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Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, 1952 January 14.

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

State Department Building

WRHS January 14, 1946

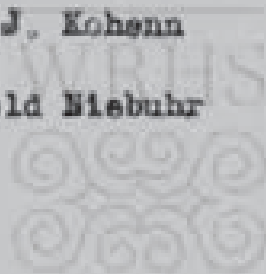
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HEARINGS BEFORE THE
ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Held in Room 474 of the Department of State Bldg.

Monday, January 14, 1946

MORNING SESSION

APPEARANCES

Doctor Isaac Steinberg, Representing the Freeland
League for Jewish Territorial
Colonization

Mr. Peter Bergson, Representing The Hebrew Committee
of National Liberation

Miss Dorothy Dexter, The Women's International League
for Peace and Freedom

P R O C E E D I N G S

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: All right, Doctor Steinberg.

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

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

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

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

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

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

When they had to die in Poland, there was no distinction between Jewish people who were religious-minded or

whether they belonged to the Zionist Movement or whether they belonged to the Jewish socialist movement. They perished as a unit, without distinction--political, religious, or cultural--and it seems to me they should, the remnants of the Jewish people in Europe, be discussed and considered as a unit.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of The Freeland League, with some change in its policy.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Isn't that possible?

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

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

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

politics, but for people who want to start life on a peaceful basis.

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

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

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

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

I spent a little more than four years there.

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Four years?

DR. STEINBERG: I went there in 1939 and left in 1943,

and I am happy to tell you gentlemen that our proposition met with most remarkable reception.

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

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

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

In the meantime, another government, the Government of the State of Tasmania, came out and made the same proposal.

They said they would be prepared to have such a Jewish settlement within their boundaries.

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

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

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

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

That is only the first stage. That means if such an idea would be pronounced, if the United Nations would indicate that they are prepared to find such a place for them,

I have no doubt, gentlemen, that it would help us in both ways. It would satisfy the immediate needs of our people now in the camps and as a long-range policy, too. Such an indication would help those people who would not go to Palestine or who are not resolved to stay in Europe. Thousands and thousands of them could go to some other place, and that would be the beginning of the solution of the long-range policy--of the problem of the abolishing of Jewish homelessness in Europe.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

If something of this kind would be indicated by the United Nations, it is my firm conviction that not only great masses of thinking Jewish people would be behind such a movement, but I have the conviction that later on there would be cooperation between the Zionist Movement and that; and speaking for The Freeland League Movement, I will say that the whole political position, it seems to me, around Palestine would or might become easy if something else would

be on the horizon. The Arab people wouldn't be so afraid and full of suspicion and the Zionists' work would go on without these fears and this uneasiness.

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

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

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

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: It existed for ten years.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: With headquarters in New York?

DR. STEINBERG: Now in New York.

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

DR. STEINBERG: My position?

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Yes.

DR. STEINBERG: Secretary General.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Of course.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: For the League?

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Very much.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Are you acquainted with other

parts of the world--of the British Empire and the United States?

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

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

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You mentioned Rhodesia...

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: That's right.

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

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

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: You said either Africa or

Rhodesia.

DR. STEINBERG: I mentioned Australia.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, I know.

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

DR. STEINBERG: I understand.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: That is the idea. If you are going in a small state and organizing yourself as a group, then there is always the possibility and danger of some political complexities in the future, and it is exactly what we want to

avoid. That is the reason why we are looking for some uninhabited country. That is the reason why we prefer this huge area in the Kimberleys in the northwest section of Australia. It might be somewhere in Canada, where there is no conflict from the start, so that the settlers could concentrate on the economic and cultural theories rather than on political theories.

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

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

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

I have before me the opinion of the Prime Minister of

Australia, Doctor Le Fanu. On February 2, 1945, he said:

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

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

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

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

DR. AYDELOTTE: I think my reaction at any rate, and I imagine the Members of the Committee, to this very interesting

suggestion of yours about Australia, would be first of all,
How solidly is the Australian opinion committed to it;

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

But will you answer this question first:

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

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MR. CRICK: Doctor Steinberg, when you were in Australia on this Kimberley project, you no doubt had in mind in your

negotiations some hypothetical number of people which you had envisioned as settling down there. Could you give us any number as an indication of your plan?

