

**JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE
UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE: 1917-1918**

BY

JAMES GARY LAMB

JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE
UNDER THE BRITISH MANDATE: 1917-1948

A Research Paper
Presented to
the Graduate Council of
Austin Peay State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by
James Gary Lamb

June, 1979

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a Research Paper written by James Gary Lamb entitled "Jewish Immigration into Palestine under the British Mandate: 1917-1948." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts, with a major in History.

W.S. Morris

Major Professor

Accepted for the Graduate Council:

William H. Ellis

Dean of the Graduate School

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	i.
CHAPTER	
I. The Balfour Declaration.	1
II. The British Mandate.	4
III. Immigration Ordinance of 1925.	7
IV. The Aliyas	11
V. Immigration Ordinance of 1933.	15
VI. Peel Commission.	19
VII. The White Paper of 1939.	23
VIII. Illegal Immigration.	27
IX. Morrison Grady Plan.	33
X. Partition.	35
FOOTNOTES.	38
BIBLIOGRAPHY	41

LIST OF MAPS AND TABLES

FIGURE	PAGE
1. Palestine Under the British Mandate	6
2. Record of Immigration and Emigration 1922-1929	10
3. Record of Immigration and Emigration 1930-1939	18
4. Peel Commission partition proposal 1937	22
5. U.N. Partition proposal 1947.	37

INTRODUCTION

In the history of mankind, one of the greatest miracles occurred on May 15, 1948; the rebirth of the nation of Israel. The Jews, who had been dispersed to the four corners of the world nearly two thousand years ago, had finally come home. During this period, they would contribute economically, politically and socially to the countries they inhabited. Despite their contributions, they had been still hated and persecuted for two thousand years, and were still hated and persecuted for various reasons. When things were going bad, people often picked on the Jew as a scapegoat to satisfy their anger. For centuries, the Jews were persecuted and many people wondered where they got their strength for survival. If one reads the Bible, in Amos 9, 14-15, we read:

I will restore the captivity of My people Israel, and
they will rebuild the ruined cities and live in them;
14 They will also plant vineyards and drink their wine,
and make gardens and eat their fruits.

I will also plant them on their land, and they will not
15 again be rooted out from their land which I have given them,

says the Lord your God.

With their firm religious beliefs, the Jew always had a strong faith. Thus when a Jew said, "Leshana Haba'ah beyerushalalayim" (next year in Jerusalem), we know that they had faith for the future.¹

The purpose of this paper is to show how tough it was on the Jews to develop a "Jewish homeland." We will investigate the political aims of Great Britain in the Middle East and show how the British often spoke with forked tongues in their dealings with the Jews. The main period of time we will be dealing with is from 1917 to 1947. Through this paper, the continuous growth toward a Jewish homeland can easily be seen.

CHAPTER I

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

The idea of a Jewish homeland was very old. For centuries, this dream seemed impossible until the formation of the Zionist Movement. The movement was founded by Theodore Herzl around 1896, with its main purpose being the creation of a Jewish homeland. The seed had been planted for the creation of the state of Israel. When the movement started, it was very weak and unable to get many Jews to immigrate to Palestine. The movement went somewhat slowly, and the basic reasons for that was Turkey's occupation of Palestine and the condition of that land. The Jews who did immigrate to Palestine were single young men and single families from Eastern Europe. They set up agricultural colonies on the desolate and uninhabited land. They would have been hard pressed to exist, had it not been for families like the Rothschilds. The Rothschilds and others contributed money toward the development of Palestine.

In 1917, a giant step toward Jewish homeland occurred. Chaim Weizman, a Russian born Jew, worked for the British during World War I producing acetone, which was used in the production of gunpowder. The English were so grateful they asked Weizman

what he wanted for his services. Weizman's only reply was that he wanted a national homeland for his people. Through the work of Lord Balfour, Lord George, and many others, this was accomplished. On November 2, 1917, the Balfour Declaration was issued by the British Foreign Minister in a letter to Lord Rothschild. The letter read:

His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.²

The Balfour Declaration achieved the Zionist major aim which was the beginning of a Jewish homeland. Following World War I, the Turks had been kicked out, but the Jews had to get Arab approval.

Weizman, at the suggestion of the British government, went to Transjordan to visit the Emir Faisal, the commander of the Arab forces. Following frank discussions, both men reached an agreement. This agreement and the work of T. H. Lawrence, who had helped to oust the Turks in World War I, helped a great deal. Lawrence acted as an interpreter, and helped in the drafting and negotiating of a treaty. The following articles

became part of the treaty. Articles III and IV read as follows:

In the establishment of the Constitution and Administration of Palestine all such means shall be adopted as will afford the fullest guarantees of carrying it into effect by the British Governments, the Declaration of November 2, 1917. [The Balfour Declaration.]

All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants upon the land through closer settlements and intensive cultivation of the soil. In taking such measures the Arab peasant and tenant farmers shall be assisted in forwarding their economic development.³

However the implementation of the treaty was never done. Developments in Syria and Faisal's death prevented it from being implemented.

The Balfour Declaration did inspire optimism about Palestine. In fact, it led to a great migration of immigrants from Eastern Europe between 1919-23, bringing an estimated 35,000 to 40,000 people. The Balfour Declaration would be a success until Great Britain was put into total charge of administering the Palestine government in 1923.

