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Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

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Reel
6

Box
2

Folder
138

American Zionist Emergency Council, radio reports, 1944.

RADIO REPORTS, INC.

MANUSCRIPT SERVICE

October 15, 1944

SPECIAL FOR AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

URGES A NATIONAL HOME FOR JEWS IN PALESTINE

Felix J. Frazer on Informed Democracy program at 2 P. M.
over KPAS (Pasadena) and KFVD (Los Angeles):

"Good afternoon everybody.

"A few weeks ago, one of our good friends and members, Captain R.W. Hadden, invited me to attend a banquet and hear some talks by Mr. Manchester Boddy, Rabbi Dr. James Heller, Mrs. Lowdermilk, and others on the Palestine question. The topic seemed somewhat remote from the bread and butter, or economic subjects which we usually discuss on these broadcasts. But as I listened to these able speakers, it was borne in upon me that no topic is remote from an informed democracy which deals with the social and economic welfare and happiness of millions of our fellow human beings -- among them many of our fellow Americans.

"Indeed, why should such matters not be close to the hearts of all men and women of goodwill, be they Jew or Gentile? Recent events have taught many of us -- and have taught us the hard way! -- that an ivory tower isolationism and a lofty disregard for goings on in other parts of the world and the welfare of people less favored than ourselves, are impracticable, costly and dangerous doctrines. Few, let us hope, have hearts so frost-bitten or minds so Nazi-infected as to view with complacency the unspeakable outrages and mass exterminations which have been inflicted upon the helpless Jews in recent years.

"Listening to these eloquent speakers at this banquet, it seemed strange that we found ourselves able to feast upon the bounty of the land while plumbing the depths of these dark horrors and threading the maze of such somber perplexities. It was then that I decided that this radio voice of yours should join the everswelling chorus of protest and righteous indignation which today is welling up from all climes and from all peoples -- but more particularly that it would contribute its small share of enlightenment and information upon the many problems which this ghastly and unforgettable event in human history has made so acute.

"Today, therefore, we shall talk about the man without a country -- the wandering Jew seemingly destined by an unkind fate to set up his hearthstones upon all four corners of an unfriendly world -- to plant his vine and fig tree upon every soil but his own -- and to dream -- alas, only to dream of his own, his native land.

"At the far end of the Mediterranean Sea, a stone's throw as global geography goes from the Red Sea, and adjacent to Syria, Transjordan and Saudi-Arabia, stretches a narrow strip of land. Some ten and one half thousands of square miles in area, and with a population of about a million and a half people, of which approximately one-third are Jews and the balance Arabs, Palestine hugs the coast of the great inland sea. From time

immemorial, this history of the Jewish people has been inextricably interwoven with Palestine. It was in Palestine that the great Jewish prophets preached the oneness of God and the ethical concept of the brotherhood of man. Through the centuries, the continuous historic association of the Jewish people with Palestine has never been broken. It was also the birthplace of Jesus of Nazareth, as we all know. The Sermon on the Mount, the Ascent to Calvary and the Resurrection -- all took place in Palestine. The cradle of Christianity, Palestine is also the homeland of the Jews, and, speaking of Him in the present tense, as all who revere the Gospels must, Palestine is also the birthplace and homeland of Jesus the Jew who is also the Lord of the Gentiles.

"For many centuries, Palestine and the adjoining territories have been largely populated by Arabs -- many of them the wandering tribes so vividly described by Lawrence of Arabia. With small but important Jewish and Christian minorities, this Arab population has constituted a large and clamorous, but economically a less important majority. Men and races are always important to themselves, of course, but in the economic and realistic sense, nomadic and non-agricultural races have always been at a competitive disadvantage to agricultural and commercial groups, as the history and fate of our own American Indians has so clearly proved. This is surely no argument favoring their exploitation or disfranchisement. It is merely a realistic statement of cold fact.

"A great deal of what the average man has read or heard about the Palestine situation centers around the proposition that Palestine rightfully belongs to the Arabs however desired it may be by the Jews. History does not record that a Territory's ownership has ever been decided by the method of discovering who got there first. Were this the basis of decision, the Jews could chalk up a two thousand year title and America would have to be given back to the Indians! Be that as it may, the Arabs have been wandering around Syria, Lebanon, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, Transjordan and little Palestine for a very long time. And during those many centuries they have done very little to develop these territories and consolidate their own positions. Furthermore, it can hardly be said that they have even populated them. The combined population of all the Arab territories which I have mentioned does not exceed sixteen million. All of them could be comfortably accommodated in Iraq's one hundred and sixteen thousand square miles if it were fully developed, and ample room would be left for many million more.

