a general character without giving names and exact places in which they occur. I should like to ask you to give us some definite information instead of this lax splurge on the whole British Government.

MR. BERGSON: It is of great interest--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: He didn't mean now.

MR. BERGSON: Just one minute. I will give you some information. Nothing is further from my mind, personally, and happily in the Committee as a whole, to cast any aspersions or any criticism on the British people. As a matter of fact, I have brought with me a letter which I intended to quote, addressed to Senator Magnusson, from the British Embassy, dated January 3, and which has a paragraph I welcome very much. It says:

"I wish to assure you in Great Britain, which has traditionally been the friend of the Jewish people, there is no less profound desire in us to find a solution of their tragic problem."

This is signed by a man called Balfour, in the absence of Lord Halifax.

I specified that the people who are maneuvering all this are a minute group of what I term desperate imperialists, which I shouldn't think the majority of British people after the last election could be.

SIR FREDERICK: Would you kindly give us definite details about that, and not continue to speak of a small group or anything of the sort? Give us something definite.

MR. BERGSON: He gave quite a bit in the memorandum. As to Bergen-Belsen, it is in the appendix.

MR. CROSSMAN: There are no details.

MR. BERGSON: Names we haven't got.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: We want definite information of names and places and events which ordinarily are regarded as evidence, as opposed to oratorical phrases which are not designed to inform but to move. All right, sir.

MR. BERGSON: Could I make one request of the Committee, a suggestion I hope will be acceded to? There is a member of the Hebrew Committee who is now in Palestine. He is in Eritrea actually. He went to Palestine to help in preparing for the Hebrews from Europe in 1943. He was going from Palestine to Turkey. Before he left he was

given a message from the mayor of New York. He conferred with the British Secretary General of the Palestine administration there. Without any cause or supposition, as they call it in Palestine, of being a suspect of being connected with an unlawful organization, this man was put in a concentration camp, one of many in Palestine, later on deported to the Sudan, later on deported to Eritrea, where he still is.

I suggest, if I may, sir that he will make an exceedingly useful witness as a man of facts, a man who knows the position in Palestine, and I think we would be grateful if the Committee would arrange to hear him while in Palestine.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I venture to suggest we may not know sufficiently whether he is a valuable witness or not. But, you see, if perchance you are back there by the time we are there, you could suggest to the Hebrew organization there, if it exists there, and I suppose it does, that they call him before us.

MR. BERSON: I would be very happy to be with you, only I will be in Eritrea with this man. If I go to Palestine tomorrow and speak what I said here today I would be in the concentration camp the next morning, or when I walk out the door, and I will be in Eritrea in a camp.



MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I didn't know you were concerned in the matter.

MR. BERGSON: I am very much concerned, sir. It is my life.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: We will take the next witness. We expected to finish, but there are two matters which we could dispose of this morning if they would stick to the small time allotted. The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, represented by Dorothy Dexter, asked for 5 minutes. If that really means 5 minutes, or is it just a women's way of getting in?

MISS DEXTER: I notice there was a gentleman here who had three-quarters of an hour and took more.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: He was questioned, but we will not question you.

MISS DEXTER: Mr. Chairman, I am the American Secretary of the International League for Peace and Freedom. My organization is a non-Jewish organization.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You advised that you could furnish us a memorandum, and we would be glad for you to do it.

MISS DEXTER: Yes.

My organization is a non-Jewish organization. It is an international organization that has a British section, and I am hoping that when you go to Britain that some members of our British section will also appear before you.

Just as a matter of the record, I might mention that some of the members of our national board in Great Britain are Mrs. Petrick Lawrence, Lady Unwin, Miss Edith Pye, Mrs. Doreen Harris, and Miss Vera Brittain. Therefore, I am only representing the American section of the Women's International League.

We would like to urge that you recommend to the British and American Governments the following, and I will have to be very didactic because I have such a short time.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Did you file your memorandum?

MISS DEXTER: It will be filed this afternoon.

First, we would recommend the setting up of a board on the lines of the former War Refugee Board, which, unfortunately, was set up belatedly by our Government during the war to rescue refugees from Hitler's terror. We would like to see such a board set up immediately, with powers to act and to act at once.

Under the President's war powers it would seem that the President of the United States, at least, has such powers and all of these people who are in this tragic position could be rescued if that was done immediately under those war powers.

Secondly, we would like then that you recommend to the joint governments the calling of an international congress at the earliest practical moment for a conference on the whole problem of migration. This particular situation is just one very important and terrible focus of a very much bigger problem which can get worse, and we believe that only as the United Nations considers the whole question of migration and sees it in entirely new terms can there be any possible future solution.

We have been always following the British policy as it relates to Jews in Palestine, which is almost indefensible, but quite as undefensible as we feel the American policy in regard to immigration here.

We believe that our own immigration policy is dark, benighted, behind the times, and that it needs to be completely revised.

I don't know whether the American members of this Committee would go along with me, but at least I would make this statement, that anyone who knows the Congress of the United States knows that there are very few committees which are as backward as those of our immigration committees. I do not think that this is wholly the fault of the Congress or the members of those committees or the people, because there has never been in this country a positive and affirmative policy in regard to any immigration.

We believe the time has come when the Government of the United States should put on, if I may say, a campaign and an affirmative type of campaign, showing the values of the United States of immigration to this country, new immigration. I believe the United States is honored by having such men as Dr. Einstein, Thomas Mann, and others who have come to this country. We have gained. These are new values for us.

I know that there are those who would say, "Yes, but not all are Einsteins and Thomas Manns." There was a time Mr. Justice when - I believe it was just before the turn of the century -- that a large migration of Polish and Russian Jews came to this country. They weren't a very promising looking lot when they arrived, and yet they created the great clothing industry of America, so we are probably the best dressed people for the cheapest cost in the world today.

A positive policy which would show the value to our two countries for immigration here we believe is one of the things that is going to be essential as well as the other more specific things I suggested.

Thank you very much. Have I done it within 5 minutes?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That is remarkable.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Thank you for two constructive ideas. I say nothing as to your criticism of either government.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Mr. Tulin was to have 5 minutes to make his corrections. Has he gone again?

COMMENT: He has stepped out.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think he had better file them, because we have tried it twice and he has been gone.

We will recess until this afternoon at 2:00 o'clock.

(The hearing recessed at 12:30 P.M.)

STATEMENT OF M. S. MASSOUD, SECRETARY-TREASURER,

CANADIAN-ARAB FRIENDSHIP LEAGUE

MR. MASSOUD: Mr. Chairman, honorable members of the committee.

Permit me to convey to you some of the views held on the problem of Palestine by Canadians of Arab descent, in particular by the members of the Canadian-Arab Friendship League, who I have the honor to represent.

First of all, may I state that the well-timed and aggressively advanced agitation for the creation of an independent Jewish state in Palestine has been as diligently pursued by the Zionists in Canada as in the United States, and has been the subject of controversy in the press and among members of the Canadian Parliament. The majority of Canadians view this whole problem seriously, for tragic mistakes made by diplomats have often resulted in bloodshed and deep suffering. We have had too much of that.

The words of the Balfour Declaration to the Zionists have become an issue. The Zionists asked for the following wording: "the reconstruction of Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people." This was refused. Instead, the Balfour Declaration read: "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people."

As the great Palestinian Jewish philosopher, Achad Haam, wrote: "The difference is not mere hair-splitting . . . The promise is really defined in this particular form of words, and goes no further."

In its first official statement after receiving the Mandate, the English Government in 1932, while Churchill was Minister of Colonies, answered the Zionist requests for a change of wording, as follows:

"We draw attention to the fact that the terms of the declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish national home, but that such a home should be founded in Palestine . . . What is meant is not an imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole."

Gentlemen of the committee, the Arabs do not come to you with an Arab problem, but hold that it is unbecoming to bring pressure on war-weary England to do an injustice to an Ally, and to go against the interests of the commonwealth.

Acting on the experience of 35 years and the findings of 13 Royal Commissions, England in 1939 corrected, in a measure, a mistake and issued a specific document -- more specific by far than the vague Balfour letter to Baron Rothschild. This correction is unmistakable and clear.

"His Majesty's Government therefore now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish state. They would indeed regard it as contrary to their obligations to the Arabs under the Mandate, as well as to the assurances which have been given to the Arab people in the past, that the Arab population of Palestine should be made the subjects of a Jewish state against their will."

Are these unmistakable clearcut pledges to be ignored because the Zionists claim political influence in the United States?

To the English-speaking peoples we say, let not a compact, determined, political pressure group misguide you in order to coerce a sorely tried England who wants to put her home in order.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That is addressed to the nation rather than to this committee, because we haven't been coerced by anyone here.

MR. MASSOUD: Well, gentlemen, I am just drawing attention to the facts.

JUDAH HUTCHERSON: Go ahead.

MR. MASSOUD: The issue of the political Zionists and their objectives are the establishment of a religious state in Palestine, regardless of the natural rights of the people who have inhabited that country twice as long as the English have inhabited England. But I beg to draw your sober attention to the fact that the real issue is being deliberately confused, and the European refugee and his plight -- a horse of a different color -- is cleverly used to befog the true purpose and to gain the sympathy of the unwary.

We, the Arabs, make a clear distinction between the Jew who is follower of the Hebraic faith, and the political Zionist who aims to establish a kingdom or republic on charity (deducted from American and English taxes), to arm and equip it at the expense of world Jewry, and to expand it from the Nile to the Euphrates as Hertzl advocated. The reason put forth for this chauvinistic scheme is the desire to accredit representatives and agents to the various countries that they may keep their finger on the pulse of nations, in order to safeguard the interests of Jewry. While this may sound fantastic, we have noted their manipulation in politics where they have been able to use pressure on most candidates and parties. They have committed a sin against American Jewry by dragging and injecting the Jew and his affairs into the national conventions of both political parties, into the halls of Congress, and have made Zionism and its endorsement a primary consideration in elections. They have also planted anti-Jewish sentiment in Asia and Africa when none existed before.

The so-called Jewish problem will be solved when the process of integration has been enhanced, when the Jews consider themselves and are considered by others as people different only in their devotion to their religion.

Instead of making Palestine as Jewish as England is English, according to Dr. Weismann, make the Jew in England, English, in America, American, and in Canada, Canadian. Wherever the concept of a separate race or nationality status has prevailed, this process is stultified. The average Jews and the average Arab want peace and happiness; ambitious leaders have deceived the Jew on the Palestine issue and are today creating confusion among English-speaking people.

Palestine, the land of the Philistine, has an area of 10,000 square miles, two-thirds of which is not fit for cultivation. It has at present 700,000 Jews and 1,200,000 Arabs. The death rate is 24 per thousand, and the birth rate is 53 per thousand; without the addition of a single immigrant, the country will double its population within the next 30 years. Its water facilities are insufficient for its present needs, no coal, no wood, and no mineral wealth, except in the Dead Sea deposits, which have been misappropriated by possessive people.

I respectfully respect you to look at the area that Dr. Lowdermilk proposed to irrigate after tunneling the waters of the Mediterranean through the mountains into the Dead Sea, a project as costly as the Panama Canal. It is then that you will have an inkling of the built-up caliber of such expert testimony. Appearing before the congressional committee, this expert, responding to Congressman Mundt's question, stated that the absorptive capacity of Manhattan Island could be 30,000,000 inhabitants. He based this on the food-purchasing power of a community and not productivity.

