

Note for Hugh Dalton and George Dallas

PALESTINE

I understand that the recommendation of the Imperial Advisory Committee that the policy on Palestine as stated in the Report on The International Post-War Settlement should be reconsidered before it is submitted to the Conference was strongly influenced by the criticism of Prof. N. Bentwich. The New Judea, April, 1944, which is the organ of the Central Office of the Zionist Organisation, says "whatever the merits of this proposal, it is the Zionist contention that there is enough room in Palestine to hold many more millions of Jews without in any way adversely affecting the position of the Arabs."

Be that as it may, I think that the paragraph cannot be redrafted at this stage.

This is ^{also} the opinion of Earl Locker who, as far as we are concerned, expresses the view of the Trade Union and Socialist Movement in Palestine. It is his opinion that when the Report is presented, the speaker should emphasise that no compulsion is contemplated and that any transfer of Arabs from Palestine should be voluntary. Locker thinks that the phrase that Arabs should be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in is unfortunate. It calls for an emphatic, clear statement that no measures of compulsion will be used under any circumstances. Arthur Greenwood, he says, has already given this explanation at one of their meetings.

IE/JBP/180544

W.Gillies.

ref 4:121

"Why I Resigned"

MR. S. S. SILVERMAN, M.P.,
AND THE "PEACE AIMS GROUP"

No draft of the pamphlet was ever submitted to any meeting of the Group. No draft was ever circulated to its members. It has never been formally approved. I suspect that the passage was introduced by a single member to cover his own personal view with Group authority.

ref 4:123

THE INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR SETTLEMENT

PALESTINE

Again there is in Palestine another problem which is insoluble under the old system. The proposal in the Labour Party's document that the Arabs might be 'encouraged' to transfer themselves elsewhere is a good example of the folly of believing that spectacular settlements are desirable and feasible. That is not the way to effect a reconciliation between Arabs and Jews which will enable them to live together in the same and in different states. The only hope of such reconciliation lies in agreement between the Allied Nations upon a constitution for Palestine; restored to its original frontiers, and probably federative, which will, so far as that is possible, give effect to the international pledges previously given to the two communities and safeguard their rights and liberties. Whatever happens, the tangle in Palestine is such that there will be a difficult and dangerous time there for some years after the war, but the only possibility of surmounting it lies in agreement between the Allied Nations upon a just settlement and in supervision by the international authority of its carrying out. Here is a specific task, this time of political nature, upon which the United Nations must unite and concentrate. And it is, in its way, a test case of the reality of the peace settlement. For if the United Nations cannot do justice and impose law, order, and peace in Palestine, they will not succeed in doing it in the rest of the world.

ref 4:126

Booklet by Leonard Woolf

Palestine

During the coming Labour Party Conference delegates will be asked to accept the report of the National Executive on the "International Post-War Settlement."

I hope they will unhesitatingly refer back the section dealing with Palestine.

It is almost inconceivable that such callous ignorance should be displayed by the responsible leadership of the Party.

It is proposed to transfer the whole Arab population from their homes, where they have been for over 1,000 years, to settle, presumably, somewhere in the Arabian desert. I know that the effect of this passage of the Report has been to make Moslem opinion throughout the East regard the British Labour Party as an enemy.

The Executive does not realise that Jerusalem is a sacred place not only to Jews, but also to Christians and to the whole Moslem world. They have no right to try by a side wind to commit the party to the extreme nationalist aspirations of a section only of the Jews. — M. Philips Price, M.P.

Daily Herald

29 November 1944

ref 4:132

ס. ד. י.
מס' 44

ט. ר. ט. א.
מס' 44

פרוטוקול
מישיבת הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית לא"י,
שהתקיימה בירושלים, ביום ח-7.5.1944

מר שרתוק:

היתה לי שיחה עם הפאביאן ריסירסס אינסטיטוט, איש מחון, בירידות אלינו. בנקודת הטראנספיר הוא הגן עליו, נצטרך לעשות טראנספיר. רבנים כאלה הם אינם יוצא מן הכלל.

