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The great betrayal, 1930.

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"THE GREAT BETRAYAL"

SERMON AT THE TEMPLE

BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26th, 1930

On November 2d, 1917, just thirteen years ago next Sunday, Arthur J. Balfour, at that time the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain issued the following declaration to the Jewish people: "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."

Why was this declaration issued? It was issued because the British government wanted it and because the Jewish people wanted it.

The British Empire at that time, in 1917, was engaged in the great World War. It courted the favor of the Jews throughout the world, believing that the support of the Jews throughout the world, at that juncture was highly desirable for the Allied Cause.

Apart from this utilitarian consideration there were other factors in the decision of the British government who issued this declaration. It should be remembered that there has always been among the finest spirits of England a very strong sympathy for the Jewish cause and more particularly for the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. Ever since the days of Cromwell, back in the middle of the Seventeenth century there have been in England, leaders, statesmen, who have expressed keen interest in the project of Israel's



restoration and there is a vast English literature in England on this subject.

Throughout the Nineteenth century there were voices heard in England calling for the restoration to Israel of Palestine. In the beginning of the Twentieth century, you will recall, England offered the Jewish people a strip of territory in British East Africa for such a project. The offer, however, was not accepted.

The Balfour Declaration was issued too, because the Jewish people wanted it. This is not the time to expatiate on this point. It is a too well-known fact in Jewish history to repeat it at this time. I have spoken of it often in the past. The Jewish people, as a people, never surrendered the hope of rebuilding some day, its national life in Palestine. This continues to be the Messianic hope of the Jewish people and only a falsification of history or an ignorance of Jewish history can lead to any other conclusion.

The Jews began to settle in Palestine in 1880. Shortly after the pogroms in Russia in 1897 the Zionist Organization was established and the first Zionist World Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, in August, 1897 at which time the program of Zionism was defined. Zionism aims at the establishment of a legally secured, publicly recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

The World War which was an opportunity for so many small nations to realize aspirations, nations like Poland  
It was also a great opportunity for the realization of Jewish national aspirations. The essence of the Balfour Declaration was the symbol of the realization of this historic hope for the Jewish people and it was trying to that campaign which began about two weeks before the Balfour Declaration was issued. In other words the magnificent gesture was made by Great Britain to the world Palestine was to be an act of historic vindication of Israel's right to Palestine.



Now what did this Declaration actually mean? It has been so much belabored in recent years, so many forced interpretations have been placed upon it, so much of whittling down, that we are in danger of losing sight of the clear meaning and import of this solemn declaration. What did it actually mean? What did it not mean?

First, the object of this Declaration was not to give Jews as individuals the right to enter Palestine to settle there, to buy land or to establish industries or business. That they did not require. That right the Jews had even in the days of the Turkish regime.

Furthermore, the object of this Declaration was not to insure the Jews who would settle in Palestine the right to build schools, or to use their own language, or to have their own local communal organizations. That did not require a Balfour Declaration. Such rights the Jews enjoyed at the time in many parts of the world. The object of this Declaration was not to insure for the Jews in Palestine what has come to be known since the War as a national minority, a recognition of the people as a distinctive racial group within another group. Such group minority rights the Jews have today in Poland, Lithuania, Russia and elsewhere. There was no need of a Balfour Declaration for that.

What was the object of the Declaration? Clearly the object was what is stated in simple clear terms in the Declaration itself: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine."

It meant the return of Palestine to the Jewish people so that they may reconstitute their national life there. It meant giving the Jews the same opportunities to do in Palestine what the Poles had done in Poland, the Irish in Ireland, the Czechs in Czechoslovakia, - to upbuild their national life, realizing that while Jews the world over are citizens of their respective countries and as such are recognized within the countries wherein they dwell.



As a people they have no national center of their own and the Balfour Declaration aimed to rectify that that Lakuna in Jewish life.

The Balfour Declaration, of course, recognized that the Jews were not in authority in Palestine and therefore the first objective was to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine so that in an appreciable length of time

Clearly the Balfour Declaration was not issued to the fifty or sixty thousand Jews who at that time dwelled in Palestine. It was issued to the people throughout the world, some of whom would like to go to Palestine, to settle there, many of whom would like to assist in the up-building. The Declaration looked to the future, to the possibility which at that time was a probability, a feasibility.

as would give the Jewish people a majority in the country. Because you can not build a national homeland anywhere without people and without land. The tragedy of Jewish life is that the Jew has always been a minority group

In one spot of the world the Jew wanted to establish himself as a not the exploited majority, the dominant majority - dominant majority./numerically the strong group.

