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Alfange, Dean, 1946.

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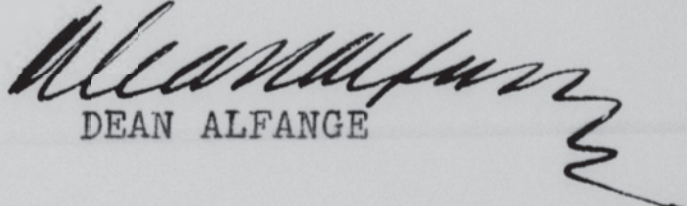
May 12, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am pleased to enclose copy of an address
I delivered at the dinner of the United
Zionists-Revisionists of America, Hotel
Biltmore, Sunday, May 11th.

Sincerely,


DEAN ALFANGE

DA:dn

ADDRESS BY DEAN ALFANGE AT THE DINNER OF
THE UNITED ZIONISTS-REVISIONISTS OF AMERICA,
HOTEL BILTMORE, SUNDAY, MAY 11th.

I told a friend this is the fifth speech on Palestine I am delivering since Monday and he asked me, "When do you sleep?" I replied that he could find the answer in Verse 4, Psalm 121 of the Old Testament: "Behold He that keepeth Israel doth neither slumber nor sleep".

I should be living under the Union Jack where the sun is always shining. It was revealed that the sun never sets on the British Empire because God will not trust her in the dark.

In his introductory remarks, your Chairman referred to me as a liberal. Frankly, I am beginning to entertain some very grave misgivings about the meaning of that term. A Liberal, as I understand it, is a person who rejects imperialism of every type and totalitarianism of every shade.

A Liberal is a person who rejects the double standard of political morality which impugns the motives of one's own country while condoning those of another. The great need of the moment is for leaders who would meet these tests of political morality and intellectual responsibility. These are no times for political opportunism and political mediocrity.

The decisions we make, the orientations and outlooks we develop during the next few years, will determine our success or failure in the mighty struggle for democratic survival.

Let's now apply these principles to Palestine and the Jewish people.

The public policy of the United States with regard to Palestine has been established by a long line of congressional resolutions and presidential declarations beginning with the administration of Woodrow Wilson. By the terms of these public pronouncements, our government stands irrevocably committed to the development of Palestine as a national Jewish Home with its concomitant of free and unrestricted Jewish immigration.

Well, if that is our policy -- and no one can deny that it is -- why do we shirk our responsibility in this most crucial hour in the history of Israel? Why do we hem and haw, duck and dodge and skate around the periphery of the question? If that is our policy, why don't we adhere to it?

If the United States of America would boldly take the leadership in the fight for a free Palestine, Palestine would soon be established as a Jewish state without the pompous mockery of Commissions of Inquiry and the useless spilling of precious blood.

But, why don't we do it? Is it petroleum again? Are we emulating the British imperial practice of subordinating human rights to the rights of private property? Could it be that we have made unsavory commitments to protect our new multi-billion dollar private oil empire in Saudi Arabia? Or, could it be that those pro-Arab ninnies in our State Department have deliberately misled Mr. Truman and Mr. Marshall? For when the Secretary of State wrote the other day to thirty members of Congress that "It would be premature for this government to develop its policy with regard to the substance of this question", he demonstrated an appalling ignorance of the fixed and long established policy of the United States. It might be well, Senator Pepper, to call for a Senatorial Investigation to expose the pro-Arab antecedents of those men in our State Department who head the Division of Near Eastern Affairs, and to determine their fitness to remain in office.

It is about time we stopped kidding the Jewish people with empty promises and fake platform commitments that are never kept. It is a pretty brutal thing to kid a people with their back against the wall. I told Dr. Abba Hillel Silver the other day that if I were a Jew and the spokesman of organized Zionism, I would tell President Truman to fish or cut bait on Palestine -- and we all understand what that means in terms of 1948.

I have no faith in a United Nations solution of the Palestine

question unless our government undertakes militantly to advocate the Jewish cause. The United Nations Commission will be the 19th committee of inquiry on Palestine since the Balfour Declaration; and like its predecessors, is not intended to accomplish anything except delay.

The whole proceeding is therefore a sham and a mockery -- a mere plea in abatement to allow a faithless guardian to continue the exploitation of his ward; and our acquiescence in this trickery is a confession of moral and intellectual bankruptcy.

There is only one solution to the problem of Palestine -- bloodshed, rebellion, resistance, and boycott.

The underground resistance movement is the major front in the battle for a free Palestine. The heroes of the Jewish resistance movement are no different from the American Colonists who staged the Boston Tea Party, and the Irish Rebels of the 1920s.

Those valiant warriors of the underground are counteracting anti-semitism throughout the world by portraying the Jew, for the first time in modern history, as a fierce fighter for individual liberty and national freedom.

Let's not apologize for their deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice. Let us encourage them and help them in every way we can.

The second front in the fight for a free Jewish Palestine is the direct and indirect boycott. Let us face the facts. Great Britain is waging an illegal and immoral war of economic and political aggression against the Jewish people.