"Concerning this matter of Arab population, the Prime Minister of Iraq stated in 1926 that 'the size of the country is one hundred and fifty thousand square miles, about three times that of England and Wales, while the population is only three million. What Iraq wants above everything else is more population.'

"In land area, these Arab territories, of which Iraq is one of several, cover nearly two million square miles, of which little Palestine occupies but ten and one half thousand. It would take nearly two hundred Palestines to fill the Arab territories, therefore the Arab contention that the Jews are trying to crowd them off the map is analogous to the elephants lament over the presence of the mouse. Granted that a mouse presents any menace to an elephant, it is certainly not that of living space!

"The concept and practice of ownership is tenuous at best and shifts from place to place and from age to age. Historically, and in this

connection, the Arabs lost their sovereignty over nearly all of these Near Eastern lands back in the middle ages. Overrun by successive invasions, they were finally conquered by the Turks and these countries were eventually incorporated into the Ottoman Empire in 1517. The Arabs suffered greatly under Turkish rule, but were too weak and disunited to do anything about it. Then came World War I, Lawrence of Arabia and the chance to organize themselves under the British flag in a revolt against their Turkish masters. This some of them did, but only in a half-hearted way. With British effort, leadership and money, the Arab tribes in the Arabian peninsula and some of the Transjordanians did stage a revolt of sorts, one, however, which the British had to struggle hard to keep from collapsing. The Arabs of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine did not participate in this struggle, but remained largely passive.

"The past thirty years of this tribal history is lengthy, confused and involved. However, the Arabs did finally emerge from it all with just about everything they wanted. Even Lawrence of Arabia, that ardent advocate of the Arab cause, stated that 'we have come out of the Arab affair with clean hands.' Probably no people in history have gained so much in independence and territory with so little effort on their own part as have the Arabs.

"Now let us see how the Palestine we know today fits into this picture. Considered as a group, the people who inhabited Palestine at the time of World War I were not a nation and never had been recognized as such. There was no such thing as Palestine in the political sense. It was merely a spot on the map consisting of a part of the former Turkish Province of Beirut and the District of Jerusalem. The inhabitants were largely Arabs of mixed origins with a sprinkling of Jewish and Christian minorities.

"Today's Palestine was the creation of the World War I Peace Conference. Its boundaries were defined by the Allied Powers for the express purpose of excluding this small territory from the other Arab States! The Mandate over Palestine was granted to the British in 1922 by the League of Nations. It was executed with the concurrence of fifty two nations and expressly recognizes 'the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine' and 'the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home.' You can't 'reconstitute' something which was not constituted before, so the Mandate clearly recognizes the association of the Jews with Palestine, which goes back to the Biblical period.

"It can all be summed up in the statement that the Arabs actually had lost the lands which they occupied, including Palestine, to the Turks; that with but a small and partial effort on their part, these lands were returned to them by the Allied Nations after World War I; and that at the time this was done, the small territory of Palestine was not included in those returned lands because the fifty two Allied Nations recognized the historical claim the Jews had to Palestine and proposed to return it to them and make of it a Jewish Homeland.

"Much can be added in support of this summation. The establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine was solemnly pledged by Great Britain, in a document known as the Balfour Declaration which is dated November 2, 1917. Later, this Declaration was incorporated in the Mandate. Every American President from Wilson to, and including, Franklin D. Roosevelt has voiced the approval of Palestine as a Homeland for the Jews.

"President Roosevelt puts it this way: 'The interest which I

have had and have frequently manifested in the rebuilding of the ancient Jewish homeland is, I am persuaded, an interest which is shared by all who recognize that every people has the inalienable right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It is a source of renewed hope and courage, that by international accord and by the moral support of the peoples of the world, men and women of Jewish faith have a right to resettle the land where their faith was born and from which much of our modern civilization has emanated.'