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH MANDATE

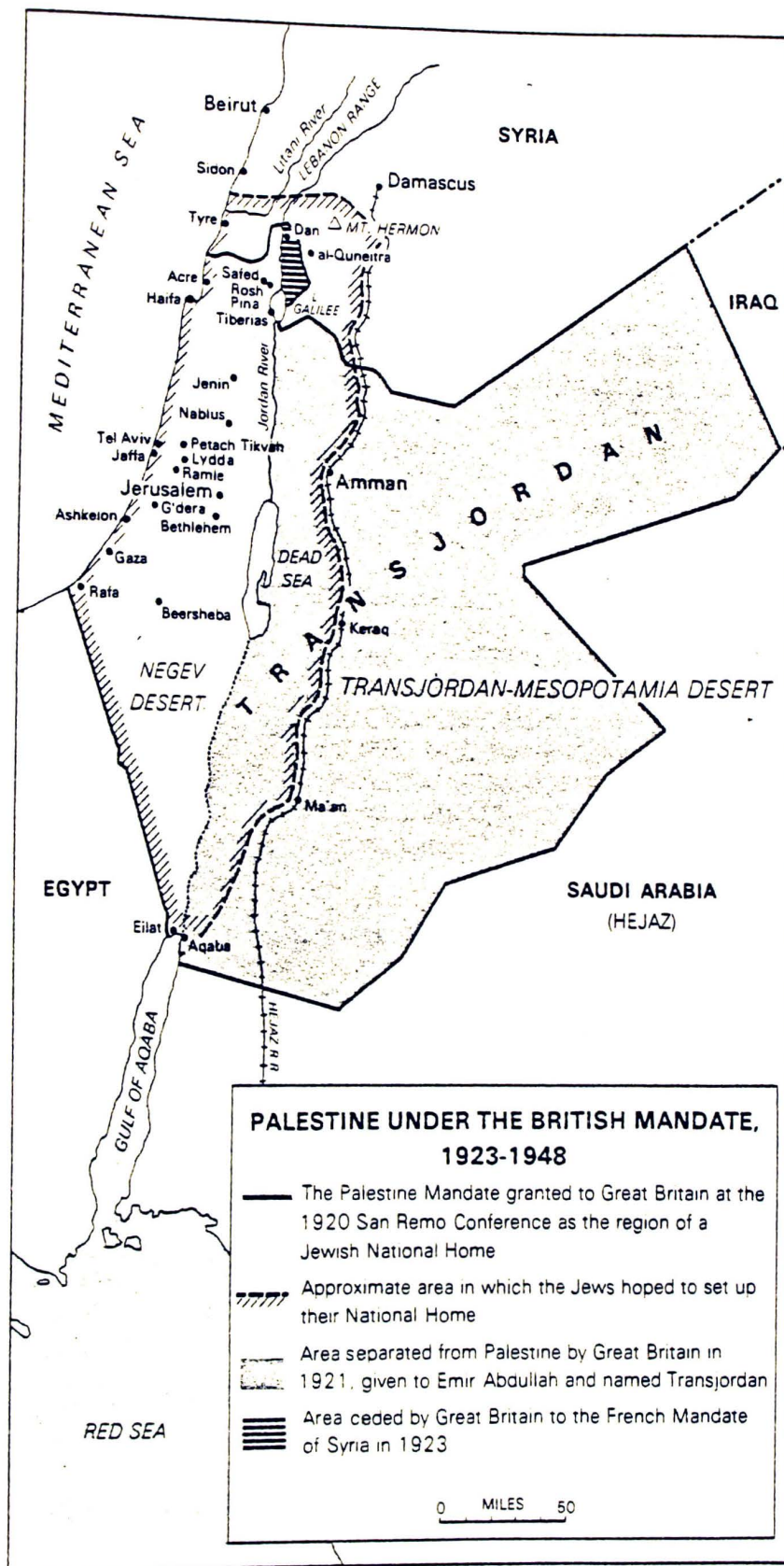
On April 20, 1920, at the San Remo Conference, the British were allotted the mandate for Palestine, by the Allied Supreme Council Powers. The Mandate's sole purpose was to enforce the Balfour Declaration. It was formally confirmed by the League of Nations in 1923.

The mandate empowered Britain to administer the country with wide discretion, subject to explicit directives. Britain was authorized to foster the Jewish national home, to develop self-governing institutions and to safeguard the civil and religious rights of the whole population. Article IV of the mandate recognized the Zionist Organization as "an appropriate Jewish Agency" to assist the administration of the country. Article VI enjoined the administration to cooperation with the Jewish agency to facilitate Jewish immigration and close settlements by Jews on the land. Article XI provided that within certain limits the Administration might arrange with the Jewish Agency to operate services and utilities and to develop the natural resources.⁴ These provisions gave the Zionists an opportunity to develop Palestine into a national homeland. The main disadvantage of these provisions was that they were too

general, meaning that the British could and did interpret these provisions in any way that was beneficial to British interests.

The British brought more order to Palestine and provided law and order as well. Perhaps the mandatory's single most impressive accomplishment was the establishment of an honest and efficient judiciary.

There were also shortcomings in the government scheme of administration. The Jews complained that the mandatory had abandoned its legal and moral responsibility to foster economic growth of the Jewish national homeland. The British, of course, had a rationale for this imbalance. They explained that the Arabs needed more help than the Jews, for they were illiterate and incompetent and that they needed the mandatory to survive. Therefore, the mandate was a pain for the Jews economically, and politically. The mandate was no longer a friend but an enemy which was against a Jewish homeland.⁵ See next page for map of Palestine under the British Mandate.⁶



CHAPTER III

IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE OF 1925

The most significant act of the civil administration was the issuing of an ordinance permitting the resumption of immigration and allowing the local Zionist Organization to take care of the new immigrants. The issuing of this ordinance brought Arab protest and violence. The British, in an attempt to appease the Arabs, the regulations were modified to limit entry to those with definite prospects of specific employment.

In 1925, the British issued the Immigration Ordinances. These Ordinances were based on the regulation of entry on the estimated economic absorptive capacity of the country, classifying eligible immigrants in economic categories. These categories included those of independent means (including such people as orphans and students with assured maintenance), those qualified in a profession, those with definite employment available upon arrival, and dependents of permanent residences or immigrants. This categorizing of workers with employment prospects, became known as the "labour schedule," combined together with dependents for the great majority of immigration during this period.⁷ It was during this period that 60,000 Jews immigrated from Eastern Europe, of which 35,000 immigrated in 1925 alone.⁸

To implement this program, the Palestine Zionist and later the Immigration Department of the Jewish Agency Executive had to submit to the chief immigration officer an estimate of the number of workers that could be absorbed, giving details of precise trades and occupation in which jobs could be provided. The High Commissioner then filed the number of certificates to be issued under the labour schedule. These certificates were sent abroad, and administered by the Jews so that only Jews could receive them, since there was no specific provision as to nationality or religion.⁹ This problem of total Jewish immigration led to continuous Arab protest and revolt, paving the way for violence in the Middle East for years to come.