In the light of this reality, the Jewish people and their friends are fully justified in resorting to a powerful retaliatory measure in the form of a boycott upon all British goods and services.

In view of Britain's betrayal of the Jewish people, why do the Jews continue to support British trade, buy British scotch, travel on British planes and ships, attend British-made movies, and patronize British insurance companies?

I propose that the Jewish people organize an effective boycott upon British goods and services of every type and description. Britain's Achilles' heel is her economic vulnerability. Dart your arrow in that direction and she may yield sooner than you suspect.

The third front in the fight is forced mass immigration into Palestine. Such immigration is not illegal. Only British resistance to it is illegal.

I am speaking as a Christian and as a liberal. Palestine is not only a Jewish issue. It is a world-wide political issue that impinges directly upon the whole problem of democratic self-determination and survival.

We are about to spend \$400,000,000 a year to buttress democracy in Greece and Turkey. Why then do we reject an opportunity to make

Palestine the greatest bastion of democracy in the Middle East? By supporting the Zionist cause, America could build a mighty fortress of freedom in that critical nerve center of the world without spending a single dollar of our tax-payers money.

Why don't we do it? Is the Truman Doctrine a matter of ideology or is it power politics? Is it because aggression in Greece stems from the East, while aggression in Palestine stems from the West?

I ask. I want to know!

I believe in the Truman Doctrine if it truly aims to protect our western way of life from the encroachments of imperialism and the totalitarian ideology. If that be the aim of this new departure in our foreign policy, then the creation of a free Jewish Palestine would be a perfect implementation of the Truman Doctrine. I therefore charge that our failure, militantly to support the Zionist cause, is a reflection on the validity of the Truman Doctrine and on the sincerity of its sponsors. Frankly, I am beginning to wonder if Mr. Truman himself knows what the Truman Doctrine really implies?

The great contest of our times is the struggle of social democracy against the forces of imperialism and totalitarianism.

The feudal lords of the Arab league, who not long ago were shouting

their heads off for Adolph Hitler, are not interested in democracy. They are interested only in keeping their subjects in a state of peonage for their own private profit; and their fear of the Jew is a fear of progress, freedom, and enlightenment.

Now, I think it is self-evident that the fate of democracy in the Middle East is inextricably interwoven with the fate of Palestine. But, there is yet another deeper reason why Christian Liberals should rally to the Zionist cause.

Anti-semitism is the breeder of Fascism and a menace to freedom. If now that the Fascist tyranny has been crushed, there shall remain in the soil of the earth those seeds and those roots which grow and blossom into bigotry, and hatred, and oppression of man by man and nation by nation, our victory shall be a tragic mockery of all the death and devastation that preceded it. We therefore owe it to the dead and to our own self-interest to eradicate the filthy weed of anti-semitism from the soil of democracy; and the only way it can be done -- mark my word -- is by conferring upon the Jewish people the dignity of statehood. So long as the Jews remain without a home, without political status, without a calling card, and an official address, so long shall they be considered the tramp-race of the world, an easy prey to the demagogues looking for scapegoats upon whom to saddle their failures and frustrations.

America must assert its great moral authority to bring about just solutions of the great international problems that confront the world; but America must clean its own house first. America to which the world looks for guidance is internally saturated with a bigotry that nullifies its preachments of equality and freedom. There are too many people born in America in whom America was never born.

The practice of restricted hotels, of restricted resorts, and of restrictive covenants upon the use of land is as shameful and odious as the most vicious of the Nazi "verbodens". Anti-semitism is the syphilis of democracy and must be rooted out in the interest of democratic survival.

I am beginning to despair of the efficacy of the Church and the School as eradicators of bigotry. I sometimes feel we should be bold enough and brave enough to try two remedies that were never fully tried before -- freedom and christianity.

The recurrent waves of anti-semitism, the world-wide apathy to the awful plight of the homeless Jews of Europe, and the failure of our own country to fulfill its moral and legal obligations with regard to Palestine, are by no means the sole concern of the Jewish people. They are the vital concern of every decent man and woman, of every liberal minded person throughout the world, for they indicate -- and all too clearly -- that the dead have

died in vain; that those lofty ideals for which men fought and died on the battlefields of the world are now yielding, under pressure, to the brutal forces of imperialism and power politics.

So, let us try freedom and christianity. Let us not press another crown of thorns upon the brow of Izrael in His hour of agony and bereavement. Let us apply those elemental principles of justice, morality and fair-play to the problems of the Jewish people.

We owe it not only to the Jews; we owe it to ourselves, for it is we, the non-Jews of the world who have created these problems of which the Jews are now merely the victims.

America must take the leadership in the fight for a free Jewish Palestine. It is a challenge to freedom, and a challenge to christianity. It is a challenge that ought to stir the hearts and souls of men of action. Will we accept that challenge?

May 16, 1946

Mr. Dean Alfange
9 East 40th Street
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Alfange:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the address which you delivered on May 11. I read it with the keenest interest and pleasure. You are rendering a great service for which we are all extremely grateful.

I am not quite as pessimistic about the treatment of the Palestine issue at the hands of the United Nations. The first impressions are encouraging, but of course we are not building our entire future on it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK