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Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1949 January 10.

HEARING BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

State Department Building

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HEARINGS BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Held in Room 474 of the Department of State Bldg.

Thursday, January 10, 1946

MORNING SESSION

APPEARANCES

Dr. Haim Greenberg, representing the United Zionist
Socialist Labor Party Poal Zion

Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, representing the American
Council for Judaism

(The hearing convened at 10:05 a.m.)

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right.

MR. ROOD: Dr. Haim Greenberg of the United Jewish Socialist Labor Party.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I was looking to see if we had some material from you.

DR. GREENBERG: There must be some. There is a statement filed with your office.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right, sir.

DR. GREENBERG: Mr. Chairman, I want first of all to apologize for upsetting your schedule of your proceedings. I was prevented by illness yesterday from appearing here, and I am very grateful to the Chairman, who gave me the opportunity to appear at an unscheduled hour.

I speak for a number of federated or affiliated organizations in this country with a total membership of 50,000.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Would you mind telling me who you represent?

DR. GREENBERG: The United Zionist Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion, which means workers of Zion.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am very much obliged.

DR. GREENBERG: But I would like to add that the views expressed in the name of my organization in the printed statement before you is shared and supported by

the Jewish labor movement in this country as a whole, and I would add beyond the boundary, beyond the confines of the Jewish labor movement.

There has been in existence for the last few years a special organization in this country, the American Trade Union Committee for Palestine, speaking for approximately 500,000 workers in this country, and the largest industrial centers of the United States. And then, although I am not authorized to speak in their name, I would like the members of the Committee to be aware of the fact that the two great trade union organizations of our country, namely, the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, have been on record for the last few years of upholding the political views of my organization, and they have passed successively in their annual conventions in the recent 3 or 4 years special resolutions amending the reestablishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine, and the eventual establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in that country.

On more than one occasion the leadership of those two trade union organizations in this country have approached both the Government of the United States and the Government of Great Britain urging the two governments to facilitate free Jewish immigration to Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth.

May I urge that in a very large measure our views are shared at present by the international labor movement as a whole. The conference of the trade union organizations, the international conference, which took place early in 1945, in February, if I am not mistaken, in London and at a subsequent conference of the same organization founded on the initiative of the British Trade Union Congress, which took place a few months ago in Paris, this problem of settling the Jewish people in Palestine and granting them a status of nation was discussed, and at both these conferences, representing the trade union movement in practically all the countries in the United Nations, including the Soviet Union, they voted almost unanimously for free immigration to Palestine and for the establishment of a status of nationhood in that country.

Jewish labor for which I speak is, of course, aware of the uniqueness of the Jewish situation. The Jewish problem in our view is not coterminous with a situation of a certain number of Jewish individuals, to be identified or located in certain places.

We appreciated very much the intercession, I would say the humanitarian intercession, of the President of the United States, who urged the British Government, in his August letter to Prime Minister Bevin, the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine.

MR. CHUM: You mean Mr. Attlee, don't you?

DR. GREENBERG: Pardon me, I meant Mr. Attlee.

This most acute, this tragic, and may I add shocking problem of the 100,000 Jews still sheltered, if it is sheltered on the sites of the concentration camps in Germany must be solved immediately if the people concerned are to survive, and those who survive are to remain physically and mentally intact. But the scope of the problem, as I said before, is much wider. If I may use this expression, it is of a more perennial nature.

References were made in a number of documents and at the proceedings of this Committee to displaced persons among the Jews. The number of Jews technically falling into this category may be limited. But I would refer to another category of Jews who are technically not in the category of refugees, or topographically displaced, and for whom I would rather employ an entirely different qualification. They are misplaced, misplaced even in some of the countries of their birth.

The number of those unintegrated Jews, unintegrated in some instances economically, and in other instances socially or even culturally, presents a much wider problem than the one we have before us at this moment, I feel confident.

I do not want to repeat arguments so eloquently, and I believe convincingly advanced by my colleagues during

the last 2 or 3 days of meetings. But I should like to draw your attention to an important social phenomenon in Palestine which has more than a slight or superficial bearing on the general problem of Jewish immigration to and colonization in Palestine. By this phenomenon I mean the Jewish labor movement in Palestine, and I will make it clear in a few minutes why I place so much importance on the existence and activities of this labor movement in Palestine in connection with the solution of the German Jewish problem in that country.

May I add that that Jewish labor movement, manifested mainly in Palestine by the Jewish General Federation of Labor, adheres and supports wholeheartedly the official Zionist demands formulated in recent years and reformulated in recent months, and essentially the demands of the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth.

Now perhaps a word or two in order to try, at least, to decode the expression used, Jewish commonwealth. What do we mean by "commonwealth" and why was it necessary in our opinion to add an adjective to this noun?

We deliberately used the word "commonwealth" and not "state", not because a commonwealth is not a state, but because the term "commonwealth" in our opinion is coterminous with a democratic state; a commonwealth is a state not

ruled by a clique but ruled by the people and for the people, by the totality of the population in the respective country.

Is it necessary at present to add to this "non-Jewish?" It depends, of course, on what one understands when he uses this adjective. We Jewish laborers, and I believe not only labor but the totality of the Zionist Board as well, does not contemplate the establishment in Palestine of any political entities of a state in which any fragment even of the population would be subjected to any disabilities in the way of life and the exercise of their civil rights. We ask no privileges and no discriminations based on race or religion.

When we say "Jewish" it means a very plain thing. It means a state in which Jews possess the numerical majority of the country. When this commonwealth will have been established I personally would advise my fellow Jews to a degree even to drop the adjective "Jewish." There is no necessity to have that in the constitution of the state with a Jewish majority. But the term "Jewish commonwealth" today has more the character of a regulative principle. It is to say plainly to the world that Palestine must be designated by the international forces as a country for the solution of the Jewish problem and for the establishment of a Jewish numerical majority in that country.

Coming back to that phenomenon I referred to, to the Jewish labor movement in Palestine, I would like you to know that this organization, I mean the General Jewish Federation of Labor, with a membership of 150,000 at present out of 600,000 of the Jewish community--with the children the Federation counts even more, about 200,000. They constitute about one-third of the Jewish community. The overwhelming majority of their members are technically immigrants, newcomers, immigrants from all corners of the world.

But I know that most of them would strongly object to the term I have employed, "immigrant." They do not call themselves immigrants, and for the following reason: Mr. Chairman, I would like you to know that in Hebrew we use two words for immigration to Palestine. One is "hagirah" which means immigration, as in any western language, the transfers of a person or persons from one geographic zone to another. The other term is "aliyah", etymologically an ascension. It has the connotation of a pilgrimage.

Our people, the members of the labor movement in Palestine, do not call themselves immigrants, but rather pilgrims. What we mean by "aliyah" is an ascension or pilgrimage. As I said, not merely being transferred from one geographical zone to another, not even improving their economic and social situation, but also the undergoing of a

certain spiritual transformation. They wish to build a country for the Jews and at the same time a new social landscape; I would even say a new civilization.

They are essentially internationalists in the good and constructive sense of the word, but they believe that social integrity, like charity, begins at home and they want to create a home of their own in Palestine in order to begin that process of social construction. They adhere to a very simple truth, that in the final analysis a country belongs to its working people.

They tried from the very beginning to avoid all negative aspects of economic imperialism, or economic colonialism.

MR. McDONALD: When you use "they" you mean--

DR. GREENBERG: I mean Jewish labor in Palestine.

They thought it would be disastrous both morally and politically for the fate of the Jewish Committee in Palestine, for the fate of the Jewish people as a whole, if the Jews would continue in Palestine to remain within the sphere of their traditional occupations. They did not want Jews in Palestine to become coterminous with an economically ruling or oppressing class.

From the very beginning of social and occupational

restratification of Jews, there is no necessity to believe that libelous myth about Jews having historically been parasites on the economic organisms of the people among whom they lived. Personally, they believed the Jews always fulfilled very useful economic functions.

It is impossible and undesirable, in our opinion, to transplant that traditional occupational structure of the Jews, which, of course, has its roots in history and causes which were not under the control of the Jewish people themselves. It would not be desirable, and it would be impossible, to transplant that occupational structure to Palestine. That is why all the work connected with reclassification of land, drainage, etc., and all the work related to road building, house building, the construction and operation of factories and other industrial establishments, all that work was done as a method of principle by Jewish workers themselves.

This process, of course, required a lot of educational activities, training and retraining, vocational guidance for thousands and thousands of young Jewish men and women. Also, the breaking of old habits and the development of newer ones.

The Labor Federation of Palestine even sent, before the war for a number of years, its instructors and emissaries

to the Jewish communities in other countries in order to begin that retraining, occupational retraining and social reconditioning before the new settlers even reached the shores of Palestine.