There were other hardships that the Jews had to face during this period. Throughout 1923, the Jews of the Soviet Union found their activities curtailed; the Jewish Social Democratic Party was declared illegal, and all the Jewish self-defense groups were dissolved. In Germany, there was a new wave of anti-Semitism. Even the United States gave the Jewish cause grave concern with the passage of the Quota Act in 1924. This Act severely restricted Jewish immigration into the United States. The Quota Act was based solely on nationalities, and when the country's quota was filled, it took another year before anyone

could immigrate from that particular country. The Jews didn't have a choice, so they immigrated to Palestine.¹⁰ See page 10, for a chart on recorded immigration and emigration from 1922-1929.¹¹

RECORDED IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION*

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	Total
<i>Immigration</i>									
Jews	7,844	7,421	12,856	33,801	13,081	2,713	2,178	5,249	85,143
Moslems	60	168	187	99	218	124	198	200	1,254
Christians	224	402	510	741	611	758	710	1,117	5,073
<i>Total</i>	8,128	7,991	13,553	34,641	13,910	3,595	3,086	6,566	91,470
<i>Emigration</i>									
Jews	1,503	3,466	**507	2,151	7,365	5,071	2,168	1,746	23,977
Moslems	720	768	**251	748	559	1,094	407	792	5,339
Christians	716	713	**353	1,201	1,505	813	547	297	6,145
<i>Total</i>	2,939	4,947	**1,111	4,100	9,429	6,978	3,122	2,835	35,461
<i>Net Immigration</i>									
Jews	6,341	3,955	12,349	31,650	5,716	-2,358	10	3,503	61,166
Moslems	-660	-600	-64	-649	-341	-970	-209	-592	-4,085
Christians	-492	-311	157	-460	-894	-55	163	820	-1,072
<i>Total</i>	5,189	3,044	12,442	30,541	4,481	-3,383	-36	3,731	56,009

* From September 21, 1920, to January 1, 1922, the official statistics do not differentiate between Moslem and Christian immigration nor are any figures indicated for emigration. Immigration for the fifteen months may be estimated at 15,055: Jews, 14,663; non-Jews, 392.

** Figures for July-December only.

CHAPTER IV

THE ALIYAS

In 1919, the Jewish population of Palestine was no more than 65,000, but by the autumn of 1951 it had swelled to 1,500,000. The stream of immigrants came in five definable waves, each called a "aliya" (a word which literally means immigration, but which in the Bible means ascendance). As one would expect, each aliya brought many different nationalities to Palestine. At first, there were urban Jews from Eastern Europe, petit bourgeoisie, knowing nothing of the land. They arrived on the bounty of men such as Lord Edmond de Rothschild. They were working class fugitives from Russian pogroms, idealists, socialists, capitalists, fundamentalists, orthodox Jews, heretical opportunists, and dedicated men.¹²

The first aliya occurred in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. The second aliya occurred between 1904-1914. The third was between 1919-23, when some 60,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine. The fourth aliya occurred between 1924-39, when the Hitler regime took over in Germany. Hitler's takeover started a great migration from Germany, coupled with an increased Polish exodus, sending 251,798 new immigrants into the Holy Lands until the start of World War II. The final aliya would follow the War

of Independence (1947-51), when some 600,000 new immigrants arrived.¹³

When the new immigrants reached Palestine, they found a land that was desolate and hot, with very little fertile ground. By the end of 1929, the Jewish population had grown to about 160,000. These early groups of colonists dealt mainly with agriculture. In 1929, there was an instant change to large development projects which were undertaken. These projects consisted of drainage of swamp areas, afforestation of bare hills, harnessing of the waters of the Jordan for electric power, and the exploitation of the mineral resources of the Dead Sea. Agricultural settlements multiplied and methods of cultivations were greatly improved. Industry and urban life underwent a marked development. Modern suburbs had spread around Jerusalem and Haifa. The all-Jewish city of Tel Aviv had sprung upon the sands of the Mediterranean near the ancient port of Jaffa.¹⁴

Jewish immigration from all parts of the world sought refuge in Tel Aviv, in such numbers that by 1938, there was no land for sale. The official languages of Palestine were English, Arabic, and Hebrew. In spite of a language barrier, the city of Tel Aviv proved that a Jew was not a Jew. In fact, he could be a German, a Russian, a Pole, an American. With all these different Jewish nationalities, life became very difficult in Tel Aviv as well as

to Jews. The British police would confiscate Jewish property for no reason. The British were only interested in appeasing the Arab nations. They felt if they controlled immigration and the Jews in Palestine, they would keep the Arabs and their oil from changing sides and going somewhere else for economic and military aid.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION ORDINANCE OF 1933

Between the years 1930-1939, there was a great migration stream. Until 1930, immigration was still governed by the Immigration Ordinance of 1925. In the following years (1930-1939), the British made a number of revisions to make certain the Jews didn't exceed absorptive capacity. The Ordinance of 1933 retained the main categories of the previous Ordinance.

These categories were as follows:¹⁸

Category A: For persons of independent means, popularly termed "capitalists."

Category B: For students, persons of religious occupation, orphans, and others whose maintenance was assured.

Category C: The so-called "Labor Schedule," for persons who have a definite prospect of employment.

Category D: For dependents of permanent residents or of immigrants belonging to the other categories.

This decade may be divided into three periods. In the first three year period (1930-32), there was a net total of 16,227 for Jewish immigration, with the average annual immigration being 5,409. The second period of four years (1933-36) was particularly significant with its total of 164,267 (net 163,098), an average of 41,067 (net 40,775). A high point was reached in 1935 with a

total immigration of 61,854 (net 61,458). During the three years after 1936, there was a total net Jewish immigration of 36,806, with an annual average of 12,269. During the first three year period from 1930-32 inclusive, the small amount of immigration was due mainly to economic causes. In the last three years from 1936-1939, the reduction from the previous high level was, mainly, due to political restrictions. The two main groups of people that immigrated were Germans and Poles.¹⁹

To help in the immigration from Germany, the Jewish Agency established a Central Bureau for the settlement of German Jews in 1933. The Bureau was established with the assistances of various funds. Those funds came from the Central British Fund for German Jews, the Council for German Jewry, the Arbeitsgemeinschaft fuer Kinder and Jugendliljah, the Palestine Foundation Fund (Keren Hayesad), and the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth).²⁰

To stop this influx of immigrants, the British government cut back on the amount of certificates to be distributed. The ratio of certificates granted to those requested differed from year to year. The highest percentage was in 1931, the request being for 3,510 certificates and the number granted was 1,980 (56.4%). The lowest was in 1937, when the Jewish Agency requested 22,000, while the government granted only 2,570 (less than 12%).