The land is holy to the Christian and Moslem as well as to the Jew. For 200 years our forefathers fertilized it with their blood, and pray God that you will not encourage any further bloodshed in the land of the Prince of Peace. Had the Crusaders succeeded then, the world would never have had a Jewish problem to solve. The people who protested against being uprooted in other places should never propose the uprooting of the Arabs from their own soil. The people who prayed for justice should not attempt to get even with the inhabitants of Europe, who committed the injustice against them, by inflicting in turn injustice on the Arab.

In addressing you as democrats, we ask you to recognize that the land belongs to those you inhabit it. Elementary political sense and democratic feeling must recognize that no people will submit to being a minority in their own land. Do you propose to force the Arabs to accept immigration against their will until they are a minority in their own land? Do you wish to uproot the Arabs by British or American arms? The intent of the Zionists has come into the open. It is not a humanitarian project but a political scheme. "Hurry, gentlemen! Hurry!" The circus barker and crier urges -- "Save the hundred thousand. Why the hundred thousand? There are three million Jews; why be callous about the rest? Just let us Zionists attain parity to rule Palestine! With due respect I wish that this august body who is obliged to look for the welfare of a mere fraction of the millions of humans who are suffering misery to include the other forty millions of God's children who are in pitiful plight.

Listening to American politicians making pronouncement, we are astounded that Anglo-Saxons, who stand for the right and protection of minorities, should disregard the rights of the majority, that taxation and immigration be forced on a voiceless peasantry who have been brought up to believe in democratic Anglo-Saxon fairness.

A few days ago, Mr. Norman Jaques, a member of the External Affairs Committee of the Canadian Parliament, declared:

"I wish to make a few remarks about a country that's very much in the news these days; and, since the question is a thorny one, I intend to follow my notes pretty closely. We read and hear a good deal about Palestine, not only in the press and on the air, but at organized public dinners and meetings. I have no brief for either Arabs and Jews, but it seems to me that the public hears only the Zionist arguments, never the Arab side of the question. As I have said, I have no brief for either side; my sole concern is to establish truth, for just as truth and freedom are indivisible, so mutual faith in the given word is the basis of friendship, individual and international. Once that faith is destroyed or even impaired, trust and friendship turn to suspicion and hate. But, instead of historic facts, the Zionists base their case on racial, cultural, and commercial superiority. These claims on behalf of a favored nation and a chosen people are upheld especially by leftists and internationalists, by the very people who denounce racism and nationalism. They also are the people who claim especially to be the world's peacemakers, but who, in the face of continued and fatal rioting in Palestine, are going out of their way to embarrass Great Britain in their effort to maintain peace by encouraging tolerance by both Arabs and Jews."

Mr. Jaques told how he sought enlightenment from the Canadian Palestine Committee and the strong and offensive manner that the director replied to him:

"I maintain that this reply by the Canadian Palestine Committee not only is prejudiced and one-sided but is not even a true statement of facts, as

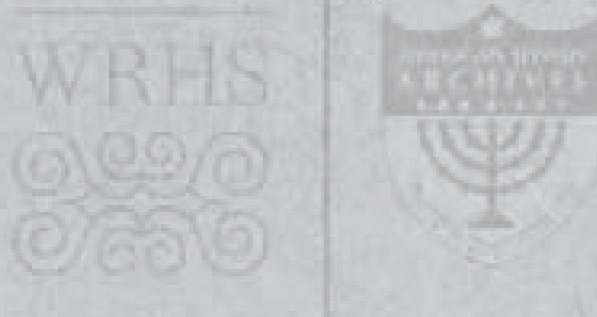
I shall show. The contemptuous and dictatorial tone adopted by this committee toward the Arab people exhibits an evident and biased partisanship which, in the end, will not advance their cause. The statement shows clearly that the United Nations Organization is to be regarded as an instrument for clubbing the small states, and of power politics."

According to these Zionists, the non-Jewish inhabitants have not been injured; they have been benefited. But it is curious that the lucky Arabs should be so blind to their own welfare that they resist the gifts and benefits which the Zionists and their agents of this Palestine Committee are so anxious to bestow, even by force if necessary. How would we Canadians appreciate a few million aliens being forced upon us, who thereupon proceed to buy up our land, with the pretense that no Canadian ever again could own the land or even work on it? Would it be primitive and guilty to blackmail if we resisted such an invasion?

Gentlemen of the committee, please do not tear down the good will built up by American and English educators during the last century. It is too precious a moral asset to dissipate.

Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Thank you.



MR. MASSOURD: I will introduce now the Rev. Summerhayes of Toronto, a beloved and highly respected chaplain of the Church of England.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You may proceed, sir.

STATEMENT OF REV. T. F. SUMMERHAYES,
Toronto.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You may be seated.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: THANK YOU.

I think I can conclude within a half hour.

To the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry in regard to the Jews, and Palestine.

Brief, submitted by Rev. T. F. Summerhayes, Toronto, Canada.

Division: I. Preface. II. Historical statement of writer's independent connection with this matter, and with members of the Church of England, in Canada, and of that Church's attitude to this problem. III. His own submissions as to some religious, ethical, historical, and political phases of the matters in sections 1 and 3 of this honorable Committee's Terms of Reference; including views of some leading Anglicans in Central Canada as to same. Replies to some Zionist submissions made to this honorable Committee, or to us in Canada, are made in the course of section III.

The writer will, of course, be glad to furnish proof of several direct statements made herein, and to answer questions.

I. Preface.

(1) The writer is a Social Service Chaplain of the Church of England in Canada, the similar communion to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, holding the license of the Archbishop of Toronto. He was for 25 years a member of the Diocesan Council for Social Service, and for several years secretary thereof. In this brief, however, he represents nobody but himself. Certain official, or semi-official, utterances of that Church are quoted as such, explicitly.

II. Historical Statement of Developments in Canada.

(2) Just two years ago, the writer received in the mail, and also read in the press, items of so-called argument, news, etc., in support of the Zionist "Back to Palestine" movement. Knowing, from a long study of the Palestine problem, that (a) certain material facts were omitted from this Jewish propaganda, and (b) that there were valid arguments in reply to some of it, both of which he felt our clergy and other church leaders should know, he prepared and circulated to the clergy and Bishops and other leaders in our Church in Eastern Canada a two-page circular memo; which he respectfully asks permission to read, especially as it contains some of his present submissions.

The Zionist "Back to Palestine" movement.

Possible Jewish-Arab-British civil war.

MR. CHAM: That is included in your statement, sir?

REVEREND SUMMERHAYES: Yes, sir. I am quoting the circular in full.

A statement prepared for the information of Anglican Clergy and others, by Rev. T. F. Summerhayes, Toronto, January 25, 1944.

This movement must not be confused with that against "Anti-Semitism," which, naturally, appeals to Christians. "Zionism" seeks unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine. It is being actively propagated at present in Toronto and other parts of Canada, beginning in Montreal.

The writer, who has followed this matter for a number of years, has made a careful study of the recent Zionist arguments and propaganda, and is clearly of the opinion that their claims are unfounded, and their course directly and avowedly leading to civil war in Palestine; and, further, that the matter is in reality one of policy only for the British Government, as the mandatory power from the League of Nations--perhaps also now for the United States as an allied nation.

The Zionist Claim is twofold:

(1) That the Balfour Declaration set aside Palestine as the home of the Jewish people, and

(2) That the White Paper of 1939, on which the British Government is now acting and will act in March-April this year, is a breach thereof; and that it is so stated by Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Amery.

The answer is:

(1) (a) The British Government did not so offer; and
(b) The Zionists always leave out the vital qualifications therein;

(2) The White Paper is not a breach thereof, nor have Mr. Churchill or Mr. Amery on the Zionists' own quotations ever said it was; though other quotations imply that he did. Churchill and Amery are in the Cabinet now which is giving effect to that White Paper.

MR. CRUM: May I interrupt?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. CRUM: It is not clear to me what the antecedents of the pronoun "he" is. Does that refer to Mr. Churchill or Mr. Amery?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Mr. Churchill.

MR. CRUM: I see.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: The Balfour Declaration of November, 1917, which was approved by the Cabinet, and of which a verbatim copy is now before the writer, offered the Jews (Zionists) through Lord Rothschild "a" home in Palestine, not "the" or "their". There were then in Palestine nearly a million Arabs, alien in race and religion (Jerusalem is a sacred city to Arabs also, who are mostly Moslems). The Balfour Declaration says: ". . . It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine." The Arabs became alarmed at the rapid increase in Jewish immigration, which threatened them with becoming subject to an alien majority; hence the riots and small wars of 1936-38, and the Peel Royal Commission, and the White Paper. This White Paper limits Jewish immigration, in addition to 25,000 refugees) to a total of over 600,000, by March 31, 1944, when immigration is to cease. The White Paper also provides for Palestine becoming an autonomous state in another five years by cooperation between Jews and Arabs.

Both sides rejected the White Paper, but the Arabs have since acquiesced. The Jews, on the other hand, have firmly resisted it; are seeking unlimited immigration; are arming themselves to secure entry by force (inviting reprisals by Arabs), and thus are threatening an explosion in the whole Arab and Moslem world of Palestine, Syria, the Lebanon, India, Egypt, Africa; the very center of allied military security in the vital Middle East (and this in spite of all the allies have done and are doing for the Jews); are here in Toronto and elsewhere threatening civil war there; and are seeking Christian support by misleading propaganda.

"The recent trial of two Jews who were found guilty of buying arms and ammunition from two British soldiers (in Palestine) revealed the presence of a powerful gun-running organization in a position to obtain forged passes, waybills, and so on, and having knowledge of military control posts between Egypt and Palestine--an organization, the prosecution alleged, closely connected with official Zionist bodies." (From a special article in The Times (London), Weekly Edition, December 15, 1943, from their Special Correspondent lately in Jerusalem, entitled, "The Palestine outlook; dangers of violence between Arabs and Jews.")

Mr. Louis Lipsky, member of the World Zionist Executive, said to a meeting in the Victory Theatre, Toronto, on January 9, 1944, "Suppression of the Jews in Palestine will mean civil war . . . They would be unworthy of respect unless they were willing to fight to protect their homeland." (Globe and Star reports.) It must be remembered that whereas the Jews have not had a national home in Palestine since the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans in A.D. 70, the Arabs have been in Palestine for the last 1,300 years; that, as the Times correspondent points out, Palestine is at least as much their home as the Jews; and that they are firmly, even obstinately, determined not to be swamped there by a Jewish majority such as the Zionists are now seeking.

The writer would be glad to furnish any further information as and when required.



Since the above was written, The Times, Weekly Edition of December 22nd, has arrived, reporting a debate in the British House of Commons on general foreign policy, during which Sir. R. Clyn, Unionist, is reported as saying: 'very dangerous situation is arising south of the Lebanon. Every Arab is asking whether Britain is going back on her word. Did the White Paper still represent British policy? If we went back on that policy the repercussions would be felt all through the Arab countries. We were the greatest Moslem power in the world.'

Mr. Eden did not refer to Palestine in his reply.

