



WERE BRITAIN AND TURKEY  
RESPONSIBLE FOR THE STRUMA  
TRAGEDY?

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Dedicated to  
the Victims of  
the Struma Tragedy

Special Thanks to Catherine  
Collins and David Stoliar

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## Introduction:

At the beginning of another century, we still have not left wars, famines and genocides behind. Many people still die because of some countries' profit. The explanation is simple. We have not learned lessons from our history. How can a person who knows about people died in WWII and the Holocaust support wars? That is why we have to raise public awareness, to educate people about the tragic events that happened in the past. The Struma tragedy is definitely one of these events.

In the World War II years, when the fascist regime was in power in Romania and when the Nazi troops were settled in this country, Romanian Jews wanted to leave. The reason was clear: In June 1941, around 4,000 Jews were massacred in Iasi/Jassy, Northern Romania and thousands more were obliged to leave their hometowns and transported to Southern Romania. In the very month, the Jews were forced to wear yellow bands. At first, since the Romanian authority agreed to allow Jews to depart from the country, Jews were able to organize ships to the Promised Land and they had the chance to leave the Holocaust behind. The destination of their journey, Palestine, however was under the control of the British Empire and the UK did not want more Jews on this land. [Frantz]

769 Romanian Jews\* started on a journey to Palestine on 12 December 1941. The ship

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\* See Appendix 1

they were on was called Struma, a decommissioned German barge used to carry 100 cattles on river. The ship left Romania (Constanza) and on 15 December 1941 it reached Istanbul. However, due to a problem in its engine and the fact that their visas were not ready as promised by the Palestinian authority, the ship was not able to continue. Struma waited in Istanbul for 70 days. Only five passengers were able to depart from the ship during this time. Eventually, the ship was sent back to the Black Sea where it was sank by a Soviet torpedo on 25 February 1942. Only one person survived this tragic event. [Frantz]

In order to understand all the aspects of the Struma incident, one has to know the involved countries' points of view on the Jewish issue. The countries whose perspective we need to examine are Germany, Romania, the Soviet Union, the UK and Turkey. German standpoint is a historical fact and that is why in this paper I will not address it. Similarly Romania, being an ally of the Nazis, shares the same position with her ally. Although the Soviet Union is the country which sank the ship, her perspective is irrelevant to the incident, since the Soviets did not take part in the diplomacy regarding Struma. The simple reason they sank the ship was the fact that they could not identify which country Struma belonged to. Afraid of a German intrusion, the Soviets were sinking every ship they could not identify (Many Turkish sailboats shared the same destiny). In my opinion, the perspectives of the UK and Turkey deserve a closer inspection, since these two countries were uniquely positioned to take actions for the passengers on Struma, but missed the vital opportunity. [Kimche]

Intense diplomatic traffic began as the Struma set sail. The cables and speeches of this diplomatic war are the primary sources of this paper, researching the British and Turkish role in this tragic event. The incident, the subjects and the people involved will be examined both analytically and chronologically.

*The*

*British*

*Role*



Here is the principle at stake. Has every Jew a right to come to Palestine?

FO 371 21162 (From MacMichael- High Commissioner to Lord Moyne- Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies) Feb. 28, 1941 [Public]

### British-Jewish Relations before the Struma Tragedy:

In order to examine the British Role in the Struma Tragedy in depth, we need to understand England's Palestine policy. The first source regarding this policy is the letter from the British Minister of Foreign Affairs, Arthur James Balfour, to the President of the Britain Zionist Associations Federation, Lord Rothschild on November 2, 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 favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors 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 sincerely,

Arthur James Balfour [Ofer]

From this letter, it is easy to understand that at one time Britain approved a national Jewish home in Palestine and that she would do everything to help for the success of this aim. This letter, also referred as the Balfour Declaration, encouraged the Jewish immigration to Palestine.

However, after the World War I, when Britain and France came together in San Remo on April 24, 1920, they decided that Syria and Lebanon would be under the French control whereas Palestine, Jordan and Iraq would be colonized by the British. This decision was a blow for Jewish immigration, because it angered Arabs who were promised independence, if they would revolt against the Ottoman authority. Besides, due to the Balfour Declaration, the numbers of Jews settling in Palestine increased dramatically. Consequently, Arabs demonstrated against the Jews and killed some of the Jewish settlers in Jerusalem and Haifa. Right after these events, the British authorities decided to limit the Jewish immigration to only 16,500 and following this decision, they sent a message to World Zionist Association saying that Palestine would never be Jewish and that Jews had to live with Arabs there. Nevertheless, these actions of the UK were the basis for later Arab-Jewish conflict. [Wasserstein]

Owing to the armed conflicts in Palestine, in 1930 the Minister of Colonial Office,

Lord Passfield prepared a report, Passfield White Book\*, regarding this issue. He urged the British not to let any more Jewish immigration to Palestine. His ideas were shared by many others including Walter Shaw and Sir John Hope Simpson. [Wasserstein]

After the Nazis came to power, there was a tremendous increase in the Jewish immigration. In 1934, 42,359 and in 1935, 62,000 Jews immigrated to Palestine. On the other side, Arabs initiated to organize against Jews. In 1931, a decision to be armed has been taken in the Arab Congress in Nablus and in 1933, High Arab Committee lead by Hacı El-Huseyni decided to cut the communication with the British authorities. [Wasserstein]

Shocked with the Committee's decision, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Lord William Robert Peel published a report sharing the ideas of Lord Passfield. This report was followed by the MacDonald White Paper written by the Minister of Colonial Office, Malcolm MacDonald. As a result of all these reports and decisions, the UK agreed to end the Jewish immigration. The main reason behind this decision was most likely the economic importance of Palestine to the UK. In the war against the Nazis, they needed the Palestinian oil desperately. [Aliav]

In the White Paper of 1939, it was promised that 5,000 Jews would be admitted to Palestine and 25,000 might follow as jobs permitted. Encouraged by this quota, there were many ships being organized by the Jewish Associations to save the Jews in

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\* See Appendix 2

Europe from the Holocaust. As a result of the definite decision of the British Government on the “illegal” immigration of the Jewish refugees, the British authorities and the High Commissioner for Palestine, Sir Harold MacMichael started to apply this decision. The cables and minutes show us this process clearly. [Aliav]

I have accordingly decided, on the strong recommendation of Sir Harold MacMichael, that  
any Jewish arrivals must be refused admission to Palestine.

PREM 4/51/1 p. 91 (From Christopher Eastwood- Colonial Office to Winston Churchill- Prime Minister) Nov. 13, 1940 [Public]

The position is that the intention of the Government to remove Jewish refugees from Haifa to  
a British Colony has now been officially announced in Palestine. Its revocation would be  
interpreted only in one sense, as a surrender to Jewish agitation. If such an impression were  
created, not only would more and more shiploads be encouraged to descend upon us, but the  
political effect in the Middle East would be altogether deplorable.

PREM 4/51/1 p. 85-86 (From Eastwood to Churchill) Nov. 21, 1940 [Public]

As it is clearly seen in these notes sent by Christopher Eastwood from the Colonial Office to the Prime Minister Winston Churchill, the British authorities have decided on their action plan toward the expected arrivals of Jewish immigrant ships to Palestine.[Ancel]

On November 25, 1940, a ship called Patria sank near Haifa. This ship was carrying 1800 Jewish refugees to Palestine. Right after MacMichael had refused to accept the

immigrants on the Patria; there was a big explosion which led to the death of 202 passengers and 50 crew members on board. Following this incident, another ship, Atlantic, was also rejected and this ship with 1700 Jews on it was sent back. The reason behind all these rejections was the fact that the British tried to make Arabs stay calm and loyal in Palestine, so they would not be dealing with their revolts while fighting against the Nazis [Carmely]:

In the view of the vital importance of the Middle East and the concentration of Australian troops in that region the Commonwealth Government view with grave concern the danger of arousing the Arab world against us and prejudicing the military position in that theatre.

PREM 4/51/1 p. 66 (From the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia to Churchill) Dec. 6, 1940 [Public]

The UK authorities were sure that they had to take a stand against the Jewish immigration:

As a result, we are going to have, whether we like it or not, large numbers of Jewish refugees on our hands, and the question arises how we are going to dispose of them.

FO 371/29161 (Review of Mr. Latham -Foreign Office- on the Possibility of Repressing Illegal Immigration into Palestine) Dec. 26, 1940 [Public]

On December 28, 1940, in order not to permit Jewish immigration, the Foreign Office prepared a prospect about holding the Jews back. In this prospect, the choice of sinking the ships was also included [Gilbert]:

## VIII. Sinking the ships.

This is the only way in which the traffic can with certainty be stopped. It is, however, a step which, for obvious reasons, His Majesty's government would hardly be prepared in any circumstances to authorise.

“The Prospect of Repressing Illegal Immigration into Palestine” FO 371/29161 Dec. 28, 1940 [Public]

Due to the continuation of the Jewish immigration and the sinking of some of the ships that were rejected, MacMichael started to let the Jews escape overboard and kept them in detention camps. However because the number of the immigrant Jews reached to tens of thousands, the British authorities tried to find a way to “dispose these surplus Jews:” [Gilbert]

We should have some alternative scheme in hand for disposing of these surplus Jews who, having escaped from persecution in Europe, are going to be kept in detention camps in British colonies.

W 2714/11/48 Jan. 17, 1941 [Public]

During the discussions on the Jewish issue was going on in the Cabinet, the British authorities learned that a ship called “Struma” was being organized by the Jews in Romania [Hadari]:

According to an advertisement in the Bucharest “Universul” of the 11<sup>th</sup> September, the s.s “Struma”, Panama flag, was to sail during September, port not mentioned. Presumably, she

will carry Jews.

From the Government of Palestine to Mr. Poynton- Colonial Office Sep. 19, 1941

[Public]

After they learned about the "Struma," the British contacted the Turks to ask them to prevent this ship from passing through the Bosphorus. However, the Turkish refused this due to the Montreux Convention, the international treaty of 1936 which legitimated the Black Sea countries, including Romania, to send their fleets through the Straits into the Mediterranean in peacetime:

Turkish Government have been approached but point out that they cannot take any action

under Montreux Convention to prevent passage.

FO 371/29163 (From Sir H. Knatchbull Hugessen- Angora to Jerusalem) Oct. 15, 1941

[Public]

No countries showed any inclination to have them and as they left Roumania illegally they would not be allowed to return.