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

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

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

MR. CRICK: Would they come from external sources?

DR. STEINBERG: What do you mean by external?

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes, sir.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

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

DR. STEINBERG: Yes.

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

DR. STEINBERG: No, sir.

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

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

I don't think it's important to ask at this stage of development to decide upon the future of this settlement? The important thing is that the greatest majority from the start would be Jewish, so they will develop an economic

and cultural Jewish settlement, but they will never have the right to prohibit an entry of somebody else.

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

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

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

DR. STEINBERG: No.

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

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

Would you like a Jewish settlement in the North?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There have been a number of witnesses before this Committee. I tried to attend the hearings as much as I could. The witnesses represented very ably in most cases great American Jewish organizations--distinguished leaders of these organizations--people who have sincerely and devotedly for many years endeavored to help the suffering Jews

in Europe. There is, however, a basic distinction between all these gentlemen, and I might add, the gentlemen who have lived themselves as Americans of Arab-speaking origin--Americans who are a part of this nation, enjoying its benefits and fulfilling the duties as citizens.

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: What country did you emigrate from?

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

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

I live in Jerusalem. There are all sorts of people

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

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

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

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

When we speak of the Hebrew nation, we speak only of those people who, as in the case of any other nation, belong to this nation willingly, on their own will, and do not belong to any other nation and regard themselves as citizens and loyal patriots of their country. We do not speak of Jews the world over.

Throughout these hearings, people were speaking of the Jewish people. I regret to say that here I come to a difference of opinion still existing--I hope not for very

long—between us and the friends of Palestine and the friends of our people in this country, particularly American Jews who are working for our people in Europe.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Do you mean the Zionists?

MR. BEGSON: I mean the Zionists.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

that.

MR. JUSTICE SINGLETON: Thank you very much.

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

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

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

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

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

These are the two basic distinctions. I believe at

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

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

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

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

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

In all fairness to our British friends here and to the Americans who helped them, I ought to say the mistake was primarily our own, because we should have gone to them and said "These are going to be the boundaries of the new state, as far as geography goes, and these are going to be the human boundaries. It isn't going to include every Jew

the world over. It is going to include those who, through the exercise of the right of self-determination, are going to get up and leave the ghettos in Poland and Russia and Rumania and become Palestirian members of the Jewish National Home."

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

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

MR. MC DONALD: Would you define theocracy?

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

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

If I may use names, Justice Murphy is an American of

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the number of casualties in this war, it was first. In the number of fighting men called upon as Hebrews--and I don't speak of American or British or Russian Jews--we were

eighth. As to population, we are the twenty-fifth. By the way, there are 51 nations participating in the UNO Conference in London, and we are about the twenty-fifth in size.

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

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

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

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

I might be working for the Russians or British Intelligence Service, or for the Chinese, for that matter. Being a Jew, what is my position in the world? What is my relationship to human society? In simple words, what nation

do I belong to? I say I am Hebrew. My allegiance is to the Hebrew nation. My country is Palestine. The legality of our position I should not burden the Committee with too many details.

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

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



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

Mr. Rosoff told me the other day--he is a gentleman of 76 and he likes reminiscing--at the luncheon he attended, given by the French Foreign Secretary, Mr. Pichon, in which the guest of honor was Professor Thomas Masarick, who just came from the United States where, by the way, the men are very similar to ours, that they had set up a republican government, a government of the Hebrew Republic of Czechoslovakia in Pittsburgh, and Dr. Sokolov, the then president of the Zionist organization was present.

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

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

The second point, Mr. Chairman, is the dire need for the interests of all concerned to find a basic integral and permanent solution. This problem has been going on for a

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number of years. It has caused much of my suffering, and, if I may, I would like to review to whose benefit is it to prevent such solution, and why it is to the benefit of all concerned, the world at large, in the interest of peace and stability, the British, the Americans, the Hebrews, and the Arabs residing in Palestine, as well as the neighboring Middle Eastern States.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Unfortunately, there are still close to one billion of people in the world who have no independence. Therefore, the immediate considerations, of independence, if Hebrew

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independence, is very much secondary. What is important is to solve once and for all this plague, this curse, that has been misnamed into what is called the Jewish problem. This has to be solved, and has to be solved basically and has to be solved integrally. And by solving it we believe in transforming the Jews into a normal entity such as anybody else in the world.