Expressions of opinions of some of our clergy and other leaders will be quoted below. Almost without exception they abstained from lending support to the Zionist movement.

MR. CRUM: By "our" whom do you mean?

REV. SUMNERHAYES: The Church of England in Canada.

MR. CRUM: That is in Canada?

REV. SUMNERHAYES: Yes.

(3) (a) The Council for Social Service of the Church of England in Canada (the similar communion to the Protestant Episcopal Church in U.S.) had been invited to support this Zionist movement. On February 16, 1944, the Executive of the Council met. The following is the result, as recorded in the Minutes, the copy thereof from which I am reading have been furnished me by their Secretary.

"Zionist Movement, Palestine and the White Paper.

"The General Secretary reported that one Bishop and several clergy had asked for advice in this matter, since there was considerable propaganda to secure Christian influence in Canada to induce the British Government to abrogate the White Paper of 1939. The General Secretary stated that he had refused to participate in any such movement at this time, since (a) so far as we were informed at present, we could not estimate the balance of right and wrong as between the Arab and Jewish sides of the question; and (b) he considered it unwise for inexperienced church (or other) opinion to advise the British Government in any such matter at this distance.

"He reported correspondence to a similar effect from the Church of England in Britain, and the British Council of Churches.

"A full discussion ensued.

"It was moved by the Primate (Archbishop Owen), seconded by the Bishop of Ontario:--

"That this Executive Committee endorse the stand taken by the General Secretary." Carried.

"Dr. Judd (the General Secretary) noted that the Council, acting under resolutions from the annual meeting, was still active against Anti-Semitism in Canada, etc., was still interested in the whole problem of refugees from Nazi persecution, etc., and was still supporting the work of the Canadian Conference of Christians and Jews."

I am authorized by the General Secretary to say that the foregoing policy and action were reported to the annual meeting of our Church's Council for Social Service, and received their general approval.

(b) There is also the Christian Social Service Council, an incorporated body representing the social service departments of all the non-Roman Churches. It is now the Social Service Department of the Canadian Council of Churches. (I was formerly

the Acting General Secretary of it.) It having been stated in the press that this body also was behind the Zionist movement, the present General Secretary, Rev. Dr. W. J. Gallagher, wrote then: "To keep the record straight, permit me to state that this Council has not expressed itself as for or against the policy of this British White Paper."

(c) The Attitude of these two bodies was generally, though not exclusively, followed by our church, clergy and laity, throughout Canada.

(d) Some became misled by the flood of propaganda which followed, containing material misstatements, suppression of vital facts, etc.; and I wrote several letters to the press correcting some of the most important. So did Professor Prince, of the Department of History in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, who had fought in the last war in the Near East, and after the war was a junior administrator of the British Military Administration in Palestine.

May I say, Mr. Chairman, when you read out the name of Professor Prince, that owing to the short notice that we had, we had to come here largely by air, and Prof. Prince's doctor advised him not to attempt to come under those travel conditions.

All the foregoing was done by the writer without any connection with, still less impulse from, any Arab, but simply from a sense of duty and public service. It brought to my notice, however, several Arabs in Canada and the United States.

III. Submissions.

(4) It is the opinion of the writer, which is shared by many of the leaders in our Church to whom he has spoken, and it is now submitted to this honorable Committee, with all respect, that whatever the British Government has actually promised the Jews as to Palestine should be granted them; as in honor bound; and that what that Government has promised the Arabs should equally, as in honor bound, be secured to them. The mass immigration of Jews into Palestine in the future would, it is submitted, greatly prejudice the civil and religious rights of the then existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.

(5) It is submitted that the great outnumbering of the latter by the former is so obviously prejudicial to the latter, politically, religiously, and socially, that it needs no argument.

It is further submitted that the extensive purchases of land by the Jews, with restraint on non-Jewish alienation, and the clause in the Jewish Agency documents, requiring that only the Jewish labor be employed on Jewish-occupied land, leads to every narrowing employment for Arab laborers (though the writer is no economist on this subject). And it is further submitted that, in view of the claims, pressure and intimidation of Jews here, and the terrorism now rampant there, the position of Christian Arabs in Palestine (said to number over 100,000) is likely to be gravely prejudiced; as to which this honorable Committee is now respectfully asked to make inquiry.

(6) The writer submits, in support of his statement in the Circular Memo quoted in paragraph 2, Part II, above, that unlimited immigration of Jews into Palestine, if resisted by the Arabs as firmly as they have declared they would (frequently and recently) threatens an explosion in the whole Middle East, the following words spoken to the Empire Club, Toronto, 9 November, 1945, by Sir Frederick Puckle, adviser on Indian Affairs, to the British Embassy in Washington, and for many years a resident of India.

"Between the shores of the Mediterranean, where Asia begins, and the East Indies, there are about 300,000,000 Moslems. Islam takes no account of political boundaries. A stone flung into the pool at Beyrout sends a wave washing up against the quays in Surabaya; and explosion in Palestine shakes the mosques in Delhi.

"With this in mind, we must put a large danger sign on any situation in Moslem lands which may result in a clash between East and West, which can be represented as Christian versus Moslem. There are more than enough of these situations at this moment.

"There are Syria and Lebanon, where young nationalism is coming up against a France more than usually sensitive over questions of prestige and her position as a world power.

"There is Palestine. The Moslem world is watching Palestine as a cat watches a mouse. It is not a matter of being pro-Arab, but a plain statement of fact that Palestine is a holy land for Moslems, almost as much as it is for Jews or Christians. The coercion of Arabs by any Christian power for the benefit of Jews will have repercussions in Asia which may be very unpleasant.

"Would Convulse Middle East.

"The prospect is little brighter if western powers are to decide to wash their hands of Jew and Arab alike and leave them to settle the matter themselves. The resultant commotion would convulse the Middle East and India.

"There is the question of the future control of the Suez Canal, one of the great international highways! This is not yet emergent, but with it is wrapped up the delicate problems of Britain's position in Egypt.

"There is oil, about which there is little one can say except that it is a highly combustible substance, and with Britain, the United States, Russia, wanting to use it, and Iran, Iraq and Saudi Arabia owning it, a Christian-Moslem color is assured for any trouble that may arise. The formation of an Arab league or confederacy deserved to attract more notice than it did. It is not only a welcome sign of increasing political maturity. It is also a plain warning to trespassers."

(7) It is submitted that such an explosion would still jeopardize the British and allied military position; and also the maritime, economic, commercial, colonial, and indeed the whole British--and possible American--position in the Middle East, Orient and Attipodes.

(8) With regard to the application made (as per press reports) to this honorable Committee by the Zionist Council "to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth," it is submitted (and nearly everyone with whom the writer has talked feels the same):

(a) That this goes far beyond what the Balfour Declaration promised;

(b) That it also goes far beyond what the Jews themselves claimed in earlier days;

(c) That it is in clear violation of the terms of the League of Nations mandate that the mandated territories should be administered in harmony with the wishes of the inhabitants (a principle, it is believed, of the late President Woodrow Wilson); and which principle has also more than once been declared to be the present principle of the allied powers; and

(d) That the demand to take away one unoffending people's country from them, and give it to another, can only be characterized as "outrageous."

(9) If, however, this is to be done, it is submitted that this honorable Committee should inquire and report what and whose military force will (a) expel the Arabs; and (b) maintain law and order in Palestine when chiefly occupied by the Jews. Will Canadians be asked to share? If they are, it will then become the duty of the Church to examine into the moral justification for this use of force, and to advise our members whether their participation therein, or even consent thereto, is Christian and justifiable.

(10) It is further submitted that this honorable Committee, in pursuance of paragraph 2 of its terms of reference, should also inquire and report what other countries in Europe, or upon this continent, will receive any large number of Jews, willingly or unwillingly. (This would be in addition to the small numbers of refugees recently admitted into Canada, and now being admitted into the United States under President Truman's recent directive).

I want to thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and gentlemen, for having given me this opportunity and for having listened to me.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: May I ask, how long have you been in Canada?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Fifty-seven years.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: How long?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Fifty-seven years.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Fifty-seven years. I understand that you were born in England.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Someone said that you were in school in Westminster; is that right?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: That is right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That is the school which has provided at least two members of the English judiciary today.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Of this commission?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: No, of the English judiciary.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Oh, yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Lord Queen and Mr. Justice Howard, it may interest you to know.

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Thank you very much. I think I had heard of Lord Justice Queen but I didn't know the other.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You have taken an interest in this Arab question for a long time, have you?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Yes, sir; quite a few years.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: One other thing that I would like to ask you about. It has nothing to do with our inquiry. Purely as a matter of interest.

You said you flew part of the way?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: How did you get, in fact, from Toronto here? Did you fly all the way?

REV. SUMMERHAYES: No. Owing to the short notice and reservations being so scarce, though I tried to fly all the way, I had to take the train from Toronto to Montreal, and then we fly from Montreal to New York and come on by train from New York here, and

you can readily imagine that a man not in very strong health, like Professor Prince, could not undertake that.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I have noticed how much more air-minded the people on this side are as compared to what I will call the Old Country.

REV. SUMNERHAYES: I am glad to hear that because if it is ever my privilege to go back there I shall have to try it.

MR. CRUM: May I ask a question?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Yes.

MR. CRUM: I notice in the course of your statement that there are references to force perhaps being exerted by the Arabs or perhaps by the Jews.

REV. SUMNERHAYES: Yes, sir.

MR. CRUM: But the statement which struck me most strongly and I put it to you, that it should be the test of this Committee, that whatever the British Government has actually promised the Jews on Palestine should be granted them as in honor bound, and that what the Government has promised the Arabs should equally as in honor bound should be secured them.

REV. SUMNERHAYES: Yes.

MR. CRUM: So there won't be any false impression, you are not suggesting that this Committee should be swayed by a suggestion of force from either side; is that correct?

REV. SUMNERHAYES: Absolutely not, except that it is a contingency that has to be taken into account. I assume, as a matter of course, sir, that this Committee is examining the whole question on its merits.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The next witnesses are the representatives of the Institute of Arab-American Affairs. They were scheduled for 2 o'clock. We are a little late, but we will hear them.

Dr. William Becking. Is he present? (No response.) And Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin. (No response.) My secretary gave us this statement as those who were to appear.

In making up the calendar the names of those who have been called were given a place. Then there were others who asked, if time permitted, that they be given an opportunity to be heard, and we said we would give them time, ten or fifteen minutes.

One of them was the American Jewish Trade Union. I don't know whether they have a representative here or not. We couldn't be sure we could give them time because we didn't know how it would work out. If they have a representative here who wants to be heard briefly, we will now hear them. (No response.)

I assume that the uncertainty of their having an opportunity to be heard may have caused them to decide to submit a written memorandum. A good many are making their presentations by written memorandum.

We have already heard the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. We heard them earlier.

Then there was a gentleman, the only free-footed man we have had yet, claiming to represent no institution. He asked me if we could hear him. I told him we couldn't be certain and that he shouldn't consider himself likely to be heard. But I did say that if we could hear him for a few minutes, that we would.

First I would like to know a little more about what he wants to speak on. Is there a gentleman here by the name of Mr. Kohenn?

MR. KOHENN: Yes, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would like to know what you want to talk about.