FO 371/32661 (From Sir H. Knatchbull-Hugessen- Angora to Foreign Office)

Feb. 26, 1942 [Public]

### British Role during the Struma's Journey:

On December 12, 1941, Struma left Constanza, while there was a hectic diplomatic traffic between the British and Turkish authorities. The British ridiculously and self-servingly argued that the Jewish immigrants on the Struma might be Nazi agents trying to penetrate into British lands. [Avriel]

We have good reasons to believe that this traffic is favoured by the Gestapo and the Security Services attach the very greatest importance to preventing the influx of Nazi agents under the cloak of refugees. As to Knatchbull-Hugessen's humanitarian feelings about sending the refugees back to the Black Sea countries it seems to me these might apply with equal force to the tens of thousands of Jews who remain behind and who are most eager to join them. (...) to urge that Turkish authorities should be asked to send the ship back to the Black Sea, as they originally proposed.

P 3/4/30 (From Lord Moyne to Richard Law) Dec. 24, 1941 [Public]



After reaching the mouth of the Bosphorus on December 15, 1941, the ship, its engine not working, has been towed to the Istanbul Harbor where it stayed in quarantine for seventy days. During this time, due to the lack of food, freshwater and hygiene, hunger and sickness ruled the ship. Despite this dire condition of the immigrants, no one except the Turkish Jews helped them. Since nobody was allowed to disembark, it can be said that 769 Jews were left to die. Due to some critical voices in the international media, the authorities asked Turkey to allow the children to travel through Turkey to Palestine. Yet, Turkey did not accept that and the Turks came up with an offer [Bethell]:

I have informed the Turkish Government decision to admit children. Assistant Secretary-General at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs stated that they could not allow children to travel overland through Turkey; if the ship can be sent to Istanbul they can be transferred to it; otherwise they must remain on the Struma.

FO 371/32661 (From Angora to Jerusalem) Feb. 17, 1942 [Public]

In short, the fate of 121 children was left in the hands of diplomat bickering. Turkey told the UK that she would send Struma back to the Black Sea, if the British authorities could not find a way to deal with this ship. Panicked, Britain asked Turkey to delay this action:

Please represent urgently to Turkish Government that they should at least postpone action reported while question of admission of children to Palestine is being considered. You should also take opportunity of pressing for re-consideration of Turkish decision regarding transit of

children.

FO 371/32661 (From Foreign Office to Angora) Feb. 24, 1942 [Public]

This was the last cable between Britain and Turkey regarding the Struma tragedy. On February 25, 1942, Struma was sent to the Black Sea, without its engine working (and maybe/probably without an engine). On the same day, it was sunk by a Soviet torpedo. [Frantz]

One self-evident truth is that the Administration in Palestine is anti-Semitic.

FO 371/32665 (Speech of Lord Wedgwood) Mar. 10, 1942 [Public]

### British Policy after the Struma Disaster:

After this disaster, many people started to blame the British Government for not taking necessary actions. Lord Wedgwood was one of these people:

May I ask the noble Lord whether he is not as sure as I am that the bomb which destroyed the “Struma” was the last hope of the unfortunate refugees to save them from being handed back to Hitler? And may I ask him whether he does not think that the blood of these people is on our hands?

FO 371/32661 (Lord Wedgwood to Lord Cecil) Feb. 26, 1942 [Public]

Besides Lord Wedgwood’s speeches, there was also a resolution, admitting the guilt, discussed in the Cabinet:

The guilt must be shared also by the British Government and its representatives in the Palestine Administration. They closed the doors of Palestine in the face of these persecuted and driven Jews.

FO 371/32663 Resolution [Public]

The Struma disaster resulted in a drastic change in the British policy concerning the Jewish immigration to Palestine. They understood that they could not stop these ships without sinking them. [Gold] That was why they asked Turkey to allow any further ships pass from the Bosphorus and Dardanelles:

After consultation with the Colonial Office instructions will presumably have to be sent to H.M. Ambassador at Angora to explain an explanation which will presumably have to be conveyed to the Turks, in as non-committal fashion as possible (the Turk takes a hint very easily) that if other illegal ships appear in the Dardanelles they must be allowed to go on rather than run the risk of another "Struma" disaster and the consequent odium accruing to

H.M. Government.

FO 371/32662 (Minute of Mr. Randall- Foreign Office) Mar. 12, 1942 [Public]

Even Sir Harold MacMichael, afraid of a grave unrest in Palestine, agreed that a second Struma disaster should not happen:

MacMichael has assured him that unless we can give the Jews some reassurance, there will be very serious trouble in Palestine, if there is another Struma disaster.

FO 371/32665 (From Foreign Office to the Secretary of State) May 8, 1942 [Public]

***The***

***Turkish***

***Role***

Since the Struma disaster took place within or near Turkish waters, the Turkish-Jewish relations have to be examined. When looked at the historical perspective, it is a fact that Jews lived comfortably under both the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. [Rubin] The celebrations of the Jewish community in Turkey in the memory of the Ottoman Empire which saved their ancestors from Spain in 1492 are obvious examples of this. [Bali] Besides, the "Ottoman Period" section of the Nahum Goldman Jewish Diaspora Museum in Tel Aviv shows the gratitude of the Jewish people towards the Ottomans. Joan Comay explains the friendly relations between the Jewish and the Turkish people in her book called "The Diaspora Story: The Epic of the Jewish People among the Nations." [Comay] Prof. Avram Galanti and Stanford J. Shaw are other scholars who worked on the same issue and shared the same ideas with Comay. [Comay; Hirschmann; Shaw, The Jews]

When the Holocaust and the Second World War broke out, Turkish-Jewish relations took a downturn due to the fact that the Turkish Jews were forced to work at labor camps and taxed extraordinarily under the name of Wealth Tax. Nonetheless, there were still some Turks helping the Jews in respect to the long lasting friendship between the two peoples. One of the Turkish ambassadors in Europe, Selahattin Ulkumen, tried to save 42 Jews from being sent to Auschwitz by preparing fraud paperwork. Due to his efforts, he received "Hassid Umot Ha'olam" Prize on June 26, 1990. Similarly, on December 17, 1990, Chief Rabbi of Turkey honored Mr. Ulkumen by giving him a prize for his efforts to save Jews. [Bali]

The reason why many Jews could not escape from Europe was the fact that there

were only two routes to use. One of them was through Portugal. From Portugal, Jews succeeded in escaping to the USA. Unfortunately, Portugal closed its borders on October 22, 1940, so this route was closed at the time when it was needed the most. The other route was through Turkey. Many Jews went to Turkey and stay there or through Turkey, they reached Palestine. When Portugal closed its borders, Turkey became Jews' only choice. At that time, for the Jews Turkey was like a little crack on a concrete wall. Ira Hirschmann confirms this in her book, "Life Line to a Promised Land" (p/32) [Hirschmann]:

The gateway of escape through Turkey had been technically open since 1941 to a small number of refugees moving by rail from Bulgaria. In order not to overload their trains, the Turks had made a restrictive limit of sixty persons to be carried each week from each of the Axis satellite countries –Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

There were also ships with the Turkish flag carrying immigrants to Palestine. Moreover, one of these ships, "Mefkure", was sunk by unidentified sources while carrying Jews to Palestine. [Rubin]

While examining Turkey's help to the Jewish people during the WWII, we need to take a closer look at the circumstances of this help. At those years, helping the Jews was counted to be a *casus belli*\* in the Nazi point of view. Before waging war against Bulgaria, Nazis asked the Bulgarian Government to either destroy all the Bulgarian Jews or hand them in to the Nazi authorities. The Bulgarian Government did not

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\* Reason for waging war

accept this inhumane offer and as a result “found Bulgaria joining the Axis side” in the beginning of 1941. [Shaw, Turkey]



# *Conclusion*

## The British Role:

After careful examination of the reliable sources such as cables, speeches and books, there is no doubt that the international community shares in the responsibility for the Struma tragedy, but I believe that Britain carries the bulk. Since the UK was at war with Germany and Palestinian oil was essential for her, the British authorities could not tolerate unrest in Palestine. Taking the Arab-Jewish conflict and the Arab majority in Palestine into consideration, the British had to favor the Arabs. Since Arabs did not want more Jews in Palestine, the UK had to placate the Arabs by ending further Jewish immigration. This is quite understandable. Yet, in order to prevent Jews from migrating to Palestine, Britain had to find another way for the Jews to escape the Holocaust. They just did not allow Jews to come to Palestine, without suggesting another place (e.g. India, Australia or any other British colony where there was no hatred against the Jews) for them to go.

It may be argued that the reason why the Jews chose Palestine to be their destination was their belief that Palestine was their Promised Land and they would not go to another place other than the Holy Land. However, I think that if the British authorities told them to go somewhere else rather than Palestine, they would go to the suggested place, because they were just looking for a safe place where they could continue their lives.

In my opinion, Britain understood that they were at fault in dealing with the Struma.

They showed this by discussing a resolution admitting their guilt and releasing the documents which revealed their fault. Further proof of this is the abrupt change in their policies. After the Struma tragedy, they did not treat the following immigrants as harsh as they did before. [Perl]

### The Turkish Role:

Regarding the Struma issue, it is extremely hard to find sources from the Turkish National Archive, because the Turks did not release the probable sources. That is why the cables between Britain and Turkey can only be obtained from the British Public Record Office. Turks created a questioning atmosphere about their responsibility in the Struma Tragedy by not showing the documents in their archives. As a result, there is a black curtain over the realities concerning Turkey's responsibility. [Shaw, Turkey] This curtain, together with Mr. Stoliar's remarks\*, makes people think that Turkey was guilty in the Struma incident and now trying to cover her faults. Since Turkey was the country which cut the ropes connecting Struma to land, she is responsible for this tragedy. Yet, Turkey was no guiltier than others, but she was geographically positioned, to make a difference.

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\* See Appendix 3

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Cover Illustration: WDR Fernsehen. "Die Letzte Fahrt der Struma". 12 August 2005.

