# **Sources**

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# **Name:**

**Source A**

**“AUTO-EMANCIPATION: AN APPEAL TO HIS PEOPLE”**

*Leo Pinsker, 1882*

*Leo Pinsker was a Russian Jew. He originally believed that Jews would be accepted within non-Jewish societies that practiced tolerance. The outbreak of terrible violence against Jews in Russia in 1881, general anti-Semitic feelings across Russian society, and the creation of laws that restricted where Russian Jews could live and what careers they could have changed his mind. Pinsker embraced the idea that Jewish people would only be safe and treated fairly in a Jewish nation. He wrote this pamphlet to encourage Jewish leaders to intervene.*

The Jews comprise a distinctive element among the nations under which they dwell, and as such can neither assimilate nor be readily digested by any nation.

Hence the solution lies in finding a means of so readjusting this exclusive element to the family of nations, that the basis of the Jewish question will be permanently removed....

The world has yet long to wait for eternal peace. Meanwhile nations live side by side in a state of relative peace, secured by treaties and international law, but based chiefly on the fundamental equality between them.

But it is different with the people of Israel. There is no such equality in the nations’ dealings with the Jews. The basis is absent upon which treaties and international law may be applied: mutual respect. Only when this basis is established, when the equality of Jews with other nations becomes a fact, can the Jewish problem be considered solved….

The Jewish people has no fatherland of its own, though many motherlands; no center of focus or gravity, no government of its own, no official representation. They home everywhere, but are nowhere at home. The nations have never to deal with a Jewish nation but always with mere Jews. The Jews are not a nation because they lack a certain distinctive national character, inherent in all other nations, which is formed by common residence in a single state….

Merely to belong to this people is to be indelibly stigmatized, a mark repellent to non-Jews and painful to the Jews themselves....

Friend and foe alike have tried to explain or to justify this hatred of the Jews by bringing all sorts of charges against them...in order to quiet the evil conscience of the Jew-baiters, to justify the condemnation of an entire nation.... Though the Jews may justly be charged with many shortcomings, those shortcomings are, at all events, not such great vices, not such capital crimes, as to justify the condemnation of the entire people….

The Jews are aliens who can have no representatives, because they have no country. Because they have none, because their home has no boundaries within which they can be entrenched, their misery too is boundless….

The proper, the only solution, is in the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their return to the ranks of the nations by the acquisition of a Jewish homeland…. The international Jewish question must have a national solution.

**Source B**

**“MEMORANDUM TO THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN VERSAILLES”**

*The Zionist Organization, 1919*

*In 1917, the British government issued a declaration that it would support the creation of a “national home” for Jews in Palestine. Afterward, Zionists expected to receive more concrete and definite support from countries across the world. At the Conference in Versailles (also called the Paris Peace Conference), where world leaders met to negotiate the terms of peace for the First World War, the Zionist Organization presented this memorandum. It laid out reasons for the creation of a Jewish state in Palestine and recommendations on how such a state should be formed.*

The Zionist Organization respectfully submits the following draft resolutions for the consideration of the Peace Conference:

1. The High Contracting Parties recognise the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstitute in Palestine their National Home.

2. The boundaries of Palestine shall be as declared in the Schedule annexed hereto.

3. The sovereign possession of Palestine shall be vested in the League of Nations and the Government entrusted to Great Britain as mandatary of the League....

The claims of the Jews with regard to Palestine rest upon the following main considerations:

(1) The land is the historic home of the Jews; there they achieved their greatest development, from that centre, through their agency, there emanated spiritual and moral influences of supreme value to mankind. By violence they were driven from Palestine, and through the ages they have never ceased to cherish the longing and the hope of a return.

(2) In some parts of the world, and particularly in Eastern Europe, the conditions of life of millions of Jews are deplorable….

(3) But Palestine is not large enough to contain more than a proportion of the Jews of the world. The greater part of the fourteen millions or more scattered through all countries must remain in their present localities, and it will doubtless be one of the cares of the Peace Conference to ensure for them, wherever they have been oppressed, as for all peoples, equal rights and humane conditions. A Jewish National Home in Palestine will, however, be of high value to them also. Its influence will permeate the Jewries of the world: it will inspire these millions, hitherto often despairing, with a new hope; it will hold out before their eyes a higher standard; it will help to make them even more useful citizens in the lands in which they dwell.