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

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

This paramount question, not whether the Province of Kimberley would be gone to except under certain conditions

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and guarantee an influx of poor suffering Jews--by the way, I would have chosen Texas. It is much more beautiful. At least I have been there, and it is just as great and there is enough space there.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The contention is that these people are the rightful owners of the land, and to me, with the best intentions of being objective about the issue, it is absolutely perplexing why on earth an Egyptian or a South Arabian or Assyrian who left his country some 10 years ago, or 15 years ago and went into what rumor and campfire stories told him was the fabulous land of the Hebrews, and went to settle there because of it, why the table should be turned and he should become the rightful owner of the land and there should be a question as if we are seeking to dispossess him, or dispossess him, as was suggested in many of the questions of the democratic process in Palestine.

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

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

But as a state within its inner structure, we propose Palestine to be a republic, a free republic without a state religion, with no more rights than for the Moslem and no more rights for the Moslem than for a Christian or an atheist, without the state church, without state religious privileges, with fullest equality for all the

citizens of the country.

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

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

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

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

today.

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

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

MR. CROSSMAN: There are enough Palestinians?

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

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

is preventing the solution for the future.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Tripolitania was a beginning, 1,000 casualties. The world has become used to it. A thousand Jews more or

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less doesn't seem to matter. But it is quite a bit and it can't go forward.

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

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHINSON: Will you refer to the paper?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

And you want us to forget, to close our eyes, to return to normalcy after the caeculation, the decimation of some 75 percent of our total population in Europe. It is inhuman, it is impossible, it is unfair, and it won't work. This is why Hebrews in Europe are moving under guards, beneath guards

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through zones, beneath boundaries. They are going to Palestine and they are going to get there. They are going to get there because it is their right. They are going to get there because it is the only means of dignified survival.

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

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

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHINSON: Your 3 minutes are running out.

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: No sir.

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: I want to clarify, Sir John, the American

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

JUDGE HUTCHINSON: If there are no questions--

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

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

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: Absolutely.

DR. AYDELOTTE: You would be willing at once to put

the destinies of Palestine in the hands of all the people in Palestine, Jew and Arab alike?

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

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

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

DR. AYDELOTTE: What would make it impossible?

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Just answering the question, what you mean to say is that a ballot would be given to every person

whom you call a Hebrew, no matter where he is, and if there are more of them than the other they could always outvote the Arab.

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

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

MR. CROSSMAN: You mean anybody could vote?

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

For instance, when President Truman--let's speak concretely--recommended 100,000 Hebrews in concentration camps be taken into Palestine, had Mr. Attlee accepted his proposal today, 6 months after the proposal, they would have been Palestinians to all intents and purposes. All that would have happened, you took them out of Belsen and put them in a ship and took them across. I say when

President Truman asked Mr. Attlee to take these people to Palestine and not to Texas, it wasn't because he was stingy or because he didn't want them in Texas. It is because he believed that Palestine is their country and he asked Mr. Attlee to admit them into Palestine. Therefore, they had the right to exercise the duties and privileges regarding Palestine even while they are not physically there.

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Between a Hebrew and a Jew?

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

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

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

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

MR. BERSON: It is very simple. I am sorry you think this is funny, but when you are going to a camp, or as one

American major told me, "I haven't been in Dachau, I smelled it." You will know exactly. You will see the guys with the big J stamped on them.

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

MR. BERGSON: He went on personal grounds.

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: I shall try to redefine it for you. The principle I stated was one of self-determination. Its basis was not to accept anything that anybody else has asked, whether it is Hitler or a kindly gentleman who

says, "Let's give them some soup." They are both external powers. We speak of the definition of people who come and say, "I am a Hebrew."

I could ask you what makes an Englishman.

MR. CROSSMAN: Not simply saying you are one.

MR. BERGSON: Exercising certain duties and being one.

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHINSON: Are you a Russian Jew?

MR. BERGSON: I am a Palestinian. I was born in

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

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: Yes sir.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Why did you come here?

MR. BERGSON: I shall be very happy to amplify this, sir. I left Palestine to go to Europe for the purpose of helping those Hebrews who were prevented from entering Palestine to get there. I am very happy to say that with the assistance of a group of Palestinians, which included myself, some 40,000 such people were evacuated from Europe into Palestine in the years 1938 and 1939, and I am very happy to say that it is a gratifying feeling to know that what was called the legal immigration--God knows what the definition is by law--has actually helped save the lives of

40,000 people.