<[http://www.wdr.de/tv/wdr-dok/img/1\\_Letzte\\_Fahrt\\_der\\_Struma.jpg](http://www.wdr.de/tv/wdr-dok/img/1_Letzte_Fahrt_der_Struma.jpg)>

## Appendix 1:

### STRUMA SURVIVORS

Brettschneider, Theodor Benjamin  
 Frenck, David  
 Frenck, Israel  
 Frenck, Tiwia (wife)  
 Ghefner, Emanuel  
 Ludovic, Eduard  
 Ludovic, Emanuel  
 Salamovitz, Medea  
 Segall (child)  
 Segall, M.  
 Segall, (wife)  
 Stoliar, David

### STRUMA PASSENGERS

Name	Age	Name	Age	Name	Age
Abramovici, Ghizela	29	Abramovici, Jean	30	Abramovici, Josef	33
Abranovici, Moise	32	Adania, Silvian	25	Adler, Gustav	38
Adler, Israel	19	Adler, Oswald	45	Adler, Tilia	37
Agar, Simon Zeilig	33	Aizic, David	22	Alcalay, Sara	39
Alter, Bentin	37	Alter, Betty	20	Alter, Estera	11
Alter, Jacob	05	Alter, Toni	35	Ambrovici, Latei	21
Antonier, Jacques	31	Antonier, Rodica	20	Apfelberg, H Salomon	31
Apotheker, Aron	44	Apotheker, Duca	38	Apotheker, Julius	17
Appel, Avram Alex	21	Appel, Emanuel	19	Appel, Feiga	41
Appel, Israel	52	Appel, Zoltan	16	Aranovici, Natalia	20
Aronescu, Mina	25	Aronovici, Lulu	30	Aronsescu, Seigfried	31
Aurielian, Alexandru	31	Avner, Berthold	34	Avner, Mesalina	28
Avram, Saie	24	Bach, Juster Octav	24	Baculu, Ichil	33
Baculu, Miriam	01	Baculu, Sena Tivia	37	Banek, Jose'	20
Banek, Debora	50	Barber, Lita	21	Barber, Seigfried	37
Baron, Adolf Herbert	17	Baron, Gusta	41	Baron, Marcel	40
Baron, Richard	12	Bartfield, Martin	15	Baruch, Cecilia	31
Beer, Ionel	21	Beilich, Egon	17	Bercovici, Alfred	09
Bercovici, Cornel Adrian	02	Bercovici, Ignat	42	Bercovici, Ionia	33
Bercovici, Margareta	31	Bercu, Betty	26	Bercu, Josif	29
Berlandt, Eduard	57	Berlandt, Eliza	49	Berlandt, Lazar Luza	19
Berman, Fischl	29	Berry, Waldi	20	Binder, Josif	47
Binder, Marcu	14	Binderer, Leopold	23	Birnstein, M Samuel	22
Blanck, Osias	28	Blumenfeld, Leiba	27	Braun, Eugen	37

Braun, Judita	03	Braun, Maria	37	Brettschneider, Theo Benjamin	21
Breyer, Zoltan	39	Brill, Frieda	39	Brill, Marcel	39
Brill, Sonia	11	Bucspan, Grigore	54	Bucspanenta, Zlata	55
Butnaru, Elias	20	Butter, Alexandru	33	Butter, Bertina	27
Cahan, Ilie	22	Calihman, Avram	50	Calihman, Bela Liuba	45
Camerman, Solomon	23	Caneti, Virginia	35	Canetti, Isak	40
Canetti, Jose	07	Caufman, Saine	27	Chessel, Mordhai	27
Ciobataru, Alfred	34	Ciovanile, Jean Marcel	38	Clarfeld, Matte	41
Coganschi, Ana	17	Coganschi, Haia	45	Coganschi, Josif	57
Cohen, Bercu	12	Cohen, Simona	32	Cohn, Adolf	59
Cohn, David	21	Cohn, Giorgio	01	Cohn, Ionel	19
Cohn, J. Zalman	35	Cohn, Roza	59	Cohn, Toba	34
Coifman, Tauba Haia	54	Coifman, Strul	53	Cojocaru, Carol	19
Cornblut, Mauriciu	27	Cornblut, Zela	20	Cotingaru, Debora	23
Cotingaru, Lupu	24	Cottingaru, Debora	23	Cottingaru, Lupu	26
Dain, Haim Abraham	55	Dain, Olga	13	Dain, Sura	50
David, Rifca Alia Amilia	61	David, Etti	28	David, Stoliar	20
Davidovitch, Sofia	22	Diamant, Ghizela	33	Diamant, Micu	37
Diamant, Simona	08	Dichter, A Ionel	41	Ditz, Eugene	27
Draht, S Paul	40	Dulitchi, Rachil	40	Eckstein, Roza	22
Edelstein, Clara	29	Edelstein, Jean	25	Edelstein, Leon	32
Eisig, Louis	20	Eisig, Mircea	18	Elcovici, Naftuli	24
Elias, Barat	27	Elias, Avram Bernard	10	Elias, Josef	37
Elias, Medea	34	Elias, Roji	13	Elias, Sofia	21
Epstein, Matias	37	Epstein, Sara Rebecca	26	Erbst, Matei	21
Farchi, Henry	22	Fegler, Max	31	Feigenbaum, Elias	29
Feigenbaum, Liza	23	Feigenbaum, Ruhla	53	Feingold, Otto Jacques	21
Feld, Margareta	28	Feld, Nicolae	36	Feldman, Ester	40
Feldman, Isac	18	Feldstein, Avram	02	Feldstein, David	34
Feldstein, Ghenrich	31	Feldstein, Gheorge	23	Feldstein, Ghizela Luiza	28
Feldstein, Nelli	23	Feldstein, Robert	28	Feldstein, Rozica	23
Feldstein, Sure	33	Fell, Solomon	22	Feller, Gustav	29
Fischer, Jacob	40	Fischer, Lenea	35	Fischer, Rozica	44
Fischer, Rudi	16	Fischer, Silvia	18	Fischer, Zoltan	09
Fischman, Nisen	22	Fleischer, Ana	33	Fleischer, David	44
Fleischer, Maletta	36	Fleisher, Robert	08	Flinker, Claus Lola	15
Flinker, Jeanette	51	Flinker, Richard	17	Frangheim, Aron	17
Frenck, David	19	Frenck, Israel	25	Frenck, Tiwia	24
Friedman, Desideriu	42	Friedman, Ileana	19	Friedman, Nicolae	13
Friedman, Sofia	38	Fruchter, Isac	18	Fruchter, Jehuda	16



Fruchtman, Henriette	26	Fruchtman, Solomon	27	Fuchs, Mauriciu	29
Galatan, Moisc	47	Galatan, Rosina	45	Galia, Jean Haralambie	22
Gartenberg, Arnold	33	Gartenberg, Felix	31	Gartenberg, Rifca	28
Gethel, Moritz	45	Ghefner, Emanuel	27	Ghelber, Heinrich	44
Ghelber, Leia Hude	39	Ghelberg, M Paul	18	Ghelman, Alexandru	28
Ghelman, Fania	21	Ghelman, Feiga Ganea	26	Ghelman, Moise	29
Ghenzer, Ernestine	39	Ghenzer, Magdalena	07	Ghetel, Basia Frieda	32
Ghettler, Josef	50	Ghettler, Lya	45	Ghettler, J Macas	19
Ghinsberg, Adrian	07	Ghinsberg, Evelina	32	Ghinsberg, Marcu	32
Girsch, Adalbert	38	Glaubse, J Emanuel	23	Glicman, Abram	48
Glicman, Eughenia	34	Glicman, Jacov	07	Glicman, Liza	70
Glicman, Rita	10	Gluckman, Alfred	30	Gluckman, Sophie	24
Goldenberg, Jassy	26	Goldenberg, Osias	24	Goldman, Alex	40
Goldman, Hans	04	Goldman, Rachela	07	Goldman, Turia	32
Goldstein, Ana	26	Goldstein, Armand	25	Goldstein, Eliazar	31
Goldstein, Moise Haim	19	Goldstein, Marcu	50	Goldstein, L Simon	40
Goldstein, Simon	41	Goldstein, Stefaina	29	Gornstein, Herman	30
Gottesman, Jacob	33	Gottlieb, Bronislawa	52	Gottlieb, Henry	54
Gottlieb, Paul Norbert	21	Gottlieb, Thea Ruth	19	Grammer, Josif	18
Granovschi, Ghers	30	Grief, Calman	24	Griever, Marcel	22
Grinberg, Moritz	42	Grinberg, Stela	19	Grinberger, Adolf	19
Grobdrug, Alevai	22	Gross, Nora	26	Gross, Vistor Paul	16
Grossman, Marcel	20	Gruber, Isac	34	Gruehberg, Ferdinand	24
Gruenberg, Efraim	30	Gruenberg, Jean	21	Gruenberg, Wolfy	28
Gruenfeld, Laszlo	38	Grunberg, Gabriel	25	Grunberg, Irina	21
Grunberg, Otto	27	Grunsfeld, Eisig	30	Grupper, Filip	27
Grupper, Rachele	36	Guttermacher, Smil	21	Guttman, Adelina	25
Guttman, Alexander	27	Hafner, Lucy	20	Haim, Sabine	30
Haimovici, Carol	19	Haimovici, Vergil	30	Haltin, Ida	55
Haras, Sergiu	15	Hascolovici, Josif	26	Hascolovici, Rachela	30
Hascolovici, Sergiu	06	Hassan, Eduard	20	Hassan, Juditha	17
Hefter, Harry	21	Heimovici, Angelica	20	Heinis, Beris	21
Hellenbrandt, Louis	21	Heller, Bertha	36	Heller, Leon	46
Heller, Oswald	02	Heller, Pepi	54	Henic, Henic	22
Herovici, Theodor	21	Herscher, Malca	30	Herscher, Samuel	34
Herscovici, Sally	41	Herscovici, Edith	10	Herscovici, Harry	22
Herscovici, Marcel	44	Herscovici, Maximilian	39	Herscovici, Mosia	18
Herscu, Eva	35	Herscu, J Herscu	40	Herscu, Sofia	04
Hertzblut, Matilda	53	Highelman, Haim	18	Hirsch, Gabriela	02
Hirsch, Roza	34	Holici, Alfred	35	Holici, Jeanette	28
Hornstein, Carol	30	Horowitz, Daniel	19	Husin, Sali	28
Ianchelevici, Ety	10	Ianchelevici, Nisen	48	Ianchelevivi, Frieda	37