The government contention was that restrictions were due to economic reasons because in their judgment, the country's economic absorptive capacity was less than the estimate by the Jewish Agency. Whatever validity there may have been to the Government's position in the early period, the immigration was large after 1936, and the restriction resulted directly from political factors.²¹ See page 18 for a chart on recorded immigration and emigration from 1930-39.²²

RECORDED IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION
1930-1939

<i>Year or Period</i>	<i>Immigration</i>			<i>Emigration</i>			<i>Net Immigration</i>		
	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Non-Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Non-Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Non-Jews</i>	<i>Total</i>
1930	4,944	1,489	6,433	1,679	1,324	3,003	3,265	165	3,430
1931	4,075	1,458	5,533	666	680	1,346	3,409	778	4,187
1932	9,553	1,736	11,289	x	x	x	9,553	1,736	11,289
1933	30,327	1,650	31,977	x	x	x	30,327	1,650	31,977
1934	42,359	1,784	44,143	x	x	x	42,359	1,784	44,143
1935	61,854	2,293	64,147	396	387	783	61,458	1,906	63,364
1936	29,727	1,944	31,671	773	405	1,178	28,954	1,539	30,493
1937	10,536	1,939	12,475	889	639	1,528	9,647	1,300	10,947
1938	12,868	2,395	15,263	1,095	716	1,811	11,773	1,679	13,452
1939	16,405	2,028	18,433	1,019	977	1,996	15,386	1,051	16,437
Total	222,648	18,716	241,364	6,517	5,128	11,645	216,131	13,588	229,719

"x" indicates that emigration was not reported.

CHAPTER VI

PEEL COMMISSION

Between 1933 and 1937, 40,000 German Jews immigrated to Palestine and brought the total of the Jewish population up to 400,000 as compared to the Arab population of 942,000. This abrupt rise in Jewish immigration brought charges from the Arabs and a crisis in which the whole question of the Jewish Homeland had to be reconsidered.²³

On November 11, 1936, the British Commission of Inquiry arrived in Palestine to settle the dispute. The Commission consisted of six men, under the leadership of Lord Robert Peel. After five months of investigation, the Peel Report was issued. The report read that the Jews had brought economic stability to the area. The Commission also pointed out the network of hospitals, child welfare centers, clinics, establishment of a private water supply, and the renovation of the railroad system. These projects could be used by either Arabs or Jews. There were other institutions founded with Jewish funds. Two of these were the Tuberculosis Hospital at Safad, and the Radiology Institute at Jerusalem, which permitted Arabs to use the clinics. Another institution of this type was the Rural Sick Benefit fund that did welfare work for Arab and Jewish mothers.²⁴

The Report also pointed out how the general effect of Jewish immigration was beneficial to Arab welfare. It was illustrated by the fact that the increase of the Arab population was most notably marked in urban areas under Jewish development. A comparison of the census return in 1922 and 1931, shows that six years ago the increased percent in Haifa was 86%, in Joffa 62%, in Jerusalem 37%, while in purely Arab towns such as Nablus and Hebron, it was only 7% at Gaza there was a decrease of 2%.²⁵

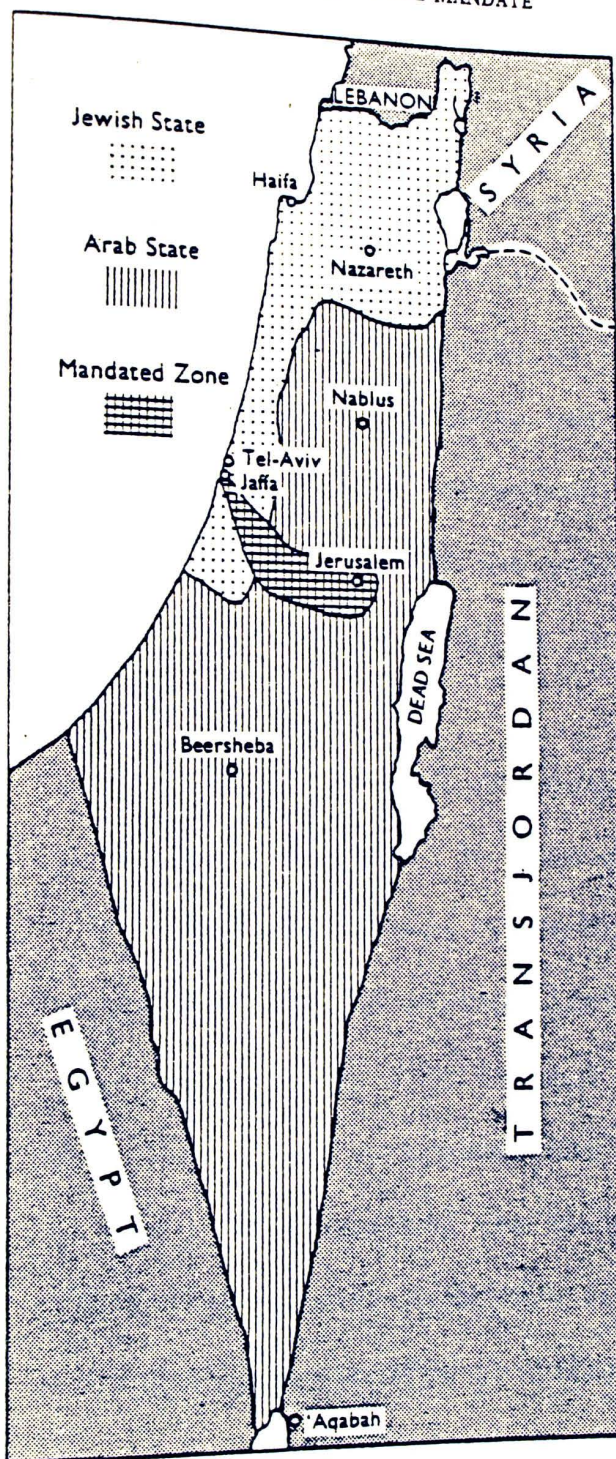
The main charge brought by the Arabs, was that the Jews had obtained a large portion of the best soil. The Peel Report had stated to the contrary -- that the Jews had cultivated sand dunes and swamps, making them into agricultural areas. The main repercussion of the Report (against the Jews) dealt with immigration. The Report suggested a curtailment of Jewish immigration which was limited to 12,000 annually for the next five years.²⁶