One can see from what I related already that the General Federation of Labor in Palestine is not to be identified as merely an association of trade unions. I think that there is no parallel to this phenomenon anywhere in the world, the Federation of Trade Unions. But the activities of the Federation are various and ramified.

The Federation maintains a system of its own social services. The so-called sick fund has insurance, including maternity aid, which cares for nearly a quarter of a million people. The annual expenditure of this sick fund approximates a million pounds, which is, if I am not mistaken, somewhat more than the whole project for health service in Palestine of the Palestine administration.

It operates a fund for disabled workers. It operates a fund for the unemployed, and in times of unemployment the Federation does everything to create opportunities for work and does not limit itself just to the distribution of financial aid. It operates a fund for the maintenance of widows and orphans of the workers. It provides for old-age insurance. It is engaged in building of cooperative houses in the cities for the working population.

In a sense I would say it fulfills a mission which in more advanced countries is the prerogative or the function of the state itself. This Federation runs at the same time a central cooperative marketing supply, a central consumers cooperative, a network of cooperative credit societies, a school system of its own, night schools for the adult workers and newcomers. It publishes a daily newspaper with the largest circulation in the country. It maintains a publishing house not only for labor problems but for fiction, poetry as well, science, philosophy, history, even archeology. It maintains a theatre.

The labor movement, as you see, is engaged in work in Palestine. Under their influence over there nearly 200 agricultural worker settlements have been established in the recent 25 or 30 years, I would say exclusively even on the land of the Jewish National Fund on the basis of a perpetual lease. They are either collective settlements with, I would say, some abolition of private property for the members of those settlements, and there is another variety of cooperative, small home villages. They have established in a sense a new type of colonization with the cooperation of the Jewish Agency and the financial assistance of the Jewish National Fund, or fund raising agencies.

May I quote--it is not a quotation from any document but a few words written by a prominent Englishman about

those 200 settlements I referred to. In 1941 I had the pleasure to publish in a magazine for which I am responsible an article by the former High Commissioner of Palestine, Sir Arthur Wauchofe. If I am not mistaken the article was based on an address delivered by him at an annual conference of the British Overseas League. Referring to those settlements the former High Commissioner of Palestine says:

"I do suggest that if changes in our social and economic structure are to be discussed, then it is worth while to consider the world example of a system where people live on an economic basis and an example of a people who can be judged by their deeds rather than by their theories and who have made a success of their life for more than a generation."

He even compares in that article the men and women of those settlements to the members of the early Christian community in Jerusalem. I do not have to remind anyone in this room that the former High Commissioner is neither a Zionist nor a socialist. He only takes his Christianity seriously.

The other day, Mr. Chairman, a distinguished member of this Committee used the expression "social revolution," referring to some reforms which are perhaps inevitable in Palestine, not only within the confines of the Jewish

community in Palestine, but in Palestine as a whole in connection with the nature and tempo of Jewish colonization in that country, if it is, as I believe it is, to produce and develop. Of course, there is more than one exception and more than one type of social revolution. There is one type of social revolution of which your humble servant was a witness, and without saying a word on whether it was desirable from the very beginning or not, and taking into consideration, of course, the adherent destinies of some people I personally think that for one human incarnation one social revolution of that type is absolutely sufficient.

But there are other types or possibilities of radical social change, and even in the process of social evolution there is room from time to time for bolder steps and room for very, very essential, I would say, social mutations.

I know that the type of Jewish colonization in the country advocated, sponsored and developed by the Jewish labor movement, with the assistance of many, many thousands of workers and nonworkers in other parts of the world, has its effect upon the physiognomy and the dynamics, I would say, of the country. But it is rather an organic process, it is not an imposition, a dictatorial imposition from above on the population, but the development of the Jewish colonization in Palestine, of course, gives the local

non-Jewish population certain new notions, new ideals which will afford in due course changes in many, many aspects of their own life.

Mr. Chairman, I dwelt perhaps too long on this subject, but the other day a question was raised at a session of this Committee whether the Jewish labor movement as it is today would not be opposed, and perhaps in the near future, where a large Jewish immigration of skilled labor from and in other countries takes place. In this instance, gentlemen, although I have no right to speak in the name of the Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine, not being a representative of that country, but in this instance I would arrogate to myself for a minute the status of their spokesman.

I would state as firmly, as categorically, as solemnly as possible such opposition on the part of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine is an absolute impossibility. The Jewish labor movement in Palestine would welcome as many newcomers, as many Jews to be rescued from other countries and rehabilitated in Palestine as would be admitted, the more the better, better for the newcomers themselves and better in the final analysis for the previous settlers.

This labor movement in Palestine adheres to a simple truth: God has created for every mouth a pair of hands,

and in many instances a pair of hands produce more than is necessary for one mouth.

The workers' settlement to which I referred, the 200 agricultural settlements, absorbed in recent years many newcomers, generally women and children. There may be temporary difficulties, but I am certain they will be overcome.

Even if the Jewish workers in Palestine had to lower their standards of living for a certain number of years on account of the influence of new Jewish labor and unskilled labor, they would not hesitate to receive new Jewish immigrants, but even to send for them and break down the artificial barriers erected between Jewish immigrants and their homeland.

But there is no reason to believe that an influx of new Jewish labor would have that kind of effect. I rely on the social pedagogy of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine which will succeed in integrating those immigrants in the new community. And then I know something of Jewish poor immigrants who came to this country in the recent 50 or 60 years, mostly from eastern Europe, with a low standard of living.

For two or three decades only the poorest among the poor Jews in eastern and central Europe emigrated to this country. There is no one in this country in a Government

agency or in the labor movement of this country who would state that the influx of poor Jewish immigrants to this country has lowered the standard of living of the working population.

The Jewish labor movement is prepared to do its utmost in the solution of this problem. During the last 25 years they have accumulated an immense experience in coping with the problems of this nature. They possess the sympathetic understanding for the human material they will have to deal with.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that 100,000 Jews in Europe to whom President Truman referred in his letter will be admitted within the next few months to Palestine, and I pray and hope upon your recommendation that they will be admitted. It will be a new blow and a new wound to every Jew on the globe if they are not admitted.

But whatever machinery is to be established for the repatriation of these people in Palestine, I would advise that the apparatus, the instrumentalities, the experience of the Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine be used.

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that my time is up. At any rate, I have taken too much advantage of your patience today. But I feel impelled, particularly since I am the last Zionist witness at these hearings in Washington, to make one or two remarks, if your endurance is not exhausted.

We are being blamed in certain circles for a kind of non-Zionistic attitude taken by the Jewish community in Palestine, by Zionism as a whole, perhaps, and particularly the labor movement in the country, toward non-Jewish labor population of Palestine. It is a painful, very delicate, and may I add an involved matter.

I would like you gentlemen to take into consideration not abstract principles alone, but empirical facts with which we had to reckon, and still have to reckon to a great extent.

Twenty-five or 30 years ago, when the modern Jewish labor movement of the country emerged, there was still a lot of skepticism everywhere, even in the Jewish community itself, as to the ability, mental and physical ability, and as to the willingness of Jews to perform manual labor. There was a time, I am sorry to state, when Jewish labor in Palestine was discriminated against by Jewish employers themselves. It was cheaper to employ non-Jewish and nonorganized labor, and then Jewish workers demanded to have their say in communal affairs.

Arab workers didn't live in the village, in the same community. Now with partial discrimination on the part of Jewish employers at a certain period, I would say complete discrimination against Jewish labor on the part of Arab

employers, with the reluctance for a number of years on the part of the government, which is itself one of the biggest employers in the country, to engage Jewish workers, and I refer more to the past than to the present, for reasons of economy, and with the necessity to bring to Palestine as many Jewish workers as possible, it was a question of developing--I don't know how to put it--a system of purely defensive measures. Not measures of any aggressive nature; it wasn't a question of keeping Arabs out of employment, but of breaking through a wall which separated employment from Jewish workers in Palestine.

A slogan which has been employed for many, many years in Palestine by the Jewish labor movement, conquerors of labor, meant a very simple thing, to conquer the right of the Jew to be employed.

From these sketchy descriptions of the activities and ramifications of the Jewish labor movement in the country one could see, I assume, that there is no room within this particular framework, which is not an invention, but which is a result, a product of certain circumstances and forces operating in that country, there is no room within that framework for Arab workers, and with your permission I take another 2 or 3 minutes in order to make myself understood.

If this Federation had been merely an association of trade unions the problem would be much simpler than it is. But this Federation at the same time is a colonizing agency and an agency which is in constant touch and contact with the Jewish communities overseas. Their task is of an entirely different nature.

We cannot expect an Arab worker in Palestine to be interested in retraining young Jewish men and women in Poland or Hungary or in Rumania and bringing those retrained and reconditioned people to Palestine. We cannot expect them to be interested, let's say, in the cultivation of the Hebrew language in the country.