הייתי לי ויכוח גדול בענין זה עם נואיל בקר, אשר המליץ מאד על דבר זה, ומען שיחנו סכום של 100 מיליון לירות לישוב את הערבים, האם הם לא ישלימו (דב"ג: אם הם רק יעשו - יסכימו, אבל יעשו ולא ידברו). אני טענתי שהטראנספיר יכול להיות גולת הכותרת, השלב האחרון בהתפתחות המדיניות, אך בשום פנים לא נקודת המוצא. אם עושים את הטראנספיר לנקודת המוצא, על ידי כך מביישים כוחות עצומים נגד הענין ומשילים את הענין למפרע. צריך לדרוש את ארץ-ישראל כמדינה יהודית וכארץ שיש בה יכולת קליטה רחבה עם האוכלוסיה הערבית הקיימת, מה יהיה כאשר המדינה היהודית תיכון - ייתכן מאד שהחוצאת חהיה טראנספיר של ערבים.

ref 4:137

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive. 7 May 1944

פרוטוקול מישיבת מרכז מחלוצי מועלי ארץ ישראל
בירושלים, ביום 8 במאי 1944,
אור לט"ו באייר תש"ד.

מר שרתוק:

אבל בינתיים החתלתי לדבר עם נואל בייקר על ציונות. היה לי ויכוח בענין זה. הוא אמר: מדוע אי אפשר להעביר ערבים מארץ ישראל? נחן לחם מאה מיליון פונט להחישב במקומות אחרים וכו'.

ref 4:137

Minutes. Mapai Central Committee. 8 May 1944

ס ו ד י מס' 44	ט י ט א מסינורמה
פרוטוקול מישיבת הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית לא"י, שהתקיימה בירושלים, ביום ח-7.5.1944	

מר בן-גוריון:

הציונות זה טראנסמיר
ש ל יהודים. ביחס לטראנסמיר של ערבים זה יוחר קל מאשר ביחס לכל טראנסמיר
אחר. יש מדינות ערביות בסביבה, אין מדינה יהודית, אי אפשר לשלוח את היהודים,
וברור שאם ישלחו את הערבים זה יעלה את מצבם ולא להיפך. העניין שלנו הוא לא
ליום אחד.

ואני חוזר לענין הטראנסמיר בהכנה מכללת עבודה, יכול
להיות שבזה יהיה פה או שם נזק קל, יכול להיות שהועידה חמק מעיף זה, די
לנו בשני מקומים, ואם לא ימחקו יהיה טוב שהדבר נאמר על ידי גויים, וננסה
לי שאין להצטרף שהמלה טראנסמיר נאמרה על ידי גויים.

ref 4:143

מר רובקין:

אני הייתי מבקש שטר שרתוק יספור לנו מה היה אצל
הר הפצרות.

לי לא טובנים כל ההעטובען שלנו בענין הטראנסמיר.

אני מבין את השיקולים של מר בן-גוריון. שאלת הטראנסמיר אף פעם לא
עמדה בעולם כשאלה של חוסר מקום לאוכלוסיה זו או אחרת, אלא כשתרון של
שאלת המיעוטים. אנחנו מניחים שבארץ-ישראל יהיה רוב של יהודים, ואז
יהיה בארץ מיעוט גדול, ואותו צריך להוציא. כאשר העברנו את היוונים
מתורכיה ואת התורכים ליורן הרי זו היתה שאלת מיעוטים, ועוד במקורות
אחרים היה אותן הדבר. אין מקום למעצורים המנימיים שלנו, הם אינם
מוצדקים. אם יהיה כוח להכריע בשאלת הטראנסמיר בטרנסמילבניה, או
במקום אחר באירופה, יהיה כוח להכריע בצורה שאלה פה.

ref 4:147

ד"ר יוסף:

אני מסכים לדעתו של מר קפלן בענין הטראנסמיר, אבל

איני מצטרף שהאנגלים הכריזו על כך. קודם כל ידעו

הערבים שהאנגלים חושבים שאפשר להוציא אותם מארץ-ישראל, אם אין מקום

לשבינו - ואולי ישנו את הטון.

ref 4:149

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PERSONAL AND
CONFIDENTIAL.

28th October, 1944.

As you know, I keep in touch with Weizmann and his friends and have been pushing their barrow for them through the National Executive and into a paragraph, with which they were delighted, in the Executive's Declaration on the Post-War International Settlement.

In Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, M.P.,
Home Office, S.W. 1.

ref 4:153 Letter from Hugh Dalton to Herbert Morrison

Dr. Stephen Wise
NEW YORK

Synagogue House
40 WEST 68 STREET
NEAR CENTRAL PARK

September 24, 1945.