Iancu, Sofia	40	Ionas, Clara	25	Ionas, Cohn	21
Ionia, Josif	28	Iram, Haim	27	Istacescu, Adela	57
Istacescu, Alfred	08	Itic, Aurel	24	Itic, Avram	21
Iticovici, Adela	24	Iticovici, Adela	61	Iticovici, Corneliu	18
Iticsohn, Albert	22	Izsak, I Emeric	24	Jacobovici Fainaru, Pincu	46
Jancovici, Moritz	30	Jancu, Itic	68	Jancu, Moise	30
Javovici, Bernard	19	Jonas, Iancu	34	Josubas, Itic	32
Juster, Harry	20	Juster, Mircea	22	Kaffrisen, Marcu	27
Kahane, Julius	35	Kanna, Gustav	20	Kannik, Dr. Ernest	30
Kart, Armand	19	Katz, Friedrike	39	Katz, Sigmund	45
Katz, Zeilig	20	Kelen, Nikolae	38	Kelman, Matilda	20
Kesselbrenner, Ghittel	55	Klein, Herman	25	Klein, Josef	38
Kleinburg, Mandel	27	Koenigsberg, Berta	20	Koenigsberg, Fritz	18
Koenigsberg, Luisa	43	Koenigsberg, Osias	48	Korn, Malvina	20
Kothringer, Ilse	20	Kraus, Clara	30	Kraus, Marcel	37
Landau, Emil	31	Landau, Ruhla	30	Landau, Hortansa Silvia	33
Landman, Harry	33	Landman, Jose	10	Landman, Liza	36
Landman, Willy	39	Langenmass, Dwora	49	Langenmass, Ruth	17
Latarovici, Milu	18	Lauer, Adolf	33	Lazarescu, David	28
Lazarescu, Heinrich	30	Lazarescu, Hentia	21	Lazarescu, Paulina	29
Lazarovici, Renee	20	Lazarovicz, Severim	54	Lecker Leon Leib	34
Leibovici, Levinda Corneliu	40	Leibovici, Haia	38	Leibovici, Leib Itic	49
Leibovici, G Louis	27	Leibovici, Marcu	25	Leibovici, Simon	22
Leobovici, Basa	30	Leobovici, Salomon	37	Leon, Marcu	21
Leongiu, Eduard	08	Leongiu, Maguerita	10	Leongiu, Rica	31
Lewy, Haim	23	Liebovici, Heinrich	20	Liebovici, Jacob	27
Liebovici, Lizica Leoniu	44	Liebovici, Silviu Leoniu	51	Limbarski, Dora	54
Linbarski, David	57	Livovschi, Basia	60	Livovschi, Smil Wolf	69
Livowski, Sara	29	Lobel, Horia	30	Longiu, Armand	36
Lorin, Silviu	27	Lowenstein, Carol	18	Lucian, Mayer	32
Lucian, Julian Meyer	08	Lucian, Chena Meyer	31	Ludovic, Eduard	39
Ludovic, Emanuel	36	Lupovici, Blima	26	Lupovici, Smil	27
Lupu, Bertina	22	Lupu, Itrul	29	Madger, Edmond	50
Magazanik, Ofsci	67	Maier, M Avram	30	Maier, M Fani	24
Maler, Ladislau	22	Mandel, Jacob	16	Manole, Lazar	22
Marcovici, Henry	20	Marcovici, Moise	26	Marcu, Luzetta	24
Marcu, Sabrina	22	Marcus, Ana	32	Marcus, Aneta	41
Marcus, Avram	28	Marcus, Cilja	21	Marcus, Ivette	07
Marcus, Leon	29	Marcus, H Lupu	42	Marcus, Malvina	21
Marcus, Marga	13	Marcus, Mendel	69	Marcus, Roza	52

Margimlius, Margerita	18	Margulius, Aurel	23	Margulius, Efraim	35
Margulius, Evel	25	Margulius, Harry	20	Matters, Lazar	29
Maximilian, Apogi	20	Mayer, Artur	32	Mayer, Silvia	20
Mayersohn, Hana	40	Mayersohn, Henry	43	Mayerson, Ana	36
Meerlaub, Moritz	37	Mendelovici, Clara	45	Mendelsohn, Eduard	29
Mihailovici, Dorel	17	Mihalovici, Alrenscu	45	Mihalovici, Frima	40
Mindirigiu, Machum Naftali	41	Mindirigiu, Avica Nachum	35	Mitrani, Jonel	24
Moise, J Ciprut	29	Moisescu, Frusina	38	Moisescu, Joseif	44
Moisescu, Mircea	10	Moisescu, Nelu	13	Monblatt, Samuel	19
Muller, Mintea	29	Munteanu, Victor	26	Nachim, Clara	27
Nachim, Josub	38	Nachim, B Nuna	02	Nachman, Estera	35
Nachman, Lupu	39	Nachman, Mauriciu	21	Nacht, Oscar	34
Nadler, Albert	30	Nadler, Josef	26	Nadler, N Marcel	33
Nadler, Roza	19	Nagi, Mauriciu	16	Nathansohn, Sami	29
Nauman, Solomon	28	Nestoitu, Sara	54	Neuberger, Ghiter	34
Neuberger, Louis	46	Neuberger, Valentina	08	Nulman, Genric	18
Nulman, Isac	42	Nulman, Sara	37	Nurenberg, Mathilda	18
Nussbaum, Andornic	19	Nussbaum, Berta	53	Ormeanu, Otto	46
Ostfeld, Osac	25	Paucker, Jean Leonard	27	Paucker, Rebecca	29
Peisi, Josef	28	Pencovici, Leon	16	Peretz, Anutza	31
Peretz, Avram	34	Perlmutter, Sara	17	Pescaru, Iancu	21
Pescaru, Salomon	41	Pescaru, Sura	39	Picker, Fany	27
Picker, Friedrich	51	Picker, Herbert Julius	28	Picker, Marcel	31
Picker, Miriam Sylvia	17	Picker, Roza	45	Pincu, Herscu	40
Pincu, Josifenia	39	Pincu, Liviu	09	Pitaru, Ghizela	39
Placu, Jacob	32	Plaiu, Denis	06	Plaiu, Nihana	31
Platzman, Adrian	14	Platzman, Moritz	43	Platzman, Sophie	39
Pomerantz, J Carol	28	Poplinger, Alfred	18	Rabinovici, Arnold	28
Rabinovici, Ida	21	Rada, Ichil	43	Radulescu, Misu	20
Radzwiller, Avram	35	Radzwiller, Nina	27	Rechtman, Jacob	38
Rechtman, Marie	08	Rechtman, Perla	39	Reichman, Clara	31
Reichman, Herta	67	Reichman, Moritz	32	Reichman, Silvia	28
Reinstein, Alfred	22	Rintzler, Aron	46	Rintzler, Fani	38
Risman, Franciso	20	Ritter, David	35	Roitman, Sonia	18
Roscu, Hugues	28	Roscu, Israel	25	Rosenberg, Elisabeta	50
Rosenberg, Maria	12	Rosenberg, Palus	21	Rosenberg, Simeon	54
Rosenfeld, Marcel	15	Rosenthal, Noel	32	Rosenzweig, Aurica	15
Rosenzweig, Betty	39	Rosenzweig, Elly	15	Rosenzweig, Harry	17
Rosenzweig, Pincu	47	Rosenzweig, Salomon	23	Rosenzwitt, Solomon	31
Rosner, Bernard	52	Rosner, Etty	51	Rotman, Iancu	21
Rottenberg, Saul	21	Rotter, Bela	19	Rotter, Bruno	20
Rubinstein, Fany	33	Rubsel, Mihail	29	Sachter, Leon	26
Safran, Samuel	19	Sahter, Sara	22	Sailovschi, Ella	25

Salamovitz, Medea	22	Salamovitz, Saimon	24	Salik, Ghason	41
Sapiro, Max	50	Sapiro, B Meet	21	Schachter, Blima	42
Schachter, Burah	44	Schachter, Eugen	07	Schachter, Josef	16
Schachter, Max	20	Schacter, Hersan Calman Hahamu	40	Schacter, Charlotte	35
Scharf, Clara	19	Scharf, Nessi Ita	56	Scharf, Smil	57
Schatcher, Francisca	20	Schattner, Beno	30	Schattner, Abraham Leo	53
Schechter, Cudris	11	Schechter, Ruca Paul	46	Schechter, Ruchla	40
Schemnitz, Ernest	28	Schemnitz, Mina	26	Schiff, Alexandru	25
Schiff, Ewa	23	Schmatnik, Leo	39	Schmatnik, Trili	40
Schmetterling, Ernest Emanuel	19	Schmetterling, Frieda	49	Schmetterling, Marcu	62
Schmetterling, Victor	22	Schnapp, Heinz Erich	22	Schonberger, A Ladislau	21
Schonberger, Pavel	26	Schonfeld, Hugo	18	Schor, Gertha Marga	24
Schor, Sigfried	42	Schorr, Julietta	21	Schwart, Clara	33
Schwart, Valentin	07	Schwartz, Marcu Alter	27	Schwartz, Avram	30
Schwartz, Frieida	27	Schwartz, Haia	36	Schwartz, Henriette	29
Schwartz, Josub	43	Schwartz, M. Lupu	20	Schwartz, Miryam	01
Schwartz, Rebecca	28	Schwartz, Solomon	37	Schwartz, Sorin	.5
Schwartz, Tamara	04	Schweifel, Ana Sura	28	Schweifel, Manade	31
Schweifel, Mircea Serban	03	Segal, Filip	20	Segal, Ghizela	20
Segal, Jeanette	29	Segal, Jules	29	Segal, Lina	53
Segal, Robert	25	Segal, Saul	33	Segalescu, Henriette	22
Segall, Clotilda	29	Segall, Haim	30	Segall, Hermina	29
Segall, Silene	30	Senator, Friedrich	22	Siegelman, Andrei	06
Siegelman, Rachela	31	Siegelman, E Solomon	36	Sigmund, A Josef	21
Silberbusch, Gerhard	33	Silberman, Burah	37	Silberman, Eleonora	28
Silberman, Frieda	29	Silberman, Issac	18	Silberman, Rubin	32
Silberman, Silvia	24	Silberstien, Gherson	36	Silvian, D Emil	28
Silvian, Maxim	28	Simon, Carolina	30	Simon, Josef	30
Simon, Lucian	19	Simon, Moise	26	Simon, Pesia	32
Simon, B. Simon	42	Sin, Smaia Smil	34	Sloimovici, Emanoil	19
Sloimovici, Peisich Jacob	30	Sloimovici, Roza	16	Sloimovici, Saul	15
Slomovici, Maria	29	Smil, Israel	28	Smil, Rifka	29
Smilovici, Ana	20	Smilovici, Ana	20	Smilovici, Beno	25
Smilovici, Beno	26	Smilovici, Ida	39	Smilovici, Leonard	44
Smilovici, Nora	17	Solomon, David Lazar	23	Solomon, Dorel	20
Solomon, Virgil	17	Sonenreich, Avram	33	Sonenreich, Rachela	30
Sonenreich, Sami	03	Spahariu, Dvora	18	Speise, L Bernard	20
Spiegel, Avram	41	Spiegel, Claude	05	Spiegel, Ety Enta	36