The Balfour Declaration did not promise the establishment of a national home in Palestine for the Arabs there. Not a word in the Declaration about it. Not a word in the Mandate, as we shall see in a moment. Because those who framed the Declaration and the Mandate realized fully that the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab would be satisfied elsewhere, that the Arab people have three national homes. In Syria, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz, national homes have been established where Arab peoples have complete opportunity to develop their national life.

One strip of territory in the world was preempted so that the Jews could establish their national home.



This is not my interpretation, nor a Zionistic interpretation. This is Balfour's own interpretation. I quote from the address of Arthur J. Balfour delivered in London in July, 1920. Listen to this. See whether our interpretation is far-fetched or not:

"So far as the Arabs are concerned - a great, an interesting, and an attractive race - I hope they will remember that while this assembly and all Jews that it represents through the world desire under the aegis of Great Britain to establish this home for the Jewish people, the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their brutal conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hejaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch - for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically - that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it - but surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers, which ought to appeal to the sympathy of the Arab people as it, I am convinced, appeals to the great mass of my own Christian fellow-countrymen."

In other words the Arabs who had been given an opportunity to build up their national life in Mesopotamia ought not to object to the Jews building up their life in that little notch of territory which has been given to them for that purpose.

The Declaration, of course, and rightly so, demands that the civil



and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall not be prejudiced. In other words, all the religious and civil rights which they enjoyed at the time shall be theirs, and they have been theirs, and they have not been prejudiced. There is no mention of political rights, for they had none at that time and none had been promised them by the Declaration or the Mandate.

We have since spoken a great deal of Palestine as a bi-national state. A state where both Arabs and Jews shall have an opportunity to develop their national life. Switzerland is a bi-national state. But this concept of a bi-national state is a much later development - since the Declaration and the Mandate, induced by the exigencies of the situation and incidentally the Arabs do not expect and Britain, by making it impossible for the Jews to migrate or to purchase land there certainly is making it impossible for the Jews to build their national home there.

In 1917 and in 1922 when the Mandate was given to Great Britain this was its implication, the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. We may be non-Zionists or anti-Zionists, that is not the point I am driving at at this moment. I am the international commitment made to the Jews and accepted in good faith and upon which commitment the Jews sent 100,000 men and \$225,000,000 into Palestine and which is now being dishonored. Even the non-Zionists and the anti-Zionists can see the injustice in the situation.

This Declaration was ~~XXXX~~ endorsed by the principle Allied Powers, when the treaty with Turkey was signed in 1920. By this treaty Turkey renounced its power over Palestine. This treaty called for an arrangement whereby Palestine



would be entrusted to a mandated government which shall carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration. It had previously been agreed that that mandate power shall be Great Britain. So that by the decision ~~of~~ at San Remo in 1920 and by the terms of the Mandate issued by the League of Nations in July 1922 Great Britain was entrusted with the Mandate over Palestine; the chief provision of which was that the Mandated Power shall carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

Again this is not my interpretation. This is the clear reading of the mandate. Thus I read from the Mandate for Palestine:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed that the Mandatory shall be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on Nov. 2d, 1917 by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might 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; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country;"

In other words, the recognition not merely of the fifty or sixty thousand who dwelled in Palestine had an interest in Palestine but that the whole Jewish people had a claim on it. They were warranted in Therefore the Mandate is given to Great Britain.

What must Great Britain do in Palestine in order to carry out the primary conditions of this Mandate? This is also specifically stated in the Mandate itself. I read 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 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 organization, 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 co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

In other words the Mandatory Government was to cooperate with the Jewish Agency.

Since that time, through the efforts of Mr. Louis Marshall, the enlarged Jewish agency which included Zionists and non-Zionists in the up-building of the country. Since that time the Colonial Office has ruled that the Jewish Agency, which was to be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine ' has no status whatsoever and can only offer suggestions from time to time.



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."

In other words, if other words are necessary to explain what is self-evident, the Mandatory Government undertook to build up the Jewish homeland in Palestine, to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, Not alone upon land which they themselves bought but upon state land and waste land not required for public purposes.