MR. KOHENN: Well sir, I have a few thoughts that I would like to present.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: What is the nature of it? Is it on the atomic bomb, or what? Is it on the peace of the world or universal friendship, or what?

MR. KOHENN: No, sir. On the consideration of an idea or two on the solution of the Palestinian problem.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You do not represent any organization, you are not affiliated with anybody?

MR. KOHENN: No, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The only objection I have is that a great many of these earnest souls we have heard from in the past will feel slighted if you appear. However, if the committee, since you are here, wants to hear from you for ten or fifteen minutes, I have no objection. What do you say?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I think, Mr. Chairman, as long as he is here, and if we have the time, we ought to hear him; we should hear everyone as far as possible.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Ten minutes, Mr. Chairman.

Judge Hutcheson: One other thing. If the Arab-American gentlemen are here, they have the right to appear because we promised them they could have some time. Mr. Tulin says that Dr. Weibuhr, who was to appear last week, is here, and he might appear briefly.

I don't know. Are you a brief talker, sir?

MR. KOHENN: I have five minutes.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are brief.

We will hear this gentleman, who seems to be an unknown, and see what he has to say.

MR. KOHENN: I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are to speak for not over fifteen minutes.

MR. KOHENN: Yes, sir.

STATEMENT OF JULES J. KOHENN

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: First, may we have your name?

MR. KOHENN: My name is Jules J. Kohen.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: What is your occupation, sir, and place of residence?

MR. KOHENN: My home is in New York City. My occupation now is that of a job-seeker. I left the service a week ago.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are an ex-soldier?

MR. KOHENN: Yes, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are an ex-soldier and you are a job-seeker and you have some ideas to present. Go ahead.

MR. KOHENN: Gentlemen: Reading the newspaper accounts of your hearings of this past week, I have become increasingly disappointed at the failure to develop what is to me the most obvious solution of the Palestine problem. Several times I thought that one of our more eminent Jews would hit upon this solution, but that did not happen. I have therefore prepared this statement and come here at my own expense to present it to this body. I do not represent any Jewish agency or organization, and I have not discussed this proposal with any of the leaders of world Jewry. In fact, I may even be criticized by them for presenting this plan without giving them sufficient advance notice to prepare some sort of comment. I may even be acting like a sort of bull in the china shop. I am but one American Jew whose interest in Jewish affairs has been recently awakened, who believes he can think out a problem as well as the next man, and who believes he has struck a workable solution to this one.

The Palestine problem cannot and should not be considered separate and apart from the larger problems of world Jewry. Rather, we must conceive of it as being one phase of the perpetual adjustments the Jew has to make to changing conditions the world over, of the over-all problem of relations between the Jew and the rest of the world. Leaving aside the question of whether being a Jew is a matter of race or a matter of religion, we must admit that for over two thousand years, to be born a Jew has meant to be singled out by society in general for some special kind of treatment under a "most disfavored nation" clause in the unwritten code of interracial relationships. In a spirit of self-preservation, the Jew has over the past few decades attempted to organize himself the world over so that the weight of numbers would lend force to the voices of his spokesmen. With a bow of thanks in the direction of the Divine Being, it may be averred that the efforts met with some success, for there exist today a number of world Jewish organizations which collectively, albeit with some duplication of effort and differences of viewpoint, represent the virtually unanimous opinions of world Jewry. In this setup, the pattern followed has been the one prevalent the world over between the two World Wars and which took the form of the loosely knit League of Nations. Consequently, treatment of the Jew by the world at large has been of the same order of high-sounding phrases expressive of noble sentiments, empty promises, and often more restrictions and negative action.

With an even deeper bow of thanks in the direction of the Divine Being, we may safely aver that the world seems to have progressed to the next higher plane of organization to-wit, a United Nations Organization with some real power and force. It is therefore time for the Jew to assert his God-given right to treat with his fellow-men on this new higher level. In order to do so, he must organize himself, even as the world is doing, on a world-wide and united scale and demand that he be not interfered with in working out his own problems, including that of Palestine. To up it another way, the world having proven itself completely incapable of solving the Jew's problems, it is high time that he was given the opportunity to solve them himself.

Fortunately, there exists today a Jewish agency to which we can turn for the accomplishment of this dual function, to wit, unification of world Jewry under a single banner and providing unquestionably authoritative direction in the management of Jewish

affairs. I refer to the World Jewish Congress. Here is an organization world-wide in scope, representative of virtually every organized Jewish community the world over, thoroughly familiar with all phases of all of our problems, and recognized in many quarters as the official and authoritative spokesman for the Jews wherever they may be. For example, recently it consulted successfully with the Chinese Government on the problems of the Jews in Shanghai. I can see no good reason why the problem of Palestine should not be turned over to the World Jewish Congress to be handled in much the same fashion by consultation with the Arabs of Palestine and in true relationship to the problems of world Jewry as a whole. Let us see how this plan would be effectuated.

1. All world-wide Jewish organizations, including the Jewish Agency for Palestine, would merge themselves into the World Jewish Congress. The latter would revise its organizational setup to include the following departments, some of which are already present:

- a. Relief and Rehabilitation.
- b. History and Research.
- c. Education, Culture, and Religious Affairs.
- d. Press and Publicity.
- e. International Relations.
- f. Delegate to the United Nations Organization.
- g. Fund Appeal.

Of course, there would be the usual officers elected by the delegates, in turn elected and sent to the usual sessions by the subordinate and similarly organized congresses in the various Jewish communities throughout the world. Organizational changes and details can be worked out quite readily.

2. This having been accomplished, the World Jewish Congress would then notify the United Nations Organization that it was ready to do the following:

- a. Have its delegation to the U.N.O. Assembly seated.
- b. Relieve Great Britain and/or any other country of its duties and responsibilities in Palestine under the old League of Nations Mandate or any other directive.
- c. Accept from the U.N.O., jointly with the Arab countries, the responsibility for a satisfactory settlement of the Palestine question.
- d. Formulate policies and handle all other problems of world Jewry on the international level.
- e. Give direction and assistance to the several subordinate congresses throughout the world.

3. In the interim, until this plan can be carried out, the committee should start the ball rolling by taking the following steps:

- a. Approve this plan in principle so that the World Jewish Congress may proceed without delay to necessary mergers, reorganization, and application for membership in U.N.O.
- b. Recommend that the British turn over their functions in Palestine to the World Jewish Congress (Jewish Agency for Palestine included) and democratically chosen representatives of the Arab states.
- c. Make it clear to all concerned that the responsibility for settlement of the Palestine problem rests with Jew and Arab alike, rather than with Great Britain, the United States, or any other country.
- d. Make it clear to all concerned that there is to be no restriction of immigration of any kind into Palestine until Jew and Arab have arrived at an agreement.

Summarizing the merits of this plan, I reiterate, that for over two thousand years the world has shown itself incapable of solving the problems which have assailed the Jews. It is therefore high time he were permitted to do so himself. It would put an end, once and for all, to the ridiculous charge that there exists a world-wide secret

Jewish organization aimed at dominating the world for one delegation in U.N.O., representing an organization which functions publicly, is not likely to dominate the other fifty-one member nations. It would place responsibility for solving the Palestine question in the hands of those most concerned -- the Jews and the Arabs -- and would make them answerable to the U.N.O. for such solution.

Anticipating the criticism that I am in effect proposing a double allegiance on the part of every Jew, to native country and to world Jewry, I admit that to be true and point out that the world has ever permitted the Jew to forget the latter while often making it difficult for him to maintain the former. The Bible describes the Jewish nation as being God's chosen people. This unhappy people's history tends to support the thesis that the Divine Being did in fact elect it to lead the world, by dint of blood, sweat, and tears, to peace and the happiness to be found in peace. First to declare the supremacy of the Lord; first to fight for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; first to organize a national life based on education, health, law, morality, ethics, and religion; first to expound the innate dignity and divinity of man; first to be harried, pursued, beaten, and slaughtered in incredibly inhuman fashion; first to be actually scattered to the four corners of the earth; first to be endowed with world citizenship by the peoples of all the nations which in fact reject the Jew; this great people may well pattern a brighter future for itself and the world if but given the opportunity to do so. Respectfully submitted.

Thank you for listening, gentlemen.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I have no questions.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You have given a good deal of thought to this matter, have you?

MR. KOHENN: Yes, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I understand your solution to be really that Arabs and Jews settle this between themselves?

MR. KOHENN: Under the watchful eye of the United Nations Organization.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You say United Nations Organization, which, at the moment at least, hasn't any force to keep the peace. You appreciate that?

MR. KOHENN: I do, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You said that the British forces should withdraw from the various frontiers and leave the matter open to Arabs and Jews.

MR. KOHENN: If you please, sir --

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Didn't you?

MR. KOHENN: I have yet to see a plan, sir, of any kind which could be put into effect overnight.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I only give you this as a thought, and I appreciate that you have devoted much time to the subject: If that were done now, in all probability there would be bloodshed, wouldn't there?

MR. KOHENN: Do you mean, sir, that the Arabs would attack the Jews?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't know by which the attack would be.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Or vice versa.

MR. KOHENN: Or vice versa.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I can only tell you that we have been led to believe by a number of people on both sides that they can get no further by discussion between each other, the two sides, and the probability then is trouble, isn't it?

MR. KOHENN: Sir, there is trouble now, anyhow.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Very well.

MR. KOHENN: To my knowledge, or at least in the meager reading I have done, don't claim to be an expert on this problem, from the meager reading I have done I know of no time when actual protracted negotiations, earnest negotiations, were undertaken by both Arab and Jew, without the influence of a third party, in order to solve this problem. It is quite possible that I am wrong there.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: We were told by someone the other day that his only complaint against the British Government was that it had tried to conciliate both sides. That was the only complaint.

MR. KOHENN: That is his complaint.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes; not yours, I take it.

MR. KOHENN: It would help. If the British Government were attempting both sides, it would help.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not quite sure what it is you desire. Is it that all the Jews on one side are to be brought in to negotiate and does not follow on the other side that all the Arabs throughout the world will come in?

MR. KOHENN: No, sir, I did not say all the Jews of the world were to negotiate. What I say is this, that in the same way that the World Jewish Congress intercedes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: With whom are you going to negotiate, the Arab League?

MR. KOHENN: With the democratically chosen representatives of the Arab people. If that is the Arab League, then with the Arab League. If it is not, then with whomever else it might be.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: One way I feel sure you could help us would be if you would tell us who were the democratically chosen people on the Jewish side or the democratically chosen people on the Arab side.

MR. KOHENN: Well, sir, I am not an expert on Palestine. Were I in your place, perhaps, sir, I could answer that question.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: We will try to find that out. Thank you very much.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Mr. Reinhold Niebuhr.

STATEMENT OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR, MEMBER
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, CHRISTIAN COUNCIL
ON PALESTINE.

MR. NIEBUHR: Mr. Chairman, I am a member of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council on Palestine, for which I think you have already had a witness. I have only a brief statement to make.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You may proceed.

MR. NIEBUHR: I belong to a Christian group for which, by the way, Mr. Chairman, I think there is an English counterpart under the chairmanship of Sir Winston Deed.