Dr. John Haynes Holmes
10 Park Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear friend Holmes:

I do not like to write as I do, but you will understand, perhaps almost better than any of us, that England is about to do a great *thing* *thing* - the England that you have never quite trusted; the England I have been foolish enough to trust throughout the years. Less than a year ago, *at* Blackpool *the* Labor Party government adopted a resolution not only in behalf of a Jewish National Home, but also insisting that Transjordan should be rejoined to Palestine and insisting that there must be an exchange of populations, thus going beyond where we dared to go, though not beyond where we wished to go.

With deepest affection,

Yours,
Wise

ref 4:155

Letter from Dr. Stephen Wise to Dr. John Holmes

Transferring Arabs

IN complete agreement with your leader regarding the Labour Party Report on International Policy, I wish to draw the attention of your readers to one part of this which you omitted to mention: the dealing with Palestine.

The Labour Party has made it clear that there is no meaning in a Jewish National Home unless the Jews are allowed to enter Palestine in such numbers as to become a majority, for it is clear that the resettlement of homeless Jewish masses must become a reality, if the Jewish problem is to be solved. We do not believe, however, that the British Labour Party has done the Zionist Movement service in recommending that the Arabs should be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Not only are we opposed to such schemes of transfer as a solution to national racial questions in general, but we are more emphatically against such proposals in connection with Palestine.

We are convinced that the present antagonism between the two peoples is not due to immigration and colonisation, from which the Arabs have benefited, but is due to the reactionary tendencies of the Arab ruling class and the policy of the Mandatory Power. The Socialist Zionist Movement therefore has no interest whatsoever in proposing a scheme of transfer, neither has it an interest in depriving the Arab people of their national political aspirations. We are convinced that a constructive solution can be found in the creation of a Bi-National administration in Palestine.

We realise, however, that under present international conditions, and those of Palestine itself, the achievement of a Bi-National solution is not possible, and we, therefore, propose that a system of Government under international supervision be established, which would make full provision for the unhindered fulfilment of Jewish national aspirations while at the same time guarantee the real social, racial and economic needs of the Arab people and advance the country towards racial independence along Bi-National lines.

ARTUR BEN ISRAEL.

Hashomer Hatzair,
London, W.C.

ref 4:156 Tribune. 5 May 1944

Transferring Arabs

YOUR correspondent, Artur Ben Israel, of Hashomer Hatzair, to my mind, has interpreted the Labour Party's views on Palestine in a rather touchy fashion. His use also of the term "Bi-national" tends to narrow the issue of Arab-Jewish relations in that country.

Many Zionist Socialists cannot overlook the reactionary tendencies that exist in other Middle East countries, which are not only under-developed but under-populated.

Almost 50 per cent. of the Arabs in Palestine have emigrated from surrounding countries in the last two decades, greatly attracted by the ever-expanding industrial and agricultural economies of Palestine. Could not similar industrial and agricultural expansions in these undeveloped but potentially rich and fertile countries "encourage" the Arabs to emigrate to them from Palestine? Is there anything reactionary in such a suggestion? Only a touchy mentality would think so.

As a Socialist, I would gladly welcome a progressive policy for the Middle East, and the abolition of the reactionary role of the shekel seeking sheikhs.

As a Zionist, I feel deeply about the plight of hundreds of thousands of my homeless and stateless brethren who can be given a home, self-respect, and a real meaning to their Jewishness in Palestine.

I, too, have no interest in depriving the Arab people of any sincere and progressive national and political aspirations. However, their present line of propaganda is formulated by retrogressive absentee effendis, who fear the effects that the Socialist achievements of Jewish Palestine would have on the Arab fellahen. Their anti-Zionist views hide their nefarious deeds elsewhere. As a consequence they have greatly exaggerated the sentimental importance of Palestine as one of the national homes of the Arab.

As far as the pursuit of a Bi-national policy is concerned, the confusion that would arise is obvious if a limit to the size of a Jewish majority cannot be satisfactorily agreed upon.

I believe that no solution is possible unless one understands and compares the respective needs, claims, "fait accomplis" of construction in the country, and the sentimental national attachments, of Jew and Arab. As the same time, steps must be taken towards the emancipation of the Arab fellah in the Middle East.

Then and then only will it be seen how just and imperative is the establishment of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish people.

