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The report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on
Palestine, 1946.

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THE REPORT OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE
OF INQUIRY ON PALESTINE

By
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday Morning, May 12, 1946

In discussing the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine which was made public one week ago, one should bear ⁱⁿ mind first that it is only a Report of a Committee. It is not yet legislation. The Committee has no power to do anything but to recommend to the governments who appointed it. The Committee has no power to make any changes in the mandate under which Palestine is being administered.

It should also be borne in mind that this is not the first Committee of Inquiry on Palestine. Actually it is the seventeenth. And the appointment of each one of the seventeen committees at the end of the first world war was motivated by the same objective -- namely to get Great Britain to get from under the obligation which she voluntarily assumed when she took over the mandate over Palestine. Why she should endeavor to get from under the mandate is a simple one..... Balfour Declaration the good will of issued because Great Britain at war. When the war was over the need for/world Jewry no longer existed and those who controlled the policies of the British Empire discovered that the promises made to the Jewish people interfered with the over-all imperial policy of Great Britain whose aim has been and is today to win over and control the Arab peoples in the Middle East who occupy this strategic position so vital to the British Empire. That control of the Arab people the British imperialists believe is necessary against the threat of penetration -- up and through the Second World War -- of Germany, and since that time of the Soviet Union.

But the international obligations which were assumed by Great Britain under the mandate were very clear and specific. The Jewish National Homeland was to be established in Palestine. Immigration was to be facilitated. The purpose of the Mandate as defined by the statesmen who were responsible both for the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate clearly expressed by such statesmen as Smuts, Wilson, and others was the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. It is with this difficult international obligation assumed by Great Britain that she has been wrestling ever since, attempting to get from under.

Palestine, of course, does not belong to Great Britain. It is not a colonial possession of the Empire. The sole reason and the sole authority for this mandate -- the sole right for having armies in Palestine at the moment is for the fulfillment of the mandate -- facilitating of Jewish immigration.

Great Britain clearly has no right to make any unilateral decisions, to alter its basic structure or law. Great Britain has done that time and again unfortunately, especially in 1939 when she announced the new basic policy for Palestine, namely that Palestine was never to be a Jewish State and that immigration, after the specific number, 75,000, were admitted -- from there on the number of immigrants were to be contingent on the consent of the Arabs. Land in Palestine shall not be transferred to Jewish owners except in very restricted areas in Palestine. All these restrictions, a violation under the terms of the Mandate, were imposed upon Palestine unilaterally, without the consent of the League of Nations. These restrictions were in operation in Palestine, as you know, during the Second World War, when the Jews of Europe, many of whom might have found sanctuary in Palestine died tragic deaths in the gas chambers of Hitler.

All through the World War some Jews of America and the Jews of the rest of the world clamored for opening the doors of Palestine, without success. The explanation given was that there was a war on and that the strategy of the United States could not be endangered by opening the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigrants thereby arousing the anger of the Arabs. Well, the war ended last year, and the excuse is no longer valid. The doors should be opened in Palestine. The President of the United States sent Mr. Earl Harrison to make a study of the conditions of Europe. You will recall that Mr. Harrison, on his return, told of the terrible lot of the people, and said that something must be done immediately. Whereupon the President of the United States, on August 31, namely eight months ago, sent a letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that he should immediately make available 100,000

immigration certificates for Palestine. He urged quick action. This request of the President of the United States was rejected by England, instead of which a Committee of Inquiry to ascertain conditions about which everybody knew. The Commission was appointed, Britishers and Americans. Four months were spent in hearings, deliberations and another global debate on Palestine gave time for the consolidation of Arab opposition. Much bad blood was aroused. It is inevitable when parties line up one against the other in debate.

Most of us were opposed to the Committee of Inquiry. We saw only in it the desire for delay. We could not understand why the President of the United States yielded to Attlee. We became indignant that Foreign Secretary Bevin, when he announced the terms of reference under which the committee operated, indicated what he would expect from this Committee. He anticipated the findings by stating that there was to be no Jewish State in Palestine. Practically all the rights and privileges granted to Jewish people under the terms of the Mandate were liquidated, and that the problem of the survival of European Jewry should be solved by establishing them in their original homes, or in perhaps other parts of the world.

Personally, I urged at the time, you may recall, that the Jewish people should ignore the Committee completely, not to cooperate with it. I urged that both here and in Palestine. I personally refused to appear before the Committee. I anticipated its findings. 120 days ago, in fact, I anticipated the findings of that report. I told the Jews of American what that Report would contain. I even warned at the time that whatever positive recommendations would be made with reference to the immediate help to be given the hundred thousand, that even these positive recommendations Great Britain would attempt to frustrate.

The Committee met, testimony was received, oral and written. At Lausanne the Report was drafted, and on April 30 it was made public. The Report could have been written the day before the Committee left Washington. There was nothing new in it. No new arguments were presented by either side. When one reads the recommendations

and the supplementary material, one is amazed at the amount of what we call "double talk" in that Report. The Report is a unanimous one. It is purely the result of compromise. Five out of the six Britishers stood adamant as far as ^{we} were able to learn for the British Colonial point of view, the practical nullification of the rights of the Jews in Palestine granted to them under the mandate, the abrogation of the authority of the Jewish Agency. They wanted the suppression of the self-defense organization of Palestine Jewry, the Hagganah, and they were prepared to recommend very limited Jewish immigration.

Some of the Americans were prepared to go along with them. There were others, notably, Crum, Buxton and James G. McDonald, who were in favor of the Zionist point of view. At the very end they ~~xxx~~ were persuaded that they would serve the cause of Jewish Palestine best if they would yield on ultimate objectives for the sake of obtaining unanimity on immediate objectives, such as the 100,000 and the abrogation of the White Paper.

This Committee was in London before it left for the Continent. The Committee was assured in advance by Bevin that the British Government would accept their recommendations and put them in effect as quickly as possible if they were made unanimous. This unquestionably influenced these American members friendly to the Zionist cause to make the radical concessions which they did make when they signed the Report.

The Report has been made public. You have read it, parts of it in the public press. Briefly, it contains ten recommendations. The first one: "that countries other than Palestine give no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing to leave Europe." That is what we have maintained all along. The logical corrolary would be to open the doors of Palestine wide to them. The Committee estimates "that as many as 500,000" -- that is its own very conservative estimate -- "may wish or be impelled to emigrate from Europe."

But, and here is what I referred to as "double talk": "Palestine alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution."

But there is no evidence to substantiate this fact. Quite the contrary. There is evidence of many experts that Palestine is able to absorb not only 500,000, but quite a number of times that number.

But seemingly the Committee's principal concern was not exclusively for ^{the} 100,000 but for others: "They will be encouraged either to resettle themselves in Europe, if that is possible, or wait patiently in their respective countries until their time has come to leave." Wait patiently! One wonders how long. It can go on endlessly. Why?

In connection with the first recommendation, the Committee utters some very pious thoughts namely: that "the whole world shares responsibility for these Jewish victims; therefore Great Britain together with the United States should immediately endeavor to find new homes for them." Now certainly that is all very nice. If the United States and Great Britain were prepared to amend their respective immigration laws. If they had ^{done} so during the war, then hundreds of thousands of Jews might have been saved from the gas chambers of Hitler. Our own government was able to find temporary habitation on its shores for a quarter of a million Nazi prisoners, but couldn't give shelter for a quarter of a million Jews. It finally did admit a few refugees to the Oswego camp. That was done on the eve of the national election.

The Committee suspects that it is talking only for the record when it talks of finding new homes for it says in the report: "We do not suggest that any country should be asked to make a permanent change in its immigration policy." That, of course, would be terrible. And that is followed up with another pious wish that since a considerable number of Jews will remain in Europe, immediate effort should be given to the provision of the United Nations Charter calling for "Universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms."