(4) Such a Palestine would be of value also to the world at large, whose real wealth consists in the healthy diversities of its civilizations.

(5) Lastly the land itself needs redemption. Much of it is left desolate. Its present condition is a standing reproach. Two things are necessary for that redemption—a stable and enlightened Government, and an addition to the present population which shall be energetic, intelligent, devoted to the country, and backed by the large financial resources that are indispensable for development. Such a population the Jews alone can supply.

**Source C**

**“MESSAGE TO THE KING OF SAUDI ARABIA CONCERNING PALESTINE”**

*U.S. President Harry S. Truman, October 28, 1946*

*From 1945 on, U.S. President Harry Truman vocally promoted Jewish immigration into the British mandate of Palestine. At this time, U.S. public opinion was highly sympathetic to the horrors that Jews had suffered during World War II. This sympathy led Truman to defend the wishes of Jewish Zionists to settle in Palestine, as expressed in the letter from Truman to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia in 1946. In this correspondence, Truman responded to a letter from King Saud, a U.S. ally, who had expressed the concern that Jewish immigration to Palestine endangered Arab people and states in the region.*

Your Majesty:

I have just received the letter with regard to Palestine which Your Majesty was good enough to transmit to me through the Saudi Arabian Legation under date of October 15, 1946, and have given careful consideration to the views expressed therein….

….It is precisely the cordial relations between our countries and Your Majesty’s own friendly attitude which encourages me to invite your attention to some of the considerations which have prompted this Government to follow the course it has been pursuing with respect to the matter of Palestine and of the displaced Jews in Europe.

I feel certain that Your Majesty will readily agree that the tragic situation of the surviving victims of Nazi persecution in Europe presents a problem of such magnitude and poignancy that it cannot be ignored by people of good will or humanitarian instincts. This problem is worldwide. It seems to me that all of us have a common responsibility for working out a solution which would permit those unfortunates who must leave Europe to find new homes where they may dwell in peace and security.

Among the survivors in the displaced persons centers in Europe are numbers of Jews, whose plight is particularly tragic inasmuch as they represent the pitiful remnants of millions who were deliberately selected by the Nazi leaders for annihilation. Many of these persons look to Palestine as a haven where they hope among people of their own faith to find refuge, to begin to lead peaceful and useful lives, and to assist in the further development of the Jewish National Home.

The Government and people of the United States have given support to the concept of a Jewish National Home in Palestine ever since the termination of the first World War, which resulted in the freeing of a large area of the Near East, including Palestine, and the establishment of a number of independent states which are now members of the United Nations. The United States, which contributed its blood and resources to the winning of that war, could not divest itself of a certain responsibility for the manner in which the freed territories were disposed of, or for the fate of the peoples liberated at that time. It took the position, to which it still adheres, that these peoples should be prepared for self-government and also that a national home for the Jewish people should be established in Palestine. I am happy to note that most of the liberated peoples are now citizens of independent countries. The Jewish National Home, however, has not as yet been fully developed.

It is only natural, therefore, that this Government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home….

I am at a loss to understand why Your Majesty seems to feel that this statement was in contradiction to previous promises or statements made by this Government. It may be well to recall here that in the past this Government, in outlining its attitude on Palestine, has given assurances that it would not take any action which might prove hostile to the Arab people, and also that in its view there should be no decision with respect to the basic situation in Palestine without prior consultation with both Arabs and Jews….

I deplore any kind of conflict between Arabs and Jews, and am convinced that if both peoples approach the problems before them in a spirit of conciliation and moderation these problems can be solved to the lasting benefit of all concerned….

I take this opportunity to express my earnest hope that Your Majesty, who occupies a position of such eminence in the Arab world, will use the great influence which you possess to assist in the finding in the immediate future of a just and lasting solution. I am anxious to do all that I can to aid in the matter and I can assure Your Majesty that the Government and people of the United States are continuing to be solicitous of the interests and welfare of the Arabs upon whose historic friendship they place great value….