BARUCH BEN SHALOM, RA.

ref 4:158 Tribune. 19 May 1944

A REJECTION in principle of "voluntary transfer" of Arabs would in practice amount to a sort of prohibition of emigration. Apart from the fact that this would constitute an undue restriction of civic rights, it would be absurd if Jewish bodies would resort to such a policy. Perhaps the expression "voluntary transfer" is, though not misleading, yet open to misinterpretation. The public generally is used to head the idea of "transfer" of populations as something connected with forcible means. But in itself it must really seem grotesque that Zionist bodies should come into the open and should try to contradict and counteract the respective Palestine resolution of the British Labour Party. (Mr. Artur Ben Israel's "protest" has not been the only one in this respect. Even the Jewish Press had to print some similar utterances.)

The Palestine Resolution, which the British Labour Party has put forward, is not only the first but the sole act of real practical help offered to the Jewish and to the Zionist cause since 1933. The Jewish people (to whom the present writer belongs) are, unfortunately, not good politicians. Dogmatic and inflexible in outlook, they often prefer a stubborn persistence in a principle or in an opinion to adaptation to practical needs of life. Certainly one is entitled to say that there is no realistic sense whatsoever in Zionism or Zionist bodies resisting an eventual transfer of Arabs from Palestine, if such measure can be carried out in an amiable way and with peaceful means.

Just to give an idea of the true nature of the problem concerned, you will perhaps allow me to state that the Arab countries cover an area of 3,300,000 square miles (more than the United States of America), with a population of fifty million, while Palestine covers 10,000 square miles—one-third of one per cent. of the whole Arabic territory. From this statement certainly even a person entirely unacquainted with geopolitical facts must gather that that transfer, which has been suggested by the British Labour Party, is feasible as well as just.

FREDERICK JELLNER.

ref 4:159 Tribune. 19 May 1944

POST-WAR AS LABOUR SEES IT

A similar spirit of sane realism marks the report's references to the treatment of national minorities. It clearly envisages the necessity for the sake of peace of transferring in certain cases those minorities left outside their own national territory who are not willing to become in fact loyal subjects of the country where they dwell. In this spirit there can easily be solved, in justice and with efficiency, the problem of any non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine who, despite complete equality of treatment in every respect, might feel constrained to resist that establishment of a Jewish majority in the land which is the only solution of an aching world problem.

ref 4:160

"ASSISTED PASSAGES" FOR ARABS

THE references to Palestine in the Labour Party Report—referred to some weeks ago in this column—and in particular their statement on the subject of the oft-suggested transfer of the Arab population of that country, have given rise to widespread and sustained interest amongst thoughtful people. The actual words used in the Report declared that there was a case for transfer. "Let the Arabs," it was said, "be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in, let them be compensated handsomely for their land, and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organised and generously financed." Here was a clear-cut practical proposal, the first that has ever been formally made in the name of an important political party, and that party too, the second strongest in this country, judged by its Parliamentary representation.

Very regrettable certain Zionist reactions were as unfavourable as they were instantaneous. The Hashomer Hatzair, a small but fanatical party of unco' guid socialists, rushed in with more than youthful impetuosity and declared that on no account would it have anything to do with the Labour suggestion. Like this organisation's own panacea for the difficulty, which apparently consists in the belief that the rigid application of doctrinaire Socialist principles, in sharp contrast with the constructive ideas of the more experienced British Labour Party, will conjure away the Arab spectre, this ebullition is perhaps nothing to wonder at in the Yishuv, which, for all its miraculous progress, is still politically in the experimental pioneering stage, and second thoughts on the subject are not perhaps to be ruled out. More valuable was the statement of Mr. SZATOK, the head of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency, that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine can be achieved without necessitating the emigration of a single Arab. If this is to be understood as originating in a fear that any talk about Arab transference might be mischievously employed to pretend that without such means there is not room in Palestine for a large Jewish immigration, it can be regarded as, in the circumstances, understandable from a Zionist leader, though the absence in the condensed report of the speech of any word of appreciation to the Labour Party for its practical and wise proposal strikes an ungracious and tactless note. Mr. SZATOK's further allegation, however, that this proposal is "inconsistent with the Zionist programme" must be dismissed as baseless. The Zionist plan was formulated without any idea of Arab transference, and those who drew it up did not envisage any such necessity. Arab transference has never been considered as a causal factor in the Jewish National future. It is difficult to understand therefore how the policy of transference can be pronounced as "inconsistent" with it.