I belong to a Christian group in this country who believe that the Jews have a right to a homeland. They are a nation, scattered among the nations of the world. They have no place where they are not exposed to the perils of minority status, and where they can be what they are without anyone's "by your leave."

The fact that some Jews and some Christians deny the ethnic right of the Jews does not change the fact testified to by history, it seems to me, particularly recently, that they are persecuted or tend to be as a peculiar people and that their peculiarity consists of their diverging from the dominant type. This is their primary crime. Ethnically and religiously peculiar--doubly divergent from the dominant type.

The sickness of Europe, its economic bankruptcy and political confusion will continue to expose the Jews to great insecurity. Security under the conditions of cultural and ethnic pluralism, is the luxury of a strong democratic society. Insofar as we cannot guarantee the economic stability of our American democratic society, we cannot even guarantee the Jews complete security here. Anti-Semitism flourishes particularly in periods of economic instability.

Certainly, the logical place for a homeland for the Jews is Palestine, particularly because so great an investment of lives and treasure has already been made there. There is no way of finding a perfectly just solution for the conflict of rights and priorities between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine. There is, in fact, no perfectly just solution of any political problem. The fact, however, that the Arabs have a vast hinterland in the Middle East, and the fact that the Jews have nowhere to go, establish the relative justice of their claims and of their cause.

It is not possible to achieve a solution of this problem which will appeal to the Arabs as just in the present instance. But a solution ought not to be impossible which will ultimately appeal to them as just. Inasmuch as a solution would require the economic development of the Middle Eastern world under the United Nations Organization's auspices, it is regrettable that the original good feeling between Arabs and Jews has been dissipated in recent years. It cannot be immediately restored. A bi-national Palestinian state is hardly a solution of the problem, for a bi-national state would lead to conflict. Arab sovereignty over a portion of debated territory must undoubtedly be sacrificed for the sake of establishing a world homeland.

Perhaps ex-President Hoover's idea that there should be a large scheme of resettlement in Iraq for the Arabs might be a way out.

I think the policy underlying the appointment of this Joint Committee ought to be welcomed and not criticized, as it has been in some quarters, because it is important that this whole question become a matter of common policy between Britain and America and of the U. N. O. The animus against Britain which has developed on this is regrettable though understandable. This is one of the instances where our economic power and Britain's political power tend to produce friction. If America assumes political responsibilities commensurate with its power and if all economic and political policies are arrived at more mutually, these frictions will be mitigated.

Britain, in dealing with this problem, alone, is under embarrassment not only because of rising Arab nationalism in the Middle East but because of Moslem super-nationalism in the Middle East but because of Moslem super-nationalism running from the Middle East to the Far East and affecting imperial policy in such a way that a solution for a Palestinian problem complicates the solution of a problem in India.

These embarrassments can be avoided, or perhaps transcended, only as such policies be made matters of mutual consideration by all nations involved.

Britain seems anxious to make this question one of common concern, and our nation should be equally ready to assume whatever responsibilities are necessary to arrive at an over-all solution of the Palestinian question within and for an ever-more over-all stabilization of the Middle Eastern problem.

Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That certainly was brief and comprehensive. I would like to ask you a question, if I may. I am so much gratified at that Christian point of view. You feel, evidently, like I do. I call myself a Christian, a rather poor one, but I call myself a Christian, and have all my life.

The only feature of the proceedings that has disturbed me has been the apparent unwillingness of certain parties to see the other person's point of view, and their apparent willingness to take offense at the fact that the other person might differ with them. That seems to bring forth the fact that there is a problem, that it is a problem which has aroused differences which are not to be easily accepted as pointing to this or that only as the particular devil in the case. Therefore, I kind of trust you; I feel that you wouldn't take me down the road and cut my throat, so to speak. That is the way I feel.

You have said that the United States and Great Britain ought to work this out together. Your predecessor on the witness stand said that we should, and that we should do it by force of arms to the extent necessary to do it. I think he made an unfortunate reference, a reference which I am sure he didn't mean.

When we finally get down to it, isn't this it: Britain, of course, is a trustee, it doesn't own Palestine. We don't own Palestine. Instead of the United States and Britain settling the matter, isn't it a matter for the United Nations? Isn't it for the United Nations rather than for the United States and Great Britain to determine the future of that country?

MR. NISBURN: I would agree with that.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Yes.

MR. NISBURN: But in the immediate instance, of course, the United Nations Organization is just being born.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Whatever we may be able to do in the interim, isn't the long-run policy to be made by the United Nations, or are you proposing that Great Britain and the

United States handle this thing and not refer it to the United Nations Organization?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, I would agree that ultimately this ought to be United Nations policy. I don't think that it would be any different from many other international problems. Problems all over the world will become more soluble as the become more mutually understood.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Yes. Our two countries, if they agree, will try to implement it, then, through some sort of trusteeship under the United Nations, that is about what you think, is it?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It is this, I take it, that it is our duty to report to our respective governments, who will consider that which we report. They may think our report useful or may not, but in any event, in all human probability, they will bear in mind the terms of this committee in reporting when they put the matter before the United Nations Organization.

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes; although you might have to have an interim policy.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes.

MR. NIEBUHR: I have welcomed this commission, because I have spoken on this question for years, and have always said that I was sorry there hadn't been more common counsel between the two nations. American Jewry is perhaps the most powerful in the world today. There has been a friction developing between our nations that seems to me to be very unfortunate.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You do not share the view, I take it, as I see it in some of the papers, of those who have put resolutions through Congress, or would like to, that the committee is a useless thing, and that the only thing it was appointed to do was to do what it was told to do by the Congress?

MR. NIEBUHR: I do not share that view. I have a strong conviction in the opposite direction.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It seems to me--I don't know whether or not I am right--it seems to me that there are at least three sound reasons for joint cooperation. The first is that world opinion at least might be helped by two nations considering the matter rather than one.

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That is Self-evident. Then the United States of America, as you say, has the biggest Jewish population of any state in the world. That is the second reason for her interest. And I suppose, too, the United States has interests in the East. Their interests are limited merely to this question.

Those are three reasons at least for cooperation between the two nations, aren't they?

MR. NIEBUHR: I think so.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I have nothing else.

MR. AYE^{ED} SLOTT: Mr. Niebuhr, I take it that the solution that you envisage, however arrived at, by whatever prospect of negotiations, would involve a numerical superiority of the Jews in Palestine?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes, Sir.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Did you hear Mr. Notestein this afternoon?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, sir.

DR. AYDELOTTE: He made a study of population problems in Palestine. The upshot of his conclusions is that it is practically impossible to get a Jewish majority in Palestine and keep it until you move out some of the Arabs. The Arabs increase twice as fast as the Jews.

MR. NIEBUHR: If that is true, why, then, stop your immigration for fear of establishing a Jewish majority?

DR. AYDELOTTE: There is no reason. You would be inclined to take Herbert Hoover's solution that we move some of the Arabs across the Jordan, would you?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes. Not necessarily forcible removal. I would say that the Arabs ought to have a quid pro quo, partly through an economic development of the Arab world--soil conservation. I don't say that is an easy thing and I don't claim to be an expert, but I think that there ought to be a solution, though it may not appeal to the Arabs as being immediately just. I don't know of a way of solving this problem without the loss of some sovereignty in some part of Palestine. To have a bi-national state with just one of the parties entering having its own hinterland, makes it something less than a bilateral state, and I don't think that would work out without friction. So I am assuming that it is possible to give a long-run quid pro quo for the Arabs but not a short one.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Really by the investment of capital in Arab lands outside of Palestine?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

MR. BUXTON: Mr. Chairman, I should like to have access to Sir John Singleton's source of information. In questioning the witness he said, when the United States and England turn this matter over to the U. N. O. Do you mean "if," Sir John? "When" is pretty definite.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I was presupposing what might happen, and I imagine that sometime, the League of Nations having gone, that the United Nations Organization will consider all these matters, and that which I presupposed was the examination of this matter by the United Nations Organization, and no more than that.

MR. BUXTON: I take it that you mean when and if they should.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I assume they will consider this matter sometime.

MR. CROSSMAN: Mr. Chairman, May I ask a question?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Mr. Crossman.

MR. CROSSMAN: Mr. Niebuhr, I want to ask a question about the program of your committee. I think the third point in your program was greater facilities for immigration into the U. S. A.

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes, sir.

MR. CROSSMAN: Do you feel it would make the task of conciliation, the sort of suggestion which you suggest, do you think it would make the task of avoiding war, making the conciliation possible in the Middle East far easier, if the Western Powers should show some willingness to take on part of the refugee problem?

MR. NIEBUHR: I am glad you raised that question. I feel strongly that is the case. I think we are in a morally weak position. I think the President's recent statement helps.

but up to this point we have been in a weak position in the Arab world where they could say, "You are trying to push off a problem, that you are not willing to consider in your world, on us."

MR. CROSSMAN: Yes.

MR. NIEBUHR: Assume greater responsibility than in the past.

MR. CROSSMAN: Would you also agree that the problem of solving the refugee problem of Europe is a distinct problem from the problem of a Jewish national home in Palestine?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes. It is a different problem, and they impinge but they are not the same problem.

MR. CROSSMAN: I want to ask you a question which perhaps has its foundation in the book, "Moral Man and Moral Society." That book really impresses me because of a certain basic theory in it of the innate selfishness of an organization as such and the danger of the organization becoming oppressive. Do you feel that, in your study of Zionism, any of the dangers pointed to in that book are apparent in any way and manifested in the movement or not?

MR. NIEBUHR: That is good question, Mr. Crossman. I would approach it this way. I regard every group, as you say, as selfish. I think there is a difference in the degree to which a group sets its own purposes under some general or more universal scheme. I disagree with my Christian and Jewish friends who take an individualistic, liberalistic attitude and say Jewish nationalism is egotistic. This seems to me to be very unrealistic an approach. That is, a group has as much right to live as an individual has. Through its survival impulse, perhaps it is morally neutral, but it gets to be selfish. The will to power develops out of the survival impulse, but I don't think that a group that is established can very well say to a culture which lives in a very precarious position, that is a nation without a base, it is very difficult to say to them, "It is a selfish thing for you to want to be established."

MR. CROSSMAN: Your view would be to go ahead on the establishment of the Jewish home and then the mandatory power must see to it that they do not exceed their powers and rights over and against the other group of the state?

MR. NIEBUHR: That is right. I would make one criticism, I think, of some of the propaganda and the work that the Jews have begun. They have very frequently insisted that to give them justice in Palestine would not infringe upon Arab justice. I can see why they say that, because the introduction of a democratic technical society has produced benefits, and they have rightly emphasized that point. But I think they should be realistic and say, "Even if you give economic benefits to the Arab world, and you subtract political inheritance from it, that that is, at least, say, from their perspective, unjust."

MR. CROSSMAN: That is a subject of injustice if not the object of injustice.

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes, sir. In other words, I would proceed upon the assumption that there are no perfectly just solutions for any of these problems where there are great conflicts of right. We mustn't say that our solution is absolutely a just solution for the other person, but try to make it as near perfect as possible.

MR. CROSSMAN: Then, a final question. We have heard testimony in which the terms "Jewish state" and "Jewish commonwealth" are not used very clearly. Do you think that the aim should be a Jewish state, or do you think the aim should be a Palestinian state which is also the Jewish national home? It is quite apart from the question of how many immigrants you get in. It is a question of the character of the institution you set up.