We would expect them to be interested in the establishment, let's say, of worker settlement of the type I referred to, but unfortunately some time will have to elapse in order to make Arab workers understand, grasp, the divining of that social undertaking. It would have been an imposition upon the Arab workers to take them into that framework, and an imposition to which certainly they would not subject themselves.

But we are aware of the existence of the Arab community in the country, and aware of the status and of the problems in the life of the Arab working community in the country. Histadrut is the name of the Jewish Labor Federation in Palestine and it has developed an entirely different plan,

a plan of organizing Arab workers in specific Arab unions and then coordinating the activities of the Jewish trade unions with the activities of the Arab trade unions, organizing Arab workers in the so-called Arab sector of the Palestine economy in which there are practically no Jews; organizing Arab workers in the government employ together with Jews for this purpose, due to the initiative of the Jewish Labor Federation, another organization has been established, the Palestine Labor League, which is supposed to be a kind of federation of the two trade union movements in the country, the Jewish on the one hand and the Arab on the other.

If you ask me whether this is a perfect answer, I would hesitate to say yes. It is certainly not an ideal arrangement. But in my opinion it is the best arrangement under the prevailing circumstances in the country.

References were made, gentlemen, to the existence of two economies, or two economic sectors in the country. Unfortunately it is true, and I see no way, for the time being, of merging those two economic sectors, due to the differences in civilization, in habits, in working habits, due to the differences in the standard of living, due to the differences in interest between the two communities.

But I believe that in due course, on the basis of a further progressive development of the country as a whole, all these differences between the two economic sectors, or the two standards of living in the country, and with the cooperation of the Jewish labor movement and the Jewish community as a whole, will be removed.

It isn't something to be fixed for eternity. It isn't something to be fixed in its present form even for a whole generation. But, and let me conclude with this, the problem of Jewish-Arab relationship in the country as a whole, and the problem of the relationship between the two labor communities, the Arab and the Jewish, should not be judged, in my opinion, on the basis of statutes of this or another organization.

All statutes in the world are subject at some time to change and modification. They are to be judged on only one basis in our opinion. It is essentially irrelevant whether a particular Jewish industrial or agricultural enterprise employs individual Arabs or does not employ them.

What is important, what was and what is the general effect, the general influence of Jewish colonization in the country and of the development of the Jewish labor movement upon the economic well-being of the Arab community, and particularly of the Arab working class.

In this respect there is one index to which I would like to refer. The standard of living in Palestine among the Arab workers is higher than it ever was, and higher than in the adjacent countries. I hope you don't misunderstand me. In my opinion it is not sufficiently high. Nor would I say that the standard of living for the Jewish worker in Palestine is high enough.

But if you take, for instance, unskilled labor, an unskilled Arab worker in Palestine gets 250 mills. In British currency one shilling is equal to 50 mills. In Egypt he gets 50 mills, one shilling practically. In Syria he gets 100 mills, in Iraq 50 mills.

As to skilled labor an Arab in Palestine gets from 350 to 600 mills, in Egypt from 70 to 200 mills, in Syria from 150 to 300, in Iraq from 70 to 200.

In this connection, of course, you have to have in mind that where the Arab workers in Palestine enjoy in many places of their employment an 8-hour day, the working day in most of those other countries I referred to is from 10 to 14 hours.

Finally, there is another index. A quarter of a century ago Palestine was still considered a country of emigration. The number of Arab emigrants from Palestine, which was not insignificant 20 or 25 years ago, is now

practically nonexistent. Palestine has become a country of immigration. There are at present, as you know, nearly twice as many Arabs as there were only a generation ago. It is due mainly to national interest, to lower mortalities, but many, many thousands of Arabs emigrated in those years to Palestine, not only from neighboring Syria but even from Sudan and rather distant Yemen. There was no emigration from Palestine to any other Arab country with their vast reserves of land and rich national resources. This is in my opinion the most important index.

Mr. Chairman, I am at the end of my testimony. Permit me now to close with a few words from my own printed statement submitted to the Committee.

"There is room in Palestine both for its present inhabitants and for the many thousands of Jews who clamor for admittance, and the opportunity to start a new productive life in their historic homeland. It is a problem of politics, not of economics."

A firm political decision must be adopted, the sooner the better.

Thank you.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I would like to ask one or two questions inspired by what you have said. You have evidenced an approach to the matter which is different

from that of any before you, which is sort of an effort to link the past with the present, with the emphasis on the present and the future rather than on the past. I think you are looking at the state, whatever it may turn out to be called, as an evolution if not a revolution.

You said that international forces must determine, must protect and support what is created there. Once or twice you spoke of Jews in the best sense of internationalists. Then you started to define what you meant by a Jewish state, and then, as I caught it, you didn't define it. You said after a while that the name Jewish might well disappear.

Now out of all of that I am asking you, isn't the insistence at this time on naming this place a Jewish state or colony, putting the adjective in, quite an anachronism, particularly in view of the general internationalism which the world is trying to take hold of, and of the evolutionary forces of government and society which are rejecting those narrow adjectival descriptions? Isn't it trying a little of an anachronistic to be demanding a Jewish state, and if not, why not?

DR. GREENBERG: Mr. Chairman, I am sorry that I have not succeeded in my remarks properly to define what I meant. If a Jewish state is to be interpreted as a political entity or as a regime to be established in the country under which

a single citizen would be deprived of the civil rights or a single community in the country—I refer not to the individuals alone, but to communities, any community or a religious community, would be deprived of its full opportunities for self-expression. For myself, and I am not alone in Jewry, I would not like to live in that kind of a state, if it is to be based, constitutionally in any sense, or even socially, on discrimination, on racial, ethnic, or religious grounds.

But here you have an ordinary European country, Finland. It is a Finnish commonwealth. The population of Finland is not entirely homogeneous. Ninety percent of them are Finns, 10 percent are Swedes. Numerically the Swedes constitute the minority of the population. But I haven't heard a single Swede in my life complain that he is a member of a minority group in a country called Finland, the Finnish commonwealth—I would translate it into my language—that he had suffered at any time during the existence of the Finnish independent state.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Since I have you on examination, I got that very clearly from what you are saying, but let me sharpen the inquiry by the use of a little legal method. I am to draw your constitution for you, and you say, "Judge, draw

me a constitution for a Jewish state." I would say, "where should I go for the materials for what would constitute a Jewish as opposed to a Christian state?" You say, "It isn't that at all. I am not talking about religion."

I say, "All right, I will have nothing in the constitution which bears upon the Jewish religion, which is essentially Jewish. What do you want me to put down as a part of your fundamental law, written down and unchangeable?"

That is what I am trying to get at. Our constitutions are constructed on various principles, but not on Christian, Jewish, English, Scottish, or German. We haven't got any such constitutions. We have a constitution on the principle of human rights as near as we can get it, changing it from time to time. How would I draw my constitution for the Jewish state? Merely that there should always be a majority of Jews? Is that the point?

DR. GREENBERG: I wouldn't say it is a constitutional provision, because I visualize the establishment of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine as a result of a certain development, a development tending to the constitution of a Jewish numerical majority. That is my opinion, the main basis of what I call the Jewish commonwealth. But when you have to draft the constitution, taking into consideration the actual or the potential existence of a Jewish republic--

DR. GREENBERG: I am immensely flattered by your asking my advice in drafting a constitution for my country.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: You are pretty smart.

DR. GREENBERG: I would not include in that constitution any specific provisions describing the status of any community or of any part of the population.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Then I suppose if I were to draw your constitution you would say, "I want nothing in it of religion. I want nothing of Hitlerian doctrine of racial superiority. I want no superman notions perpetuated here. All I want to put in that constitution is that the Jews shall always be in a numerical majority so that they can for the best interests of the people control the government and direct it." Is that it?

DR. GREENBERG: No, I did not mean to say that such a provision should or could be included in the constitution. That would put on the state a new obligation which is unprecedented.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Aren't you philosophical enough--you know a smattering of Montesquieu and various others--to know that you have to have a principle for a state? What would you put in your constitution outside of the fact--I am trying to bring it down to the fact-- Isn't the whole question that the Jews should be allowed to freely immigrate there?

Is there something more than that? That is my point.

DR. GREENBERG: I think there is something more than that.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: What is it?

DR. GREENBERG: More than that not in the constitution of the projected state, but more in the process leading to the establishment of that state. For instance, if you allow today Jews to freely immigrate to Palestine--I am not going to indulge in any statistical data or calculation, but I want to make a certain assumption, that without being hindered in their entrance to Palestine, without being hindered in the economic development of the country, hundreds of thousands of Jews from a variety of countries will go to Palestine. And I can imagine that within 7 or 8 or 9 or 10 years we will have in Palestine a Jewish community consisting, let's say, of 2,000,000 people.