The Commission also proposed that Palestine and Transjordan was to be divided into three regions. First was a Jewish State comprising of the coastal plain and Galilee. Another region consisted of a much larger Arab State embracing the rest of Palestine and Transjordan. The last region was a permanently mandated British enclave including the Jerusalem-Bethlehem promontory, with a corridor to the sea and British bases on Lake

Galilee and the Gulf of Aqaba. (See page 22, for a map on the Peel Commission Proposals.)²⁷ Both Arab and Jewish leaders refused to negotiate the ideas of partition. In spite of the approval of both the British government and the League Mandate Commission, the idea of partition was discarded as unpractical.²⁸

The British Government did announce that in view of the present mandate and the substitution of a new one, Jewish immigration would be allowed to continue at a rate not in any circumstances exceeding the annual figure of 12,000 suggested by the Royal Commission.²⁹

PALESTINE: RETREAT FROM THE MANDATE



The Peel Commission's partition proposal, 1937

CHAPTER VII

THE WHITE PAPER OF 1939

Following the Peel Commission Report, the Arabs revolted. They were determined to accomplish one of two things. The first thing was to stop Jewish immigration totally. The Arabs wanted to assimilate or annihilate the Jews living in Palestine. The other thing was to get England to recognize the Arabs as the sole rulers of Palestine. The British government through force was able to institute military rule for the whole country, and harsh reprisals were executed against anyone who resisted or continued to oppose the British nation.

After the initial uprising in 1936-37, London admitted that the Palestine Mandate was unworkable. To settle the matter, England proposed the London Round Table Conference. Both Jewish and Arabic governments were to send representatives. The talks were one-sided, and the Jews didn't stand a chance. The Chamberlain government, in order to appease the Arabs, issued the White Paper of 1939, which scrapped the Balfour Declaration.

The White Paper in its opening paragraph restated the obligations of the mandatory government to safeguard the religious and civil rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine and to encourage the development of self-governing institutions. The

statement admitted that the establishment of a Jewish State had never, specifically, been precluded by the Balfour Declaration or by the terms of the Mandate. It also observed that the authors of the Mandate could not have intended that Palestine should be converted into a Jewish State against the will of the Arab population of the country.³⁰

The White Paper stated many principal features. The complete stoppage of immigration after another five years was a period where the total Jewish immigration could not exceed 75,000. Jewish acquisition of land was restricted to certain diminutive areas. The establishment of a "Palestinian" state was a principal feature. In this the Arabs, having a two to one majority, naturally had administrative control of the country.³¹

This declaration was a foreclosure of any continuous growth toward a Jewish National Home. The Jewish reaction to the White Paper was issued by David Ben Gurion on behalf of the Jewish Agency. Surprisingly, the Jewish group accepted the declaration limiting immigration, but with tongue-in-cheek. The Agency, through Ben-Gurion, declared:

It is a policy in which the Jewish people will acquiesce. Such a regime can only be established and maintained by force. It seems only too probable that the Jew will have to fight rather than submit to Arab rule. And repressing a Jewish rebellion will be as unpleasant a task as the repression of the Arab rebellion had been.³²

There was other opposition to the White Paper in the English Parliament. Colonel Josiah Wedgewood in the House of Commons stated, "that the law is inhuman and they consider it their duty to break the law and I hoped they would all unite to do so."³³ The most severe criticism came from Winston Churchill, when he stated:

This pledge of home of refugees, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews of Palestine, but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home. This is the pledge which was given and that is the pledge which we are now asked to break.³⁴

When the vote was taken in Parliament, the Chamberlain government won by a slim majority. There were 268 votes for and 179 votes against, with an unprecedented 110 abstentions. The vote was only half the battle, for it also, needed the approval of the League Permanent Mandate Commission. The Commission declared the White Paper illegal. It stated that its sole purpose was to appease the Arabs and that it was not in accord with the Mandate Accords. The British did implement the quota on immigration and the amount of land the Jews could buy.³⁵

For the Jewish people, this was a very sad day. At the Twenty-first Zionist Congress, which opened in Geneva on August 16, 1939, there was a mood of apprehension and militance. David Ben-Gurion spoke out and advocated a policy of resistance. He said

The White Paper has created a vacuum which must be filled by the Jews themselves. The Jews should act as though they were the state in Palestine, and should so continue to act until there will be a Jewish State there.³⁶

The Jewish Agency immediately sanctioned and privately organized clandestine immigration on a large scale. The influx of illegal immigration would cause added problems for both the Jews and the English.

CHAPTER VIII

ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION

In Chapter IV, there were four groups that were granted certificates to immigrate to Palestine. These four groups made up a small percentage of Jews waiting to immigrate, but what about the Jews who were unacceptable according to the Immigration Ordinance? There were three ways that a Jew or Arab obtained illegal entry.³⁷

1. By evading the frontier controls.
2. By entering as a tourist or traveler and overstaying the term of the visa.
3. By fictitious marriage.