One has but to read the day by day account in our newspapers of the out-croppings of vicious anti-Semitism in the liberated countries of Europe to realize how naive such a recommendation is. Constitutional guarantees are no guarantee of basic

qualification of human brotherhood. The worst anti-Semitism was developed in Europe after the first world war in democratic countries.

These pious wishes and double talk tend to obscure the first paragraph of the Report, namely: "We have to report that such information as we received about countries other than Poland gave no hope of substantial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or compelled to leave Europe."

The second recommendation follows logically upon this conclusion which the committee arrives at. It reads: "We recommend (a) that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution; (b) that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946 and that actual immigration be pushed forward as rapidly as conditions will permit." That requires no comment.

In making this recommendation, the committee says: "Although nearly a year has passed since their liberation, the majority of those in Germany and Austria are still living in assembly centers, the so-called 'camps', island communities in the midst of those at whose hands they suffered so much."

"In their interests and in the interests of Europe, the centers should be closed and their camp life ended. Most of them have cogent reasons for wishing to leave Europe. Many are the sole survivors of their families and few have any ties binding them to the countries in which they used to live."

"Since the end of hostilities, little has been done to provide for their resettlement elsewhere. Immigration laws and restrictions bar their entry to most countries and much time must pass before such laws and restrictions can be altered and effect given to the alterations. Some can go to countries where they have relatives; others may secure inclusion in certain quotas. Their number is comparatively small."

"We know of no country to which the great majority can go in the immediate future other than Palestine. Furthermore that is where almost all of them want to go. There they are sure that they will receive a welcome denied them elsewhere."

There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives.

"We believe it is essential that they should be given an opportunity to do so at the earliest possible time. Furthermore we have the assurance of the leaders of the Jewish Agency that they will be supported and cared for."

"We recommend the authorization and issue of 100,000 certificates for these reasons and because we feel that their immediate issue will have a most salutary effect upon the whole situation."

This recommendation, of course, nullifies the basic provision of the White Paper of 1939.

I will pass over for a moment recommendations 3, 4 and 5 and go on to recommendations 6 and 7 inasmuch as these, too, are abrogations of provisions of the White Paper touching on immigration and Land Transfers.

No. 6 states that "pending the transition from Mandate to Trusteeship the mandatory should administer Palestine according to the mandate which declares with regard to immigration that "The Administration of Palestine, while assuming that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions." In other words after the hundred thousand are admitted into Palestine, Jewish immigration is to continue. No quotas are to be fixed. Quotas are to be fixed after the new Trusteeship agreement is executed at the United Nations Organization.

In the interim immigration shall be continued at a rate fixed exclusively by the government which will take into account not only the economic factors of the government, but the political as well. The government will determine that. It hopes that the Palestine Government will take into account the fact that "In Palestine there is the Jewish National Home, created in consequence of the Balfour Declaration. Some may think that that Declaration was wrong and should not have been made: some that it was a conception on a grand scale and that effect can be given to one of the most daring and significant colonization plans in history. Controversy as to

which view is right is fruitless. The National Home is there. Its roots are deep in the soil of Palestine. It cannot be argued out of existence: neither can the achievements of the Jewish pioneers."

"The Government of Palestine in having regard to the well-being of all the people of Palestine cannot ignore the interests of so large a section of the population. It cannot ignore the achievements of the last quarter of a century. No Government of Palestine doing its duty to the people of that land can fail to do its best not only to maintain the National Home, but also to foster its proper development and such development must in our view involve immigration."

Knowing, however from past experience, one is not as hopeful as the members of this committee seem to be about the continuation of immigration into Palestine. None-the-less, the principal theme in report is "We reject the view of the White Paper ~~and~~ that there shall be no further Jewish immigration into Palestine without Arab acquiescence." This fact is a rejection of the White Paper, and as such is to be commended.

Similarly No. 7 states: "We recommend that the land transfers regulations of 1940 be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale, lease or use of land, irrespective of race, community or creed; and providing adequate protection for the interests of small owners and tenant cultivators. We further recommend that steps be taken to render nugatory and to prohibit provisions in conveyances, leases and agreements relating to land which stipulate that only members of one race, community or creed may be employed on or about or in connection therewith. We recommend that the government should exercise such close supervision over the Holy places and localities such as the Sea of Galilee and its vicinity as will protect them from desecration and from uses which offend the conscience of religious people; and that such laws as are required for this purpose be enacted forthwith."

The first part of this proviso may be used by unfriendly enemies to make it difficult for Jews to acquire land... Part of recommendation which has to do with "prohibiting provisions in conveyances, leases and agreements relating to land which stipulate that only members of one race, community or creed may be employed on or about or in connection therewith" is a criticism of the Jewish National Fund which is, as you know, the Jewish fund which buys land in Palestine but leases that land to settlers, to individual settlers or colonies and in these leases it is ~~xxx~~ stipulated that Jews themselves must work the land. The purpose is clear. One of the primary purposes is to convert a people of businessmen and tradesmen to a people of farmers, men living on the land.... And inasmuch as the Jewish working man requires a higher standard of living, they are compelled to receive higher wages... Danger in Jewish men being able to work their land. It was this very provision which this recommendation criticizes. It is strange to receive this criticism because the Jews owned no more than six percent of the land.

Now in so far as these recommendation we have just discussed are concerned, they are most commendable. But it should be remembered that they constitute no concession of any kind. They merely recommend that the plain and clear terms of the Mandate which had been violated in 1939 should now be scrupulously observed and fulfilled. Recommendations of illegal practises of the Mandate Government should cease.

And now I turn to recommendations 3, 4 and 5 which concern the future of Palestine, the future status of Palestine. If Palestine is to continue under the present Mandate and thereafter for the remaining period of time under a Trusteeship of the United Nations Organization. The recommendation is pointed up in such a way, tho not specifically stated, that such Trustee shall again be Great Britain. Palestine should not be set up now and for some time to come either as an independent Palestinian State or independent States, one Arab, one Jewish. The hostility, according to the report, might set up the independent state or states to civil strife. Ultimately

Palestine must become a state. "Palestine must ultimately become a state which guards the rights and interests of Moslems, Jews and Christians alike: and accords to the inhabitants, as a whole, the fullest measure of self-government, consistent with the three paramount principles set forth above."

"1. That Jew shall not dominate Arab and Arab shall not dominate Jew in Palestine. 2. That Palestine shall be neither a Jewish state nor an Arab state. 3. That the form of government ultimately to be established, shall, under international guarantees, fully protect and preserve the interests in the holy land of Christendom and of the Moslem and Jewish faiths."

Now, one need not go into a lengthy discussion. It is a solution concocted in the pernicious realm of abstraction. It negates the whole structure and underlying principles of the Mandate and the basic rights of the Jewish people to Palestine. It utterly ignores international commitments and obligations and the history of the past twenty-five years, not to speak of the larger history and the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine.

I should like ~~to~~ to make these very significant observations on this recommendation. The Committee does not wish Palestine to be a "purely Jewish land." Now, no one actually expected it to be a purely Arab land. The Committee doesn't want the Arabs to dominate the Jews. The term "Jewish State" implies only a Jewish majority. They spoke of Palestine as a country where Jews would constitute a majority. Palestine was never intended to become the national home of two peoples, Arabs and Jews. Why? Because after the First World War, when the Turkish Empire was ~~cut up~~ cut up and divided, it was resolved by the statesmen of the world then to set up five national Arab homes and one Jewish National home. These five Arab national homes cover 1,200,000 square miles in Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, and now Transjordan. One little notch of that former Turkish Empire of 10,000 square miles was earmarked to become the Jewish National Home... There are Jews living as minorities in Syria, Iraq, Lebanon. There are none in Saudi Arabia. They are not permitted there.