So it is not only a question of free immigration, but a question of certain provisions, facilitating that free immigration, and facilitating the economic development of the country. Free immigration, let's say, without delegating certain powers or without giving certain concessions, to authorize the Jewish bodies to develop the country, to purchase land, to engage in big technological progression--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Let me interrupt you again, because Sir John and I know if we are going to hold a witness to ar

answer we are going to have to hold him tight. Otherwise he makes a beautiful speech.

Then I believe that you are saying, and that is what has made an impression on me, and I want you to answer me if you can yes or no, if anything is put in the constitution-you are thinking probably of an unwritten constitution like my friends across the sea have. I am thinking about written constitutions, which is part of the genius of America derived from a Britisher but taken up by us.

In writing one you wouldn't say anything about Judaism. But you would say that that state should be dedicated, as far as possible, to a free immigration and a full development of its possibilities as a place where Jews may come and live and prosper. That is about all you are trying to do, isn't it?

DR. GREENBERG: Mr. Chairman, I would like you to understand my position.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Answer me yes or no and then explain it.

MR. CHAIRMAN: Perhaps the witness would like to have the Chairman's statement read first and then answer the question.

DR. GREENBERG: I think that our friends, the British, remember instances in which it is absolutely impossible to say yes or no. "Have you ceased to beat your wife?"

What I meant to say, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, is that the Jewish commonwealth today is not a purely constitutional term. It is, I will be frank with you, a political term more than a constitutional term in one sense. I referred to a regulative principle. If you are prepared to say politically and not constitutionally that Palestine has been designated for the solution of an international Jewish problem, then you assume a Jewish majority. If you assume a Jewish majority within a few years you have a Jewish state, whether you call it Jewish or not.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Would you fix that condition, once attained, so that it could not be broken by other free immigration?

DR. GREENBERG: I would fix it in policies, not in the constitution.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I am clear what you are saying.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: May I ask, when you speak of your desire for free Jewish immigration in Palestine, do you mean by that that you wish to see every Jew who desires to go to Palestine admitted there entirely independent of the conditions in Palestine?

DR. GREENBERG: I would not say entirely independent of the conditions in Palestine, for a very simple reason. If there were no economic capacity to absorb those immigrants, no potential possibilities for absorbing them and

making them economically self-sufficient, it would be a very adventurous task.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes, but I thought you must have regarded the conditions in Palestine.

DR. GREENBERG: The economic conditions, certainly.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Must you in your view have regard for the position of Arabs in Palestine or not?

DR. GREENBERG: I would like to understand your question, Mr. Chairman. What do you mean by their position?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Their economic position, the labor conditions. Must you have regard for that?

DR. GREENBERG: Of course you must have regard, but we are working on the assumption which we consider valid, that there is no harm in any sense, economically, to the Arabs coming from Jewish colonization.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You may work on that basis. I am not saying it is right or wrong. But what I want to know is your views upon the matter. Those who are responsible for allowing immigration must be guided by the economic conditions in Palestine, and that would include the position of the Arabs, I understood you to say.

DR. GREENBERG: That should include the position of the Arabs as well.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The only other thing I have in mind that I would like to ask you--

DR. GREENBERG: I would like to correct myself, Mr. Chairman. That should include the condition of the Arabs. I won't use the word "position" because "position" may be of a purely political nature.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You mean you recognize you ought not to admit a large number of Jews into Palestine in the event at the time there are a large number of Arabs who could do the work who are unemployed?

DR. GREENBERG: It is a purely theoretical question from our point of view, because we don't see in the future, as I said before, any harm to be caused to the Arab economic condition by influx of Jewish capital, Jewish development, and Jewish labor.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I want to understand just what it is you are saying. Provided that there were a number of Arabs who could do the work you would not be in favor of admitting into Palestine a large number of Jews at that time? Would you or not?

DR. GREENBERG: I would for a very definite reason, because when we speak of the Jewish immigration to Palestine it is not that we bring new people to the country in which nothing changes. With the influx of Jewish labor to the

country comes national capital and private capital, initiative, and the creation of new employment opportunities which would not have been in existence without that influx.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I follow perfectly your introducing new capital, which might mean new labor, that that might be a reason for admitting those people, because it wouldn't be likely to cause unemployment. Assuming that, but when you ask for free Jewish immigration there might be some not so placed, and I wonder how far you went. I want to get your idea on the matter, no more than that.

DR. GREENBERG: I would arrange it in the following way: I would delegate certain powers to the Jewish Agency for Palestine to regulate Jewish immigration to that country. The Jewish ^{Agency} for Palestine has no interest in creating the economic chaos or anarchy or poverty in the country. They will certainly at every phase take into consideration the economic situation of the country.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: But I have in mind that in the Peale report there was a reference to labor questions as between Jew and Arab, and I am reading from the bottom of page 177, paragraph 62:

"It has further to be remembered that the Jews, in their policy of creating an agricultural Jewish population, have restricted the employment of Arab labour on lands held

by them. In February, 1935, an enquiry showed that in the Jewish-owned orange groves 40 per cent of the labour was Jewish and 60 per cent Arab. This is a subject of keen discussion between the Federation of Jewish Labour and the Farmers' Federation. There has in fact been a movement to intimidate those Jewish farmers who employ Arab labour."

Then there is a reference that I didn't read. You see if that sort of thing should happen, or does happen, it means that Arab labor may be out of employment.

DR. GREENBERG: It did not happen for the last 25 years. Why should it happen in the future?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't know whether that reference was wrong or right. I assume that it is right.

DR. GREENBERG: All our calculations for the future must be based on some criteria. We are basing ours on the experience we have accumulated during the last 25 and 30 years, and unless you challenge, Mr. Chairman, my statement that during the last 25 or 30 years the opportunities for employment for Arabs have increased and not decreased—

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You misunderstand me. I am not here to challenge anyone's statement. I am seeking to ascertain facts, and at this moment I am seeking to ascertain your thoughts. I am not saying what it ought to be. I am not sharing the view whether it ought to be.

DR. GREENBERG: I do not think that it is proper to

reduce the question to, let's say, particular details, whether the number of Arabs in a given community or in a given sector of a plantation would or would not be employed in the next 5 or 6 months. The general question is whether further Jewish immigration, further influx of capital and Jewish labor to the country works for a general increase, for a general widening of the base of employment, or it tends to narrow the base of employment.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That is a matter of consideration by those who have to go into the matter. But I understand your answer to be there must be some consideration of the Arab labor position.

DR. GREENBERG: Certainly.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I noticed in the paragraph I read you a reference to the Federation of Jewish Labor. Was that the union you mentioned?

DR. GREENBERG: Yes, the organization I referred to.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: From its name it would appear that it is wholly Jewish. Is it?

DR. GREENBERG: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Are there Arab labor unions too?

DR. GREENBERG: As I told you, Mr. Chairman, in my statement today, there are a number of Arab trade unions created in the recent 15 and 16 years upon the initiative

of the Jewish Federation of Labor. Those unions are coordinated in the conduct of their trade union activities with the Jewish Federation of Labor.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I don't know what the actual position is. The Federation of Jewish Labor, that does not admit Arabs into its body at all, does it?

DR. GREENBERG: It does not. But it does everything possible in order to create parallel Arab unions and coordinate their activities with those of the Arab unions.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Have you got, perchance, the copy of their constitution or rules?

DR. GREENBERG: I could furnish you with a copy within the next few days.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I would be very glad to look at it. I indicated yesterday I think there is some importance to be attached to the union movement in all countries of great importance. I can't see why in Palestine there should be separate unions for the two residents. I am ignorant on these matters and looking for information.

DR. GREENBERG: Well, as I said before this morning, I referred to the Jewish Federation of Labor as not merely an association of trade unions, due to the ramified extraneousities and functions of this Federation, which are of no immediate interest to most, if not to all, Arab workers. I said before that logically there is no room for them within that

framework, whether it is good or bad. I think it is good.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I have heard some people say, or I have read somewhere in other places, that unions in other countries do not always limit themselves to a parallel. I don't know whether it is right or wrong. I can't see the reason for the distinction.

DR. GREENBERG: The reason for the distinction is, first of all, the difference in standards of living and wages in the two sectors of the country's economy, the reluctance of the majority of Arab workers to join any trade unions at all, lack of discipline, and then the special functions to be performed by the Jewish Federation of Labor, which, as I said before, is at the same time a colonizing agency, not only an association of trade unions.

But at the same time, with your permission, Mr. Chairman, I would like to remind you that, for instance, the first labor newspaper in the countries making propaganda for trade unionism was initiated in 1926, not by any Arab organization, but a Jewish Federation of Labor, the first in Palestine and perhaps the first in the Middle East. This Federation is greatly interested in having the Arabs organized in their unions and then coordinating their activities with the activities of the Arabs.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It may or may not relieve you to know that I am not going to ask you any questions upon

the drafting of the proposed constitution. Some of the questions are pretty difficult.