In order to prevent or check illegal immigration, the British government undertook energetic measures. In order to control the irregular immigration, every applicant for a tourist visa was given a permit warning that he was liable for prosecution if he overstayed his visa. A person not traveling first class had to deposit sixty pounds which was forfeited in case he didn't leave the country. Deportation orders were issued for anyone apprehended in the country illegally. Finally on April 1, 1934, the Palestine Administration began the practice of making deductions from the Labor Schedules on the basis of estimated (previously) illegal

Jewish immigration. These measures taken by the British Government were only partly effective. The Palestine government estimated that in 1932-33 the number of unauthorized settlers rose to 22,400. Between 1932-39 inclusive, 24,822 travelers remained illegally, of whom 11,248 were Jews and 10,145 non-Jews. As long as Palestine's economic absorptive capacity was greater than that estimated by the government, it was impossible to eliminate illegal immigration. The main result was to produce a non-selective form of immigration instead of the carefully controlled type (made possible with the collaboration of the Jewish Agency for Palestine).³⁸

When World War II started, the British were determined not to allow any illegal shiploads of immigrants to come to Palestine. In September, 1939, a ship (the Tigerhill) reached the coast of Palestine and was fired on by the Coast Guard, killing three Jews and refused the others permission to land. In November, 1940, more than 1,770 Jews arrived at Haifa without permits on two vessels, the Pacific and the Milos. They were immediately transferred to the Patria, a French ship under British control, for the purpose of being deported to a British colony on the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean. On November 25, the Patria exploded in Haifa harbor, killing 257 refugees. The reason for the explosion still remains unknown today. The survivors were sent to Mauritius.³⁹

In March, 1941, the Darien reached Palestine with 800 refugees, most of whom escaped massacre in Rumania. The refugees included survivors of another vessel, the Salvador, which had sunk in the Sea of Marmora with a loss of 200 lives. These 800 refugees were also sent to detention camps. One of the worst tragedies dealt with the Struma, a converted yacht with some 769 Jews on board without visas. On February 24, the Struma exploded four miles from the entrance of the Bosphorus. Whether she struck a mine or was torpedoed was never determined. It was known that all but one of the 769 Jews perished. Following this tragedy, the Smyrna, the Palmach, the San Dimitrio, the Hatikva, and the Mered Haggetoat made their way to Palestine. These ships were also captured and quickly there were 65,000 Jewish prisoners in the dention camps on Cyprus.⁴⁰ The next two ships (Fede renamed Dov Hos, and the Eliahu Golomb) were caught at La Spezia, on the Italian Riviera, with 1,014 Jews on board. The British officials refused to let them embark. The Israeli people decided to try something new. Fifteen people, including Golda Meir, went on a hunger strike with fasting and praying. They made such an impression that the British allowed the two ships to sail for Palestine, taking the 1,014 refugees from the May quota.⁴¹

Why didn't the British allow these illegal ships to land under the White Paper? The White Paper stated that there were

to be certificates allotted in a five-year period. By April 1, 1944 (the original termination date of the White Paper), only about 50,000 Jews including legal and illegal immigrants had reached Palestine leaving a balance of 25,000 certificates.⁴² Therefore, the British could have let these ships land. One reason that most people accepted this action was that the British wanted oil from the Arabs, and the Arabs wanted no more Jews, so the British gave in.

However, the blame doesn't rest entirely on the shoulders of the British. Under the "race and nation" quota system of the United States Department of Immigration during the ten years between 1933-43 (the year the ultimate slaughter of Jews began), the United States could have admitted 1,500,000 aliens but did not. There were actually only 476,930 admitted as aliens, of whom 165,756 were Jews. Thus, six million Jews died, while the United States admitted only about 16,000 a year.⁴³

In November, 1945, the British foreign secretary, Ernest Bevin, announced the formation of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to study the refugee problem in Europe. The British awaiting the publication of the committee's report, allowed 1,500 Jewish refugees a month to enter Palestine. The Committee's report took the British by surprise for it recommended the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jewish refugees from Europe to

palestine. The British government announced that it would be unable to implement the committee's recommendations. The struggle over illegal immigration sharpened as the British government tried to put a complete stoppage on the illegal immigration problem.⁴⁴

In July, 1946, the arrival of the Haganah (with nearly 3,000 prisoners) was followed by several other vessels and this struggle was brought to a dramatic climax. Among these ships were the Guardian with 2,552 on board, the Galata with 769 on board, the Trade Winds with 1,442 refugees, the Orletta with 1,457, and finally, the Anal with 399 refugees.⁴⁵

One of the most noted illegal ships was the Exodus. The Exodus was an 1800 ton Mississippi steamer, originally called the President Warfield. It had sailed from the south of France for Haifa with 4,550 Jewish men, women, and children, along with the survivors of the death camps (now refugees from displaced persons camp in Germany). The British Navy shadowed it, attacked and rammed it, and finally towed the crippled Exodus into Haifa harbour. Its 4,500 refugee passengers were ordered by Bevin to go, (not to Cyprus, but) back to Europe. Immediately, they were forceably transfered to another ship, the Empire. The impact of the transfer on these refugees was felt world wide.⁴⁶ On May 13, the U.N. sent an investigative board to Palestine (called UNSCOP

which means United Nations Special Committee on Palestine).

They were to try to solve the plight of the displaced persons.

One member of the UNSCOP was Abba Eban, who saw the transfer of refugees from the Exodus. He wrote in his autobiography, about this gruesome operation. He explained:

The refugees had decided not to accept banishment with docility. If any one had wanted to know what Churchill meant by a 'squalid war,' he would have found out by watching British soldiers using rifle butts, hose pipes and tear gas against the survivors of the death camps. Men, women, and children were forcibly taken off to prison ships, locked in cages below decks and sent out of Palestine waters.⁴⁷

The British in spite of pleas from around the world continued their harassment of illegal refugees. When the immigrant ship Beauharnais was towed into Haifa harbor, its passengers unfolded a long banner over the deck saying:

We survived Hitler, 'it proclaimed.' Death is no stranger to us. Nothing can keep us from our Jewish homeland. The blood be on your head if you fire on this unarmed ship.⁴⁸

This type of demonstration stirred Western sympathies. All but five of the sixty-three refugee ships were intercepted between 1945 and 1948. Yet, it was precisely this message of the refugee tragedy that the Zionists were determined to convey. Its impact on world opinion and the British taxpayer turned out to be the Jews' most effective weapon.⁴⁹

CHAPTER IX

MORRISON GRADY PLAN

Three weeks after London's rejection of the Anglo-American Committee Report, President Truman announced the establishment of a special committee to formulate his Palestine policy. The two governments (American and British) would try to create favorable conditions for the resettlement of a substantial number of displaced persons in Europe. Other nations were urged to participate in the relocation of those survivors who chose not to remain on the European continent. This plan dealt with the transformation of the mandate to a trusteeship and would divide the country into Arab and Jewish provinces. There were to be four basic steps.