Strangely, it did not shock Mr. Bevin that part of Palestine on the Eastern part of the Jordan in the last few weeks was set up as an independent Arab state. That didn't shock him. But that the western part of the Jordan should become a Jewish state -- that is shocking.

Another observation I should like to make is that the need of the Jewish people as a people for national status and a national home which was the ~~very~~ basis of the Balfour Declaration -- that is completely ignored.....

One is therefore driven to the conclusion that while the Peel Report of 1936, which was a British Report, and which recognized the historic claims of the Jewish People to Palestine and which stated that the Jews were promised a state in Palestine, - solution may be solved by partition -- one part Jewish and the other part Arab. This report to all intents and purposes denies a Jewish state and an Arab state but ~~x~~ recommends what amounts to another British state.

Recommendation No. 5 -- I will spend but a moment here. I wish I had more time. Recommendation No. 5 states "that Arab economic education and political advancement in Palestine is of equal importance with that of Jews, should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists and raise the Arab standard of living to that of the Jews." The Jews today are paying seventy percent of the taxes of Palestine, and constitute only one-third of the population. The Jews of Palestine will not only have their own problem of establishing themselves in the country but of taking care of the poverty-stricken. Not only that responsibility but the responsibility of caring for the Arabs of Palestine who have 150 to 250 million fellow Moslems, many of them tremendously rich who could do for the ~~R~~ Arabs of Palestine what the Jews of the world are doing for the Jews of Palestine, but who are not doing it...The Jews are to do it.

Another recommendation - No. 8 -- large scale agricultural and industrial projects, such as the Jordan Valley Association -- while Jewish finances are employed, ~~in~~ the development, ^{and} ~~and~~/control and supervision of these projects should be exclusively in the hands of the Palestine Government.

And Recommendation 9. There is severe criticism of the fiery spirit of nationalism. Now there is no aggressive Hebrew nationalism except as a result of the government's attempts at frustrating the Jews, and the Jews ~~are~~ seeking to get into Palestine is arousing that nationalism. This is driving some of the youth to desperation.

Recommendation 10 states that "any attempt from either side to prevent its execution will be resolutely suppressed. That is the one specific recommendation the Jewish Agency is made -- that/to cooperate with the Mandatory to suppress terrorism and illegal immigration. The ~~M~~ Jews of Palestine recognize no terrorism and say there is no illegal immigration...

President Truman when he received the Report ~~sixteen~~ said -- and I read it to you: "I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews in to Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch. The protection and safeguarding of the Holy Places in Palestine, sacred to Moslem, Christian and Jew is adequately provided in the report.

"One of the most significant factors in the report is that it insures complete protection to the Arab population of Palestine, not only their civil and religious rights but also guarantees constant improvement in their cultural, educational and economic position.

"I am also pleased that the Committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939 including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisition to promote further development of the Jewish National Home. It is also gratifying that the report envisages the carrying out of large scale economic development projects in Palestine which would facilitate their immigration and be of benefit to the entire population.

"In addition to these immediate objectives the report deals with many other

questions of long-range political policy and of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement." Thus, the President of the United States throws the weight of his office behind these short range immediate objectives and dissociates himself from the long-range political policies which will be taken under advisement. This is really the attitude which is proper to take under the circumstances.

Unfortunately Prime Minister Attlee does not take the same position as President Truman. Attlee announced the very next day that the report must be taken as a unit and secondly, that these hundred thousand Jews are not to be sent into Palestine immediately. He imposed certain conditions before these hundred thousand can be moved: (1) they must be disarmed. (b) The United States must indicate the degree of military and financial cooperation before the hundred thousand can be admitted.

Mr. Crum, one of the American members of the Committee, thereupon issued the following statement to the Press:

"I am deeply shocked at the statement of Prime Minister Attlee that the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine this year would be conditioned by the British Government on the disarming of 'illegal armies' and the surrender of their arms. The recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee, unanimously was that these tragic victims of the Nazis should be admitted into Palestine in 1946 without conditions. The point which the Prime Minister raises was made in our discussions at Lausanne and rejected upon two grounds: first, that it would be indecent and inhuman to try to trade their lives upon the conditions that the Jews of Palestine surrender their arms; second, that the so-called illegal army, the Haganah, would scarcely fight against immigration of these 100,000 people. On the contrary it is self-evident that the Haganah and, indeed, the entire Jewish population of Palestine, will welcome rather than fight the immigration of these 100,000 persons. We had confirming evidence from the Palestine Government itself, both from the Military

and the Police which supported our conclusion, that the 100,000 Jews now in Displaced Persons' Camps could be received into Palestine with very little trouble even from the extreme Arab nationalists." That statement of Mr. Crum was later confirmed by Mr. Buxton and by others.

As to the matter of the military commitment of the United States in Palestine -- there is one government, that is Great Britain, which must provide it.

Secondly there is no sincerity behind the request for military control from the United States. There are a hundred thousand troops in Palestine today. Palestine is the most heavily armed little country in the world today. Should she require it, there are some 25,000 Jewish volunteers who can be brought back into Palestine to assist the Mandatory, and some 60 ~~25~~ 70 thousand Jews, members of the Hagana in Palestine who would be glad to cooperate with the mandatory in insuring peaceful entry of the hundred thousand to be rescued.

These imposed conditions are again delaying devices. These recommendations have been endorsed by all the six British members of the Committee.

There is one other thing which is very shocking and startling. I referred at the outset that Mr. Bevin sat in with his Committee in London and promised that Great Britain would immediately carry out the recommendations if they were unanimous. This statement was denied by a spokesman of the Foreign Office who said: "There was no record of Mr. Bevin ever having made such a statement". To which Mr. Crum made the following reply: I am quoting:

"If the Foreign Office spokesman would ask Mr. Bevin what he said at the luncheon which Mr. Bevin gave to the entire committee in the city of London at which most of the British Cabinet members were present, I'm sure the Foreign Office spokesman's memory would be refreshed.

"And if it needs more refreshing I suggest that he ask the British members of the committee, all of whom were present.

"It is, of course, literally true that the Foreign Office has no record of the statement, no stenographer having been present, but of the fact that the statement was made, and made emphatically by Mr. Bevin, there can be no doubt.

"He volunteered the statement that he had such confidence in the Anglo-American committee that he wanted to assure us in advance that the British Government would accept our ~~responsibility~~ recommendations and put them in effect as quickly as possible, if they were made unanimous."

Should these unfortunately hundred thousand Jews who had been languishing so long in the concentration camps of Europe be again ~~to~~ denied the one hope which is sustaining them to go to Palestine through this political chicanery. It would be a crime. It would be a shame. I am hoping that better wisdom will assert itself in the councils of Great Britain. I am hoping particularly at this time that the President of the United States will stand firm and adamant now that his request of eight months ago has been endorsed unanimously by this committee, and demand immediate transference of these people to Palestine.

And I hope that you, as citizens of the United States will communicate with your President congratulating him on the fact that he has been urging the saving of these unfortunate people, that in the face of this threat to their salvation he will remain firm and strong in seeing to it that this great humanitarian act which was initiated eight months ago is carried out without delay.