MR. NIEBUHR: Well, I don't know Mr. Crossman, whether I can answer that unambiguously.

MR. CROSSMAN: I was taking the assumption of your paper that there should be unlimited immigration. Let us assume that is allowed. But you still might not have a Jewish state.

MR. NIEBUHR: I would agree. The minority should be protected in that state. But that is a different thing from a bi-national state.

MR. CROSSMAN: I was anxious to show there were three possibilities: one, a Palestinian state; one, a bi-national state; and the third, a Jewish national state with an Arab majority.

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes, I would take the first.

MR. CROSSMAN: The Palestinian state with a Jewish minority?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Right in that connection, one witness -- I think it was the witness who spoke on the labor policy --

MR. CROSSMAN: Greenberg.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Greenberg. I examined him as to why the Jewish State: Is it a matter of pride that the Jews want to have a state, just to puff themselves up a little? Why was it essential to call it a Jewish state?

He said, "After we get our majority, I think we could drop the name."

It seemed to me that he was saying that he must insist upon a Jewish state in order to preserve his right of unlimited immigration. That is what he thought was necessary. But a-part from that, I couldn't get his concept.

I asked him to tell me what would be provided in the constitution. He couldn't do it.

Now I want to ask you, do you think Palestine should be called a Jewish state?

MR. NIEBUHR: I won't say that it should be. I think the reason that the phrase -- I don't know all the different reasons -- but it seems to me that a people that are a nation, that is, a people without a state, will naturally use that expression to express what they lack. It seems to me what puts the Jews in a difficult position is that they are a group with some sort of integrity running through the different nations, yet there is no place where they are what they are, where they can be what they are. It seems to me it is a terrible thing to be in the position that the Jews are. They have to apologize for their virtues as much as for their vices. They even have to prove the virtues are virtues.

It seems to me that when you say "Jewish state" you are saying you want some place where you don't have to bow to any majority.

For instance, it seems to me that the real difference between a Jew and a Finnish immigrant, for example, is that the Finnish immigrant doesn't have to worry, or didn't in the past, as to whether there was a Finland.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: How about the Lithuanian?

MR. NIEBUHR: Even there, the Lithuanian will still have a geographical locus where Lithuanians are in the majority.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think the difference between you and me is this --

and there is no difference between an American Jew and myself. I have an ancestor that has been here 300 years. He came from Scotland. I don't think that I am a Scot or an Englishman; I am an American. It is the same way with the Jew.

MR. NIEBUHR: From the perspective of American democracy that is the case. From the standpoint of an ethnically pluralistic world, that is the case. But not so from the inside. I happen to be an American of German ancestry, but I never face this problem that the Jew faces. If he goes into assimilation, then, if you universalize the assimilation business, then he is committing race suicide.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I always took the position, as, for instance, after the last war, that anybody who said that a person of German descent wasn't as good an American as a person of British descent, had no business in this country.

MR. NIEBUHR: It was Justice Brandeis, who was a good American, who discovered that not only the individual had a right to live but that ethnic groups had a right to live. There was such a thing as group existence. Here is a group that has a right to live. The Jewish group has a right to live but is in a precarious position. When they say, "We want to live as a nation," one ought not to relate that to anything that the Nazis call nationalism.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Isn't that a Germanic notion, that to have a freedom of the soul you have got to have and love a state? I am not arguing about the Jews going to Palestine, but why do you have to have a Jewish state? I can't see why they have to have it.

MR. NIEBUHR: Could you put it like this? The Jews have survived as a people, so presumably they will survive even if they don't have a Jewish state, but the price is terribly high. The spiritual and physical price is terribly high. The physical price is very high because they were almost liquidated. The price will continue to be high because the group has to maintain itself in a minority position wherever it is.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You think that if they have a state, it would not only help them there but would help the Jews all over the world?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The fact that they have a state?

MR. NIEBUHR: I don't know about this point, but I rather imagine there are Jews who want to be assimilated, in various nations, who don't want to be Jews, as I don't want to be a German. A person ought to have the right to be shifted, in that sense. If the Jews have a homeland, where there is a security for the perpetuation of their ethnic group, then the individual Jew in the various nations will not have the collective survival impulse, will not engage this being in the same way as now.

At the present time a Jew has an intolerable tension upon this point that none of the rest of us have, because he has to maintain a people scattered among the nations even while he relates himself to the culture of other nations. The basis lies in that tension that none of the rest of us have.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You think that if they get a state set up, all that will disappear?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, I don't say that all will disappear, but I feel it will

be mitigated.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't see why that which you describe as the price to the Jews would be any less by reason of the fact that a piece of land, not very big, was assigned to them and called the Jewish state.

MR. NIEBUHR: It is not quite like that. Those Jews whose primary concern is to maintain the integrity of a people ought to go to Palestine. We don't know how big this thing would become.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The largest proportion of Jews in the world, I suppose, is in New York State.

MR. NIEBUHR: I suppose so.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do you know how many?

MR. NIEBUHR: In New York, no, I don't know.

MR. McDONALD: What is the question?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The number of Jews in New York. You couldn't put a very large proportion of the Jews of the world into Palestine.

MR. NIEBUHR: I am not suggesting that numerically you would solve the problem by taking all the Jews. Many millions of Jews wouldn't want to go to Palestine. I think, the Jews having a strong impulse toward the establishment of a national home, we ought to have a strong feeling of sympathy for that. The kind of security that the Jews assumed they had after the ghettos were opened up, in the Middle Ages, proved to be a less stable security than any of us had imagined -- as in Europe under Hitler. Now, that we have defeated Hitler, we still have this problem.

MR. GROSSMAN: Would you say, then, that you think one of the causes of anti-Semitism is a certain state of mind in the Jew himself and in the Gentile acting on each other, which would be ~~xxx~~ relieved by a Jewish home, in the sense that the Jew outside of Palestine would feel differently and also that the Gentile would feel differently about it?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes.

MR. GROSSMAN: And the size of the thing is irrelevant?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, I wouldn't say that the size is irrelevant, but the rest of it I would ~~be~~ agree with.

MR. McDONALD: Mr. Chairman, May I just ask a question?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Certainly.

MR. McDONALD: I should like to ask Mr. Niebuhr some questions, because the preacher in our church once in a while calls up Mr. Niebuhr as the devil that he wants to hammer at. (Laughter)

What is your estimate of these fears which are expressed in complete good faith, I assume by some American Jews, that the establishment of a Jewish national homeland would jeopardize the status of Jews in America and elsewhere would involve divided loyalty, or what have you; what is your judgment on that?

MR. NIEBUHR: I don't understand it. I don't see why it should. I

don't think the situation would be any different than with other groups that have a homeland. We expect that an Italian immigrant who becomes an American citizen will be a good American and that his children will be even more so. This doesn't change the fact that there are Italian-American organizations of all kinds, and when we deal with problems of food for Europe, for instance, Italian-American organizations are more interested in regard to Italy, but we don't say that they are bad citizens.

I would say that there would be special interests in this ethnic group as there are special interests in a Swedish group or a Finnish group.

MR. McDONALD: You don't think the position of the Jews would be jeopardized in the United States?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, I don't think it would be.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think everybody in this country deprecates the German-American, the Polish-American, the Swedish-American political blocs, we find them voting not as Americans should but as people of divided allegiances. As far as relief is concerned, of course, we expect people to have friends over there. The relief situation is different.

In my community we have very few Jews and very few Italians, but there is no animosity there at all, in Houston. But in some communities they have strong racial animosity. The old Ku Klux Klan said there were four peoples that were not American citizens -- the Jews, Catholics, the Negro, and the naturalized citizen. The members of the Klan called themselves Hundred Percent Americans. I called them On-a-Half of One Percent.

MR. NIEBUHR: Mr. Chairman, don't you think there is this? We in America take a provisionally tolerant attitude toward all racial groups, because we expect ultimately completely to absorb them and are in the process of doing so. There is a provisional tolerance under the assumption of an ultimately complete assimilation. Now, the Jew is in a different position, but if that were the answer for the Jew, if this were universalized, then there would be no Jews, because they would disappear. And there is a good deal of provisional tolerance toward the Jews on this basis, which I don't think is a very profound basis, namely, of course, ethnic groups Jewish, Italian, and so forth -- we will be nice to them until they become completely American. If we mean by that that we don't want any racial, ethnic distinction, then I think that we are really asking the Jews to commit racial suicide.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Do you think that we are asking the German or other peoples to commit racial suicide?

MR. NIEBUHR: Yes, we are, in America.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You ~~as~~ don't think that Germans and all European nations, including the British, should subordinate their feelings for those countries for their feelings for America?

MR. NIEBUHR: Sure, but there will always be an England.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You know that many ~~as~~ people look down their noses at Germans in this crisis. You know that. And in the last war, as a district judge, I had to prevent people from running around and interning Germans all over Texas. We wouldn't permit it. I am saying that these things do cause trouble, and I have a feeling that maybe in a crisis involving Palestine as a Jewish state, a question of American Jewry might be involved.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Of course, Wales and Scotland work against your point, don't they?

MR. NIEBUHR: No, I think the Scotchman, in England is sometimes in the position of the Jews, but the Scotchman in Scotland isn't.

MR. McDONALD: No Englishman will admit that.

MR. NIEBUHR: You even get statements that there are too many Scottish doctors in England.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Too many what?

MR. NIEBUHR: Too many Scottish doctors.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Well, thank you, Mr. Niebuhr;

We have now come to the end of the sessions. It was my first impression that we should say merely that the sessions are closed, but talking to some of the newspaper reporters, I was admonished that good manners would require me to say for the committee that, as we have said during the meetings, we appreciate greatly the spirit of cooperation evidenced by everyone in undertaking to make these hearings a success, as far as conforming to our requirements, as to material, and as to our limitations as to time, and for that we are deeply grateful.

I will say as a judge who for many years has tried cases with the idea of ~~try~~ trying to catch the points of difference which are immaterial and eliminating them so as to finally come down to solid bedrock in the case, that I would have been happier if the approach to the question could have been a little less vigorous and controversial than sometimes appeared, but it may be that we will find that the core of the question is so tough and so uncompromisable that we can't find any solution by conciliation but must only find it by judgment, that is, by determining the principles which shall control, and render judgment accordingly; but I will say that I, with a great deal of diffidence and trepidation, outlined these hearings and asked laymen -- well, I see in some of this the hand of Lawyer Tulin -- it seemed a great deal to ask laymen to conform to this pretty legalistic method which we developed in Texas in connection with some very long-drawn-out oil hearings, so that we reduced hearings to a comparatively brief time, hearings that would have taken months, but I was able to work out that scheme of hearings which would try a whole oil hearing in five days -- these people ~~have~~ here have conformed to it admirably.

The American hearings are now adjourned. The British have been good enough courteous enough, hospitable enough, to come over here at our suggestion, and have, in a very agreeable and friendly way, thrown in with our program. Whether in London they will do this kind of thing, I don't know. I am in their hands there. So far they have done what I have told them to do, just like little children, they have behaved. I want to thank them, and the audience, and say that the hearings are now closed.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Will you allow me, Mr. Chairman, to add this: I think that we all owe a debt of gratitude to those connected with the running of and the management of this building for their courtesy and attendance to us. We have appreciated very much indeed what they have done. We have seen their difficulties. I shouldn't like to leave this building without letting them know that we all appreciate their kindness and attention.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The hearing is adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 4:45 P. M., The American hearings were adjourned.)