Spiegel, Mauriciu	07	Spiegel, Solien	11	Spierer, Basil Julian	16
Spierer, Rudolfina	49	Spierer, Samuel Josif	52	Spivak, Avram	32
Stahl, Desideru	19	Stahl, Jacques	32	Starosta, Ester	44
Starosta, Luzer	60	Stein, Moise	35	Steinbach, Leo Henry	26
Steinbach, Reica	26	Sternberg, Menelas	17	Stier, Anisoara	.8
Stier, Ety	21	Stier, Samuel	31	Stoffer, Saul	31
Storfer, Norbert	22	Strauss, Elisabeta	32	Suchard, Soive	22
Suchard, William	30	Sulimovici, Rebecca	32	Sulimovici, Samy	33
Sulitzeanu, S. Moritz	25	Sulmovici, Josif	19	Suzei, Moritz	18
Talisman, David	17	Talmanovici, Saul	28	Tamber, Ana	33
Tannenbaum, Leo	28	Tecuceanu, Isac	22	Teratin, Isac	25
Terckel, Lazar	26	Terckel, Sonia	24	Tetelzweig, Ana	26
Tetelzweig, Isac	30	Tzimand, Jacques	24	Ungar, Albert	20
Veisberg, Hedwig	33	Veisberg, Rudolf	39	Vogel, Carol	43
Wachtel, JoJo	21	Wagner, Reghina	39	Wagner, Walter	21
Wagner, Wilhelm	49	Walter, Mauriciu	33	Walter, Mignon	05
Walter, Israel Strauss	31	Wasserman, Tobi	22	Wechsler, Elias	30
Wechsler, Ety	21	Weinberg, Clara	22	Weinberg, Natan	29
Weinberg, Rubin	30	Weingarten, Avramide	22	Weingarten, Benjamin	18
Weingarten, Meyer	52	Weingarten, Tifra	51	Weinstein, Josif	23
Weinstein, Moritz	25	Weinstein, Simon	25	Weintraub, Julius	38
Weintraub, Leo	19	Weiss, Avram	29	Weiss, Maria	26
Weiss, Paul	03	Weissler, Marcu	26	Weitman, Avram	23
Wittenberg, Simon	28	Wolfshaut, Hans	28	Zaharia, Marcu	34
Zaitz, Bendit	44	Zaitz, Rebeca	17	Zeitz, Sara	45
Zeller, Mayer Carol	38	Zeller, Mayer Gusta	36	Zilberman, Penchas	24
Zissman, Sura	58	Zissu, Avram	30	Zolkiver, Louis	21

Source: JewishGen. "Struma Passengers". 5 December 2004.

<<http://www.jewishgen.org/romsig/New/StrumahList.html>>

## Appendix 2:

### THE PASSFIELD WHITE BOOK OF 1930

#### Statement of Policy by His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

1. THE Report\* of the Special Commission, under the Chairmanship of Sir Walter Shaw, which was published in April, gave rise to acute controversy, in the course of which it became evident that there is considerable misunderstanding about the past actions and future intentions of His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom in regard to the administration of Palestine. It was realised that the publication of a clear and full statement of policy, designed to remove such misunderstanding and the resultant uncertainty and apprehension, was a matter of urgent importance. The preparation of such a statement, however, necessitated certain essential preliminary steps which have inevitably delayed its completion.

The Report of the Shaw Commission drew attention to certain features of the problem, which, in the opinion of His Majesty's Government, called for prompt and full investigation, in view of their important bearing upon future policy. It was therefore decided to send to Palestine a highly qualified investigator (Sir John Hope Simpson) to confer with the High Commissioner and to report to His Majesty's Government on land settlement, immigration and development. Owing to the dominating importance of these subjects, and their close inter-connection, His Majesty's Government recognised that no statement of policy could be formulated without first taking into account a full and detailed exposition of the situation in Palestine under these three important heads, such as Sir John Hope Simpson was eminently qualified to furnish. Considerable pressure has been brought to bear upon His Majesty's Government to anticipate the receipt of Sir John Hope Simpson's Report by a declaration of policy, but, while appreciating the urgent need for as early a declaration as possible. His Majesty's Government felt bound to adhere to their decision to await the receipt of Sir John Hope Simpson's Report, especially having regard to the evidence which was accumulating as to the extreme difficulty and complexity of the problem and the need for the fullest investigation of the facts before arriving at any definite conclusions.

Sir John Hope Simpson's Report\* has now been received, and the present statement of policy has been framed after very careful consideration of its contents and of other information bearing upon the Palestine situation which has recently become available.

\* Cmd. 3530. \*Cmd. 3686.

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2. In a country such as Palestine, where the interests and aims of two sections of the community are at present diverse and in some respects conflicting, it is too much to

expect that any declaration of policy will fully satisfy the aspirations of either party. His Majesty's Government have, however, permitted them-selves to hope that the removal of existing misunderstandings and the more precise definition of their intentions may go far to allay uneasiness and to restore confidence on both sides. It will be the endeavour of His Majesty's Government, not only by the present statement of policy but by the administrative actions which will result from it, to convince both Arabs and Jews of their firm intention to promote the essential interests of both races to the utmost of their power, and to work consistently for the development, in Palestine, of a prosperous community, living' in peace under an impartial and progressive Administration. It is necessary, however, to emphasise one important point, viz., that in the peculiar circumstances of Palestine no policy, however enlightened or however vigorously prosecuted, can hope for success, unless it is supported not merely by the acceptance, but by the willing co-operation of the communities for whose benefit it is designed.

It is unnecessary here to dwell upon the unhappy events of the past year and the deplorable conditions which have resulted from them. His Majesty's Government feel bound, however, to remark that they have received little assistance from either side in healing the breach between them during the months of tension and unrest which have followed on the disturbances of August 1929, and that to the difficulties created by the mutual suspicions and hostilities of the two races has been added a further grave obstacle, namely, an attitude of mistrust towards His Majesty's Government fostered by a press campaign in which the true facts of the situation have become obscured and distorted. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that on the establishment of better relations between Arabs and Jews depend the future peace and prosperity of the country which is dear to both races. This is the object which His Majesty's Government have constantly in view, and they feel that it is more likely to be attained if both sides will willingly co-operate with the Government and with the Palestine Administration, and endeavour to realise that, in the discharge of their mandatory obligations and indeed in all their relations with Palestine, His Majesty's Government may be trusted to safe-guard and promote the interests of both races.

3. Many of the misunderstandings which have unhappily arisen on both sides appear to be the result of a failure to appreciate the nature of the duty imposed upon His Majesty's Government by the terms of the Mandate. The next point, therefore, which His Majesty's Government feel it necessary to emphasise, in the strongest manner possible, is that in the words of the Prime Minister's statement in the House of Commons on the 3rd April last, "a double undertaking is involved, to the Jewish people on the one hand and to the non-Jewish population of Palestine on the other."

Much of the agitation which has taken place during the past year seems to have arisen from a failure to realise the full import of this fundamental fact. Both Arabs and Jews have assailed the Government with demands and reproaches based upon the false assumption that it was the duty of His Majesty's Government to execute policies from which they are, in fact, debarred by the explicit terms of the Mandate.

The Prime Minister, in the statement above referred to, announced, in words which could not have been made more plain, that it is the intention of His Majesty's

Government to continue to administer Palestine in accordance with the terms of the Mandate, as approved by the Council of the League of Nations. " That " said Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, " is an international obligation from which there can be no question of receding." In spite of so unequivocal a statement, the hope seems to have been entertained that, by some means or other, an escape could be found from the limitations plainly imposed by the terms of the Mandate. It must be realised, once and for all, that it is useless for Jewish leaders on the one hand to press His Majesty's Government to conform their policy in regard, for example, to immigration and land, to the aspirations of the more uncompromising sections of Zionist opinion. That would be to ignore the equally important duty of the Mandatory Power towards the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. On the other hand, it is equally useless for Arab leaders to maintain their demands for a form of Constitution, which would render it impossible for His Majesty's Government to carry out, in the fullest sense, the double undertaking already referred to. His Majesty's Government have reason to think that one of the reasons for the sustained tension and agitation on both sides has been the creation by misguided advisers of the false hope that efforts to intimidate and to bring pressure to bear upon His Majesty's Government would eventually result in forcing them into a policy which weighted the balances in favour of the one or the other party.

It becomes, therefore, essential that at the outset His Majesty's Government should make it clear that they will not be moved, by any pressure or threats, from the path laid down in the Mandate, and from the pursuit of a policy which aims at promoting the interests of the inhabitants of Palestine, both Arabs and Jews, in a manner which shall be consistent with the obligations which the Mandate imposes.

4. This is not the first time that His Majesty's Government have endeavoured to make clear the nature of their policy in Palestine. In 1922 a full statement was published\* and was communicated both to the Palestine Arab Delegation, then in London, and to the Zionist Organisation. This statement met with no acceptance on the part of the Arab Delegation, but the Executive of the Zionist Organisation passed a Resolution assuring His Majesty's Government that the activities of the Organisation would be conducted in conformity with the policy therein set forth. Moreover, in the letter conveying the text of this Resolution to His Majesty's Government, Dr. Weizmann wrote:—

\* Cmd. 1700. B 2

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" The Zionist Organisation has, at all time, been sincerely desirous of proceeding in harmonious co-operation with all sections of the people of Palestine. It has repeatedly made it clear, both in word and deed, that nothing is further from its purpose than to prejudice in the smallest degree the civil or religious rights, or the material interests of the non-Jewish population."

The experience of the intervening years has inevitably brought to light certain administrative defects and special economic problems, which have to be taken into



account in considering the welfare of all sections of the community. Nevertheless, the statement of policy, issued after prolonged and careful consideration in 1922, provides the foundations upon which future British policy in Palestine must be built up.

5. Apart from proposals for the establishment of a Constitution in Palestine which will be dealt with in later paragraphs, there are three important points dealt with in this statement which must now be recalled :—

(a) The meaning attached by His Majesty's Government to the expression " the Jewish National Home," which is contained in the Mandate.

On this point, the following passage may be quoted from the 1922 Statement:—

" During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs; an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns; elected councils in the towns; and an organisation for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organisation, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact "national" characteristics. When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish | people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognised to rest upon ancient historic connection."This, then, is the interpretation which His Majesty's Government place upon the Declaration of 1917, and, so understood, the Secretary of State is of opinion that it does not contain or imply anything which need cause either alarm to the Arab population of Palestine or disappointment to the Jews."

(b) The principles which should govern immigration.

On this point the statement of policy continues as follows :— " For the fulfilment of this policy it is necessary that the Jewish community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals. It is essential to ensure that the immigrants should not be a burden upon the people of Palestine as a whole, and that they should not deprive any section of the present population of their employment. Hitherto the immigration has fulfilled these conditions. The number of immigrants since the British occupation has been about 25,000.

"It is necessary also to ensure that persons who are politically undesirable are excluded from Palestine and every precaution has been and will be taken by the Administration to that end."

It will be observed that the principles enunciated above render it essential that in estimating the absorptive capacity of Palestine at any time account should be taken of Arab as well as Jewish unemployment in determining the rate at which immigration should be permitted. It is the intention of His Majesty's Government to take steps to ensure a more exact application of these principles in the future.