- ① only a Cmn. no power to legislate - change Mandate
- 1) 17th - each one - get from under -
- Why? Mistake. ^{Under pressure} Interferes with over-all policy - winning
and retaining good-will - gratitude -
- Against threat of penetration ① Germany ② Soviet U.
- Inter. obligations, however, assumed under Mandate are
clear and specific ① J. Nat. Homeland ② Facilitate
- The full purpose clearly defined by Statesmen - ^{State} Pal. does not belong to G. B. - ^{It is not a colonial possession} All she has - Mandate
excuse for her being there - armies -
- She has no right to make unilateral decisions,
altering ^{in mandate} Transjordan -
- But G. B. ~~is~~ ~~has~~ did just that, four again, J. Esp.
in 1939 - ① Ho of State (contrast Peel Com - 1936)
② Restrictions of Immig. 75,000 - consent Arabs
③ Land sales - Racial Land Laws.
- At a time - 6 M. - Excuse War! Chamberlain
all this was - ~~the same~~ -
- 2) When War ended - survivors. Earl Harcourt
Aug 31 - 1945 - 8 months ago. Letter - 100,000
Rejected - Comm. the - ascertain - quick action
- ④ 4 months spent in Hearings - another ^{global} debate
whipped up - time for ^{English} proportion to consolidate
still further - and a result bad blood -

3) Most of us were bitter abt its opportunity
such desperate & costly delay — ^{We could not understand} why Pres. Golda —
— we became indignant ^{when} Berlin — on widest terms
of reference — indicated why he would expect them
to report. ① to J. State ② to J. State & all special
units which J. people by virtue ③ Immigration
— I urged that we should ignore term and appear
before it: — Both here & in Pol — I did not offend.
— I anticipated its findings — I even warned that what
even positive recommendations — J. St. — would attempt
to frustrate.

4) Com. met — 120 days — hearings — testimony — not
and written — In Jerusalem — drafted
and ~~last~~ on April 30 made public.
— It could have been written 120 days ago — before ^{Sept 1968} —
— Nothing was revealed — No new arguments
presented by any one — Amazing amount of double
talk —
— Report is unanimous — clearly the result of a
compromise.
5 out, the 6 Beitiches — stood adamant for the B.
Colonial Pt. view — Practical nullification of report

- Delegation, authority of J. Agnew: - 2117-13
- Very limited of immigration

- Some, the Amer. were prepared to go along with them
- Others, notably Barthley C. Green, Frank W. Buxton
and James S. McDonald - Pro-Zionist.

- They considered minority report. were persuaded
that they would serve cause of Pal. best.
if they would yield on ultimate objectives for the
sake of obtaining unanimity on immediate
objection - 1,000,000 + abrogation (White Paper

(and the future will prove whether their reasoning
was correct.

→ British Government ^{in advance} were assured (by Berini (at a banquet) ^{in London}

at which most of Br. Cabinet were present) that
the Br. Government would accept their recommendations
and put them in effect as quickly as possible, if
they were made unanimously: this was unquestionably
influenced those members to make radical

5. Report contains 10 items - Briefly - conversion.

~~①~~ ① "Countries other than Pal. give no hope of substan-
tial assistance in finding homes for Jews wishing or compelled
to leave Europe" - Maintained that all along - The logical
conclusion conclusion would be: "Open Pal. then" for them

(4)

The Com. estimates "that as many as 500.000 may wish to be impelled to emigrate from Europe."

But - and here is what I referred to as the "double talk": "Pac alone cannot meet the emigration needs of the J. victims, Nazi + Soviet persecution".

No evidence adduced to substantiate this fact.

On the contrary - Expert testimony

Com.'s sole concern - is for 100.000 - as for others: "They will be encouraged either to resettle themselves in Europe, if that is feasible, or wait patiently in their respective countries until their turn has come to leave" - wait patiently - how long?

The Com. utters some fine words: "The whole world shares responsibility for these J. victims - and that: i. B. U.S. together with other countries should endeavor immediately to find new homes for them!"

Very nice! But is the U.S. i. B. prepared to amend their emigration laws? Did they do it during war -

6 M. German prisoners -

Com. suspects that it is talking for the secret?

"We do not suggest that any country should be asked to make a permanent change in its emigration policy"

And follow up the press with, with ~~an~~ ^{another} ~~press~~ ^{press}
~~statement~~, that, ~~the~~ ^{there is} a considerable no. of Jews
will remain in Europe, immediate effort should be given
to the provision, the United Nations Charter calling for
"universal respect for, and observance of, human rights
and fundamental freedoms" —

We have but to read - antisemitists - to realize how
naive! Constitutional guarantees are not yet human
brotherhood - & ~~first~~ ^{first} ~~thrust~~ - after I ^{have} ~~been~~ ^{been} ~~planted~~ ^{planted}
in ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~democracies~~ ^{democracies} etc - ~~these~~ ^{these} ~~democracies~~ ^{democracies} ~~will~~ ^{will} ~~be~~ ^{be} ~~affected~~ ^{affected}

These press notes & double talk tend to obscure
just 1st paragraph: "We have to report that such
information as we received about countries other than Pol.
gave no hope of substantial crisis averted in finding
homes for Jews wishing to emigrate to have Europe

This should put at rest — Santo Domingo — Bris
Bijan — Auschwitz — etc — Requiem overlaid —

⑥ Recommendations - (Jews) ^{P. 4} ~~has~~ ^{has} ~~no~~ ^{no} ~~comment~~ ^{comment} —

Answer that "the number of J. survivors, Nazi & Forest
persecution with whom we have to deal far exceeds 100,000,
indeed there are more than that in Germany, Austria, Italy etc."
But it says no reason why it does not deal
realistically with the others.

It says in comment on its recommendations (para)

This underlies provision, White Paper -

(7) I pass to secum. 6 and 7. in as much as there, too, are obligations, provisions, White Paper - hardly unimportant and Land Transfers: I shall return to the long-range recommendations 9 3-4 and 5.

6 - pending the transition from mandate to Trusteeship the mandatory should administer P according to the mandate which declares with regard to immigration that "The Administration, P, while ensuring that the rights and position, other sectors, the population are as favorable, shall facilitate J. immigration under suitable conditions."

This deals with the position after the admission, the 100,000 J. immigration is to continue after that time. ^{current} but ^{current} not later is first. Later may be first after the new Trusteeship agreement is executed at UN -

In the interim - immigrants shall continue - taking into account not only econ. factors but pol. or well.

Sect. 1 Pol. will determine that.

It hopes that Pol. Sect. will take into account

(Para) (p. 11 & 12) knowing, however, from past experience -

Still - "We reject the view (the White Paper) that there shall be no further J. immigration into P. without Arab acquiescence"

- 8) Arms. 7 - on Land Transf. reads (Joshi) (p. 13)
 And, must integrity - altho "proviso" - may open door
 (a) Planning B. - harvest & piddler - sever. of employment on land - & no workers
 leases granted by JNF. contain a provision that no labor other than J. shall be employed by the lessee on land subject to the lease.
 (b) Long JNF become inalienable. It would not be to the interests, the inhabitants, P. if too ~~much~~ large a proportion, the land should become inalienable.
Sondhren in P. B.

* Do so far as they seem - abrogate - open
removal restrictions - all illegal in put place
No concessions - Arms. that plain terms (mandate should be fulfilled!)

9) I now return to Arms. 3-4- & 5.

(H) What shall be the future status, Pal?

Pal. is to continue under the present mandate. Thenceforth and for a long period "under a Trusteeship, the U.V. -

The recommendation is pointed up in such a way that not specifically stated - that that Trusteeship shall again be P. B. Pal. should not be set up now

and for some time to come - either as an indep. Palestinian state or independent States (Partition). The hostility bet Jews Arabs is too great. The hostility bet Jew Arab is too great and urgent need to civil strife.