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN

**Source D**

**“THE ARAB CASE FOR PALESTINE”**

*Submitted by the Arab Office (Jerusalem) to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, March 1946*

*The Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was a group of British and U.S. citizens and officials assigned to investigate conditions in Palestine and consider the impact of increasing Jewish migration there. The Arab Office represented the interests of the newly-formed Arab League whose members included Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Transjordan, Syria, and Yemen. The Arab Office submitted this statement to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry as part of their investigation.*

The whole Arab people is unalterably opposed to the attempt to impose Jewish immigration and settlement on it, and ultimately to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. Its opposition is based primarily upon right. The Arabs of Palestine are descendents of the indigenous inhabitants of the country, who have been in occupation of it since the beginning of history; they cannot agree that it is right to subject an indigenous population against its will to alien immigrants, whose claim is based upon a historical connection which ceased effectively many centuries ago. Moreover they form the majority of the population; as such they cannot submit to a policy of immigration which if pursued for long would turn them from a majority into a minority in an alien state; and they claim the democratic right of a majority to make its own decisions in matters of urgent national concern….

In addition to the question of right, the Arabs oppose the claims of political Zionism because of the effects which Zionist settlement has already had upon their situation and is likely to have to an even greater extent in the future. Negatively, it has diverted the whole course of their national development….

The presence and claims of the Zionists, and the support given them by certain Western powers have resulted in Palestine being cut off from the other Arab countries and subjected to a regime, administrative, legal, fiscal and educational, different from that of the sister countries….

[W]hile other Arab countries have attained or are near to the attainment of self-government and full membership of the [U.N.], Palestine is still under Mandate and has taken no step toward self-government; not only are there no representative institutions, but no Palestinian can rise to the higher ranks of the administration. This is unacceptable on grounds of principle, and also because of its evil consequence….

All these evils are due entirely to the presence of the Zionists and the support given to them by certain of the Powers; there is no doubt that had it not been for that, Arab Palestine would by now be a self-governing member of the [U.N.] and the Arab League….

If Zionism succeeds in its aim, the Arabs will become a minority in their own country; a minority which can hope for no more than a minor share in the government, for the state is to be a Jewish state, and which will find itself not only deprived of that international status which other Arab countries possess but cut off from living contact with the Arab world of which it is an integral part.

**Source E**

**“TESTIMONY ON PALESTINIAN ARAB REACTION TO THE UNSCOP PROPOSALS”**

*Jamal al-Husayni, chairman of the Arab Higher Committee, September 29, 1947*

*In May 1947, the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP) formed to investigate conditions in Palestine and recommend action to the UN General Assembly. The committee, made up of representatives from eleven countries from around the world, was unanimous in calling for the end of the British mandate, but it was split over what type of independent state to create. The majority of the committee’s representatives called for the partition of Palestine into two states, one Jewish and one Arab, while other representatives proposed different plans. The UN General Assembly set up a Committee on the Palestinian Question to hear Palestinian Arab and Zionist views on the UNSCOP proposals. Jamal al-Husayni was a leader of the Arab Higher Committee, the main Palestinian Arab political organization in the mandate. His testimony, recorded in committee meeting notes below, expressed Palestinian Arab views of the UNSCOP proposals.*

The case of the Arabs of Palestine was based on the principles of international justice; it was that of a people which desired to live in undisturbed possession of the country where Providence and history had placed it. The Arabs of Palestine could not understand why their right to live in freedom and peace, and to develop their country in accordance with their traditions, should be questioned and constantly submitted to investigation.

One thing was clear: it was the sacred duty of the Arabs of Palestine to defend their country against all aggression. The Zionists were conducting an aggressive campaign with the object of securing by force a country which was not theirs by birthright. Thus there was self-defence on one side and, on the other, aggression….

The struggle of the Arabs in Palestine had nothing in common with anti-Semitism. The Arab world had been one of the rare havens of refuge for the Jews until the atmosphere of neighbourliness had been poisoned by the Balfour Declaration and the aggressive spirit the latter had engendered in the Jewish community….

…[T]he Zionists claimed the establishment of a Jewish National Home by virtue of the Balfour Declaration. But the British Government had had no right to dispose of Palestine which it had occupied in the name of the Allies as a liberator and not as a conqueror. The Balfour Declaration was in contradiction with the Covenant of the League of Nations and was an immoral, unjust and illegal promise….