DR. GREENBERG: They are a bit difficult.

MR. CROSSMAN: Mr. Greenberg, you promised to give us for comparison the wage rates of the Jewish unskilled labor in Palestine. What parallel those have to the Arabs.

DR. GREENBERG: I am sorry, my memory retains more disappointment than figures. I will furnish the figures at a later date.

MR. CROSSMAN: It is far more relevant for us to be able to compare the rate for the same job in Palestine.

DR. GREENBERG: You will get in the next 3 or 4 days some information.

MR. CROSSMAN: It would be awfully true to say, wouldn't it, that in many cases in Palestine an unskilled Jewish worker receives somewhere near double what an Arab does for the same job?

DR. GREENBERG: I could not rely on my own information, and that is why I will have to consult my data.

MR. CROSSMAN: We have some data in the Peale report.

DR. GREENBERG: A lot of changes have taken place.

MR. CROSSMAN: It really does worry me, this problem that you are getting in Palestine now. I do thank you for your candor in bringing the subject up and telling us the very difficult side of your work. I think we appreciate you

are under tremendous difficulty. But still it doesn't alter the fact that for the identical job two men are being paid completely different rates. You said the reason was a difference in the standard of living. A man comes to America from central Europe. If you would admit in America the principle that one group of people should be given one rate because they started at a lower standard of living, you would undermine the whole principle of trade unionism.

I don't understand how you are ever going to achieve the conciliation of the Arab, without which you can't have a Jewish state in Palestine, unless you grapple with this fact that you yourself admit, that the Jewish unskilled worker gets more than the Arab unskilled worker for exactly the same job.

I feel in the future if you achieve your Jewish majority, and if you maintain the same attitude when you have achieved the majority as you have now, there will be no peace in the Holy Land and there will be no ultimate Jewish state. Do you feel that too?

DR. GREENBERG: I have some reason to question the correctness of the facts that you refer to, but I will try to furnish you with some material on the subject, and then may I add, I have some reasonable feeling that on your stay in Palestine you will get more authentic information and a more realistic explanation of the methods than what I am in a position to furnish you with.

MR. CROSSMAN: Can you furnish us with some very complete information? This group is deeply concerned about the attitude of Jewish workers all over the world.

DR. GREENBERG: Right.

MR. CROSSMAN: It's very relevant for our consideration to have the attitude of Jewish workers from America to certain problems in Palestine. Would they support the Jews in this line and that line? It's a different policy, and therefore the information I want is not fact, but your attitude to these problems.

DR. GREENBERG: I don't think there is any need for Histadrut to lean too much upon our teaching them the principles of internationalism in the country. The tendency of the labor movement as a whole is to equalize as far as possible, within the limits of prevailing conditions, the standard of the Arab workers with the standard of the Jews. Whether it works and to what extent it works, what are the

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difficulties and potentialities, I won't undertake to tell you today. I am not competent enough, but I know of this general tendency. The general tendency of the Jewish Federation of Labor and American labor in general is to uphold the practice in all its activities and policies.

MR. CROSSMAN: Would you accept a proposition of this sort:

Unless and until it succeeds in raising the Arab workers up to an equality, there will not be peace and a permanent solution of the problem?

DR. GREENBERG: I wouldn't say there wouldn't be peace, but I wouldn't call that state of affairs very ideal.

MR. CROSSMAN: Would you say it should be the aim in the end of achieving complete equality?

DR. GREENBERG: Absolutely.

MR. CROSSMAN: You would lay that down as a basic principle?

DR. GREENBERG: I would lay that down as a basis of a labor policy.

MR. CROSSMAN: You feel certain that they feel the same as you do on that?

DR. GREENBERG: I am absolutely certain about that.

MR. CROSSMAN: Taking the question of the unskilled workers, what is the objection of Histadrut to a common unskilled workers' union between the Jews and Arabs? I quite

understand the skilled workers, but I cannot see the difficulty about a common union for unskilled workers.

DR. GREENBERG: I would like to remind you of one fact. When an unskilled Jewish worker joins Histadrut, he becomes in most cases at the same time a member of a number of affiliated organizations. He pays his dues for the sick funds, for the unemployment fund and for other funds, and at the same time contributes to colonization.

MR. CROSSMAN: You could divide the contributions?

DR. GREENBERG: All statutes are subject to revision from time to time. Since I am not myself a trade union leader either in Palestine or in this country, I would refer you to our people in Palestine.

MR. CROSSMAN: You mentioned the tendency to try and have Jewish employers use Jewish labor solely because you need to have a place for the Jewish workers coming in.

DR. GREENBERG: I don't think so. There is available Jewish manpower in the country and potential manpower coming in from other parts of the world have very few opportunities for employment. That's why we demand Jewish labor. It isn't that we wanted to have Jewish labor in order to be able to bring immigrants into the country, but because there were immigrants in the country and there are still more waiting who were discriminated against.

MR. CHUM: Mr. Greenberg, the statement of yours that

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100,000 persons could be admitted to Palestine at once without disturbing the existing economy there.

DR. GREENBERG: To some extent, of course.

MR. CRUM: I think you said so far as the Jews going to Palestine was concerned.

DR. GREENBERG: Yes.

MR. CRUM: Is the same statement true, in your opinion, so far as the Arabs are concerned; that is, 100,000 persons could be admitted immediately without disturbing the Arab portion?

DR. GREENBERG: Without disturbing the economy?

MR. CRUM: That's right.

DR. GREENBERG: I guess that is the situation.

MR. CRUM: I wanted to be clear on that.

DR. GREENBERG: I think it would be more proper for you to get material on these questions in Jerusalem.

MR. CRICK: Doctor Greenberg, we have heard a lot about this disparity of wages and disparity of standard of living among the Arabs and Jews in Palestine. Would you suggest or have you any evidence to suggest there is any disparity of productivity man for man in like employment?

DR. GREENBERG: Any disparity on productivity?

MR. CRICK: Working efficiency between Jews and Arabs.

DR. GREENBERG: Well, I would say the Jews are more efficient, particularly in enterprises with some technological

development, because the Arabs are newcomers in industry and even in agriculture.

MR. CRICK: Let us say orange groves for unskilled labor generally.

DR. GREENBERG: I would not undertake to say whether there is any disparity in the orange groves or not. I don't know.

MR. CRICK: One other question, please. You speak in your memorandum and you also spoke in your address about the improvement in the Arab standard of living in Palestine since 1919, and of the disparity now existing between the Arab standard of living in Palestine and in neighboring Arab countries. Those factors, I take it, are the principal factors in promoting the immigration of Arabs into Palestine.

DR. GREENBERG: Right.

MR. CRICK: Would that be true?

DR. GREENBERG: True.

MR. CRICK: Can you conceive of any circumstances in which a self-governing state in Palestine would need to restrict Arab immigration?

DR. GREENBERG: Well, I hate to think of any kind of restrictions for the movement of people from one country to another, but that is not the question.

But since there is no problem of Arab homelessness and no problem of Arab landlessness as a people, there are vast

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possibilities for economic development--greater ones than in Palestine. There are six or seven countries occupied and ruled by Arabs, and since there is a shortage of population in most of those Arab countries, it's a question of a number of economic and technological projects to be developed in those countries in order to raise their general standard of living. Then there would be no necessity for them to go to Palestine.

If it is a question of general economic reconstruction or rehabilitation of the Middle East, I think there are vast possibilities in that respect.

Therefore, I don't envisage in the future any essential immigration of Arabs necessitated by their economic conditions from other countries to Palestine if there is elbow room for their own development in those countries.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: May I put this question:

You started by giving a definition of the meaning you attached to the word "commonwealth." Is it your view that that commonwealth should not be brought into existence until there is a numerical majority of Jews in Palestine?

DR. GREENBERG: Personally, I don't see any possibility of having a Jewish commonwealth established in Palestine until the Jews have reached a numerical majority.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Under that constitution, there would be complete freedom for each section. If you could get

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a constitution of that sort, would there be objection to bringing it into force if you would not have a Jewish majority?

DR. GREENBERG: I don't think there is any sense in writing the constitution for a non-existing state. We have not reached that stage in our negotiations with any of the countries of the world.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: You started by describing what you thought was meant by commonwealth.

DR. GREENBERG: Yes.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: And then you defined what was meant by the words Jewish Commonwealth. I am just putting this point:

If you say commonwealth of the sort you described, would it matter whether there was a Jewish or Arab majority in that Commonwealth?