Ultimately P. must become a State (Juda) (p. 7) (5)

10) We need not go into a lengthy discussion. It ^{negates} ~~underlies~~ the whole structure & underlying principles, the Mandate & the basic rights of the Jewish People. It is a solution conceived in the primitive notion of absolutism. It utterly ignores inter. commitment & obligations and the history of the past 25 years - not to speak of the larger history & the historic connection of the people with Palestine - not Jews - but J. people.

① It does not with P. to be "a purely Jewish land" Never intended! "Exclusive dominion". J. State implies only of Majority. all citizens -

② Pal. was never intended to become the "national" home of 2 people - Arabs - 5 national homes (wherein other 3 Arabs would also be free to live)

③ It did not shock this ^{S. B.} ~~Transjordan~~ - when ~~set up~~ - as Arab State - Why ~~can the East~~ is it proper to set up land on E of Jordan as an Arab State - and improper - w/ Jordan?

④ Need J. people for a State Council, then run - first then States - & federation - ^(idea behind B. J. Del.) instead - another State will after a time be established - where Jews will again be a minority

and remain without nat. status & control its destiny in the world. - This is called "narrow nationalism". ^{normal} ~~normal~~ ^{Pol. should be dedicated to people of Palestine, the Jews & Arabs}

⑤ A new idea is struggled in: Ben. P. is sacred to Jew & Muslim & Christian, \therefore the interests of Christians are to be preserved - But the. for any a rel. interest in P. is not a political - (Good Places). "The great interest, the Chr. hold in P. has been completely overlooked, glanced over & brushed aside!" We wonder in what way? It is a Chr. Empire which is present before Pol.

⑥ Real Report - recognized - Partition. This Report neither an Arab State - Jewish State - British State! S. is out post - in Middle East.

8). Reun. S. - large-scale agr. & industrial develop. - S.V.A.

That Arab Econ. educat & pol. advancement in P. is of equal importance with that of Jews, should at once prepare measures designed to bridge the gap which now exists & raise the Arab standard, bring to that, the Jews

Jews, P. should accept the necessity that taxation, raised from both Jew & Arabs, will have to be spent very largely on the Arabs - Not enough to talk now, there

exp. - Expenditure - 150 M. Mushes -

Expenditure - 6/10 of land -

9/ Reun. 8 - Large Scale App. + Inhabit. Dred. J.V.A. (10)
Jew. finances - Pol. front control & supervision

10/ Reun. 9 - Educational System - ^{censorship} "ferry spirit of Nat" - Aggravating Hb. mechanism

Resist Mandatory's ~~sever~~ attempts at freshening
Jews have vision beyond nation - ענין נוסף

11/ Reun. 10 - ① Threat. "any attempt from either side, to prevent its execution, will be resolutely suppressed"

② J. Agnew - He pontificated - should at once resume active cooperation with the mandatory in the suppression of illegal immigration.

③ No Terrorism -
No Illegal Immigration

12/ Pres. Truman's statement. (Jush)

13/ Ante's statement. Conditions ① Discrimination.
② Pol. OT/cl. cooperation

14/ Barth C. Crum - (Jush) + Frank W. Buxton. (Sen. Truman)
(Jush)

15/ Crum also reminded Berin - Foreign for "then
was no record of Mr. Berin ever having made such a statement". Jush Crum

16/ would be crime added to crime & shame to shame (11)
sanctions — Caraculie

17/ more forward — with to for.



delay and confusion is further to add to the difficulty.

The British say, "Well, the Arabs are going to make difficulty, and Ibn Saud is threatening war." Having vanquished Hitler and Hirohito, does it seem possible that the British lion is going to retreat before an Arab sheik whose only power has arisen from the grants made to him in the past 10 years by the British and American Governments and by British and American oil companies? All the arms and munitions and whatever limited resources he possesses come solely from those sources, and all the forces he possesses are thousands of miles away across the Arabian desert, as we saw when we traveled over that area. The problem of pacifying Palestine could very easily be handled if the 25,000 volunteers from Palestine in the British

Sails; Today



Manuel
New York Times, 1939

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BRITISH DOUBT VOW OF BEVIN ON JEWS

Deny 'Record' of Pledge Based
on Unanimous Inquiry Report
—Crum Reaffirms Stand

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

LONDON, May 9—Questioned about the statement of Bartley C. Crum, a United States member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, to the effect that Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin had assured the committee that the British Government would promptly put into effect the committee's recommendations if they were unanimous, a Foreign Office spokesman stated tonight that there was "no record of Mr. Bevin ever having made such a statement."

This guarded denial was the only official reaction available in London, as Mr. Bevin himself and his principal aides are in Paris attending the Big Four conference of Foreign Ministers.

But the politely cautious form of the disavowal barely concealed the strong annoyance and disbelief in official quarters here. The authoritative attitude was that Mr. Bevin was "most unlikely" to make any such statement without consulting the Cabinet first, and that if he had done that there would be some record of it.

Complete Comment Avoided

The only statement on record by Mr. Bevin is his declaration in the House of Commons on Nov. 13 of last year when the setting up of the Palestine inquiry committee was announced.

At that time he deliberately avoided any such complete comment. What he said then was that "the recommendations of the committee of inquiry such as is now being set up will also be of immense help in arriving at a solution of the Palestine problem."

After saying that committee would submit proposals, he continued: "It will be necessary for His Majesty's Government to take action with a view to securing some satisfactory interim arrangements and also to devise a policy for permanent application."

Later he stated that the British Government, "after considering the ad interim recommendations of the committee of inquiry, will explore with the parties concerned the possibility of devising other temporary arrangements for coping with the Palestine problem, until a permanent solution can be reached."

Mr. Bevin concluded that the Government would later "prepare a permanent solution for submission to the United Nations, and, if possible, an agreed one."

Crum Amplifies Statement

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

SAN FRANCISCO, May 9—Bartley C. Crum, told that a British Foreign Office spokesman had said there was "no record of Mr. Bevin ever having made such a statement" as Mr. Crum attributed to him here yesterday, made this comment:

"If the Foreign Office spokesman would ask Mr. Bevin what he said at the luncheon which Mr. Bevin gave to the entire committee in the city of London at which most of the British Cabinet members were present, I'm sure the Foreign Office spokesman's memory would be refreshed."

"And if it needs more refreshing I suggest that he ask the British members of the committee, all of whom were present."

"It is, of course, literally true that the Foreign Office has no record of the statement, no stenographer having been present, but of the fact that the statement was made, and made emphatically by Mr. Bevin, there can be no doubt."

"He volunteered the statement that he had such confidence in the Anglo-American committee that he wanted to assure us in advance that the British Government would accept our recommendations and put them in effect as quickly as possible, if they were made unanimous."

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CONGRESS

Army were simply allowed to return and defend the admitted rights and obligations of the British Government in that area.

Mr. MEAD. It occurs to me that Great Britain could very well carry out the responsibilities entrusted to her by the mandate and that she could accomplish that objective without the use of military force. But if the use of military force should be found to be necessary, in view of the situation of this re-

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speech which I am now making is not directed against the pending measure, because I favor it. The speech is not directed against the nation which has only recently been an ally of ours, because I recognize the need for world unity. The speech which I am making is for the purpose of pointing out an injustice which has resulted from a recognition made in good faith by the representatives of this country and of Great Britain. The Prime Minister's observations actually destroy the intent and purport of the report on Palestine made by the Anglo-American Committee.

Many months ago President Truman took the initiative in suggesting to the Prime Minister that 100,000 survivors of nazism be admitted to Palestine. We were told that it was easy for the United States to make fine gestures and give good advice while Britain must bear the

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HIGH INDIA COUNCIL OFFERS TO RESIGN

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Move by Wavell's Cabinet
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By GEORGE E. JONES

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

SIMLA, India, May 9—The Vice-roy's Executive Council turned in its portfolios en bloc today, pointing to the early establishment of a popular provisional government. In the meantime, the British Cabinet mission and Indian political delegates resumed their talks, adjourning after nearly two hours until Saturday afternoon.

