

Churchill White Paper (1922) with Commentary

Verbatim Text from the Jewish Virtual Library (<https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/churchill-white-paper-1922>) and Analysis Using Gordon Graham's 2013 published techniques.

Spelling adjusted to Australian English where appropriate.

Data retrieved by Grok AI, compile and format by PDFLaTeX, analysis by Bobby Yazdani. Produced May 2025.

Introduction to Audience and Context

Gordon Graham's *White Papers For Dummies* emphasises knowing your audience to tailor content effectively. Churchill's 1922 white paper addressed the Zionist Organisation, the Palestine Arab Delegation, and the British government. Following the 1921 Jaffa Riots, tensions required a clear policy. Churchill, as Colonial Secretary, clarified Britain's Balfour Declaration commitments while addressing Arab fears of Jewish dominance. By summarising prior correspondence, he set a diplomatic tone, aligning with Graham's advice to engage readers early with context. Source: <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/churchill-white-paper-1922>.

Defining the Problem

Graham stresses defining the problem to justify the white paper's purpose. Churchill outlines the "tension" in Palestine, attributing it to "apprehensions" from Arabs and Jews. He specifies Arab concerns about the Balfour Declaration's implications, such as fears of Jewish dominance. This frames the need for policy clarification, aligning with Graham's technique of presenting a problem (post-riot unrest). Churchill's use of correspondence as evidence adds credibility, per Graham's principles.

Addressing Audience Concerns

Graham advises addressing audience objections directly. Churchill refutes claims that Palestine would become "wholly Jewish," clarifying that the Balfour Declaration supports a Jewish National Home "in Palestine," not a Jewish state. Citing the Zionist Organisation's resolution, he reassures both parties of coexistence, building trust as Graham recommends by countering concerns with evidence.

Proposing Solutions

Graham advocates clear, actionable solutions. Churchill clarifies that the Zionist Organisation has no administrative role, limiting its influence to Jewish-specific measures. This reassures Arabs that their political authority remains intact, reflecting Graham's focus on practical steps to resolve issues.

Reaffirming Commitment

Graham suggests reinforcing credibility with established authority. Churchill reassures Jews by reaffirming Britain's commitment to the Balfour Declaration, addressing fears of policy reversal. This use of precedent strengthens the paper's authority, as Graham recommends.

Logical Structure and Evidence

Graham emphasises logical flow and evidence-based arguments. Churchill details the Jewish community's infrastructure (e.g., 80,000 people, elected bodies, Hebrew press) to justify its "national" character, aligning with the Balfour Declaration's goals. This structured, data-driven case aligns with Graham's advice to persuade with examples.

Offering Inclusive Solutions

Graham advises solutions appealing to all stakeholders. Churchill proposes a Legislative Council to make governance "more fully representative," addressing Arab demands while

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The Secretary of State for the Colonies has given renewed consideration to the existing political situation in Palestine, with a very earnest desire to arrive at a settlement of the outstanding questions which have given rise to uncertainty and unrest among certain sections of the population. After consultation with the High Commissioner for Palestine [Sir Herbert Samuel] the following statement has been drawn up. It summarises the essential parts of the correspondence that has already taken place between the Secretary of State and a delegation from the Moslem Christian Society of Palestine, which has been for some time in England, and it states the further conclusions which have since been reached.

The tension which has prevailed from time to time in Palestine is mainly due to apprehensions, which are entertained both by sections of the Arab and by sections of the Jewish population. These apprehensions, so far as the Arabs are concerned, are partly based upon exaggerated interpretations of the meaning of the Balfour Declaration, issued on the 2nd November, 1917, in the following terms:—

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

Unauthorised statements have been made to the effect that the purpose in view is to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. Phrases have been used such as that Palestine is to become "as Jewish as England is English." His Majesty's Government regard any such expectation as impracticable and have no such aim in view. Nor have they at any time contemplated, as appears to be feared by the Arab delegation, the disappearance or the subordination of the Arabic population, language, or culture in Palestine. They would draw attention to the fact that the terms of the Declaration referred to do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded "in Palestine." In this connection it has been observed with satisfaction that at a meeting of the Zionist Congress, the supreme governing body of the Zionist Organisation, held at Carlsbad in September 1921, a resolution was passed expressing as the official statement of Zionist aims "the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development."

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 to be taken in Palestine 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.

Further, it is contemplated that the status of all citizens of Palestine in the eyes of the law shall be Palestinian, and it has never been intended that they, or any section of them, should possess any other juridical status. So far as the Jewish population of Palestine are concerned it appears that some among them are apprehensive that His Majesty's Government may depart from the policy embodied in the Declaration of 1917. It is necessary, therefore, to place on record that the policy of His Majesty's Government remains as stated in that Declaration, and that they are still prepared to give it their support.

maintaining British control. This inclusive approach aligns with Graham's focus on balancing interests.

Practical Policy Proposals

Graham stresses actionable, evidence-based solutions. Churchill's proposal to limit immigration based on "economic absorptive capacity" addresses Arab concerns about Jewish influx, backed by evidence of unrest. The committee formation reflects Graham's advice to propose concrete steps involving stakeholders.

Conclusion and Call to Action

Graham recommends a clear call to action. Churchill presents the white paper as a foundation for resolving tensions, urging acceptance by both parties. Communicating the policy to the Zionist Organisation and Arab Delegation reinforces inclusivity, aligning with Graham's advice to summarise solutions and encourage buy-in.

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 organisations, 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.

So far as the remaining and by far the larger portion of the population of Palestine is concerned, His Majesty's Government have received no evidence that they object to the terms of the Declaration. It is the intention of His Majesty's Government that the existing administration in Palestine should be modified so as to make it more fully representative in character, and in particular they propose to establish a Legislative Council on the lines indicated in the statement of British policy in Palestine issued in June, 1922, by Mr. Churchill's predecessor.

Further, it is contemplated that the immigration into Palestine should be regulated in accordance with the economic capacity of the country to absorb new arrivals. During recent years the rate of immigration has been considerably in excess of such absorptive capacity, and has given rise to a situation which has caused unrest among both the Arab and the Jewish population. His Majesty's Government propose to refer the question of how the principle of regulation in accordance with absorptive capacity can best be applied to a small committee of persons of high authority and experience, who will visit Palestine for the purpose and consult with representatives of all interests affected.

This statement of policy has been communicated to the Zionist Organisation and to the Palestine Arab Delegation, and His Majesty's Government believe that it offers a basis upon which the difficulties that have occurred in Palestine can be overcome, and upon which the administration of the country can in future be successfully conducted.