DR. GREENBERG: Well, it would make a difference because if you constitute a country, for instance, in 1946, with one-third of the population Jewish and two-thirds of the population Arabs, there each, from all practical purposes, will be dominated by the Arabs in that country.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: That brings me up to the next matter. Have you read this book which we have been handed "Population Problems of Palestine, by Frank W. Notestein and Ernest Jurkat?

DR. GREENBERG: Yes, I have.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: On Page 348 of the book, it says:

"If the desert of Beersheba is excluded, the hypothetical population for 1970 gives a density very much larger than that of Italy or Germany in 1930, and one exceeded in Europe only by the Netherlands, England and Wales, and Belgium, which had substantially higher densities."

Then on Page 350, it says:

"The above demographic considerations lead to the conclusion that all parties concerned would benefit by the continuation of Jewish interest as a source of capital and skill for the region and of Jewish immigrants on a limited scale. On the other hand, on the basis of the growth prospect, it appears that a catastrophe of major proportions is not outside the bounds of possibility if enthusiasm for a Jewish state should result in the really heavy immigration sometimes talked of. There are almost no limits to the population that could be supported, given someone to bear the cost. There are very real limits to the population that has any prospect of being self-supporting at reasonable levels of living over a substantial time."

Would you agree with that last question which I read from page 350?

DR. GREENBERG: I would have to read it again.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: The only point I want to raise on that is the desire for immigration to get a majority in the formulation of a Jewish Commonwealth might, if this be right, involve an immigration over and above the economic possibilities of the state to provide for self-support at reasonable levels of living over a substantial time.

DR. GREENBERG: I'm not an expert on immigration or colonization, and I would not undertake to furnish you with this material. My guess is as good as anyone's.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That is a good rule.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: The third question I want to put is this: You said the settlements are on the basis of a permanent lease. Is it intended to continue that procedure in years to come? It's a lease, is it not, which prevents the land ever getting to non-Jews?

DR. GREENBERG: The land cannot be sold. It is national property. It belongs to the Jewish National Fund. A Jew has no right to sell it to anyone.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: The tenant is in possession?

DR. GREENBERG: He pays rent.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: The tenant cannot be an Arab under any circumstances?

DR. GREENBERG: The tenant cannot be an Arab. The tenant cannot be an Arab for the simple reason that the Jewish National Fund is an agency in many countries, and the money is raised by public subscription for a definite purpose. The purpose is for bringing Jews into Palestine and settling them on the land. It isn't Government money. How would you expect them to contribute money and then spend it not for the purposes it was raised for?

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Do you know of any democratic country where any restrictions on racial grounds or who can occupy particular premises is valid?

(Laughter)

DR. GREENBERG: There is one country, and I don't know how to call it—democratic or non-democratic—but on the basis of the White Paper, Jews are discriminated against in that country in the purchase of land and settling there. This is the only instance I know.

MR. PHILLIPS: In answering Mr. Crum's question with regard to the capacity for absorbing this 100,000 Jewish persons we have been talking about, I think I understood you to say that the Jewish Committee on Palestine should be consulted.

DR. GREENBERG: The Jewish Agency.

MR. PHILLIPS: Before a step of that kind was considered?

DR. GREENBERG: What I meant to say is not the Jewish

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Agency should be consulted as to desirability or advisability. Regarding the methods to be employed and such for 100,000 is a man-sized job, and it would be helpful for you to consult with the Jewish Agency which has developed certain plans for that.

MR. CRUM: Are you suggesting we wait until we had gone to Palestine before there be any immigration into Palestine?

DR. GREENBERG: I would urge you gentlemen as strongly as possible not to delay this matter of the hundred thousand even for 24 hours, but as to the procedure and methods to be employed, I think the Jewish Agency and the General Jewish Federation will be a great help in showing their plans of how to do the job.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: If the Chairman doesn't stop this questioning, we will be delayed 24 hours...

(Laughter)

I think unless someone has an urgent desire to ask an additional question, the questioning will be through.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I gather, Mr. Chairman, the witness will let the secretaries have the information or material for which I asked as soon as possible.

DR. GREENBERG: Yes.

MR. ROOD: Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald of the American Council for Judaism.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Mr. Rosenwald.

STATEMENT OF MR. LESSING J. ROSENWALD
PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

MR. ROSENWALD: Messrs. Chairmen and Members of the Committee, I am grateful for the opportunity to present to this Committee the viewpoint of the American Council for Judaism, of which I have the honor to be President.

I come aware of and humbled by the enormity of the task confronting you. To make a sound, just, and enduring contribution to the solution of problems affecting Jews, will be more than a contribution to the lives of the Jews themselves.

History has demonstrated that such a contribution would redound to the peace and well-being of the entire world. I wish to express my appreciation for the self-sacrifice and courage you have displayed in accepting this difficult though important undertaking.

The viewpoint of the American Council for Judaism and its application to the specific problems that fall within the jurisdiction of the Committee are set forth in the Memorandum which we have submitted. You will observe in that Memorandum we reject the Hitlerian concept that classified Jews as a race or nation.

We believe, that as members of a religion, Judaism, Jews are entitled to and must receive full equality of rights and responsibilities everywhere in the world. We

reject any thesis that asks for action on their behalf on grounds of nationality or race.

with this fundamental premise, we approach the problems of the Jews in Europe.

It is estimated that, outside of the Soviet Union, about 1,200,000 remain as a tragic remnant of some 6,000,000 after the ravages of the Nazi domination of the Continent. Of this 1,200,000, it is estimated that more than 600,000 desire emigration as the solution to their problem. We are told also that the necessity of meeting this desire quickly is imperative to the morale and rehabilitation of these people. Likewise, it is said that the great majority of these 600,000 have elected Palestine as the place to which they choose to emigrate. This, then, is the problem. It requires careful examination of each of these separate parts.

It is proper to inquire why such an overwhelming proportion of these 600,000 who desire to emigrate seem to have determined upon Palestine as the only objective in their movement. Such a limited choice has never before been true of European emigres of Jewish faith. In the post-war migrations following World War I, many more Europeans of Jewish faith by far came to the United States than to Palestine. In the ten years ending in 1932, before the rise of Hitler, only 94,000 Jews immigrated into Palestine,

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(while 28,000 emigrated from Palestine, leaving a net total of 66,000). During the four years 1932-1935, 144,000 Jews immigrated into Palestine. No figures are available for those years for emigration.

From 1936-1941, immigration barely exceeded emigration. It is obvious then, that Jews have not considered themselves "nationally" homeless, nor have they been drawn to or remained in Palestine out of any genuine sense of its being for them a National home. During the years of the Hitler regime, between 1933 and 1943, Jews, who were forced to move because of Nazi persecutions based on fictitious claims of race and nationality, pretty well distributed themselves among a number of nations which accepted refugees from the terror. An estimated 200,000 came to the United States, 60,000 went to England, 350,000 went to Russia, with several tens of thousands more finding new homes or temporary refuge in a number of other countries.

The sudden concentration on Palestine, then, is a new phenomenon and deserves examination.

We believe that the reported sudden insistence on Palestine as the only place holding hope for immediate resettlement for these Europeans of Jewish faith who seek emigration derives from two beliefs.

First, they have come to believe that their problem can be solved and their wish fulfilled immediately in

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Palestine, and that it is a land where they will be welcomed by all the inhabitants and where they can start their lives anew in peace and security.

Secondly, they have come to believe that there is no other place in the world where their problem can be solved and their longings for a decent life fulfilled.

But both of these are assumptions, calling for critical investigation.

The fact is, of course, that there are complex political problems in Palestine. But even assuming the early resolution of these problems, and if the gates of the country were to be opened, Palestine would still be inadequate, on practical grounds, as the answer to the immediate need.

The most optimistic Zionist estimates have indicated that Palestine can receive at the most 100,000 immigrants a year, and this at a high cost. Not including any immigration of American Jewish youth, such as is presently being organized and sent by Zionists, and assuming that European Jews would be given this quota exclusively, it would require over six years to meet the problem of these 600,000 potential emigres. In fairness to them as human beings, so long harassed by those who were their avowed enemies, it seems elementary that they should be told these facts by those who are their friends. Palestine is not an immediate

solution of this question.

Palestine at best can be regarded as one of the places to which emigration should be possible. We of the American Council for Judaism believe that Palestine can and must contribute a share to the alleviation of this problem. But even such a contribution is possible only on renunciation of the claim that Jews possess unlimited national right to the land, and that the country shall take the form of a racial or theocratic state. It can be done only if there is an orderly immigration, in terms of the country's economic and political stability. Immigrants who come to Palestine must be prepared to accept Palestinian Nationality and renounce all other. Only in this way can Palestine ultimately acquire a democratic self-government in which every individual who accepts citizenship, regardless of creed or race, shall have a full and equal share.