The Mandatory Government undertook furthermore to assist in this historic project of upbuilding a Jewish home land in Palestine. What has happened? How has the Mandatory Government carried out the purposes of the Declaration and the Mandate? The British have been in Palestine now for thirteen years. They have failed to carry out either the letter or spirit of both of these documents. The Colonial Office in London began very early to re-discount these documents, to re-interpret them out of their clear meaning, to ignore them, to administer as semi-civilized barbarians, as though this project of the up-building of a home land did not exist at all. Many of the Palestinian officials were hostile to the project. They did not understand why Great Britain should ~~XXXXX~~ bother about the up-building of Palestine as a Jewish home land. In Palestine many of their officials began to carry on sabotage, to place obstacles and restrictions upon the work, to magnify difficulties, to depreciate achievement. Many of them secretly fomented Again the realization of a Jewish home land



showed to the Arabs its indifference about the project and by yielding to the Arab whenever Arabs put pressure upon the

. The Arabs showed an eagerness to cooperate with the Jews in the up-building of a home land and it placed and it encouraged.

and tragedy of last August, I am sure would have been averted.

They practically scrapped the Balfour Declaration and the terms of the Mandate. They were to facilitate the achievement of establishing in Palestine a national home land for the Jewish people. They did nothing of the sort.

at the last session of the Mandate Commission of the League  
Dr. Shield  
of Nations when England was raked over the coals for the violation of the Declaration and the Mandate makes this statement:

and not only did they not facilitate Jewish immigration, they put stumbling blocks in the way of Jewish immigration and now as a result of the latest White Paper, Jewish immigration has been practically suspended. They had made a solemn declaration that they would encourage the settlement of Jews upon the land and give the Jews waste land to cultivate. They did not give the Jews one acre of land in Palestine. Every acre of land that the Jews own in Palestine has been bought and paid for and oftentimes very fancy prices were paid for it. The Government did give free land and state land to the Arab but in turn they later on sold part of it to the Jews. How the Palestine Government or the British Government intends to have the Jews build up their national home in Palestine without land and without



people remains one of the great mysteries of modern

In government works, the building of roads, government offices, the railroads, the constabulary of Palestine, Jews are represented far below their percent of the population. The Jews received only a very small contribution from the government for their health program. Only eleven percent of the health budget of the Jews in Palestine is contributed by the government. In most countries health, sanitation is a government enterprise. In Palestine the Jews spend more on the health institutions which by the way are open to Mohammedans, Christians and Jews alike, than the government of Palestine spends on the whole country. They spend more on the schools of Palestine than the Government does for the entire population of Palestine. The Jews have paid their way. The Government has not contributed a penny in the upbuilding of Palestine. It has contributed difficulties and obstacles and such as this latest White Paper.

"quote"

As to the dispossessed Arab, nothing more preposterous than that has ever been put into a document of a great nation.

Does not know the condition of the Arab before the Balfour Declaration so that an intelligent and scientific comparison can be made between the economic status of the Arab then and now and as far as dispossessing of the Arab from the land, as yet not a single Arab has been dispossessed in Palestine. Those who sold their land to the Jews were handsomely paid for it. And 80% of those who sold their land to the Jews have since re-established themselves on other land. It has been estimated that no more than a hundred Arab families have actually been shifted from agricultural to urban life, through the Jewish colonization policy and the displacement of this negligible number (who of course received adequate compensation for their land) went hand in hand with the



retirement, of course, was not compulsory.

From what you read in the papers you may get the impression that the Jews hold ninety-nine percent of all the land in Palestine. Preposterous! All that we have in Palestine today is eight percent of the available land of the country and we are fifteen percent of the population.

In 1920-21 the Palestinian Government enacted what is known as a Land Ordinance Act which aimed at protecting the Arab peasant against exploitation and the Arabs went to the Palestinian Government and begged them not to enforce the ordinance as it would work against the interests of the Arabs

Since the publication of the Simpson report, Arabs are rushing to sell land to the Jews before the restrictions went into effect. Much of the land which the Jews own, the eight percent of which I speak was desert land, swampts which had not known a plow in two thousand years. The Jews by their sweat and their blood have

A few years ago when I was in Palestine, I visited Nahalal. Nahalal was a fever stricken, plague-infected, malarial swamp from which Arabs fled, but young Jewish Chalutzim six or seven years ago went there, risked their lives, drained it, planted it and today Nahalal is a beauty spot in the whole of Galilee. In ten short years they made the land productive. Villages, towns, cities, shops, factories, new industries, banks, credit institutions, high schools, a university, were established. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed to give electricity to the country. When economic stimulation permeates a whole country, the entire population benefits from it. And one of the causes of the recent is just this; that the Jews has succeeded all too well.

The standard of living has been materially raised throughout the country and the exploited Felaheen, who up to the coming of the Zionists into



slaved for a few piastres a day, is beginning to profit from the higher standard of wages and living conditions which Jewish labor introduced into the country.

I wish I had more time to dwell at greater detail. I haven't. I must finish.