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 p.m.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The committee session will resume. Some of the members of the committee had to go to assignments, but the brief time we have left doesn't enable us to wait until they return. We will begin now. And we will give Mr. Tulin his third opportunity.

If he is not here now, we will pass him.

MR. TULIN: Present.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Step forward and make your statement, please.

STATEMENT OF ABRAHAM TULIN

MR. TULIN: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee: I simply have been authorized by two witnesses who have already appeared before you, to read into the record either corrections or supplements to answers which they gave to questions by various members of the committee.

The first witness is MR. HAYIM GREENBERG.

Now, Mr. Greenberg was asked various questions about the difference between--

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Will you be so kind as to help me as to who it was?

MR. TULIN: Mr. Greenberg.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Which transcript?

MR. TULIN: I think it was on the second day -- the third day; I am sorry.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't understand the system of the solicitor coming to correct the evidence of witnesses.

MR. TULIN: I am not correcting. I am simply reading for Mr. Greenberg this statement.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: If you will tell me where it comes.

MR. TULIN: It was last Thursday morning, the third day of the hearings.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That was the fourth day.

MR. TULIN: Perhaps it was. I will give it to you right away.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I have it now.

MR. TULIN: Now, he was asked about the difference in wage levels in Jewish and Arab labor, and he has this to add:

"1. Different wage levels of Jewish and Arab labor in Palestine.

"a) The Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine has adopted a definite policy to raise the Arab wage level so that it should approach, as far as possible, the wage level of Jewish workers in Palestine. With that object in view many attempts were and are being continued to be made to organize Arab labor in trade unions and to extend to Arab labor every possible help in its endeavors to raise the wage level. In no case whatsoever was discrimination in wage levels approved or condoned by the General Federation of Jewish Labor.

"b) Less than five percent of the Arab labor force is employed in the Jewish sector of the economy, the overwhelming majority being employed in Government and Arab sections of the economy or in enterprise established by international capital. Jewish labor has little if any influence on the wage levels in these sections of Palestine economy. Arab employers are definitely and strongly opposed to any rise in the Arab wage level. The very fact of Jewish colonization in Palestine and percolation of Jewish capital from the Jewish into the Arab section of the country--in direct payment for Arab services and products and for Arab agriculture--is instrumental in gradually raising the Arab wage levels even in those sections which are not directly connected with Jewish activities. However, obviously this is a gradual process and by force of economic laws the wage level prevailing in these sections of Arab labor (comprising considerably over 90 percent of Arab workers) has its repercussion on the small segment of Arab labor employed in the Jewish sector.

"c) The differences in wage levels between Arab and Jewish labor, although considerable, are with some exceptions not as greatly pronounced as it would appear on the basis of statistical data. The difference in productivity of labor in favor of Jewish workers is to be taken into account. Further, Jewish labor in industry is mostly employed in highly mechanized modern enterprises where productivity is determined by high capital equipment ratio per worker while Arab labor is still employed in handicrafts. Thus, for instance, the definition of a weaver applies in one case to an operator of mechanized machinery and in some cases even automatic looms, and in another case to a hand weaver. Obviously, such categories are not comparable.

"Conclusion.

"The approximation of wage levels is not dependent on the policy of the General Federation of Labor. There are definite symptoms of the progress to such an approximation thanks to the influence of Jewish colonization on the Arab economy. The policy of the General Federation of Jewish Labor is definitely and unequivocally committed to promote such an approximation. Statistical data tend to exaggerate the difference as they cannot fully take into account the difference in productivity and economic conditions which impair, in many cases, the validity of comparison."

Then he was asked about the employment of Arab labor in Jewish economy, and he has this to say in addition:

"1. Arab economy is almost hermetically closed to employment of Jewish labor. For each Jewish worker employed in Arab economy at least a hundred Arab workers are employed in Jewish economy. These circumstances determine, to a great extent, the attitude of the General Federation of Jewish Labor to the employment of Arab labor.

"2. The criterion to be applied to this problem is whether, without Jewish colonization, there would be more or less employment facilities for Arab labor. The facts are that there is today more employment for a population doubled during the inter-war period in the Arab sector of economy, while the level of wages and the standard of living increased considerably in that sector. Non-employment of Arab labor in specific enterprises is irrelevant in a comprehensive picture of Arab economy and of employment facilities.

"3. As in the general condition of the Arab population, similarly in employment facilities, the indirect effects of Jewish colonization on the conditions of the Arab population are even more important than direct influence. Thus the expanded market for Arab agricultural produce, established by the Jewish urban population, extensive purchases of building materials (stone, metal, lime, etc.) for the large Jewish construction movement, public works, made possible by Jewish contributions to the revenue, opened up new avenues of employment for

Arab labor, which would never have existed were it not for Jewish colonization. These new employment facilities represent a radical change in the whole economic condition of the country and were instrumental in extending to Arab labor more employment facilities at a higher standard of living and level of wages.

"4. One reason for the policy of the General Federation of Labor to reserve additional employment facilities created by Jewish capital and labor to some extent for Jewish immigrant labor is, among others, the desire to avoid a convergence of national and social conflicts, i.e., creation of an exclusively Jewish employer and upper class and an exclusively Arab workers' class. Such a development is considered as undesirable from a social, national, and moral point of view."

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The question of the rates of wages was raised expressly by Mr. Crossman when the witness was here. I understood his question to be, what were the unskilled rates of labor pay (a) for Jew, and (b) for Arab, if they differed.

Is that question answered in what you have read?

MR. TULIN: All I have is in this paper. I may say, I don't think it is, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That was the answer that was promised. I raise it because Mr. Crossman is not here.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: May I say, the witness is not trying to furnish the information that Mr. Crossman asked for. He is undertaking, instead of recalling the witness and giving him an opportunity to correct his testimony, in the interest of brevity he is reading into the record what the witness would say if he were here on those matters where his former testimony was not sufficiently explanatory. He is not undertaking to answer the questions Mr. Crossman asked.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not seeking to get him to do that, Mr. Chairman. The witness said it would be quite easy to ascertain those rates, and if he is putting in some further statement I should think the thing to be done would be to give those rates.

MR. TULIN: I shall communicate what you say to the witness and have him supplement it by a statement.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do you remember that that was the gentleman who promised to bring me the union book?

MR. CRUM: That is correct, Sir John.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I think so. Those are two things that might have been done quite easily.

MR. TULIN: The witness left Washington, I think, the day he testified, and communicated this information.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: He hasn't communicated the two things we wanted.

MR. TULIN: I shall endeavor to have him communicate those two things to the committee, sir.

MR. CRUM: There is one thing I would like to know. That is, whether the Jewish Federation of Labor is opposed to any differential in wages between common Jewish labor and common Arab labor.

MR. TULIN: I shall put that to the witness too.

MR. CRUM: Secondly, I would like this question answered. I believe this question was put by Sir John--as to the reason why Arabs should not be included in the Federation of Labor.

MR. TULIN: Yes.

MR. CRUM: I think Sir John put that question, and I should like to have an answer to that.

MR. TULIN: I am glad to have these questions on the record and I shall communicate them to Mr. Greenberg and ask him to supply additional data in answer to them.

Now, one question was asked of Mr. Szold, I think by Sir John, with regard to the maintenance of the diamond industry in Palestine.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: No, I don't think so.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Somebody did.

MR. TULIN: Mr. Szold would like to have this addition appear.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think I asked him.

MR. TULIN: Mr. Szold would like to have this addition to the answer which he then made:

xxxxx "At an international conference of diamond manufacturers convened this year, an agreement was reached providing for an allocation of a proportion of raw diamonds to Palestine industry, and maintenance of the present diamond cutting and diamond polishing industry in Palestine. All important centers of diamond cutting and polishing, including Belgium and Holland, were represented at this conference." That is all I have.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: The next witness is Mr. Frank W. Notestein.

MR. CRUM: Mr. Chairman, before that, Sir John asked some questions about the laws which prohibited, or the agreements which prohibited, alienation of lands. Will we get additional information on that point?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: We will certainly get it in Palestine or somewhere.

MR. CRUM: All right.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Shall I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Yes.

STATEMENT OF FRANK W. NOTESTEIN, DIRECTOR OF
THE OFFICE OF POPULATION RESEARCH, PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY

DR. AYDELOTTE: Mr. Notestein, the Chairman has suggested that I lead off in questioning you. It is not necessary for you to submit a statement, since we have your article on population problems in Palestine and have studied it, I may say, very carefully.

I think that the members of the committee, since the whole question of population research has been, I imagine, modernized and brought up to date, and since, probably, your Institute is the leading Institute in the world on that subject, I think the committee would be interested in just a few words from you as to the basis on which you work. How is it that you can predict population trends?

Before that, may I ask you to state your name and what your Institute is and the line of work you are doing?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Frank W. Notestein. I am Professor of Demography at Princeton University, and Director of the Office of Population Research of Princeton University. I have written rather extensively on the subject. We have been working in connection with the League of Nations on some of their work.

DR. AYDELOTTE: May I ask you to indicate, just in very brief form, the kind of considerations you take into account in predicting population trends?

MR. NOTESTEIN: First of all I want to make it immediately clear that no demographer professes to be able to say how many people will be in a given spot at a given point in the future beyond a peradventure of a doubt.

In general it would not be possible to predict the population of any area if one were not allowed to make assumptions concerning the state of public order and the state of economic well-being of the population. That is to say, populations heavily under the rule of mortality simply cannot be predicted any time in the future to any degree of preciseness. It is also true, however, that within the ordinary frame of an ordered society, within the framework of a normal peacetime development, one can say something real about the populations of the future, something real stemming from the fact that, after all, man in his ordinary course of existence doesn't die quite capriciously, it takes 15 years to enter the reproductive period, so that the old-age problem of 60 years from now is already born, and if you know what that contingent is, it won't get larger. One can, therefore, knowing that man's span is a reasonable time, get somewhere.

You can also get somewhere on the side of fertility, for two reasons. One is that the number of births might be thought of in the sense of dividends from the investment. It depends on two things: height of interest rate, or rate of actual fertility, but also

the capital at work. We know whether the child stock is going to go up or down, simply because it takes 15 years to get into the child-bearing period. One can make a considerable amount of progress, knowing how the potential experience will shrink or extend before the fact.

It is also true that, broadly speaking, something can be done in statements concerning the course of human fertility, particularly for certain populations. It becomes a very difficult thing to predict human fertility if it is extremely low in any annual terms, because it is subject to the variation of economic events and political events. If fertility is high, that characteristic of essentially peasant people, there is a considerable order of certainty that that fertility will take a considerable time to drop.

It is taking those things into account that leads one to give expression to the sort of order of magnitude of growth that one would expect under given assumptions and in special or particular considerations.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Mr. Notestein, will you make any general comments you wish about the rate of increase of Jewish and Arab populations of Palestine?