ref 4:161

OPINION

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Statesmanship re Palestine

A recent statement on post-war policy drawn up by the British Labor Party, which is to be submitted shortly to its Convention, is beyond praise. It reveals the most statesmanlike grasp not only of the Palestine problem but of the entire Jewish problem. There is deep wisdom in the recommendation that Jews be admitted into Palestine "in such numbers as to become a majority." There is equally deep wisdom in the encouragement offered by the statement to the Arabs to move out as the Jews move in, and there is the utmost of wisdom in the proposed "re-examination of the possibility of the present Palestine boundaries in an agreement with Egypt, Syria or Trans-Jordan." Only this is statesmanship of a high order and is not like the statesmanship which has been shown by the American Federation of Labor for more than a decade or subsequently the C.I.O. in its dealing with the problem of the re-constituting of the Jewish National home in Palestine.

ref 4:170

אבל הנקודה החשובה ביותר בהחלטה המסלול היא, שהיא רואה את תפקידה של הממשלה הבריטית כענין זה לא כפאסיבי אלא כאקטיבי. אנגליה, שבירה הופקד גור רעה הבריטית של ארץ-ישראל, אינה צריכה לתקוף עד שיבוא לחץ עליה מבחוץ. היא עצמה צריכה להפעיל את האולטימטום החריצוניים. אנו צריכים להשתדל — אולי רחם החלטה — להשיג גם כאת ממשלות ארצות-הברית ורוסיה את אהדתן המלאה ואת תמיכתן בכניצוזה של מדיניות ארצות-ישראליות זו.

ונהי הדרך, שבה יכולה הממשלה הבריטית למנוע צעדים העלולים לעשות רושם, כאילו מישוה מבחון רוצה. להשפיע עליה ובאילו אחרים אמרים לכופ עליה מנגנונות בלתי רצויה לה. הביקוש היהודי והאקראי-שאלות נוגעת לגורמים מדיניים שונים. פתרונה צריך לבוא מתוך הסכם בין הגורמים האלה. מכללת העבודה כצו עתה את הדרך.

מסלול זה עונה משתתפת בממשלה והשפעתה בשורותיה חשובה מאד. נציגי המפלגה יכולים, איפוא, להביא בסני. חבי ריחם מן המפלגות האחרות את הצעתם. שכן גם אם סתרון הבעיה הארצישראית צליל עלול לבוא רק עם גמר פעולות המלחמה. נגד גרמניה, הרי הכשרת-הקרקע לקראת פתרון יכולה וגם צריכה להתחיל קודם. יתכן, שהיא כבר התחילה.

ידידי הציונות וידידי אנגליה כאחד יקבי לך, איפוא, את החלטה של מפלגת העבודה הבריטית כתשובה חשובה לבירור בעיה קשה וחופפת.

תלמידי בית ספר בלתי-הולנדי

דרך נכונה לטיפול בבעיה הארצישראלית נקבעה בתוכניתה של מפלגת העבודה הבריטית להסדר הענינים הבינלאומיים לאחר המלחמה. ללא סוסמאית מיוחדות ולכלי להשתמש בנוסחאות וכסויים, העלולים לערפל את הענין ולהכניס בלבול נוסף בכוחות. הוצעה תכנית ברורה לפתרון הבעיה. יצירת המפלגה נמנעה מלהכנס בדיונים ובמחלוקות על הצעות אחרות. שיחובא לפניו והתכנית שאושרה כהויה בעקש. מפלגת המפלגה לטיפול בבעיה הרי הויה והארצישראלית.

אינו מתעללים מן העבודה, שבארצות השבועות האחרונים הכניסו היסוסים בלב הציבור ביחס לערכן של הבטחות והחלטות. וגם קודם היה ברור, שלא קטן הי' מרחק המסירה בין החלטה מדינית לבין מימושה. אבל חשיבות ההחלטה בתורת החלטה בתקפה עומדת. אם אין שוכחים שמטרתה רק לתת כיוון לפעולתו של הגורם המדיני הנוגע בדבר.

ובמחנה זו מציינת החלטה של מפלגת העבודה בבחירות, בפשטות וגם בכח עשיות. היא רואה את מרכז הכובד בביטחון. היא מדברת על העוקף: על העליה שתאסד ליהודים להיות רוב בארץ. כי דעתה היא, כנראה, שקביעת הצורה המדינית תוכל לבוא רק לאחר התהוות הרוב היהודי. במלים אחרות: אם כי אין מפלגת העבודה מדברת על קביעת הצורה המדינית מראש, היא רואה את הדבר הזה והיא מתכוננת אליו.