- Number 1. A Jewish province consisting of the most highly developed industry and agricultural Jewish settlements, including Tel Aviv and other sections, already populated by Jews.
- Number 2. A Jerusalem district consisted of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and surrounding territories, to be administered by the central British government.
- Number 3. The Negev, was a largely uninhabited triangle (with its apex on the Gulf of Aqaba; bounded by the Sinai desert and Transjordan) to be administered in the immediate future by the British Authority. It would become a base for British Military acting in the Middle East.

Number 4. A province to be known as the Arab province, consisting of the rest of Palestine.⁵⁰

The British would still have authority over defense, foreign relations, customs, policy, courts, communications, and veto power over legislation for a trans-national period of five years.

The one important concession that was offered to the Jews was the proposed admittance of 100,000 refugees during the first year (after the plan went into effect). After that, the

commissioner would control immigration based on the "economic absorptive capacity."⁵¹

The implementation of this scheme had to be approved by both Arab and Jewish governments. The Jews refused to attend a meeting with any British or Arab representatives, and in fact the Zionist Executive in Paris voted for partition alone as an appropriate format for negotiations.

Through discussion and turmoil, both the Arabs and Jews rejected the Morrison Grady Plan. Finally, President Truman joined in

the idea of a partition resolution in the United States. In spite of Bevin's attempts to quash this idea, he announced that

he was referring the entire problem to the United Nations.⁵²

CHAPTER X

PARTITION

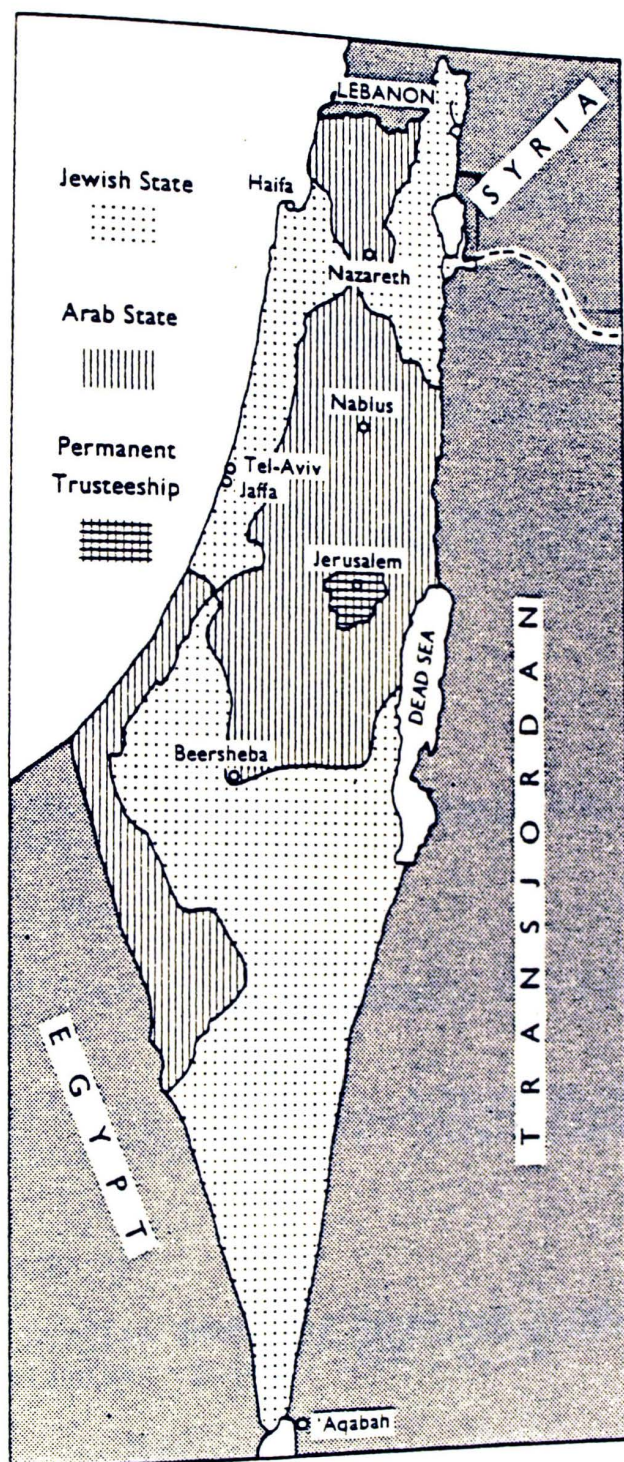
With the British turning the Palestine problem over to the U.N., it was not long before action was taken. The U.N. Special Committee on Palestine recommended the partitioning of Palestine, with various guiding principles. These principles stated that:

1. The Mandate should be ended and independence granted at the earliest practicable date.
2. The political structure of the new state or states should be "basically democratic."
3. The economic unity of Palestine must be maintained.
4. The security of the holy places and access to them should be assured.
5. The General Assembly should carry out immediate arrangements for solving urgent problem consisting of a quarter of a million Jewish DP's in Europe.⁵³

Applying these principles, the UNSCOP was divided, seven to three, with the majority (Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, the Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, and Uruguay) recommending partition, and the minority (India, Iran, and Yugoslavia) opposed partition but recommended Arab and Jewish provinces under a Federal Government, which would control immigration and political policies. The Russians and Poles praised the majority report, and favored permission for both Jews and displaced Arabs to enter Palestine.

The American government hesitated, but through the obstinacy of Arab leaders, and their belligerence, Truman finally agreed to accept the basic principles of the UNSCOP report and the majority recommendations in regard to partition and immigration.⁵⁴ (Page 37, Map of partition.)⁵⁵

Through political pressure from the United Nations and from home, the British government was eager to give up the Mandate. The British government announced it would give up the Mandate on May 1, 1948, and evacuate its forces by May 15, 1948. They refused to permit any interference and would not cooperate in putting into effect the partition plan. The British maintained law and order, and would not turn over any authority to the U.N. Commission until the time came. The Zionists suspected that the British were going to manage the evacuation of military installations and vantage points in a manner that would enable the Arab forces to take them over, as they did. The partition plan required a two-thirds vote from the General Assembly to pass and when the vote was cast it received the appropriate vote (33 to 13) for passage.⁵⁶ The biblical prophecy was about to come true and on May 15, 1948, Israel became a nation legally; but it took a bitter war with the Arabs to establish a de facto state.



The UN partition proposal, 1947

¹Simon Schema, Two Rothschilds and the Land of Israel, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 209.