(c) **The position of the Jewish Agency.**

In the passage quoted below, an attempt was made to indicate the limitations, implicit in the Mandate, necessarily imposed upon the scope of the Jewish Agency provided for in Article 4 of the Mandate:—

"It is also necessary to point out that the Zionist Commission in Palestine, now termed the Palestine Zionist Executive, has not desired to possess, and does not possess, any share in the general administration of the country. Nor does the special position assigned to the Zionist Organisation in Article IV of the draft Mandate for Palestine imply any such functions. That special position relates to the measures affecting the Jewish population, and contemplates that the Organisation may assist in the general development of the country, but does not entitle it to share in any degree in its Government."

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6. His Majesty's Government desire to reaffirm generally the policy outlined in the 1922 Statement, and, in particular, the three passages quoted above. On these three important points it is not thought that anything but barren controversy would result from an attempt further to elaborate their conceptions. It is recognised, however, in the light of past experience that much remains to be done to improve the practical application of the principles enunciated in the foregoing passages, and it is the intention of the Government, in consultation with the Palestine Administration, to take active steps to provide improved machinery for meeting the requirements of both Arabs and Jews, under these three heads. In particular, it is recognised as of the

greatest importance that the efforts of the High Commissioner towards some closer and more harmonious form of co-operation and means of consultation between the Palestine Administration and the Jewish Agency should be further developed, always consistently, however, with the principle which must be regarded as basic, that the special position of the Agency, in affording advice and co-operation, does not entitle the Agency, as such, to share in the government of the country. Similarly, machinery must be provided to ensure that the essential interests of the non-Jewish sections of the Community should at the same time be fully safe-guarded, and that adequate opportunity should be afforded for consultation with the Palestine Administration on matters affecting those interests.

7. At this point it becomes desirable to remove any ground of misunderstanding that may exist as to the passages in the Mandate bearing upon the safeguarding of the rights of the non-Jewish community in Palestine. The passages in the Mandate specially bearing on this point will be found in –

Article 2. " The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

Article 6. " The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

Article 9. "The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders."

Article 18. " All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites, and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum, is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected here-with, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect, and provided also that nothing in this Mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed."

Article 15. " The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the

free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired."

On the other hand, special reference to the Jewish National Home and to Jewish interests are contained in Article 4 :—

Article 4. " An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organisation, so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home."

Article 6. (Already quoted above.)

Article 11. "The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration."

8. In the first place, it will be observed that Article 2 makes the Mandatory responsible for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race or religion; and secondly, that the obligation contained in Article 6 to facilitate Jewish immigration and to encourage close settlement by

Jews on the land, is qualified by the requirement to ensure that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced. Moreover, by Article 11 "the Administration of Palestine is required to take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country." It is clear from the wording of this Article that the population of Palestine as a whole, and not any sectional interest, is to be the object of the Government's care, and it may be noted that the provision for arranging with the Jewish Agency for the construction or operation of public works, services and utilities, is only permissive and not obligatory, and could not be allowed to conflict with the general interests of the community. These points are emphasised because claims have been made on behalf of the Jewish Agency to a position in regard to the general administration of the country, which His Majesty's Government cannot but regard as going far beyond the clear intention of the Mandate. Moreover, attempts have been made to argue, in support of Zionist claims, that the principal feature of the Mandate is the regarding the Jewish National Home, and that the passages designed to safeguard the rights of the non-Jewish community are merely secondary considerations qualifying, to some extent, what is claimed to be the primary object for which the Mandate has been framed.

This is a conception which His Majesty's Government have always regarded as totally erroneous. However difficult the task may be it would, in their view, be impossible, consistently with the plain intention of the Mandate, to attempt to solve the problem by subordinating one of these obligations to the other. The British Accredited Representative, when appearing before the Permanent Mandates Commission on the 9th of June last, endeavoured to make clear the attitude of His Majesty's Government towards the difficulties inherent in the Mandate. In commenting on his statements in their report to the Council, the Permanent Mandates Commission made the following important pronouncement:—

"From all these statements two assertions emerge, which should be emphasised :—

- (1) that the obligations laid down by the Mandate in regard to the two sections of the population are of equal weight;
- (2) that the two obligations imposed on the Mandatory are in no sense irreconcilable."

" The Mandates Commission has no objection to raise to these two assertions, which, in its view, accurately express what it conceives to be the essence of the Mandate for Palestine and ensure its future."

His Majesty's Government are fully in accord with the sense of this pronouncement and it is a source of satisfaction to them that it has been rendered authoritative by the approval of the Council of the League of Nations.

It is the difficult and delicate task of His Majesty's Government to devise means whereby, in the execution of its policy in Palestine, equal weight shall at all times be given to the obligations laid down with regard to the two sections of the population and to reconcile those two obligations where, inevitably, conflicting interests are involved.

It is hoped that the foregoing explanation of the nature of the task imposed by the Mandate upon His Majesty's Government will make clear the necessity, already emphasised, for willing co-operation with the Palestine Administration and with His Majesty's Government on the part both of Arab and Jewish leaders.

9. The preceding paragraphs contain an exposition of the general principles which have to be taken into account as governing policy in Palestine and the limiting conditions under which it must be carried out. The practical problems with which His Majesty's Government are faced in Palestine must now be considered in detail.

These may be regarded as falling roughly under three heads :—

- (1) Security,
- (2) Constitutional development,
- (8) Economic and Social development.

They will be dealt with in that order.

(1) Security.

10. It is a primary duty of the Administration to ensure peace, order and good government in Palestine. In an earlier paragraph His Majesty's Government have intimated that they will not be moved from their duty by any pressure or threats.

Outbreaks of disorder in the past have been promptly repressed and special measures have been taken to deal with any future emergencies. It must be clearly understood that incitements to disorder or disaffection, in whatever quarter they may originate, will be severely punished and the powers of the Administration will, so far as may be necessary, be enlarged to enable it to deal the more effectively with any such dangerous and unwarrantable attempts.

His Majesty's Government have decided to retain in Palestine, for the present, two battalions of infantry; in addition to these, two squadrons of air craft and four sections of armoured cars will be available in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. It will be recalled that Mr. Dowbiggin, Inspector-General of Police, Ceylon, was sent to Palestine to enquire into the organisation of the Palestine Police Force. His elaborate and valuable report has been received and is under detailed consideration. Certain of his recommendations have already been carried out, including those involving an increase in the strength of the British and Palestinian sections of the Force and those

providing for a scheme of defence for Jewish Colonies, to which reference was made in paragraph 9 of the statement with regard to British Policy in Palestine, published as Command Paper 8582. The remainder of the many recommendations in Mr. Dowbiggin's report are under consideration in consultation with the High Commissioner for Palestine, and further changes will be made when decisions are taken on these recommendations ^ His Majesty's Government avail themselves of this opportunity to reiterate their determination to take all possible steps to suppress crime and maintain order in Palestine. They desire to emphasise, in this connexion, that in determining the nature and composition of the security forces necessary for this purpose they must be guided by their expert advisers, and must aim at ensuring that the forces employed are suitable for the duties which they have to carry out, without regard to any political considerations.

## (2) Constitutional Development.

11. Reference has already been made to the demands of Arab leaders for a form of constitution which would be incompatible with the mandatory obligations of His Majesty's Government. It is, however, the considered opinion of His Majesty's Government that the time has now come when the important question of the establishment of a measure of self-government in Palestine must, in the interests of the community as a whole, be taken in hand without further delay.

It may be convenient, in the first instance, to give a brief resume of the history of this question since the establishment of the civil administration.

In October 1920 there was set up in Palestine an Advisory Council composed in equal parts of official and nominated unofficial members. Of the ten unofficial members, four were Moslems, three were Christians and three were Jews.

On the 1st September, 1922, the Palestine Order in Council was issued, setting up a Government in Palestine under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act. Part 3 of the Order in Council directed the establishment of a Legislative Council to be composed of the High Commissioner as President, with ten other official members, and 12 elected non-official members. The procedure for the selection of the non-official members was laid down in the Legislative Council, Order in Council, 1922, and in February and March 1928 an attempt was made to hold elections in accordance with that procedure.

The attempt failed owing to the refusal of the Arab population as a whole to co-operate (a detailed report of these elections is contained in the papers relating to the elections for the Palestine Legislative Council, 1928, published as Command Paper 1889).

The High Commissioner thereupon suspended the establishment of the proposed Legislative Council, and continued to act in consultation with an Advisory Council as before.

Two further opportunities were given to representative Arab leaders in Palestine to co-operate with the Administration in the government of the country, first, by the

reconstitution of a nominated Advisory Council, but with membership conforming to that proposed for the Legislative Council, and, secondly, by a proposal for the formation of an Arab agency. It was intended that this Agency should have functions analogous to those entrusted to the Jewish Agency by Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate.

Neither of these opportunities was accepted and, accordingly, in December 1928, an Advisory Council was set up consisting only of official members. This position still continues; the only change being that the Advisory Council has been enlarged by the addition of more official members as the Administration developed.

It will be recalled that, under the terms of Article 2 of the Mandate, His Majesty's Government are responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the development of self-governing institutions, and for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of the inhabitants. The action taken with regard to constitutional development in the early years of the Civil Administration is briefly described above.

With the object of enabling the people of Palestine to obtain practical experience of administrative methods and the business of government and to learn discrimination in the selection of their representatives, Lord Plumer, who was High Commissioner for Palestine from 1925 to 1928, introduced a wider measure of local self-government than had previously obtained under the British regime.

Sir John Chancellor considered the question of constitutional development on his assumption of the office of High Commissioner in December 1928. He consulted representatives of various local interests and, after a careful examination of the position, put forward certain proposals in June 1929. Discussion of the question was, however, suspended in consequence of the disturbances in August 1929.

12. His Majesty's Government have now carefully considered of this question in the light of the present stage of progress and development and with special regard to their obligation to place the country under such political, administrative and economic / conditions as will secure the development of self-governing institutions. They have decided that the time has arrived for a further step in the direction of the grant to the people of Palestine, of a measure of self-government compatible with the terms of the Mandate.

His Majesty's Government accordingly intend to set up a Legislative Council generally on the lines indicated in the statement of British policy in Palestine issued by Mr. Churchill in June 1922, which is reproduced as Appendix 5 to the Report of the Commission on the Palestine disturbances of August 1929.

His Majesty's Government trust that on this occasion they will secure the co-operation of all sections of the population of Palestine. His Majesty's Government desire to make it quite clear that while they would deeply regret an attempt on the part of any section of the population to prevent them from giving effect to their decision, all possible steps will be taken to circumvent such an attempt, if made, since they consider it in the interests of the population of the country as a whole that the further step now proposed should no longer be deferred.



His Majesty's Government would point out that had this Legislature been set up at the time when it was first contemplated the people of Palestine would by now have gained more experience of the working of constitutional machinery. Such experience is indispensable for any progress in constitutional development. The sooner all sections of the population show a desire to co-operate with His Majesty's Government in this respect, the sooner will it be possible for such constitutional development to take place as His Majesty's Government hope to see in Palestine.