"With a comprehensive knowledge of Arab claims to the territory of Palestine, President Roosevelt has joined the long list of men and nations who feel that the Jews are morally entitled to this small fragment of the earth's surface. Zionists lay much stress upon these many endorsements of their claims to Palestine. Yet it seems to me that they have generally overlooked a most important item, possibly the most important of them all. In December of 1924, the League of Nations made the United States a comandatory power with Great Britain under a treaty known as The American-British Convention on Palestine. In that convention, the mandate of 1922 was recited verbatim. Article VII of this 1924 Convention recites that 'Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the Mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States.'

"This is a point of major importance as no modification of the Mandate has been assented to by this country. This broadcast will not have been in vain should it serve no other purpose than to recall this action of the League of Nations which clearly and expressly places the responsibility for the proper carrying out of the Mandate squarely upon the shoulders of America as well as those of Great Britain. This country has accepted and received a clear responsibility in this matter. International Law has given us the right to nullify the acts of any World Power, including Great Britain, which seeks in any way to change the crystal clear purport of the Mandate. And by that same token, ours is the responsibility to see that it is accomplished. Know this if you do not already know it. Remember it if you have forgotten it. Heed the advice of a friendly and sympathetic Gentile, my good Jewish friends, and make this Article VII of this 1924 Convention the fulcrum of your applied endeavors. Have your men in high places, supported by your many numbers and organization, see to it that America hews to the line of the Mandate, let the chips fall where they may!

"In the space of this short half hour, I shall not attempt to pile Pelion on Ossa by marshalling further evidence in support of the Jewish claim to Palestine. Other relevant matters claim our attention before a proper understanding of the Palestine situation can be gained. And not the least of these is the logical question: 'Well, if all is so clear, what is holding up the Jewish migration to Palestine? If the Jews want this land, who do those who wish to go there not move into it? especially in view of the fact that Article VII of the Mandate provides that the mandatory power 'shall facilitate Jewish immigration -- and shall encourage -- close settlement by the Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.'

"The answer is all too plain, my friends. Power politics and appeasement policies have persistently motivated the British to reduce the scope and intent of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate to a

point where both have become all but inoperative from the point of view of their plainly expressed original purpose. By artificially restricting Jewish immigration quotas to Palestine, and by setting up other impediments, dictated by appeasement policies to the Arabs, little is left of Great Britain's and the Allied Nations' clearly expressed Mandate for the establishment of the Jewish Homeland.

"In a recent address, Sir Norman Angel states: 'I am one of the many Englishmen who have been extremely critical of British policy in Palestine, as of British policy in other parts of the world.' Sir Norman then goes on to give the policy of appeasement as one of the several errors of which his own country has been guilty in its administration of the Palestinian Mandate.

"The term 'appeasement' implies, of course, that somebody or some group is to be placated. Obviously one does not placate somebody whom one does not fear, or from whom one does not wish to obtain a concession. We shall have to look beneath the surface of things if we wish to find a reason for this deterioration of high British statesmanship as expressed in the Balfour Declaration -- a deterioration which became crystalized into words with the issuance in 1922 of a British White Paper which states that 'the terms of the Balfour Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be established in Palestine.' This White Paper, never fully repudiated, clearly violates the original intent of both the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate, and constitutes still another example of that undesirable circumlocutory British foreign policy about which Sir Norman Angel and so many others have complained.

"This shift in British policy, so disastrous to Jewish aspirations in Palestine, is another example of the failure of mandates in general to accomplish their purpose. History testifies to the fact that practically all mandates deteriorate in this fashion. However beneficent and altruistic the intentions and terms of a mandate may be, territories so administered nearly always come to be regarded as national possessions by the mandatory power, and as such are fair game for economic exploitation and political maneuvering.

"Palestine has been no exception to this sad rule. The British have clearly shown that they do not want, and do not intend to allow, further Jewish migration to Palestine. In 1930, Sir John Simon erroneously reported that Palestine could absorb only twenty thousand additional settlers. Since then, however, and in the face of British opposition, Palestine has received more than three hundred thousand new settlers, while the absorptive capacity of the country is greater than ever in spite of a forty percent increase in the Arab population. In 1936, the Peel Commission, which was sent to Palestine to investigate the troubled conditions there, reported that the Jewish migration had been of great benefit to the Arabs and found, furthermore, that 'the primary purpose of the Mandate, as expressed in its preamble and articles, is to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home.' Nevertheless, and in

the face of this report, the British Government declared that 'it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State.' The final 'White Paper' of that year fixed all future Jewish immigration at a total of seventy-five thousand within the next five years, with practical suspension of Jewish immigration thereafter. This means that after this year, there will be no more Jews admitted to Palestine, except those admitted by Arab consent, and, if this flagrantly unjust policy is persisted in, it will mean the end of the Jewish hope of owning a land of their own.