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

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: I left Palestine last in 1938.

MAJOR MANNINGHAM-BULLER: Can you tell me one other

matter? How many members have you got of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation in this country?

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

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

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

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

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

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

MR. BERGSON: Yes.

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

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

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

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

MR. McDONALD: Thank you.

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

MR. BERGSON: It is of great interest--

JUDGE HUTCHESON: He didn't mean now.

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

"I wish to assure you in Great Britain, which has traditionally been the friend of the Jewish people, there

is no less profound desire in us to find a solution of their tragic problem."

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

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

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

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

MR. CROSSMAN: There are no details.

MR. BERGSON: Names we haven't got.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

MISS DEXTER: Yes.

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: Did you file your memorandum?

MISS BENTON: It will be filed this afternoon.

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

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

Secondly, we would like then that you recommend to the joint governments the calling of an international congress at the earliest practical moment for a conference on the

whole problem of migration. This particular situation is just one very important and terrible focus of a very much bigger problem which can get worse, and we believe that only as the United Nations considers the whole question of migration and sees it in entirely new terms can there be any possible future solution.

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

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

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

We believe the time has come when the Government of the United States should put on, if I may say, a campaign, and an affirmative type of campaign, showing the values to

the United States of immigration to this country, now immigration. I believe the United States is honored by having such men as Dr. Einstein, Thomas Mann, ^{and} others who have come to this country. We have gained. These are new values for us.

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

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

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

JUDGE HUTCHESON: That is remarkable.

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

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

COLENT: He has stepped out.

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

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

(The hearing recessed at 12:30 p.m.)



AFTERNOON SESSION

2:00 p.m.

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

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

Mr. Tulin: Present.

Judge Hutcheson: Step forward and make your statement, please.

STATEMENT OF ABRAHAM TULIN

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

The first witness is Mr. Hayim Greenberg.

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: Will you be so kind as to help me as to who it was?

Mr. Tulin: Mr. Greenberg.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Which transcript?

Mr. Tulin: I think it was on the second day -- the third day; I am sorry.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I don't understand the system of the solicitor coming to correct the evidence of witnesses.

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: If you will tell me where it comes.

Mr. Tulin: It was last Thursday morning, the third day of the hearings.

Mr. Justice Singleton: That was the fourth day.

Mr. Tulin: Perhaps it was. I will give it to you right away.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I have it now.

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

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

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

the General Federation of Jewish Labor.

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

"c) The differences in wage levels between Arab and Jewish labor, although considerable, are with some exceptions not as greatly pronounced as it would appear on the basis of statistical data. The difference in productivity

of labor in favor of Jewish workers is to be taken into account. Further, Jewish labor in industry is mostly employed in highly mechanized modern enterprises where productivity is determined by high capital equipment ratio per worker while Arab labor is still employed in handicrafts. Thus, for instance, the definition of a weaver applies in one case to an operator of mechanized machinery and in some cases even automatic looms, and in another case to a hand weaver. Obviously, such categories are not comparable.

"Conclusion.

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

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

"1. Arab economy is almost hermetically closed to employment of Jewish labor. For each Jewish worker

employed in Arab economy at least a hundred Arab workers are employed in Jewish economy. These circumstances determine, to a great extent, the attitude of the General Federation of Jewish Labor to the employment of Arab labor.

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

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

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

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

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

Is that question answered in what you have read?

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: That was the answer that was promised. I raise it because Mr. Crossman is not here.

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

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

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: Do you remember that that was the gentleman who promised to bring me the union book?

Mr. Crum: That is correct, Sir John.

Mr. Justice Singleton: I think so. Those are two things that might have been done quite easily.

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: He hasn't communicated the two things we wanted.

Mr. Tulin: I shall endeavor to have him communicate

those two things to the committee, sir.

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

Mr. Tulin: I shall put that to the witness too.

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

Mr. Tulin: Yes.

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

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

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: No, I don't think so.

Dr. Ayedelotte: Somebody did.

Mr. Tulin: Mr. Szold would like to have this addition appear.