There are obvious advantages to be gained by all sections of the population from the establishment of such a Council. It should be of special benefit to the Arab section of the population, who do not at present possess any constitutional means for putting their views on social and economic matters before the Government. Their representatives on the Council which is to be set up will, of course, be in the position, not only to present the views of the Arab section of the population on these and other matters, but also to participate in discussions thereon. A further advantage may accrue to the country as a whole from the establishment of the Legislative Council, viz., that the participation of representatives of both sections of the community as members of the Legislative Council, will tend to improve the relations between the Jews and the Arabs.

18. As stated above, the new Legislative Council will be on the lines indicated in the statement of policy issued in 1922. It will consist of the High Commissioner and 22 members, of whom ten will be official members and 12 unofficial members. Unofficial members of the Council will normally be elected by primary and secondary elections. It is, however, in the view of His Majesty's Government, so important to avoid the repetition of the deadlock which occurred in 1923 that steps will be devised to ensure the appointment of the requisite number of unofficial members to the Council in the event of one or more members failing to be elected on account of the non-co-operation of any section of the population, or for any other reason. The High Commissioner will continue to have the necessary power to ensure that the Mandatory shall be enabled to carry out its obligations to the League of Nations, including any legislation "urgently required, as well as the maintenance of order.

When difference arises as to the fulfilment by the Government of Palestine of the terms of the Mandate, a petition to the League of Nations is admissible under Article 85 of the Order in Council of 1922.

### (3) Economic and Social Development,

14. Under this head the practical problems to be considered are mainly concerned with, questions relating to land, immigration and unemployment. These three questions are intimately interrelated, with political "as well as economic aspects, and upon their solution must depend any advance that can be hoped for towards settled conditions of peace and prosperity in Palestine.

Since attention was drawn to these matters in the Report of the Shaw Commission, they have formed the subject of detailed investigations on the spot by a Committee

appointed by the High Commissioner in April, to examine into the economic condition of agriculturists and the fiscal measures of Government in relation thereto, and also by Sir John Hope Simpson who, on instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, proceeded to Palestine in May in order to examine the questions of immigration, land settlement and development.

15. As a result of these extensive and elaborate investigations, certain conclusions have emerged and certain facts have been established which will now be set out briefly:—

#### (1) Land.

It can now be definitely stated that at the present time and with the present methods of Arab cultivation there remains no margin of land available for agricultural settlement by new immigrants, with the exception of such undeveloped land as the various Jewish agencies hold in reserve.

There has been much criticism in the past in regard to the relatively small extent of State land which has been made available for Jewish settlement. It is, however, an error to imagine that the Palestine Government is in possession of large areas of vacant land which could be made available for Jewish settlement. The extent of unoccupied areas of Government land is negligible. The Government claims considerable areas which are, in fact, occupied and cultivated by Arabs. Even were the title of the Government to these areas admitted, and it is in many cases disputed, it would not be possible to make these areas available for Jewish settlement, in view of their actual occupation by Arab cultivators and of the importance of making available additional land on which to place the Arab cultivators who are now landless.

The provision of a margin available for settlement depends upon the progress made in increasing the productivity of the land already occupied.

16. It now appears, in the light of the best available estimates, that the area of cultivable land in Palestine (excluding the Beer-Sheba region) is 6,544,000 dunams. This area is considerably less than had hitherto been estimated, previous official estimates being in the neighbourhood of 10 to 11 million dunams.

It also appears that while an area of at least 130 dunams is required to maintain a fellah family in a decent standard of life in the unirrigated tracts, the whole of the cultivable land in the country, excluding the area already in the hands of the Jews, would, were it divided among the existing Arab cultivators, provide an average holding of not more than 90 dunams. In order to provide an average holding of 130 dunams for all Arab cultivators, about 8 million dunams of cultivable land would be required.

It also appears that of the 86,980 rural Arab families in the villages, 29.4 per cent, are landless. It is not known how many of these are families who previously cultivated and have since lost their land. This is one point, among others, upon which, at present, it is not possible to speak with greater precision, but which will, it is hoped, be ascertained in the course of the Census which is to be taken next year.

17. The condition of the Arab fellah leaves much to be desired, and a policy of land development is called for if an improvement in his conditions of life is to be effected.

The sole agencies which have pursued a consistent policy of land development have been the Jewish Colonisation organisations, public and private.

The Jewish settlers have had every advantage that capital, science and organisation could give them. To these and to the energy of the settlers themselves their remarkable progress is due. On the other hand, the Arab population, while lacking the advantages enjoyed by the Jewish settlers, has, by the excess of births over deaths, increased with great rapidity, while the land available for its sustenance has decreased by about a million dunams. This area has passed into Jewish hands.

18. Reference has been made to the energy evinced and the remarkable progress made in Jewish land settlement. It would be unjust to accept the contention, which has been advanced in the course of the controversy regarding relations between Jews and Arabs in Palestine, that the effect of Jewish settlement upon the Arab population has in all cases been detrimental to the interests of the Arabs. This is by no means wholly true, but it is necessary in considering this aspect of the problem to differentiate between colonisation by such bodies as the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association (commonly known as the P.I.C.A.) and colonisation under Zionist auspices.

In so far as the past policy of the P.I.C.A. is concerned, there can be no doubt that the Arab has profited largely by the installation of the Colonies, and relations between the colonists and their Arab neighbours have in the past been excellent. The cases which are now quoted by the Jewish authorities in support of the contention that the effect of Jewish colonisation on the Arabs in the neighbourhood has been advantageous, are cases relating to Colonies established by the P.I.C.A. before colonisation financed from the Palestine Foundation Fund, which is the main financial instrument of the Jewish Agency, came into existence.

Some of the attempts which have been made to prove that Zionist colonisation has not had the effect of causing the previous tenants of land acquired to join the landless class have on examination proved to be unconvincing, if not fallacious.

19. Moreover, the effect of Jewish colonisation on the existing population is very intimately affected by the conditions on which the various Jewish bodies hold, utilise and lease their land. It is provided by the Constitution of the Enlarged Jewish Agency, signed at Zurich on the 14th August, 1929 (Article 3 (d) and (e)), that the land acquired shall be held as the "inalienable property of the Jewish people," and that in "all the works or undertakings carried out or furthered by the Agency, it shall be deemed to be a matter of principle that Jewish labour shall be employed." Moreover, by Article 23 of the draft lease, which it is proposed to execute in respect of all holdings granted by the Jewish National Fund, the lessee undertakes to execute all works connected with the cultivation of the holdings only with Jewish labour. Stringent conditions are imposed to ensure the observance of this under-taking.

An undertaking binding settlers in the Colonies of the Maritime Plain to hire Jewish workmen only, whenever they may be obliged to hire help, is inserted in the Agreement for the repayment of advances made by the Palestine Foundation Fund.

Similar provision is contained in the Agreement for the Emek Colonies.

These stringent provisions are difficult to reconcile with the declaration at the Zionist Congress of 1921 of "the desire of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people in relations of friendship and mutual respect, and, together, with the Arab people, to develop the homeland common to both into a prosperous community which would ensure the growth of the peoples."

20. The Jewish leaders have been perfectly frank in their justification of this policy. The Executive of the General Federation of Jewish Labour, which exercises a very important influence on the direction of Zionist policy, has contended that such restrictions are necessary to secure the largest possible amount of Jewish immigration and to safeguard the standard of life of the Kit Jewish labourer from the danger of falling to the lower standard of the Arab.

However logical such arguments may be from the point of view of a purely national movement, it must, nevertheless, be pointed out that they take no account of the provisions of Article 6 of the Mandate, which expressly requires that, in facilitating Jewish immigration and close settlement by Jews on the land, the Administration of Palestine must ensure that "the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced."

## (2) Agricultural Development.

21. As indicated in the immediately preceding paragraph, it is the duty of the Administration under the Mandate to ensure that the position of the "other sections of the population" is not prejudiced by Jewish immigration. Also, it is its duty under the Mandate to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land, subject always to the former condition.

22. As a result of recent investigations, His Majesty's Government are satisfied that, in order to attain these objects, a more methodical agricultural development is called for with the object of ensuring a better use of the land.

23. Only by the adoption of such a policy will additional Jewish agricultural settlement be possible consistently with the conditions laid down in Article 6 of the Mandate. The result desired will not be obtained except by years of work. It is for this reason fortunate that the Jewish organisations are in possession of a large reserve of land not yet settled or developed. Their operations can continue without break, while more general steps of development, in the benefits of which Jews and Arabs can both share, are being worked out. During this period, however, the control of all disposition of land must of necessity rest with the authority in charge of the development. Transfers of land will be permitted only in so far as they do not interfere with the plans of that authority. Having regard to the responsibilities of the Mandatory Power, it is clear that this authority must be the Palestine Administration.

24. Among the problems which will have to be considered are those of irrigation, the co-ordination of development with the activities of the Department of Agriculture and other Government Departments, and the determination of their respective

spheres of action so as to avoid friction and overlapping, and to obtain the greatest efficiency in co-ordinated effort.

Consideration must also be given to the protection of tenants by some form of occupancy right, or by other means, to secure them against ejection or the imposition of excessive rental.

Closely associated with any development must be the acceleration of the work of settlement by the ascertainment of title and the registration of tenancies. In this connection an important problem is presented by the large proportion of Arab village land which is held under the tenure-in-common known as mesha'a. Nearly half of the Arab villages are held on mesha'a tenure and there is a consensus of opinion that this system is a great obstacle to the agricultural development of the Country.

The constitution of co-operative societies among the fellahin appears to be an important preliminary to their advancement. The whole question has recently been under examination on behalf of the Palestine Government by an expert with great experience.

25. The finances of Palestine have been severely strained by the necessity of providing for large increases in its security forces. These increases have been deemed essential in the light of the events of the autumn of 1929, and it is not possible to forecast the time that must elapse before it will be thought safe to reduce expenditure on this account. That must largely depend on the success of the policy now envisaged, and on the extent of the improvement in mutual relations between Arabs and Jews which His Majesty's Government hope will be one of its results.

It is part of the general policy of His Majesty's Government that Palestine should be self-supporting. The improvement of agricultural conditions contemplated will not only take time, but will involve considerable expenditure, though it is to be hoped that part of the outlay will prove to be recoverable. His Majesty's Government are giving earnest consideration to the financial position which arises out of this situation, and steps are being taken to concert the necessary measures to give effect to their policy.