Once Palestine was found to be entitled to independence, the United Nations was not legally competent to decide or to impose the constitutional organization of Palestine, since such an action would amount to interference with an internal matter of an independent nation….

The Arabs of Palestine were solidly determined to oppose with all the means at their command any scheme which provided for the dissection, segregation or partition of their country or which gave to a minority special and preferential rights or status. Although they fully realized that big Powers could crush such opposition by brute force, the Arabs nevertheless would not be deterred, but would lawfully defend with their life-blood every inch of the soil of their beloved country.

UNO Ad Hoc Committee on the Palestinian Question, third meeting

**Source F**

**“REPORT ON FORMER OTTOMAN TERRITORIES”**

*U.S. King-Crane Commission, 1919 (released to the public in 1922)*

*In June 1919, the King-Crane Commission visited the non-Turkish areas of the former Ottoman Empire. U.S. President Woodrow Wilson appointed the Commission and gave it the task of studying the area, surveying local public opinion, and giving recommendations for if and how certain areas should be given a chance at self-government. (At this time, much of the region was under French or British mandate.) The Commission gave its report in August 1919 and became known as “the first-ever survey of Arab public opinion.” Its results were largely ignored by the international community and the United States.*

We recommend...serious modification of the extreme Zionist program for Palestine of unlimited immigration of Jews, looking finally to making Palestine distinctly a Jewish State.

(1) The Commissioners began their study of Zionism with minds predisposed in its favor, but the actual facts in Palestine, coupled with the force of the general principles proclaimed by the Allies and accepted by the Syrians have driven them to the recommendation here made.

(2) The commission was abundantly supplied with literature on the Zionist program by the Zionist Commission to Palestine; heard in conferences much concerning the Zionist colonies and their claims; and personally saw something of what had been accomplished. They found much to approve in the aspirations and plans of the Zionists....

(3) The Commission recognized also that definite encouragement had been given to the Zionists by the Allies in Mr. Balfour’s often quoted statement in its approval by other representatives of the Allies. If, however, the strict terms of the Balfour Statement are adhered to —favoring “the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people...it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights existing in non-Jewish communities in Palestine”—it can hardly be doubted that the extreme Zionist Program must be greatly modified.

For “a national home for the Jewish people” is not equivalent to making Palestine into a Jewish State; nor can the erection of such a Jewish State be accomplished without the gravest trespass upon the “civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine.”...

...[T]he non-Jewish population of Palestine—nearly nine tenths of the whole—are emphatically against the entire Zionist program. The tables show that there was no one thing upon which the population of Palestine were more agreed than upon this. To subject a people so minded to unlimited Jewish immigration, and to steady financial and social pressure to surrender the land, would be a gross violation of the principle just quoted, and of the people’s rights, though it kept within the forms of law….

The anti-Zionist feeling in Palestine and Syria is intense and not lightly to be flouted. No British officer, consulted by the Commissioners, believed that the Zionist program could be carried out except by force of arms.... Decisions, requiring armies to carry out, are sometimes necessary, but they are surely not gratuitously to be taken in the interests of a serious injustice. For the initial claim, often submitted by Zionist representatives, that they have a “right” to Palestine, based on an occupation of 2,000 years ago, can hardly be seriously considered….

In view of all these considerations, and with a deep sense of sympathy for the Jewish cause, the Commissioners feel bound to recommend that only a greatly reduced Zionist program be attempted by the Peace Conference, and even that, only very gradually initiated. This would have to mean that Jewish immigration should be definitely limited, and that the project for making Palestine distinctly a Jewish commonwealth should be given up.

**Companion to Sources E and F**

**“BALFOUR DECLARATION”**

*Arthur James Balfour, British foreign secretary, November 2, 1917*

*The Balfour Declaration of 1917, mentioned in the previous sources, was a statement made by British Foreign Secretary Arthur James Balfour in support of “a national home for the Jewish people.” This statement was one part of a letter to Lord Rothschild, a leader of the Jewish community in Britain. Historians disagree about what Balfour intended by this statement, but the Zionist movement referred to it heavily in its effort to create a Jewish state in Palestine. Balfour’s entire letter is below.*

Foreign Office

November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty’s Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

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.

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,

Arthur James Balfour