MR. NOTESTEIN: The Jewish population, insofar as I have records available to me - which means up to 1940, and most carefully assessed closer to the Census of 1931 - is rather typically that of an eastern European or southern European population. Its fertility is one that would in the long run give you an increase of the order of 10 percent per generation. No, I am low on that. 36 percent per generation of 30 years.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Now, which is it?

MR. NOTESTEIN: I am sorry. I was saying that from memory. It is 36 percent.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: What is a generation?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Roughly, for your purposes, 30 years is good enough. I can give the rigorous technical definition if you want me to.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: No.

A little more than 1 percent per year?

MR. NOTESTEIN: It is close enough to 1 percent per year. Actually very close, as of 1931, to 1 percent per year.

I trust you understand that that does not mean that as of 1931 that was the order of increase. It was substantially higher than that for the reason that that population was built heavily by immigration that had a peculiar age structure.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Normally it would be about 1 percent?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes.

DR. AYDELOTTE: What about the Arabs?

MR. NOTESTEIN: The Arabs are a flat 2 percent, again under the same terms.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Twice as much?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes. The intrinsic rate of natural increase of the Arabs as of 1931 was found to be about 2 percent, and the Jews about 1 percent. The crude rates are much closer to that than higher.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That appears in the chart developed in your monograph?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes, sir.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right.

DR. AYDELOTTE: How many Jews would have to enter Palestine by 1940 in order to have a Jewish minority by 1970?

MR. NOTESTEIN: That sounds like collusion, and I think we can agree that you did not say you were going to ask me that question, but I was speculating on what might be asked me, and curiously enough I have something on that. If you assume that the Arab population between now and 1970 is to grow on a 2 percent basis, you would have about, oh, 1,876,000.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: By when?

MR. NOTESTEIN: 1970. You would have that on a 2 percent basis.

MR. PHILLIPS: How many?

MR. NOTESTEIN: 1,876 million. If you were to say, How would we get that many Jews in Palestine? What sort of migration would be needed, or what sort of growth, between now and 1950? It is of the order of a million Jews on the assumption that Jews between 50 and 70 would not be increased by immigration and would be growing on a 1 percent basis. I think the 1 percent basis a plausible one in this case, because if you got a million immigrants into Palestine, you will not get immigrants markedly favorably distributed with respect to age. I don't believe there are a million available Jews to go to Palestine, loaded heavily in just the child-bearing ages.

That would mean about a million in 1950. Then you would have a majority of Jews. That is, that would give you 1.2 Moslems and Christians and about 1-1/2 million Jews at 1950. By 1970 the balance would be redressed to an equivalent.

That would give you--

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't quite follow you. By 1970, on the order of the increase of the Arab population, you would have 1,875,000?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Moslems plus Christians.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: And what do you say about the Jews?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Dr. Aydelotte asked me what sort of immigration it would take between now and 1950 to give a Jewish majority by 1970.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Is that presupposing that the immigration stops there?

DR. AYDELOTTE: Yes.

MR. NOTESTEIN: This is not a flat prediction. It has a lot of "ifs." If the migration were to stop. And I said I thought that 1 percent was a plausible rate of growth for the Jewish group if they were to increase by a million between now and 1950. It is as plausible a rate as I would want to pick.

Under these circumstances we are supposing an equal number of Jews 50 percent Jews, 50 percent Christians plus Moslems. That would give you a total population of 3 1/2 millions by 1970. You would have a Jewish majority in 1950 by 300,000; a fifty-fifty business in 1970. By the way, when you get that you would have 359 people per square mile in Palestine, counting desert and all.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You would have to put in a million in the next five years?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: May I ask, what was the figure you gave for population in 1931?

MR. NOTESTEIN: If there is an equivalent of fifty-fifty, since I estimated the Moslems plus Christians on a 2 percent basis, giving me 1,876, to get an equal number of Jews you would have the same figure, and those together would be 3,752.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Mr. Notestein, I would like to ask you this question: Taking these figures which you have proposed, of a million Jews between now and 1950, which would allow for a fifty-fifty Jewish-Moslem-Arab population in 1970, that would give you an average population of 367 per square mile; is that correct?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Including Beersheba.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Supposing that the country would hold them, the Arabs would, increasing twice as fast, immediately draw ahead, would they not?

MR. NOTESTEIN: I don't see any terms on which I could imagine conditions under which the Jews can become and remain for any substantial period of time a majority short of very sharp, heavy immigration of Arabs under whatever terms you want. Assuming an orderly economic and peaceful country, it is extremely difficult. I mean, look at the case of the United States. We are constantly recruiting our population off our rural hinterlands of the South. The Jews the world over are a low-reproducing race. You never pick up any statistics classified by religion, that I know of, where in the community they are working with the Jews aren't the lowest reproducers of the lot. The Arabs have the highest fertility in the world today. And this growth is very clearly a result of the impact, among other things, of Jews on the population of Palestine.

DR. AYDELOTTE: This is my last question. You would say, counting in decades or centuries, the maintenance of a Jewish majority in Palestine, given the conditions as they are, is impossible?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes sir. And may I say one other thing to make it clear. I hope it is understood that I am not prefacing a population of 3,876 millions for Palestine. I don't believe the country can carry it. The total for Palestine was 369 per square mile. If you leave out Beersheba, that is 708 people per square mile. So I am not predicting that.

MR. PHILLIPS: How about the comparative death rates?

MR. NOTESTEIN: The death rates are higher for Arabs but they have dropped spectacularly. I think it a demonstrable tribute to the work the Jews have done in Palestine. It has been one of the really spectacular declines in mortality in this area. Death rates have dropped very rapidly incident to the improving levels of living in this country.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: May I ask one question, Mr. Chairman?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would like to say that Mr. Notestein has been put in on a calendar which is very full. Some of these people have come from Canada and have been promised that they will be heard. And if this matter is explained in Mr. Notestein's book, I would like to leave it to the book.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: I have read this book, Mr. Chairman, and I certainly had no intention of asking him anything that is already explained in his book.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right, proceed.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: Mr. Notestein, we were told by Mr. Nathan that in his view Palestine could absorb a maximum of 1,125,000 in the next ten years. You have taken it up to 1960. If an absorption according to Mr. Nathan's figure was allowed, would that have the effect of establishing a Jewish majority for a short period before 1970 which would then be reduced so that by 1970 we would get an Arab majority again?

MR. NOTESTEIN: No one can say it will be 1970. I was using that as a matter of convenience. I will say this, that I don't believe 1,200,000 immigrants over the next ten years, I can't imagine the terms on which that would yield you the maintenance of an ultimate Arab majority in this area.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: You mean an ultimate Jewish minority?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes. I couldn't imagine the terms. I frankly doubt that that rate of absorption can go on without serious economic distress. I think then you would have a rise in mortality.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: One other question. In your book you give population per square kilometer.

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: Today you have given it per square mile.

DR. AXELRADT: I told him to do that.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: It makes it difficult to compare the book with the evidence for us.

MR. NOTESTEIN: I would trust the book completely. I have every reason to believe I have given you accurate figures.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: When you say Beersheba do you mean that area which is commonly referred to as the country south of the line from Beersheba to Goshen?

MR. NOTESTEIN: No, I mean the political subdivision of Palestine specified as Beersheba as of the 1931 census.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: You have given us, in the book, the comparative density of population in 1940 with certain other countries.

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes, sir.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: I think on page 311. You say the density figure in 1940 was substantially higher than that for Poland, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, or North Ireland in the early 30's, and on page 343 your estimate is that the density will be substantially higher than that of Italy or Prussia in 1930, only exceeded in Europe by the Netherlands, England and Wales in 1970.

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes, sir.

MAJOR MADDINGHAM-BULLER: Have you got the figures for the United States, to see where they fit?

- 20 -

MR. NOTESTEIN: 44 per square mile. I don't have it in kilometers here. 1940: New York State, 231 per square mile. Massachusetts would be of the order of 600 per square mile. Massachusetts would be of the order of 600 per square mile, as I recall. About the only State in the Union.

MAJOR MARCHINGHAM-BULLER: One final question. Looking back to prewar years, was there any country at all which had -- any western democracy, or any civilized country -- anything like a population of 360 per square mile?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Belgium, the Netherlands.

MAJOR MARCHINGHAM-BULLER: What was Belgium?

MR. NOTESTEIN: As of 1930, I think I have its density jotted down -- 674. That is, the Netherlands, Belgium, and England are between six and seven hundred. Germany drops down to 361. These are on the basis -- they would be difficult conditions to reproduce. It is in a well-established industrial area.

MAJOR MARCHINGHAM-BULLER: Those were the prewar figures?

MR. NOTESTEIN: Yes.

MR. CRICK: Mr. Chairman, may I ask two questions?

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I must let these other gentlemen speak. If Mr. Notestein will wait, we will call him back. We have our schedule to make this afternoon. Mr. Aydelotte told me that Mr. Notestein would take ten minutes.

DR. AYDELOTTE: Twenty minutes, Mr. Chairman. He has just been twenty-two minutes and a half.

MR. NOTESTEIN: I will be glad to put myself at your disposal.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are very kind. The Chairman has to run all the people in.

MR. CRICK: Mr. Chairman, you needn't keep him all afternoon for my questions. They will only take two minutes.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right.

MR. CRICK: Mr. Notestein; you make an assumption of a continuing economic development of Beerseba. Later on you raise the question of capital. Have you in mind continuing capital development on something of the scale that occurred in the prewar years?

MR. NOTESTEIN: It seems to me that it takes something of that sort. Now, I don't profess to have looked seriously into the capital investment problem in Palestine. I am making a fairly simple statement, that is, that populations do not achieve reasonable levels of living and competent levels of health at this density, either in agriculture or industry, without very substantial capital.

MR. CRICK: Would your views generally on this problem be materially altered if one can imagine some such scheme as put forward by Dr. Lowdermilk, such a scheme as that being adopted?

MR. NOTESTEIN: No, sir, but I do not consider myself competent as an engineer. My attitude toward it is, again, reasonably simple. It is one thing to sit down with

engineering plans. A functioning society is a very complicated thing. I would fall back on the obvious fact that, so far as I know mankind's history, no population has received a high level of living in the face of densities of this order except under the very special set of circumstances that you find in the Netherlands, Belgium, and England and Wales. The circumstances seem to me to be absent in Palestine.

Mr. Crick: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Judge Hutcheson: Mr. Rotenstein, I hope you do not think that I am impatient with you. Not at all. I think you have been very concise.

I will call now the Canadian Arab Friendship League, Rev. F. I. Summerhayes, of Toronto, and Professor A. E. Prince, Queens University, Kingston.

Mr. Massoud: Mr. Chairman, Professor Prince took ill, and so I came with Rev. Summerhayes.

Judge Hutcheson: And who are you, sir?

Mr. Massoud: I am secretary-treasurer of the Canadian-Arab Friendship League.

Judge Hutcheson: I suppose you are aware of the limitation of time under which we are working and that, according to our calendar, you are allotted a half hour each but you were to file documents which would support and amplify what you are to say?

Mr. Massoud: Yes, sir. We have our files here in writing.

Judge Hutcheson: You will not expect to take over half an hour for each one of you?

Mr. Massoud: It will take approximately that.

Judge Hutcheson: You may proceed, sir.