"Do not think that this harsh pronouncement reflects any one man's judgment. Listen to what the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations said in their last session of June 1939. Referring to this last White Paper, they said -- '...the policy set out in the White Paper is not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council (of the League of Nations) the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine Mandate.'

"No, my friends, mandates seldom, if ever, work out as originally intended, as is so clearly shown in the case at bar. Recognizing this fundamental defect of the mandate system, which seems invariably to accomplish no more than the annexation of a tribute paying territory to a superior power, let us examine a few facts in connection with the recent British policy in Palestine.

"Jewish taxes have been used for the construction of a pipe line from the oil fields of Iraq to the Port of Haifa and for the construction there of an oil station complete with storage tanks for the British Navy. Palestine receives no tribute from this pipe line which passes through its territory, and a tin of gasoline which sells for forty cents in Iraq costs \$1.90 in Palestine. Furthermore, the Jews are debarred from the free use of the Port of Haifa for export of their citrus and other products. When they requested the British to build a harbor for them at Tel Aviv, the request was refused and they were again refused when they offered to build the desired port at their own expense. The British also used these Jewish tax funds for the construction of a military highway running East from Haifa, but failed to build much needed roads in the vicinity of Tel Aviv and again refused permission to have them built at Jewish expense. In this tax connection, it is interesting to note that the Jews are taxed approximately \$45 per capita, while the Arabs pay only around \$7.

"Right now, and while the minds of many people are on the war, Great Britain is busy creating a Pan-Arabian Federation which will include Palestine, Iraq, Transjordan, Syria and the Lebanon, and the Saudi Arabia. Even now there is a fight on as to who is to head the Federation. King Farouk of Egypt, King Abdullah and Ibn Saud are all contesting for the job. British oil interests couldn't be at the back of this resurgence of old-fashioned power politics, could they? Whatever is behind it all, should this quietly engineered deal become a fait accompli, the Jewish dream of Palestine will fade with the coming of a harsh and realistic

dawn, and another sop will have been tossed to the oft placated Cerberus of British Colonial expansion.

"Time forbids a more extensive analysis of the underside of the British position and policy with respect to Palestine. So let us turn for a moment to the magnificent list of colonization and industrial achievements of the Jews in their promised homeland. How I wish that I might give you this astounding story as I received it from the inspired lips of Mrs. Lowdermilk and repaint for you this glorious picture of human fortitude, industry and accomplishment in the face of seemingly insurmountable obstacles. Surely the epic of our own founding fathers in their heroic struggle with the Early American wilderness offers no greater example of the unconquerable spirit of Man than does this modern epic of the Jews in Palestine. But the studio clock moves inexorably on. So the best I can do is to leave to your own imagination the details of this superlative record of which I can give you but the bare statistics.

"Since 1921, Jewish population has increased five and one half times; manufacturing has increased eighteen times; capital twenty times; citrus fruit production, chiseled out of the erstwhile rocky soil, has grown twenty times; electrical power consumption one hundred and twenty one times; but Jewish land possessions have increased only three times.

"Listen while I read to you from a recent documentation of the claims of Palestinian Jewry to recognition and appreciation for benefits rendered to the cause of the United Nations: 'Forty-seven thousand Jews have enlisted in the British Army, the Palestine Police, and the Home Guard. (And to this I want to add that one hundred and twenty thousand men and women of Jewish Palestine volunteered for military service when this war broke out.) At one period, almost a quarter of the Imperial troops fighting in the Egyptian Desert were Jewish volunteers. At Tobruk, El Alamain, Bir Hachim, and in Syria, Jewish units fought heroically.

"Jewish industries in 1943 produced fifty million dollars worth of military goods for the United Nations. More than four hundred new factories have been established since 1939, and one hundred thousand Jews are engaged in work vital to the war effort.