²Abram Leon Sachar, A History of the Jews, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1965), p. 367.

³Chaim Weizmann, "Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem," Foreign Policy, (January, 1942), p. 335.

⁴Noah Lucas, The Modern History of Israel, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975), p. 97.

⁵Howard M. Sachar, History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 233-34.

⁶Ibid., p. 238.

⁷Lucas, p. 107.

⁸James Cameron, The Making of Israel, (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1977), p. 13.

⁹Lucas, p. 108.

¹⁰Martin Gilbert, Exile and Return, (New York: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1978), p. 149.

¹¹Esco Foundation, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies, 2 Vols., (London: Yale University Press, 1947), p. 320.

¹²Cameron, p. 13.

¹³Charles Douglas Home, The Arabs and Israel, (Chester Springs, Pennsylvania: Dufour, 1968), p. 20.

¹⁴Weizmann, p. 329.

- ¹⁵ Troy McCormick, "Tel Aviv, City of the Jews," Readers Digest, (October, 1938), pp. 60-61.
- ¹⁶ Ibid., p. 61.
- ¹⁷ Sachar, Israel, p. 290.
- ¹⁸ Esco, p. 671.
- ¹⁹ Ibid., p. 675.
- ²⁰ Ibid., p. 679.
- ²¹ Ibid., p. 680.
- ²² Ibid., p. 674.
- ²³ Dorothy Thompson, "Refugees: A World Problem," Foreign Affairs, (April, 1938), p. 375.
- ²⁴ "Benefits to the Arabs," Nation, (May 15, 1947), p. 595.
- ²⁵ Ibid.
- ²⁶ Sachar, Israel, p. 205.
- ²⁷ Michael Cohen, Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate: A Study of British Policies 1936-45, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publisher, Inc., 1978), p. 36.
- ²⁸ Sachar, Jews, p. 416.
- ²⁹ Thompson, p. 385.
- ³⁰ Sachar, Israel, p. 222.
- ³¹ Weizmann, p. 332.
- ³² Sachar, Israel, p. 223.
- ³³ Ibid., p. 224.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ "The Need for Migration," Nation, (May 17, 1947), p. 587.

³⁶Sachar, Israel, p. 224.

³⁷Esco, p. 680.

³⁸Ibid., pp. 680-684.

³⁹"Need," p. 587.

⁴⁰Esco, pp. 947-948.

⁴¹Golda Meir, My Life, (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1975), p. 194.

⁴²Esco, p. 948.

⁴³Howard Fast, The Jews, (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1968), pp. 354-5.

⁴⁴Lucas, p. 228.

⁴⁵Ibid.

⁴⁶Cameron, p. 19.

⁴⁷Gilbert, pp. 301-02.

⁴⁸Sachar, Israel, p. 270.

⁴⁹Ibid.

⁵⁰"Anglo American Committee and What Followed," Nation, (May 17, 1947), p. 606.

⁵¹Sachar, Israel, p. 271.

⁵²Ibid., p. 271-274.

⁵³Ibid., p. 283-4.

⁵⁴Herbert Feis, The Birth of Israel, (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1969), p. 41.

⁵⁵Cohen, p. 185.

⁵⁶Feis, p. 43.

Secondary Sources

- Addleson, A., The Epic of a People, New York, Block Publishing Company, 1943.
- Cameron, James. The Making of Israel, New York, Taplinger Publishing Company, 1977.
- Cohen, Michael J., Palestine: Retreat from the Mandate: A Study of British Policy, 1936-45, New York, Holmes and Meier Publisher's, Inc., 1978.
- Esco Foundation for Palestine, Palestine: A Study of Jewish, Arab, and British Policies, 2 Vols., London, Yale University Press, 1947.
- Fast, Howard. The Jews, New York, Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1968.
- Feis, Herbert. The Birth of Israel, New York, W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1969.
- Gurion, David-Ben. Israel: A Personal History, Tel Aviv, Sabra Books, 1971.
- Gilbert, Martin, Exile and Return, New York, J.B. Lippincott Company, 1978.
- Home, Charles Douglas. The Arabs and Israel, Chester Springs, Pennsylvania, Dufour, 1968.
- Horowitz, Dan and Moshe Lissak. Origins of the Israeli Policy, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1978.
- Ingrams, Doreen. Palestine Papers 1917-22, New York, George Braziller, 1978.
- Lillienthal, Alfred M., The Zionist Connection, New York, Dodd, Mead and Company, 1975.

The Lockman Foundation, New American Standard Bible, New York, World Publishing, 1971.

Lucas, Noah. The Modern History of Israel, New York, Praeger Publisher's, 1975.

Meir, Golda, My Life, New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1975.

Robinson, Donald. Under Fire, New York, W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1968.

Sachar, Abram Leon. A History of the Jews, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1965.

Sachar, Howard M., A History of Israel: From the Rise of Zionism to Our Time, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1976.

Schema, Simon. Two Rothschilds and the Land of Israel, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

"The Anglo American Committee and What Followed," Nation, (May 17, 1947), pp. 605-606.

"Benefits to the Arabs," Nation, (May 17, 1947), p. 595.

Cattan, Henry. "Self Determination for Palestine," Vital Speeches, (May 15, 1947), pp. 456-460.

"Cyprus Banishment," Newsweek, (August 26, 1946), p. 37.

"Exodus," Time, (October 6, 1947), p. 30.

"The Jewish Claim to Palestine," Nation, (May 17, 1947), p. 590-592.

"Jewish National Army," New Republic, (August 9, 1939), p. 14-15.

"Jews at Sea," Newsweek, (July 31, 1939), p. 19.

"Jews out of Germany," New Republic, (February 13, 1935), p. 5-6.

McCormick, Troy. "Tel Aviv, City of the Jews," Reader's Digest, (October, 1938), pp. 59-61.

"The Need for Migration," Nation, (May 17, 1947), pp. 587-89.

"The Partition of Palestine," New Republic, (July 21, 1937), p. 292.

Thompson, Dorothy. "Refugees: A World Problem," Foreign Affairs, (April 1938), p. 375-87.

Weizman, Chaim. "Palestine's Role in the Solution of the Jewish Problem," Foreign Policy, (January, 1942), pp. 324-338.