#### (8) Immigration.

26. The whole system under which immigration into Palestine is controlled by the Administration has recently been most carefully examined, and in the month of May it was considered necessary by His Majesty's Government, whilst leaving undisturbed Jewish immigration in its various other forms, to suspend the further issue; of certificates for the admission of immigrants under the Labour Schedule – i.e., as employed persons (over and above the 950 already sanctioned) for the half year ending the 30th September, 1930, pending the result of this examination and the determination of future policy. This examination has revealed certain weaknesses in the existing system. It has been shown that under it there have been many cases of persons being admitted, who, if all the facts had been known, should not have

received visas. No effective Government control exists in regard to the selection of immigrants from abroad, with the result that there are no adequate safeguards against irregularities in connection with the issue of immigration certificates, and also against the immigration of undesirables. A further unsatisfactory feature is that a large number of travellers, who enter Palestine with permission to remain for a limited time, stay on without sanction. It is calculated that the number of such cases during the last three years amounted to 7,800. Another serious feature is the number of persons who evade the frontier control.

In any attempt to devise adequate Government machinery for the control of immigration, account must be taken of the important part at present played in connection with Jewish immigration by the General Federation of Jewish Labour. The influence of the General Federation is far-reaching and its activities are manifold. It constitutes an important factor within the World Zionist movement, and at the last Zionist Congress more than a quarter of the total number of delegates represented such Zionist circles, both in Palestine and abroad, as are identified with the Federation. The influence which the Federation is able to exert upon immigrants is shown by the fact that its members are not permitted to have recourse to the Courts of the country in cases of dispute with another member. It has its own Courts of First and Second Instance and its Labour High Court, to which appeals from the subordinate Tribunals lie. The Federation has adopted a policy which implies the introduction in Palestine of a new social order based on communal settlements and the principle of "self labour" (i.e., that each man should work for himself and avoid the employment of hired labourers). Where self-labour is impossible it insists on the employment of Jewish labour exclusively by all Jewish employers.

In view of its responsibilities under the Mandate, it is essential that the Palestine Government, as the agent of the Mandatory Power, should be the deciding authority in all matters of policy relating to immigration, especially having regard to its close relation to unemployment and land development policy. No adequate improvement in existing machinery can be devised unless a *modus vivendi* is established between the Government on the one hand and the Jewish Agency on the other, in regard to their respective functions, and full account must be taken of the influence exerted in the policy of the Agency by the General Federation of Jewish labour.

27. As regards the relation of immigration to unemployment, great difficulties at present exist owing to the absence of efficient machinery for estimating the degree of unemployment existing at any time. This is especially true as regards the Arab section of the community. While no reliable statistics are available, sufficient evidence has been adduced to lead to the conclusion that there is at present a serious degree of Arab unemployment, and that Jewish unemployment likewise exists to an extent which constitutes a definitely unsatisfactory feature. It may be regarded as clearly established that the preparation of the Labour Schedule must depend upon the ascertainment of the total of unemployed in Palestine. It follows that the extent of that unemployment must be accurately determined, and His Majesty's Government will give serious consideration to devising machinery for this purpose. The economic capacity of the country to absorb new immigrants must therefore be judged with reference to the position of Palestine as a whole in regard to unemployment, and care

must also be exercised\* in ascertaining that economic capacity, to make allowances for any demand for labour, which, owing to increased circulation of money connected with expenditure on development or for other causes, may be regarded as of a temporary character.

28. Article 6 of the Mandate directs that the rights and position of the other sections of the population shall not be prejudiced by Jewish immigration. Clearly, if immigration of Jews results in preventing the Arab population from obtaining the work necessary for its maintenance, or if Jewish unemployment unfavourably affects the general labour position, it is the duty of the Mandatory Power vinder the Mandate to reduce, or, if necessary, to suspend, such immigration until the unemployed portion of the "other sections" is in a position to obtain work. It may here be" remarked that in the light of the examination to which immigration and unemployment problems have been subjected, His Majesty's Government regard their action in the suspension of immigration under the Labour Schedule last May as fully justified.

It has been argued that the High Commissioner's approval of the issue of Immigration Certificates under the Labour Schedule implied that there was room for the admission of immigrants of the working class, and that, in consequence, His Majesty's Government, in suspending the issue of those certificates, must have been influenced by political considerations. This is not the case. In arriving at their decision to suspend the issue of the certificates, His Majesty's Government had in mind the opinions expressed in the Report of the Shaw Commission that there was a shortage of land and that immigration should be more closely controlled. It was realised that these issues called for expert examination, but His Majesty's Government felt that, until they had been so examined, no steps should be taken which might aggravate an economic situation which, in the opinion of the majority of the Shaw Commission, was already such as to afford ground for anxiety.

Any hasty decision in regard to more unrestricted Jewish immigration is to be strongly deprecated, not only from the point of view of the interests of the Palestine population as a whole, but even from the special point of view of the Jewish community. So long as widespread suspicion exists, and it does exist, amongst the Arab population, that the economic depression, under which they undoubtedly suffer at present, is largely due to excessive Jewish immigration, and so long as some grounds exist upon which this suspicion may be plausibly represented to be well founded, there can be little hope of any improvement in the mutual relations of the two races. But it is upon such improvement that the future peace and prosperity of Palestine must largely depend.

It is hoped that changes may be devised in the method of the preparation of the Labour Schedule which will tend to promote amicable relations between the Jewish authorities in Palestine and the Immigration Department. It is clearly desirable to establish closer co-operation and consultation between the Jewish authorities and the Government, and the closer and more cordial co-operation becomes, the easier it should be to arrive at an agreed Schedule based upon a thorough understanding, on both sides, of the economic needs of the country.

29. As has been shown in the foregoing paragraphs, the three problems of

development, immigration and unemployment are closely inter-related, and upon the evolution of a policy which will take full account of these three factors must depend the future of Palestine. It is only in a peaceful and prosperous Palestine that the ideals of the Jewish National Home can in any sense be realised, and it is only by cordial co-operation between the Jews, the Arabs and the Government that prosperity can be secured.

The situation revealed by exhaustive examination of the various economic, political and social factors involved, makes it clear that Palestine has reached a critical moment in its development. In the past it may be said that the Government has left economic and social forces to operate with the minimum of interference or control, but it has become increasingly clear that such a policy can no longer continue. It is only the closest co-operation between the Government and the leaders of the Arab and Jewish communities that can prevent Palestine from drifting into a situation which would imperil, on the one hand, the devoted work of those who have sought to build up the Jewish National Home, and, on the other, the interests of the majority of the population who at present possess few resources of their own with which to sustain the struggle for existence. What is required is that both races should consent to live together and to respect each other's needs and claims. To the Arabs His Majesty's Government would appeal for a recognition of the facts of the situation, and for a sustained effort at co-operation in obtaining that prosperity for the country as a whole by which all will benefit. From the Jewish leaders, His Majesty's Government ask a recognition of the necessity for making some concessions on their side in regard to the independent and separatist ideals which have been developed in some quarters in connection with the Jewish National Home, and for accepting it as an active factor in the orientation of their policy that the general development of the country shall be carried out in such a way that the interests of the Arabs and Jews may each receive adequate consideration, with the object of developing prosperity throughout the country under conditions which will give no grounds for charges of partiality upon the one side or upon the other, but will permit of the Arab and Jewish communities developing in harmony and contentment.

Source: MidEast Web Historical Documents. "The Passfield White Paper". 18 January 2005. <<http://www.mideastweb.org/passfieldwp.htm>>



### Appendix 3:

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August 11, 2005

Dear Mr. Surel:

Here are my replies to your questions:

1) How much of the responsibility do you assign to Turkey, the UK and other countries?

1. The Struma tragedy is the responsibility of UK, Soviet Union & Turkey . There are too many coincidences to believe that there is no conspiracy between the 3 countries. My personal believe is that the British Colonial Office in London decided to eliminate Struma to avoid this vessel with nearly 800 refugees and crew reaching Palestine. I think the Colonial Office arranged with their allies Soviet Union to send the vessel to the bottom of the Black Sea. Soviet Union had sufficient submarines in the Black Sea to comply with UK request. Turkey, although neutral, accommodated UK by following their instructions. It cannot be proven that there was a conspiracy.

Coincidence 1: Istanbul authorities were supposed to take Struma out into the Black Sea on February 17th, 1942. Documents show that this action was postponed one

week, to February 23rd, I presume the Soviet Submarine ShCh-213 was not yet ready at its station in front of the Bosphorus Straits.

Coincidence 2: To take a vessel into the Black Sea without an anchor and without an engine, without food and water, it means that it was known that the vessel would disappear very shortly.

Coincidence 3: The Soviet Submarine managed to get between Struma and the Turkish shore, then it torpedoed it, thus giving the impression that a torpedo was launched from the shore, to embarrass Turkey.

Coincidence 4: I was locked in the prison at the top floor of the Istanbul Central Police

Station for 6 weeks, under the pretext that I had no visa for Turkey. Yet, at the same time, many refugees that managed to flee Europe and landed in Istanbul without visas, were kept in hotels, not in prisons.

2) Regarding Turkey's responsibility for the Struma tragedy, could you tell me your feelings about Turkey cutting the anchor chains of the ship?

2. The anchor chains of Struma were cut to expedite the attachment to the military tug

“Aldemar”, who then pulled the vessel through the Bosphorus Straits into the Black Sea. It must have been known to some people that it was Struma’s last journey.

3) How can you describe the behavior of the Turks toward you, when you were kept in Istanbul after the tragedy?

3. I was kept in the Istanbul prison for 6 weeks and had several interrogation procedures, some questions, but all were friendly and without any pressure or roughness. However, upon my questioning them why I was imprisoned, the reply was that I had no Turkish visa.

4) Did your Struma experience change your thoughts about Turkey? Do you like visiting Turkey?

4. I have not experienced any change in my thoughts about Turkey, since the incident, I have visited Turkey 3 times since the Struma incident , last visit being in October 2004.

I believe that I owe my life to a Turkish man named Simon Brod who arranged to supply food and water to the vessel during its stay in Istanbul Harbour for 71 days. Also, while I was in prison, he arranged with a restaurant nearby to supply every day food delivered to me at the prison. Upon my release from prison, he purchased the ticket and took me to the railway station for departure to Aleppo.

5) Could you tell me about the ship's journey along the Bosphorus coming and going? While waiting on the ship as it was towed to the Istanbul Harbor or on the journey, were there any helping hands? Who were they?

5. The journeys along the Bosphorus were quite different. Inbound was exhilarating, full of hope, basically out of hell heading into paradise. The journey outbound was of horror, unbelieving that this return into the Black Sea could happen, to all it was an extremely morbid sensation.

There were no helping hands in or out, except supplies arranged by Mr. Simon Brod and the Red Crescent. At all time, the ship was in quarantine, there was no communication with the outside world at any time except some smuggled messages.

I hope that this e-mail is answering your questions sent August 9th.

Best regards

David Stoliar