Judge Hutcheson: I think I asked him.

Mr. Tulin: Mr. Szold would like to have this addition to

the answer which he then made:

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

That is all I have.



Judge Hutcheson: The next witness is Mr. Frank W. Notestein.

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

Judge Hutcheson: We will certainly get it in Palestine or somewhere.

Mr. Crum: All right.

Dr. Ayedelotte: Shall I proceed, Mr. Chairman?

Judge Hutcheson: Yes.

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

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

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

is it that you can predict population trends?

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

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

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

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

In general it would not be possible to predict the population of any area if one were not allowed to make assumptions concerning the state of public order and the state of economic well-being of the population. That is to say, populations heavily under the rule of mortality simply cannot be predicted any time in the future to any degree of preciseness. It is also true, however, that within the ordinary frame of an ordered society, within the framework of a normal peacetime development, one can say something rather real about the

populations of the future, something real stemming from the fact that, after all, man in his ordinary course of existence doesn't die quite capriciously. It takes 15 years to enter the reproductive period, so that the old-age problem of 60 years from now is already born, and if you know what that contingent is, it won't get larger. One can, therefore, knowing that man's span is a reasonable time, get somewhere.

You can also get somewhere on the side of fertility, for two reasons. One is that the number of births might be thought of in the sense of dividends from the investment. It depends on two things: height of interest rate, or rate of actual fertility, but also the capital at work. We know whether the child stock is going to go up or down, simply because it takes 15 years to get into the child-bearing period. One can make a considerable amount of progress, knowing how the potential experience will shrink or extend before the fact.

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

will take a considerable time to drop.

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

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

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

Judge Hutcheson: Now, which is it?

Mr. Notestein: I am sorry. I was saying that from memory. It is 36 percent.

Mr. Justice Singleton: What is a generation?

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: No.

A little more than 1 percent per year?

Mr. Notestein: It is close enough to 1 percent per year.

Actually very close, as of 1931, to 1 percent per year.

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

Dr. Ayedelotte: Normally it would be about 1 percent?

Mr. Notestein: Yes.

Dr. Ayedelotte: What about the Arabs?

Mr. Notestein: The Arabs are a flat 2 percent, again under the same terms.

Dr. Ayedelotte: Twice as much?

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

Judge Hutcheson: That appears in the chart developed in your monograph?

Mr. Notestein: Yes, sir.

Judge Hutcheson: All right.

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

Mr. Notestein: That sounds like collusion, and I think we can agree that you did not say you were going to ask me that question, but I was speculating on what might be asked me, and curiously enough I have something on that.

If you assume that the Arab population between now and 1970 is to grow on a 2 percent basis, you would have about, oh, 1,876,000.

Mr. Justice Singleton: By when?

Mr. Notestein: 1970. You would have that on a 2 percent basis.

Mr. Phillips: How many?

Mr. Notestein: 1.876 million.

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

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

Mr. Justice Singleton: I don't quite follow you. By

1970, on the order of the increase of the Arab population, you would have 1,875,000?

Mr. Notestein: Moslems plus Christians.

Mr. Justice Singleton: And what do you say about the Jews?

Mr. Notestein: Dr. Ayedelotte asked me what sort of immigration it would take between now and 1950 to give a Jewish majority by 1970.

Mr. Justice Singleton: Is that presupposing that the immigration stops there?

Dr. Ayedelotte: Yes.

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

Under those circumstances we are supposing an equal number of Jews, 50 percent Jews, 50 percent Christians plus Moslems. That would give you a total population of 3-3/4 millions by 1970. You would have a Jewish majority in 1950 by 300,000; a fifty-fifty business in 1970.

By the way, when you get that you would have 369 people per square mile in Palestine, counting desert and all.

Mr. Justice Singleton: You would have to put in a

million in the next five years?

Mr. Notestein: Yes.

Major Manningham-Buller: May I ask, what was the figure you gave for population in 1931?

Mr. Notestein: If there is an equivalent of fifty-fifty, since I estimated the Moslems plus Christians on a 2 percent basis, giving me 1.376, to get an equal number of Jews you would have the same figure, and those together would be 3.752.

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

Mr. Notestein: Including Beersheba.