These developments, particularly the impending transfer of power to a popular ministry, seem to indicate that the present political discussions are somewhat close to their goal of agreement between the two main parties on the long-range issues relating to an independent India.

Of particular interest was the fact that Mohammed Ali Jinnah, president of the Moslem League, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, a member of the Congress party delegation, conferred privately during a short interval in today's round-table conference. This was the first occasion in the present political crisis that responsible leaders of the two bitterly opposed parties had met directly without the presence of a third party.

It had been generally felt that if today's gathering, which ended a two-day break in the sessions, proceeded on its business without a breakdown, prospects for a successful agreement would be immeasurably improved. The members of the Cabinet mission and the Viceroy, Viscount Wavell, are understood to be expressing privately their increasing hope for an amicable settlement, even though it is emphasized that the negotiations have not yet passed an extremely delicate stage.

Progress Toward Unity Seen

This feeling is heightened by the Viceroy's announcement concerning the Executive Council, which was issued several hours after he had talked with Mr. Jinnah. Separate negotiations between the Viceroy and the delegates of the two parties on this issue have been in progress since Tuesday night.

The resignation of the present council is a necessary step toward the appointment of a popular Government. The latter development need not necessarily follow in a matter of a few days, but the Viceroy's efforts to obtain all-party adherence to an interim government undoubtedly have a better chance to succeed in the light of today's development.

The Executive Council is composed of thirteen members, including four British. Among the portfolios turned in was that of the war member, Gen. Sir Claude J. E. Auchinleck, who, however, will retain his post as commander in chief of the Indian Army.

The other British members of the Executive Council are the Home, Finance and War Transportation ministers, whose retention in those responsible positions had been a contributing factor to the breakdown of the wartime negotiations between the Indian Nationalists and the British Government.

Popular Support Sought

The remaining members of the council hold their posts as representatives of communal groups rather than by party allegiance. It has been the long-standing goal of the Congress party Nationalists that the council should be composed entirely of men having popular support.

Furthermore, it has been the feeling of the Congress party Nationalists that the creation of a popular provisional government should be accomplished without delay as a necessary prerequisite to the success of the negotiations on long-range issues.

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same time turns around and votes for a \$4,000,000,000 loan to the very people who are crucifying these particular people. I hope the Senator from New York will ponder this issue very carefully in the next few days before it comes to a vote, and will consider whether the way to get Great Britain to fulfill its obvious obligations, on which we are all agreed, is by giving her a \$4,000,000,000 bonus while she is in such a default.

accomplished - particularly in regard to those "displaced persons", including Jews, who have relatives in countries outside Europe - by a relaxation of administrative regulations.

Our investigations have led us to believe that a considerable number of Jews will continue to live in most European countries. In our view the mass emigration of all European Jews would be of service neither to the Jews themselves nor to Europe. Every effort should be made to enable the Jews to rebuild their shattered communities, while permitting those Jews, who wish to do so, to emigrate. In order to achieve this, restitution of Jewish property should be effected as soon as possible. Our investigations showed us that the Governments chiefly concerned had for the most part already passed legislation to this end. A real obstacle, however, to individual restitution is that the attempt to give effect to this legislation is frequently a cause of active anti-Semitism. We suggest that, for the reconstruction of the Jewish communities, restitution of their corporate property, either through reparations payments or through other means, is of the first importance.

Nazi occupation has left behind it a legacy of anti-Semitism. This cannot be combated by legislation alone. The only really effective antidotes are the enforcement by each Government of guaranteed civil liberties and equal rights, a program of education in the positive principles of democracy, the sanction of a strong world public opinion - combined with economic recovery and stability.

REFUGEE
IMMIGRATION
INTO
PALESTINE.

RECOMMENDATION No. 2. WE RECOMMEND (A) THAT 100,000 CERTIFICATES BE AUTHORIZED IMMEDIATELY FOR THE ADMISSION INTO PALESTINE OF JEWS WHO HAVE BEEN THE VICTIMS OF NAZI AND FASCIST PERSECUTION; (B) THAT THESE CERTIFICATES BE AWARDED AS FAR AS POSSIBLE IN 1946 AND THAT ACTUAL IMMIGRATION BE PUSHED FORWARD AS RAPIDLY AS CONDITIONS WILL PERMIT.

COMMENT

The number of Jewish survivors of Nazi and Fascist persecution with whom we have to deal far exceeds 100,000: indeed there are more than that number in Germany, Austria and Italy alone. Although nearly a year has passed since their liberation, the majority

(a)

78 | (b)

of those in Germany and Austria are still living in assembly centers, the so-called "camps", island communities in the midst of those at whose hands they suffered so much.

In their interests and in the interests of Europe, the centers should be closed and their camp life ended. Most of them have cogent reasons for wishing to leave Europe. Many are the sole survivors of their families and few have any ties binding them to the countries in which they used to live.

Since the end of hostilities, little has been done to provide for their resettlement elsewhere. Immigration laws and restrictions bar their entry to most countries and much time must pass before such laws and restrictions can be altered and effect given to the alterations. Some can go to countries where they have relatives; others may secure inclusion in certain quotas. Their number is comparatively small.

We know of no country to which the great majority can go in the immediate future other than Palestine. Furthermore that is where almost all of them want to go. There they are sure that they will receive a welcome denied them elsewhere. There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives.

We believe it is essential that they should be given an opportunity to do so at the earliest possible time. Furthermore we have the assurances of the leaders of the Jewish Agency that they will be supported and cared for.

We recommend the authorization and issue of 100,000 certificates for these reasons and because we feel that their immediate issue will have a most salutary effect upon the whole situation.

In the awarding of these certificates priority should as far as possible be given to those in the centers, and to those liberated in Germany and Austria who are no longer in the centers but remain in those countries. We do not desire that other Jewish victims who wish or will be impelled by their circumstances to leave the countries where they now are, or that those who fled from persecution before the

I. THAT JEW SHALL NOT DOMINATE ARAB AND ARAB SHALL NOT DOMINATE JEW IN PALESTINE. II. THAT PALESTINE SHALL BE NEITHER A JEWISH STATE NOR AN ARAB STATE. III. THAT THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT ULTIMATELY TO BE ESTABLISHED, SHALL, UNDER INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES, FULLY PROTECT AND PRESERVE THE INTERESTS IN THE HOLY LAND OF CHRISTENDOM AND OF THE MOSLEM AND JEWISH FAITHS. (2)

THUS PALESTINE MUST ULTIMATELY BECOME A STATE WHICH GUARDS THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF MOSLEMS, JEWS AND CHRISTIANS ALIKE: AND ACCORDS TO THE INHABITANTS, AS A WHOLE, THE FULLEST MEASURE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT, CONSISTENT WITH THE THREE PARAMOUNT PRINCIPLES SET FORTH ABOVE. (1)

COMMENT

Throughout the long and bloody struggle of Jew and Arab for dominance in Palestine, each crying fiercely: "This land is mine" - except for the brief reference in the Report of the Royal Commission (hereinafter referred to as the Peel Report) and the little evidence, written and oral, that we received on this point - the great interest of the Christian World in Palestine has been completely overlooked, glossed over or brushed aside.

We, therefore, emphatically declare that Palestine is a Holy Land, sacred to Christian, to Jew and to Moslem alike; and because it is a Holy Land, Palestine is not, and can never become, a land which any race or religion can justly claim as its very own.

We further, in the same emphatic way, affirm that the fact that it is the Holy Land, sets Palestine completely apart from other lands, and dedicates it to the precepts and practices of the Brotherhood of Man, not those of narrow nationalism.