Such a normalization of Palestine is imperative. It stands in an increasingly important place strategically in the new patterns of world communication and world economy. The peace of the country is therefore a prime consideration. If, in order to insure that peace, former declarations or commitments require amendment or annulment, such action should be taken. Without that basic peace, Jews who may leave Europe and go to Palestine may be going from "the frying pan into the fire"; from an era where a war has just

ended to an area fraught with all the potentialities of strife; from an area where anti-Semitism and persecution have passed their peak to an area that is becoming increasingly hostile.

Let me turn to the second belief resulting in this concentrated election of Palestine as the only place for emigration. Are there, can there be, no other places for these people to go?

President Truman's directive regarding the immigration quotas of the United States is a step in the right direction, but it is not enough. Other nations must take similar action.

The goal must be the widest, not the most limited opportunity for migration.

We propose, therefore, that the U.N.O. immediately call a conference of all of its member nations. Each nation should agree to accept a number of the total figure of those desiring emigration. Any single nation's offer of help may take into account those to whom they have already given refuge. Early procedures should be devised, thereby these potentially Displaced Persons in Europe can acquire full citizenship in the countries where they are now located. Precedent has been established for this action too, in the opportunity for citizenship given to the refugees of the camp at Oswego.

Perhaps the most significant service of such a conference would be the promotion of the Four Freedoms to their fullest extent by such action, by insuring every individual full rights and obligations with his co-nationals in the country of his adoption.

The leadership of the United States can make a signal contribution to such a conference. Owing to the war, the flow of new, potential American citizens through the channels of immigration was virtually halted.

We recommend that the United States agree to admit up to the number of immigrants that would normally have been admitted under our immigration quotas, but who were prevented from coming due to the war. By our use of the hitherto unused quotas, a notable step toward the solution of this problem would be taken, within the meaning and intent of our immigration laws which recognized the value of continuous and regulated additions to our population through immigration.

Once such action is taken, other countries should be persuaded to assume comparable shares of what is a common responsibility.

Such a plan would so greatly reduce the number of immigrants coming to any one country that the internal life and economy of the country would not be affected in any way. Such a plan could be put into operation quickly. The very

knowledge of its existence and its early implementation would do much to bolster the spirits of those who, for any reasons, no longer wish to stay on in Europe.

It is true that in some the desire to emigrate is born of psychological reasons resulting from the ravages of war. For these, no adjustments or improvements in the lands where former treatment of these people produced such psychological reactions can be substituted for emigration. Nevertheless, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that where individuals are guaranteed equality of rights, responsibilities and opportunities, in fact as well as in law, Jews have taken up their lives again, continuing the process of full integration with their co-nationals of all faiths. This is reliably reported to be true in the countries of Western Europe. Where such conditions already prevail, every encouragement should be given to conditions that will enhance such integration. Certainly that process must not be impeded by any official sanction to concepts that would segregate Jews behind barriers of separate race or nationality.

In those lands which were formerly Axis powers or satellites of the Axis powers, and where individual rights are not as yet guaranteed, we urge this Committee to recommend detailed measures by which such rights will be instituted. This is a propitious time for such action, for new governments are being created in many of those nations.

Essential to such a program there must be a determined effort to expedite the economic restoration and improvement of people of all creeds and races who, because of religious or political beliefs or racial derivation, suffered economic persecution under Nazi or Fascist overlords. Such action would, we believe, do much to reduce the demands now being made by many to emigrate.

We recognize the difficulties inherent in such a program. But every program dealing with the reconstruction will meet with obstacles. The maximum possible retention in Europe of all assets, both economic and human, is indispensable to a healthy Europe and, therefore, to a healthy world. Our proposals have the merit of attempting to meet that requirement.

If the total problem included in the terms of reference for this Committee can be viewed against such a broad background, it will then be possible to approach the question of Palestine within a framework free of tension and pressures that may make for a considered and peaceful solution.

In addition to the practical advantage of spreading responsibility for this problem in order to effect its best and speediest solution, such an approach will be in the highest source of reaffirmation of faith in the things for which we have just fought and won history's most tragic war.

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That war was fought to stamp out, forever, the concepts of racial segregations and the Nazi pattern of race-states. acceptance now of an attitude that implies that the displaced persons of Jewish faith cannot live in Europe and must be removed to a state of their own, would be a denial of all that we fought to achieve. It would be an admission that the United Nations have lost the war on this front.

In its program of emancipation and integration for Jews, in Europe, in Palestine, everywhere, the American Council for Judaism declares its faith that this will not happen, and that out of the ruins of the war, a better world can and must be built.

I thank you for your considerate attention. If, in any part of this statement or the Memorandum submitted to you by my organization, there are things which are not clear, I shall be glad to answer your questions to the best of my ability.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Mr. Rosenwald, I noticed in the document that you prepared for the help of the Committee a passage on Page 3 at the top of the page:

"Fundamentally, so long as there is any kind of official recognition of and sanction given to the development of separate nationalities within Palestine (as contrasted with the unifying concept of a Palestinian nationality), conflict is inevitable. Such conflict already has a long history which includes a number

of bloody outbreaks extending down to the present. Such conflict explains the boycott by Arab states of Zionist products, and the boycott of Arab labor by Zionist agricultural enterprises in Palestine.*" And then you note at the bottom of the Page. "Palestine Royal Commission Report, July, 1937, page 240."

MR. ROSENWALD: Yes, Sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I suppose you are referring back to that, but in that paragraph you are expressing the views of your Council, I take it.

MR. ROSENWALD: That's right, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You draw Attention quite clearly to the desirability of your Council of Palestine being recognized as a nation undivided, as far as possible.

MR. ROSENWALD: That is the view of our Council.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes.

MR. ROSENWALD: May I state it another way, sir, and I will have to just make one or two remarks.

When the White Paper was discussed before our Congressional Committee, I favored immigration into Palestine, or favored the renunciation of that part of the White Paper which prevented Jews entering Palestine as Jews. That part I asked be eliminated. The same applied to the land provisions--the purchase of land by Jews as Jews. Mind you, we consider Judaism as a religion and not as a nationality.

The third part of the White Paper, however, which had to do with attempting to set up Palestine as a democratic independent entity, that part we never objected to. In our opinion, that should be the objective as soon as it can be done.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I follow what you say, and I am anxious to hear the views on all different sides upon this question while the Committee is in Washington. I am sure you understand when I ask questions on these matters that I am looking for information and seeking help. It may be that the reason for my appointment to this Committee is that I was very ignorant on all such matters. I am looking for help all the time.

I asked some questions yesterday on the union position, and it was mentioned again this morning. Does it occur to you that not upon separate unions but a Jewish union for laborers might be a means of bringing more closely together the two races? Have you considered that at all?

MR. ROSENWALD: I have not, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It was something that occurred to me on the same lines that you expressed in regard to the development of separate nationalities in Palestine.

MR. ROSENWALD: Fundamentally, I can see no particular reason why union membership should be confined to any particular religious faith, either Moslem or Jewish or Christian.

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If it affects labor conditions, I would believe that the labor membership ought to be open for similar types of work, regardless of the man's religious affiliation.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: That's what I thought, and I can't help thinking it may be that if that disappeared, there might be a better means of approach towards an understanding of each side in labor conditions, which perhaps is outside your province.

MR. ROSENWALD: It is somewhat, sir.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: May I put another question to you on your report, and I do this for the sake of saving time for all the Committee.

Have you ever heard any criticism of the findings of fact of the Peal Commission Report?

MR. ROSENWALD: I know of no findings of fact. I have heard criticisms of the recommendations.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: But not as to the findings of fact?

MR. ROSENWALD: No.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I have been listening with care here, because it does appear to me unless someone calls in question the findings of fact arrived at up to '36 or '37, it may save a lot of research for the Committee.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: May I say, Sir John, I am the recipient

of New Palestine, and in the fifteenth issue of December 15, that publication stated that that report was objective and fair throughout. There was no complaining that nothing had been done. That report stood up as something that even New Palestine, which was then denouncing various and sundry things, accepted.

(Laughter)

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: It's findings of fact I haven't heard criticized while I have been in Washington.

Very well, then, there is one other matter. On Page 1 of your document, half-way down, we find:

"Immigration on the basis of absorptive capacity;..."

Is that one of your recommendations?

MR. ROSENWALD: That's right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I take it by that you mean immigration of a sufficient number to meet the needs economically, is that right?

MR. ROSENWALD: That is correct, sir. I think that it would be possible, even if you favored this plan in its entirety, to place so many immigrants in Palestine so rapidly that you could wreck the economy of those who are already there, as well as the newcomers who are coming to try and establish a new life.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I am not seeking to tie your hands or anyone's hands about the 100,000.

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MR. ROSENWALD: I just say in theory there must be some level below which the absorptive capacity will not permit immigration at a given time.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: And those who have to consider the scope or amount of immigration must be guided by the labor conditions, and I take it from what you have said in other parts of this document, by the Arabs as well as the Jews.