Ha'aretz

15 December 1944

ref 4:173

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THE LABOUR PARTY

REPORT

OF THE

43rd Annual Conference

HELD IN

The Central Hall, Westminster
S.W.1

December 11th to December
15th, 1944

INTERNATIONAL POST-WAR
SETTLEMENT

The Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE, M.P. (Leader of the Party), moved the "International Post-War Settlement" Section of the Report and the following resolution of the National Executive:

This Conference welcomes the Report of the National Executive Committee on the International Post-War Settlement, and

pledges the Labour Party to continue its full support to the joint War effort of the United Nations until final Victory has been achieved, both against Germany and Japan, and after Victory, to the building of a Peace Settlement which shall endure.

The resolution of the National Executive was then put and carried by an overwhelming majority.

ref 4:179

SECRET.

Short Minutes of Meeting held on Monday, December 18, 1944, at 77 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Present: Mrs. Dugdale, Mr. Locker, Professor Namier.

LABOUR CONFERENCE.

Mr. Locker reported on the Labour Conference re Palestine. He said the old statement still stands. There was apparently some confusion; first of all Dr. Dalton asked for a few resolutions more or less on the old lines. Then he said they had decided to take Palestine and India out of the bigger statement and make it the basis of special resolutions. One of the resolutions put in by Leada wanted the word "homeland" instead of "Commonwealth", the Arabs having the choice either to enjoy the same conditions as the Jews or to go wherever they liked. Mr. Locker was called in by Gillies who said "You must change the word 'commonwealth' as you are still a minority". Mr. Locker had thought the matter would have come up last Thursday, but on Tuesday the conference voted on the whole report and it was adopted unanimously, including the paragraphs on Palestine.

ref 4:185

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive. London

MINUTES OF E.C. MEETING HELD FRIDAY EVENING OCTOBER 13TH, IN THE T.C.
OFFICES, 7.30 p.m.

Coun. Mrs. E. M. Braddock in the Chair.

Letter Liverpool Branch People's League and resolution for Annual Conference.

Moved and Seconded, "That the E.C. recommend that same be approved." Agreed.

ref 4:187 Minutes. Executive Committee Liverpool Trades Council. 13 October 1944

MINUTES OF COUNCIL MEETING HELD FRIDAY EVENING OCTOBER 13TH, 1944.

Coun. Mrs. E. M. Braddock presided over an attendance of 140 delegates.

60 Minutes of Council meeting held September 21st, read by the Secretary.

Moved and Seconded, "That the same be passed as a correct record."

61 Minutes of Executive meeting held October 13th, and correspondence, read by the Secretary.

Arising out of same: Executive recommendation:-

62 Moved and Seconded, "That, mindful of the unprecedented sufferings of the Jewish people through Hitler's policy of extermination, this Conference reaffirms the Labour Party's policy since the days of the Balfour declaration and declares that Victory must assure the Jewish people the conditions for reconstituting Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth by mass immigration and economic development of the country. The conference welcomes the policy on Palestine enunciated in the Executive's statement on "the international post-war settlement" that the Jews must be given the opportunity to become a majority in the country while safeguarding the full equality of the inhabitants. Those Arabs who may desire to settle in one of the neighbouring Arab States must be given assistance to do so."

63 Reference back moved and seconded: discussion ensued.

64 Moved and Seconded, "That the question be put." Agreed.

Reference back put to the meeting and defeated.
Executive recommendation approved.

ref 4:188 Minutes. Council Meeting Liverpool Trades Council

(34) This Conference welcomes the unequivocal stand on Palestine as the National Home for the Jewish people contained in the National Executive Committee's Statement on the "International Post-War Settlement" as being in accord with the traditional policy of the British Labour Movement.

The Conference records with horror the calculated campaign of mass murder perpetrated by the Nazis against the Jewish population of Europe and declares that whilst full equality of rights must be restored in all countries, for those who have survived, the only real possibility of rehabilitation can be in the land where their own brethren have built up a new civilisation by dint of toil and sacrifice.

The Conference believes that the time has come for this country in concert with the United Nations to promote and guarantee the establishment of Palestine as a free Jewish Commonwealth. This can be effected without hardship to the existing population, who can have the free choice of remaining and sharing in the benefits which Jewish colonisation brings in its wake or be assisted to participate in the development of the vast reserves of undeveloped land in the neighbouring Arab countries.