For another reason, in the light of its long history, and particularly its history of the last thirty years, Palestine cannot be regarded as either a purely Arab or a purely Jewish land.

The Jews have a historic connection with the country. The Jewish National Home, though embodying a minority of the population, is today

as possible. We now deal with the position after the admission of that number. We cannot look far into the future. We cannot construct a yardstick for annual immigration. Until a Trusteeship Agreement is executed it is our clear opinion that Palestine should be administered in accordance with the terms of the Mandate quoted above.

Further than that we cannot go in the form of a recommendation. In this disordered world speculation as to the economic position of any country a few years ahead would be a hazardous proceeding. It is particularly difficult to predict what, after a few years have passed, will be the economic and political condition of Palestine. We hope that the present friction and turbulence will soon die away and be replaced by an era of peace, absent so long from the Holy Land; that the Jew and Arab will soon realize that collaboration is to their mutual advantage, but no one can say how long this will take.

The possibility of the country sustaining a largely increased population at a decent standard of living depends on its economic future, which in turn depends largely on whether or not plans referred to in Recommendation No. 8 can be brought to fruition.

The Peel Commission stated that political as well as economic considerations have to be taken into account in regard to immigration, and recommended a "political high level" of 12,000 a year. We cannot recommend the fixing of a minimum or of a maximum for annual immigration in the future. There are too many uncertain factors.

We desire, however, to state certain considerations which we agree should be taken into account in determining what number of immigrants there should be in any period. It is the right of every independent nation to determine in the interests of its people the number of immigrants to be admitted to its lands. Similarly it must, we think, be conceded that it should be the right of the Government of Palestine to decide, having regard to the well-being of all the people of Palestine, the number of immigrants to be admitted within any given period.

In Palestine there is the Jewish National Home, created in consequence of the Balfour

Declaration. Some may think that that Declaration was wrong and should not have been made: some that it was a conception on a grand scale and that effect can be given to one of the most daring and significant colonization plans in history. Controversy as to which view is right is fruitless. The National Home is there. Its roots are deep in the soil of Palestine. It cannot be argued out of existence: neither can the achievements of the Jewish pioneers.

The Government of Palestine in having regard to the well-being of all the people of Palestine cannot ignore the interests of so large a section of the population. It cannot ignore the achievements of the last quarter of a century. No Government of Palestine doing its duty to the people of that land can fail to do its best not only to maintain the National Home, but also to foster its proper development and such development must in our view involve immigration.

The well-being of all the people of Palestine, be they Jews, Arabs or neither, must be the governing consideration. We reject the view that there shall be no further Jewish immigration into Palestine without Arab acquiescence, a view which would result in the Arab dominating the Jew. We also reject the insistent Jewish demand that forced Jewish immigration must proceed apace in order to produce as quickly as possible a Jewish majority and a Jewish State. The well-being of the Jews must not be subordinated to that of the Arabs: nor that of the Arabs to the Jews. The well-being of both, the economic situation of Palestine as a whole, the degree of execution of plans for further development, all have to be carefully considered in deciding the number of immigrants for any particular period.

Palestine is a land sacred to three Faiths and must not become the land of any one of them to the exclusion of the others, and Jewish immigration for the development of the National Home must not become a policy of discrimination against other immigrants. Any person, therefore, who desires and is qualified under applicable laws to enter Palestine must not be refused admission or subjected to discrimination on the ground that he is not a Jew. All provisions respecting immigration must be drawn, executed and applied with that principle always firmly in mind.

Further, while we recognize that any Jew who enters Palestine in accordance with its laws is there of right, we expressly disapprove of the position taken in some Jewish quarters that Palestine has in some way been ceded or granted as their State to the Jews of the world, that every Jew everywhere is, merely because he is a Jew, a citizen of Palestine and therefore can enter Palestine as of right without regard to conditions imposed by the Government upon entry, and that therefore there can be no illegal immigration of Jews into Palestine. We declare and affirm that any immigrant Jew who enters Palestine contrary to its laws is an illegal immigrant.

LAND
POLICY.

RECOMMENDATION No. 7. (A) WE RECOMMEND THAT THE LAND TRANSFERS REGULATIONS OF 1940 BE RESCINDED AND REPLACED BY REGULATIONS BASED ON A POLICY OF FREEDOM IN THE SALE, LEASE OR USE OF LAND, IRRESPECTIVE OF RACE, COMMUNITY OR CREED; AND PROVIDING ADEQUATE PROTECTION FOR THE INTERESTS OF SMALL OWNERS AND TENANT CULTIVATORS. (B) WE FURTHER RECOMMEND THAT STEPS BE TAKEN TO RENDER NULL AND VOID PROVISIONS IN CONVEYANCES, LEASES AND AGREEMENTS RELATING TO LAND WHICH STIPULATE THAT ONLY MEMBERS OF ONE RACE, COMMUNITY OR CREED MAY BE EMPLOYED ON OR ABOUT OR IN CONNECTION THEREWITH. (C) WE RECOMMEND THAT THE GOVERNMENT SHOULD EXERCISE SUCH CLOSE SUPERVISION OVER THE HOLY PLACES AND LOCALITIES SUCH AS THE SEA OF GALILEE AND ITS VICINITY AS WILL PROTECT THEM FROM DESECRATION AND FROM USES WHICH OFFEND THE CONSCIENCE OF RELIGIOUS PEOPLE; AND THAT SUCH LAWS AS ARE REQUIRED FOR THIS PURPOSE BE ENACTED FORTHWITH.

COMMENT

The Land Transfers Regulations of 1940 sought to protect the Arab tenant and small owner by prohibiting the sale of land save to a Palestinian Arab in one zone, by restricting such sales in another, and allowing unrestricted sale of land only in the third zone. Their effect has been such as to amount to discrimination against the Jews; their tendency is to segregate and keep separate Arabs and Jews. In the zones where sales are prohibited or restricted, they have protected the Arab from the temptation to dispose of his land, on which his livelihood and that of his family so often depend, for a sum out of all proportion to its real value. Though made with

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* May 3, 1946

From Harry L. Shapiro

Attached is the second section of the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, which will supplement the chapter on Recommendations already sent to you. I assume that you and your committee will want to make a careful study of its contents.

In addition to the two sections which have been forwarded to you, there are lengthy appendices to the Report. We are making an effort to print the entire Report speedily, and as soon as this is done, we shall send you the full text, which will include the appendices.

This morning the press carried a statement of Mr. Bartley C. Crum, American member of the Committee of Inquiry, commenting on Prime Minister Attlee's declaration that the 100,000 Jews, whose speedy transfer to Palestine was recommended by the Committee, cannot emigrate unless and until the "illegal armies" are disarmed. Mr. Crum's statement follows:

"I am deeply shocked at the statement of Prime Minister Attlee that the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine this year would be conditioned by the British Government on the disarming of 'illegal armies' and the surrender of their arms. The recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee, unanimously was that these tragic victims of the Nazis should be admitted into Palestine in 1946 without conditions. The point which the Prime Minister raises was made in our discussions at Lausanne and rejected upon two grounds: first, that it would be indecent and inhuman to try to trade their lives upon the condition that the Jews of Palestine surrender their arms; second, that the so-called illegal army, the Haganah, would scarcely fight against immigration of these 100,000 people. On the contrary, it is self-evident that the Haganah and, indeed, the entire Jewish population of Palestine, will welcome rather than fight the immigration of these 100,000 persons. We had confirming evidence from the Palestine Government itself, both from the Military and the Police which supported our conclusion, that the 100,000 Jews now in Displaced Persons' Camps could be received into Palestine with very little trouble even from the extreme Arab nationalists."