"Farm output has risen forty percent since the war, the production of vegetables has been doubled, and the fishing catch trebled to help meet the needs of the United Nations.

"The resources of science and medicine of the Hebrew University, Hadassah Hospital and the smaller laboratories, as well as the technical knowledge and skill of hundreds of specialists -- refugees from Central Europe -- have given invaluable service to the Allied forces.

"Weighed against the modest size of their population and resources, the Jews of Palestine can hold their heads high in the company of peoples fighting for freedom.'

"If a case has been made out for the moral right of the Jews to occupy and establish a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, can this be accomplished

without evicting or impoverishing the Arabs who also live there? The reports of several commissions and reams of competent testimony clearly show that the Arabs have gained enormously from the precept and example of their Jewish neighbors. Not only have many acquired a knowledge of the arts of agriculture and industry, they have also profited by Jewish sanitation and medicine, and have learned by experience the value of a settled and organized life. If properly planned and exploited, little Palestine could easily accommodate all the Jews of Central Europe who today are in such urgent and desperate need of a place to go to. Yes, and not one Arab would have to be displaced to accomplish this humane program.

"Indeed, those who have followed the torturous path through the complexities of Jewish-Mohammedan relations have at many points detected a noticeable odor of ancient fish and have suspected that the proverbial herring was being drawn across the trail. The provocative agent is not unknown to politics. Why, for instance, should the Soviet Union have with so little difficulty composed the problems of twelve million Mohammedans all of whom live in perfect amity with other races in the Russian Asiatic Republics? Also consider the success and wonderful progress made in the Jewish Colony of Biro Bidjan in Eastern Siberia. These modern examples of the common sense and equitable adjustment of racial problems in Russia stand out in strong and pleasant contrast to the Palestinian situation.

"At no time in their long and tragic history have these much persecuted Jewish people been in such desperate need of a place to which to go -- a land they can call their own. Their cultural, religious, social and economic life has been blasted and pulverized by the Nazis who in addition have carried out a devilish program of population dispersement. Hundreds of thousands have been torn from their homes, and when not butchered outright, have been herded into cattle cars and shipped throughout the length and breadth of Europe to newly created ghettos and concentration camps. Wracked in body and tortured in mind, how can these poor ravished people be expected to return to the scenes of such terrible memories? How can they reconstruct what is left of their miserable lives among the very people who brought them to their present dire extremity, or who at best regard them as unwanted strangers within their gates.

"No, my friends, it cannot and must not be. In the name of Him, the greatest of all the Jews, Who is also the Father of all mercies, let us do unto them as we ourselves would be done by. Give them back their Palestine. There upon the sacred soil of their ancient homeland, far from the agony and ashes of their present afflictions, they will build a new nation -- a new Jerusalem -- an eternal monument to the mercy and justice of their fellow men."

RADIO REPORTS, INC.

MANUSCRIPT SERVICE

October 19, 1944

SPECIAL FOR AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

REPORTS BRITISH PREPARING TO REPUDIATE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Arthur Hale, Confidentially Yours, at 7:30 P.M. Over WOR
and the Mutual Network:

"Here are some late news whispers which have reached our desk. We haven't been able to confirm all of them completely, but they appear well founded. **** "From London we hear that the British government has drawn up a new Palestine white paper which will repudiate the substance of the Balfour Declaration. The reason behind the content is said to be the old reluctance to tamper with the feelings of the Arabs. Reportedly, although publicly sympathetic to Zionist demands Prime Minister Churchill is the moving force behind the new decision."

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Bristol, Virginia
October 30, 1944

(Received November 1, 1944)

Mr. Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, Executive Committee
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Silver:

Thanks for sending me the new book, "America and
Palestine". I do want you to know I appreciate your kind-
ness.

Sincerely yours,

JWF/jp

(SIGNED) Jno. W. Flannagan, Jr.

RK-11/2/44

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Date October 31, 1944

From Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

As you know, the Emergency Council subscribes to the service of RADIO REPORTS, which furnishes us with verbatim accounts of all broadcasts containing material of Zionist political significance.

It has just occurred to me that you might like to be kept informed of these radio comments, and I am therefore taking the liberty of sending you copies of transcripts of the more important broadcasts. *kindest regards -*

Shapiro

HLS:SRW
Enc.