CITY OF LEEDS L.P.

ref 4:194 1944 Conference Agenda. British Labour Party

Confidential

Labour Party Minutes.

POLICY AND INTERNATIONAL SUB-COMMITTEES

3. Palestine:

It was agreed that the National Executive Committee should agree to support Resolution (34) on Palestine placed on the Special Agenda by the City of Leeds Labour Party, if the delegate of the City of Leeds Labour Party agrees to the substitution of 'National Home for the Jewish People' for 'Free Jewish Commonwealth' in the first sentence of the third paragraph.

ref 4:195

ס נ ד י

22.04

פ י ו ט א
מסינוגרמה

פרוטוקול

מישיבת הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית לא"י,
שהתקיימה בירושלים, ביום ה-16.12.44דר' סנשור:

מלה אחת על שראנספיר של הערכים. אני איני רואה בשראנספיר של הערכים מארץ-ישראל איזו שאלה מוסרית, והספקות שלי אינם נובעים מאיזה ספק מוסרי, כי אם אני שוקל את האטון של חמשת מיליונים יהודים ואת ההעברה של מיליון ערבים, אני במצפון טהור וקל אני אגיד שמותרים דברים הרבה יותר גרועים, אבל ספק הוא אם כמובן עולמי דבר זה אפשרי הוא, אם לא יביא נזק כזה שלא כדאי להזכירו.

דר' וייצמן:

מי מדבר על שראנספיר?

דר' סנשור:

הלייבור פארטי.

דר' וייצמן:

נגד הצעתנו, נגד הצעת ברל לוקר, שהלך שנפיים לדבר נגד זה. הראשון אשר גילה לנו שהם רוצים לדבר על שראנספיר היה דאלטן. אני אמרתי לו, שאני חושב את זאת למיותר לגמרי להביא שאלה זו. יש די מקום בארץ-ישראל, יהיה מקומם לדורות הנאים, ומדוע טריפים אתם שאלה זו, אבל הם עשו זאת למרות הכל שיעצנו להם לעבור בשתיקה על שאלה זו.

מר ספירא:

אם הם עשו זאת, זה לא רע.

דר' וייצמן:

שטרטסיל דיבר על שראנספיר של חמשה מיליון גרמנים, הוא התחיל שמהצר המוסרי זה כל כך קל, ומה שיכולים לעשות עם הגרמנים, יכולים הגויים לעשות עם הערבים.

ref 4:202

Minutes. Jewish Agency Executive

THE LABOUR PARTY

REPORT

OF THE

44th Annual Conference

May 21st to May 25th, 1945

[May I make reference to the speech Mr. Rossetti made regarding the Jewish people? The National Executive has made its position on this question abundantly and repeatedly clear. Last December the Conference accepted and welcomed, without even the challenge of a card vote, the document entitled "The Post-War International Settlement." That stands as the policy of this Movement and of this Party, and in that document there is a clear and definite statement regarding Palestine and the Jewish people.

ref 4:204

FIRST AGENDA
for the
THIRD CONFERENCE
at
St. George's Hall, Lime Street, Liverpool
EASTER, 1945.

RESOLUTIONS FOR CONFERENCE 1945.

PALESTINE.

The fact that any proposal for a settlement of the Palestinian problem will arouse opposition in some quarters is due to the uncertain and confused policy of the past. We have to accept the situation as it is and to recognise that no solution will now be regarded as completely satisfactory. In view of the promises which were made to the Jews before the war, and the sufferings which they have endured in a fascist-ridden Europe both before and during the war, we believe that some partition of Palestine is essential, and that the area which is marked out for the Jews should include regions which the Arabs cannot fertilise, but which modern science could develop. We do not favour the principle of compulsory emigration in any part of the world, but we recommend that an international commission be appointed, including both Jewish and Arab representatives, whose task shall be to draw up a scheme involving as little displacement of the Arab population as possible and arranging for facilities for such Arab transfer as is necessary to adjacent territory. The area of Palestine to be handed over to Jewish control should be such as will allow for a far larger immigration of Jews, during a specified period of years, than has been feasible hitherto.