A similar expression came from Mr. Frank W. Buxton, another member of the Committee. Following is an excerpt from a New York Times news item of this morning which describes Mr. Buxton's reaction:

"Mr. Buxton said that he could not understand why British members of the committee had not yet challenged Mr. Attlee's statement, and that, if the Prime Minister did not know how impossible it would be to disarm the secret armies, he was 'an incredibly stupid man.' Mr. Buxton recalled quite clearly the discussion on this subject and said that Judge Hutcheson had quoted from the United States Constitution on the right of the people to bear arms and from Thomas Jefferson on revolutionary bands.

"It was very clearly understood and it was the unanimous intent of the joint committee, he added, that the entry of the 100,000 be made possible in 1946. He further expressed the view that if Mr. Attlee made his statement as an absolute condition, it would amount to a plain rejection of the committee's report.

"Mr. Buxton disclosed that the committee members, in both open and secret talks with military officers and the Jewish police, had been implored not to recommend a program of disarmament because 'it would be difficult, if not impossible.'

"Mr. Buxton said that neither Arabs nor Jews would give up their arms, that efforts had been made time and again to disarm them, but all military authorities agreed it was hopeless. In view of these facts, he expressed the view that Mr. Attlee knew that he had raised 'an impossible condition' and that, if study of the long-range recommendations and the immediate goals were combined, not a single Jew would get into Palestine.

"Mr. Buxton added that the committee had been assured on all sides in Palestine that no matter what it did, or if it did nothing at all, there would be criticism and trouble, but that the most disturbing thing of all was Mr. Attlee's statement."

Regards.

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tine which is essential for the good of all, including the new immigrants."

Urges Consultation with Neighboring Arab States on Palestine Development

The report recommends that "the examination, discussion and execution" of plans dealing with large-scale agricultural and industrial development of Palestine, "should be conducted, from the start and throughout, in full consultation and cooperation not only with the Jewish Agency, but also with the governments of the neighboring Arab states directly affected."

In making this recommendation, the report points out that various plans for agricultural and industrial development in Palestine have been presented to the committee for consideration. "These projects," the report says, "if successfully carried into effect, could not only greatly enlarge the capacity of the country to support an increasing population, but also raise the living standards of Jew and Arab alike."

"We are not in a position," the report continues, "to assess the soundness of these specific plans, but we cannot state too strongly that, however technically feasible they may be, they will fail unless there is peace in Palestine. Moreover, their full success requires the willing cooperation of adjacent Arab states, since they are not merely Palestinian projects."

The committee also recommends that "in the interests of the conciliation of the two peoples and of general improvement of the Arab standard of living, the educational system of both Jews and Arabs be reformed including the introduction of compulsory education within a reasonable time."

(SEE FULL TEXT OF RECOMMENDATIONS IN SECTION II OF TODAY'S BULLETIN)

FULL TEXT OF PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S STATEMENT ON REPORT OF ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, April 30. (JTA) -- Emphasizing that the recommendations of the Anglo-American inquiry committee amount to the abrogation of the British White Paper of 1939, which restricted Jewish immigration and land acquisition in Palestine, President Truman tonight issued a statement expressing his satisfaction with the report. The statement reads:

"I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch. The protection and safeguarding of the Holy Places in Palestine, sacred to Moslem, Christian and Jew is adequately provided in the report.

"One of the most significant factors in the report is that it insures complete protection to the Arab population of Palestine, not only their civil and religious rights but also guarantees constant improvement in their cultural, educational and economic position.

"I am also pleased that the Committee recommends in effect the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939 including existing restrictions on immigration and land acquisition to promote further development of the Jewish National Home. It is also gratifying that the report envisages the carrying out of large scale economic development projects in Palestine which would facilitate their immigration and be of benefit to the entire population.

"In addition to these immediate objectives the report deals with many other questions of long range political policy and of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement."

ABSTRACT OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. ABRA HILLEL SILVER AT THE TEMPLE
ON SUNDAY MORNING, MAY 12, 1946.

The Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine makes certain recommendations looking towards the carrying out of the terms of the Mandate under which Palestine is being administered and which Great Britain had violated in recent years. These recommendations should be carried out at once. It also makes recommendations looking towards the future permanent status of Palestine which as President Truman stated, "require careful study and should be taken under advisement."

The attempt of Prime Minister Attlee to make the carrying out of the first set of recommendations dependant upon the second set, and upon impossible conditions such as the disarming of the Jews of Palestine and American military commitments there, is shocking to say the least. The joint Committee should have been informed of these conditions prior to its deliberations. The unanimous recommendation of the Committee is that the 100,000 tragic victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution now languishing in the various internment camps in Europe should be admitted into Palestine in 1946 without condition.

Foreign Secretary Bevin assured the Committee when it was in London, at a meeting at which most of the British Cabinet members were present, that the British Government would accept their recommendations and put them into effect as quickly as possible if they were made unanimous. This pledge must unquestionably have influenced quite a number of the members of the Committee, especially American members, who were prepared to bring in minority reports taking sharp issue with the long-range proposals which were finally agreed to as a matter of compromise. They were persuaded that they would serve the cause of the Jewish National Home best if they would yield on ultimate objectives for the sake of obtaining unanimity on immediate objectives -- the admission of the 100,000 refugees, and the rescinding of future restrictions on immigration and on land acquisition.

One is forced to question the sincerity of Great Britain's insistence upon military commitments of the United States in Palestine. She alone holds the mandate over Palestine. She has given no indication that she desires to surrender that mandate or that she welcomes a joint trusteeship with the United States. The Report makes no reference to any such joint trusteeship. That being the case, Great Britain alone has the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the country, and for carrying out the terms of the mandate, which is her sole ~~and~~ excuse for being there. The mandate calls for the establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine through the facilitating of Jewish immigration. Great Britain has a hundred thousand troops in Palestine, so it is estimated, thus making Palestine the most heavily garrisoned little country in the world. She requires no additional troops to carry out her obligations under the mandate. Should she require any additional troops, there are some 25,000 Palestinian Jewish volunteers ~~x~~ who fought in the British Army who can be brought back to Palestine to help Great Britain to carry out her obligations. There is also the unofficial Jewish self-defense army in Palestine which will be glad to ~~unhesitatingly~~ cooperate with the mandatory in insuring the peaceful entry of the Jewish immigrants into the country.

Much of the violent Arab propaganda against this Jewish immigration which was fully contemplated in the mandate is incited by the Arab League which Great Britain herself has fostered to maintain her imperial interests in the Middle East. It will, I am afraid, prove a weapon which will cut the hand of those who forged it and use it.

Out of the collapsed Turkish Empire following the First World War, the statesmen of the world resolved to carve five Arab states in ^{one} million, ~~xx~~ two hundred thousand square miles of territory, and one Jewish state in ten thousand square miles. The five Arab states are now in existence and are represented in the United Nations Organisation. The Jewish state would now be in existence if the

Mandatory Government had carried out, in letter and spirit, its obligations to facilitate Jewish immigration and settlement instead of sabotaging them.

The Report of the Committee would prohibit such a Jewish state for all time to come. One wonders why it is perfectly proper to set up an Arab state in the Eastern part of Palestine -- Transjordan -- which was originally included in the Palestine mandate, and why it is improper to set up a Jewish state in the Western part of Palestine.

It is not contemplated that the Jewish state shall be "a purely Jewish land", but one in which the Jews shall constitute the majority of the population to insure the Jewish people national status. In the Jewish state which will be set up on a democratic basis, all men regardless of race and creed will enjoy full and equal rights.

One doubts whether this report -- the seventeenth in the line of reports on Palestine since the First World War -- represents the last word on the subject.