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

Mr. Notestein: I don't see any terms on which I could imagine conditions under which the Jews can become and remain for any substantial period of time a majority short of very sharp, heavy immigration of Arabs under whatever terms you want. Assuming an orderly economic and peaceful country, it is extremely difficult. I mean, look at the case of the

United States. We are constantly recruiting our population off our rural hinterlands of the South. The Jews the world over are a low-reproducing race. You never pick up any statistics classified by religion, that I know of, where in the community they are working with the Jews aren't the lowest reproducers of the lot. The Arabs have the highest fertility in the world today. And this growth is very clearly a result of the impact, among other things, of Jews on the population of Palestine.

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

Mr. Notestein: Yes, sir. And may I say one other thing to make it clear. I hope it is understood that I am not pre-facing a population of 3.876 millions for Palestine. I don't believe the country can carry it. The total for Palestine was 369 per square mile. If you leave out Beersheba, that is 703 people per square mile. So I am not predicting that.

Mr. Phillips: How about the comparative death rate?

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

to the improving levels of living in this country.

Major Manningham-Buller: May I ask one question, Mr. Chairman?

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

Major Manningham-Buller: I have read his book, Mr. Chairman, and I certainly had no intention of asking him anything that is already explained in his book.

Judge Hutcheson: All right, proceed.

Major Manningham-Buller: Mr. Notestein, we were told by Mr. Nathan that in his view Palestine could absorb a maximum of 1,125,000 in the next ten years. You have taken it up to 1950. If an absorption according to Mr. Nathan's figure was allowed, would that have the effect of establishing a Jewish majority for a short period before 1970 which would then be reduced so that by 1970 we would get an Arab majority again?

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

Major Manningham-Buller: You mean an ultimate Jewish minority?

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

Major Manningham-Buller: One other question. In your book you give population per square kilometer.

Mr. Notestein: Yes.

Major Manningham-Buller: Today you have given it per square mile.

Dr. Ayedelotte: I told him to do that.

Major Manningham-Buller: It makes it difficult to compare the book with the evidence for me.

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

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

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

Major Manningham-Buller: You have given us, in the book, the comparative density of population in 1940 with certain other countries.

Mr. Notestein: Yes, sir.

Major Manningham-Buller: I think on page 311. You say the density figure in 1940 was substantially higher than that for Poland, Austria, Denmark, Hungary, or North Ireland in the early 30's, and on page 349 your estimate is that the density will be substantially higher than that of Italy or Germany in 1930, only exceeded in Europe by the Netherlands, England and Wales in 1970.

Mr. Notestein: Yes, sir.

Major Manningham-Buller: Have you got the figures for the United States, to see where they fit?

Mr. Notestein: 44 per square mile. I don't have it in kilometers here. 1940: New York State, 281 per square mile. Massachusetts would be of the order of 600, per square mile, as I recall. About the only State in the Union.

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

Mr. Notestein: Belgium, the Netherlands.

Major Manningham-Buller: What was Belgium?

Mr. Notestein: As of 1930, I think I have its density jotted down -- 674. That is, the Netherlands, Belgium, and England are between six and seven hundred. Germany drops down to 361. These are on the basis -- they would be

difficult conditions to reproduce. It is in a well-established industrial area.

Major Manningham-Buller: Those were the prewar figures?

Mr. Notestein: Yes.

Mr. Crick: Mr. Chairman, may I ask two questions?

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

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

Mr. Notestein: I will be glad to put myself at your disposal.

Judge Hutcheson: You are very kind. The Chairman has to run all the people in.

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

Judge Hutcheson: All right.

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

Mr. Notestein: It seems to me that it takes something of that sort. Now, I don't profess to have looked seriously

into the capital investment problem in Palestine. I am making a fairly simple statement, that is, that populations do not achieve reasonable levels of living and competent levels of health at this density, either in agriculture or industry, without very substantial capital.

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

Mr. Notestein: No, sir, but I do not consider myself competent as an engineer. My attitude toward it is, again, reasonably simple. It is one thing to sit down with engineering plans. A functioning society is a very complicated thing. I would fall back on the obvious fact that, so far as I know mankind's history, no population has received a high level of living in the face of densities of this order except under the very special set of circumstances that you find in the Netherlands, Belgium, and England and Wales. The circumstances seem to me to be absent in Palestine.

Mr. Crick: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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

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

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