MR. ROSENWALD: I think that the party that has the responsibility for administering the country must take whatever action is necessary to maintain what the Mandate was set up for--development of the country and all other factors. But I think if you have the responsibility, you must have the power likewise to do that which is necessary to keep the country within the bounds of what your responsibility is.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes, and you must have regard, I take it, for the fact that others are growing up and will come into the labor market in the next few months or years. All those things must be considered, is that right?

MR. ROSENWALD: I think that is correct. You must consider all the factors that are involved. It isn't only the labor factors that are involved; it is such things as housing, land that is available for cultivation, communications, public utilities, and all the other things which have to do with the

economic stability of the country must be taken into consideration when a policy for immigration is determined upon.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: The remaining part of the same paragraph I wanted to ask you about, with regard to the passage "...immigration controlled by representative bodies of all the inhabitants of Palestine in concert with such international commissions as may be created; and the progressive and rapid institutions of home rule."

I would very much like to know what you have in mind. It appears to me that in considering immigration, there should be representatives of the people there, plus someone else appointed from outside.

MR. ROSENWALD: That is correct. I don't believe that Palestine today is capable, by itself, with all the good will that there may be or all the ill will that there is, of setting up under its own initiative an independent government that will work. I believe some other authority which will coordinate that work must be there to aid them in founding such an independent state.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I would like a little further help on that. It would appear, if you hadn't drawn attention to the necessity for avoiding any racial questions, as though one might draw from that, perhaps on a body--an Arab, a Jew, a Christian, and perhaps a couple of people from separate countries, I don't know, to consider those questions.

MR. ROSENWALD: The first three are probably right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You drew attention to the racial distinction, and I wondered if you intended that.

MR. ROSENWALD: No, I didn't intend to do it by any racial distinction at all. I said there are various groups now in Palestine. I don't know how they divide up at all.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Suppose you had an Arab, a Jew, and Christian, and a person of some other nationality or some other race?

MR. ROSENWALD: I think to begin with, you have to start that way. I think once it was established, you would pay no more attention to it any more than any other democratic group does.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Say if you had representation in those three respects--perhaps a national of the United States, perhaps a national of Great Britain included. Is that the sort of thing you had in mind?

MR. ROSENWALD: Before I let the other question go by about different nationalities, I would rather put it on the basis of representatives of the three major religions represented there--Jewish as a religion, Moslems as a religion, and Christians as a religion, and avoid thereby these various nationality complexes that you just stated.

And in regard to the latter question, the reason I stated it the way I did is I have no idea what form Palestine

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will take under the new trusteeship, nor to me does it make any great difference.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I imagine there may be a little time about that, in any event, I am rather thinking apart from that because of that passage in your report. Leaving out the question of the 100,000, what do you think was the right sort of tribunal to consider there?

MR. MC DONALD: Are you speaking about immigration?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes.

MR. ROSENWALD: At the present time it would be Great Britain under the Mandate.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes, but suppose Great Britain said "Give us all the help you can." Who would you have? How would you do it?

MR. ROSENWALD: Well, the only answer I can say is that the most likely would seem to be the United States, inasmuch as this Joint Commission has been formed with these two countries. These two countries are collaborating and it might be possible that these two countries might collaborate insofar as that governing body is concerned.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: I hope it is, Mr. Rosenwald.

MR. BUXTON: I thought perhaps some of the British gentlemen might be confused a bit by the term you used in discussing possible immediate remedies. Mr. Rosenwald, you spoke of the step that President Truman has taken

recently, and you suggested the cumulative use of the unused quota of immigration of the past. You thought we might make use now of the quotas that were not used last year and the year before. In commenting on those, you said that this would all come within the intent of our immigration laws. You did not mean without the intent of our immigration laws, did you?

The immigration laws, as I understand them, specify very clearly if a quota is not used within a certain time, it lapses.

MR. ROSENWALD: I meant by that that we have said we will permit a certain number of immigrants to come into the country every year, and we are willing to accept that number of new immigrants every year. During the last several years few, if any, immigrants could come. Now, under our laws, of course, you cannot say those quotas have lapsed and should be applied, but in the spirit of the law...

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Spirit instead of intent, that is the word.

MR. ROSENWALD: I had hoped the Congress might be convinced that it was a wise thing to do under this great critical and humanitarian pressure.

MR. BUXTON: But you would not say that is within the intent?

MR. ROSENWALD: Probably legally I'm wrong on that. If

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I say within the spirit of the law, it would be that.

MR. BUXTON: I am not quite sure it is even within the spirit. It's certainly not within the purpose or intent or scope.

MR. CRUM: Mr. Rosenwald, you do recognize that these unused quotas would require Congressional action, in all probability?

MR. ROSENWALD: Yes, sir.

MR. CRUM: You also suggested, I think, that the United Nations call a conference immediately for the purpose of taking care of this matter of immigration into countries other than Palestine, is that correct?

MR. ROSENWALD: That's right.

MR. CRUM: Did you have any idea in your mind how long that would take and whether or not the immediate problem, say Germany, would wait the calling of such a conference?

MR. ROSENWALD: Well, there are two different things that I think are involved in that, Mr. Crum. In the first place, when I spoke, I took the whole group of 600,000 and treated them as one unit. As I understand now, you are considering ways and means of taking the 100,000 specifically.

MR. CRUM: Let me put it this way to you:

The directive of the two governments, as I recall, urges upon the committee speed and also suggests that the

that the Committee might in turn suggest to the two Governments an ad interim solution as well as a proposal for a permanent solution. I was wondering whether your suggestion of a conference of the United Nations related to the permanent part of it or to the ad interim.

MR. ROSENWALD: I suppose for the ad interim it would be too short a time to take care of the whole situation. On the other hand, I think institution of the permanent, even though you might not accomplish it at once, would be a tremendous impetus to the people who are there now and must be handled immediately. In other words, I don't see why you would have to wait until the end of the interim period before you would start trying to implement that plan at once or as soon as it could possibly be done.

I think there are tremendous psychological factors involved, besides the factors of immediate relief and immigration. I think a great many of these people, if they could be convinced or would be convinced that there are certain countries where they can live with full right as citizens, in fact as well as in law, the pressures would be relieved for some of these people. You take, for example, one of the worst illustrations today is the country of Poland. Poland unquestionably has had terrific anti-Semitic feeling, but the Polish Government as it is set up today is working strenuously

to avoid anti-Semitism in Poland, so far unsuccessfully.

Anything that you could do in Poland whereby the intent of the present Government could be made in fact as well as in intent, to solve the Polish problem, to that extent would you relieve the pressures from Poland into other occupied zones in this country.

The same is true in some of the Balkan States where many of the remaining Jews are at the present time, such as Rumania and Hungary. Only there the Governments have not yet indicated a sincere interest. If this Committee could instill in those Governments the necessity for giving each and everyone of their citizens—Jews and all others—a fair and equal share of the responsibilities and the benefits of citizenship in that country, in fact as well as in principle, much could be done to relieve the situation in those countries which are now contributing, insofar as they can, to the displaced persons problems.

MR. CHUM: Much of the evidence I have heard, Mr. Rosenwald, certainly at least as to the 100,000, appears to be a matter of survival, and while I grant you, of course, our governments must do what you suggest, it does seem to me we have an ad interim problem which I certainly hope will be solved as quickly as possible.

MR. CROSSMAN: About this quota system, I have an entirely different idea from yours. There is a large unused

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quota from Great Britain, and in view of that fact, I don't understand how you figure by taking up the war-time quotas of Hungary, Poland, and Rumania will be a method of solving the problem.

MR. ROSENWALD: I don't think that applies necessarily, sir. It is true that many of them were unused, but at the same time, many would have been used if they had been able to use them.

MR. CROSSMAN: What is the quota of Hungary?

MR. ROSENWALD: I don't happen to know.

MR. CROSSMAN: I think it's 700.

MR. ROSENWALD: Even if we had at the present time in Hungary that quota, Hungary won't let them...

MR. CROSSMAN: I only suggested it because I doubt whether it will be as effective as you suggested, for such a minute fraction would enter the United States of America. I just asked for information.

MR. BUXTON: The quotas raise a tremendous problem, say in Country A, because most of the persons in Country A may have come in Country B. Of course, the quotas don't apply racially.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Speaking roughly, Britain has the heaviest quota, and Germany probably next.

MR. MC DONALD: Mr. Chairman, either now or after intermission, I should like to have the privilege of asking

for some help from the witness, following Sir John's excellent example.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: I think it would be well if we were to adjourn and reconvene at two o'clock.

(The meeting adjourned at 12:40 p.m., to reconvene at 2:00 p.m.)