ref 4:207

Common Wealth Party

COMMON WEALTH	SIXTH SESSION
THIRD CONFERENCE	Sunday, 1st April 1945.
EASTER, 1945	3 - 7 p.m.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Lastly, on Palestine, we recognise that this Paragraph should be withdrawn and redrafted in the light of the criticism we have received from members and the Amendments which have been put in. This is a difficult problem because the whole position of Palestine has become a tangle, and there is no solution that will not create injustice and opposition in certain quarters.

ref 4:212

Common Wealth Party Conference Support Jewish State

SUPPORT for a policy of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine is expressed in the report on international affairs adopted at the conference of the Common Wealth Party in Liverpool. The report demands that restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine should immediately be removed. The original report contained a passage advocating partition of Palestine, but this was eliminated through an amendment which also introduced a more positive attitude towards the Jewish State. The paragraph adopted now reads as follows:—

"The fact that any proposal for a settlement of the Palestinian problem will arouse opposition in some quarters is due to the uncertain and confused policy of the past. We have to accept the situation as it is, and to recognise that no solution will now be regarded as completely satisfactory."

"In view of the ancient Jewish claim acknowledged by the League of Nations in its Palestine Mandate (1922), and the sufferings endured by the Jewish people throughout the centuries in all the places of their exile, culminating in the Fascist policy of extermination, we believe that the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine in accordance with the provisions of the League of Nations' Mandate is just and proper. We consider that Britain should immediately remove the restrictions on Jewish immigration into the Jewish homeland imposed by the MacDonald White Paper on Palestine (1939)."

"We do not favour the principle of compulsory emigration in any part of the world, but we recommend that an international commission be appointed, including both Jewish and Arab representatives, whose task shall be to draw up a scheme involving as little displacement of the Arab population as possible and arranging for facilities for such Arab transfer as is necessary to adjacent territory."

Jewish War Effort

Mr. George Nichols, Leicester, moving the amendment, said that in the sum total of human suffering, the greatest contribution in this war had been made by Jews. The Government had given but lip-service, and little effort had been made to save those who might have been rescued.

He believed that the differences between Jews and Arabs in Palestine were artificial, and stirred up by the ruling classes, and indeed much of the disagreement during the last few years had been fomented from outside. The standard of living enjoyed by the Arabs in Palestine was higher as a result of Jewish immigration, and it was in the interest of the Arab peasant that Jewish immigration should continue.

Partition Unworkable

Miss Eleanor Nye, Hendon, seconding, pointed out that partition schemes had been put forward in the past and had proved unworkable. The work of the Jewish immigrants into Palestine had made that country the only one in the Middle East in which the Arab population had increased. Miss Nye referred to the Lowdermilk plan, and said that such a scheme would enable the absorption of an enormous number of people, but partition would make it impossible.

Mr. Tom Watkinson, on behalf of the National Committee, accepted the amendment, stating he was not in favour of partition personally. He thought that in Palestine we had an opportunity of righting a tragic wrong that had been done to a whole people.

ref 4:218 Jewish Standard. 13 April 1945

THE PALESTINE POST

COMMON WEALTH PARTY PRO-ZIONIST

CONTRIBUTION TO WAR EFFORT STRESSED

LIVERPOOL, Wednesday (Palestine Post).—A resolution favouring a Jewish State in Palestine was adopted by the annual conference of the Common Wealth Party held here yesterday.

Originally the Palestine section of the international report, while extremely sympathetic to Jewish aspirations in Palestine, contained a vague reference to Partition as a solution; but on amendment, which was overwhelmingly adopted after a debate in which speakers stressed the Jewish contribution to the war effort and the benefits Jewish immigration brought the Arab peasantry, deleted the reference. The full resolution then read:

"The fact that any proposal for a settlement of the Palestine problem is arousing opposition in some quarters is due to the uncertain and confused policy of the past."

"We must accept the situation and recognize that no solution can be regarded as completely satisfactory."

"In view of the ancient Jewish claim, acknowledged by the League of Nations in the Palestine Mandate, and the sufferings of the Jewish people during centuries in all places of exile, culminating in the Fascist policy of extermination, we believe the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, in accordance with the provision of the League's Mandate, to be just and proper."

"We consider that Britain should immediately remove restrictions on Jewish immigration into the Jewish homeland imposed by the White Paper."

"We do not favour the principle of compulsory emigration from any part of the world, but recommend that an international commission be appointed, including Jewish and Arab representatives."

Palestine Post 5 April 1945

Note that section of resolution on transfer of Arabs has been censored

ref 4:219