The present Labor Government has given the Movement its most severe blow yet. It has prohibited practically, it says for the time being, immigration "

They could readily accept them. It makes them for all intents and purposes masters of the country and that's the end of the idea for a Jewish national home.

However the situation is not as dark as we might be led to assume. The Labor party in England has not spoken the last word on the subject. The Labor party will not remain <sup>w</sup>power forever in England. The will of a historic people goes on forever. The League of Nations has not been heard from. In England, Baldwin, Lloyd George, Austin Chamberlain and others have dissociated themselves completely from this latest declaration of the Labor government.

The future belongs to those who have faith in the future. The future belongs to the Jews who went <sup>o</sup> to Palestine long before the Balfour Declaration. Long before 1880 they began to hope and pray for the restoration, at the time the Temple was destroyed nearly 1900 years ago. The Jews will

It would be a miracle if all the Jews did agree on any one thing.



There is in that people that inescapable will to rebuild its national life and home in Palestine.

Especially today so much of anti-semitism in the world and so many doors are shut against them, but they will continue their quiet work in Palestine. They have no quarrel with the Arab in Palestine. They are willing to live on friendly and equal terms with the Arabs. But they will insist that their national rights shall be respected because those are legitimate national aspirations which have since received international sanction and approval.

We are accustomed to being patient and so we are a people who are not demoralized by any sudden shift in the historic setting. We are an old patient, quiet people. We had our difficulties with the Persian Empire, the Greek Empire, the Roman Empire. We are now having our difficulties with the British Empire. We shall carry on!



**"THE GREAT BETRAYAL"**

**SERMON AT THE TEMPLE**

**BY**

**RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER**

**SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26TH, 1930**

*Sermon  
332*

On November 2d, 1917, just thirteen years ago next Sunday, Arthur J. Balfour, at that time the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain issued the following declaration to the Jewish people: "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."

Why was this declaration issued? It was issued because the British government wanted it and because the Jewish people wanted it.

The British Empire at that time, in 1917, was engaged in the great World War. It courted the favor of the Jews throughout the world, believing that the support of the Jews throughout the world, at that juncture was highly desirable for the Allied Cause.

Apart from this utilitarian consideration there were other factors in the decision of the British government who issued this declaration. It should be remembered that there has always been among the finest spirits of England a very strong sympathy for the Jewish cause and more particularly for the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish homeland. Ever since the days of Cromwell, back in the middle of the Seventeenth century there have been in England, leaders, statesmen, who have expressed keen interest in the project of Israel's restoration and there is a vast English literature in England on this subject.



Throughout the Nineteenth century there were voices heard in England calling for the restoration to Israel of Palestine. In the beginning of the Twentieth century, you will recall, England offered the Jewish people a strip of territory in British East Africa for such a project. The offer, however, was not accepted.

The Balfour Declaration was issued, too, because the Jewish people wanted it. This is not the time to expatiate on this point. It is a too well-known fact in Jewish history to repeat it at this time. I have spoken of it often in the past. The Jewish people, as a people, never surrendered the hope of rebuilding some day, its national life in Palestine. This continues to be the Messianic hope of the Jewish people and only a falsification of history or an ignorance of Jewish history can lead to any other conclusion.

The Jews began to settle in Palestine in 1880. Shortly after the pogroms in Russia in 1897 the Zionist Organization was established and the first Zionist World Congress was held in Basle, Switzerland, in August, 1897 at which time the program of Zionism was defined. Zionism aims at the establishment of a legally secured, publicly recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

The World War which was an opportunity for so many small nations to realize aspirations, nations like Poland  
It was also a great opportunity for the realization of Jewish national aspirations. The essence of the Balfour Declaration was the symbol of the realization of this historic hope for the Jewish people and it was trying to that campaign which began about two weeks before the Balfour Declaration was issued. In other words the magnificent gesture was made by Great Britain to the world Palestine was to be an act of historic vindication of Israel's right to Palestine.



Now what did this Declaration actually mean? It has been so much belabored in recent years, so many forced interpretations have been placed upon it, so much of whittling down, that we are in danger of losing sight of the clear meaning and import of this solemn declaration. What did it actually mean? What did it not mean?

First, the object of this Declaration was not to give Jews as individuals the right to enter Palestine to settle there, to buy land or to establish industries or business. That they did not require. That right the Jews had even in the days of the Turkish regime.

Furthermore, the object of this Declaration was not to insure the Jews who would settle in Palestine the right to build schools, or to use their own language, or to have their own local communal organizations. That did not require a Balfour Declaration. Such rights the Jews enjoyed at the time in many parts of the world. The object of this Declaration was not to insure for the Jews in Palestine what has come to be known since the War as a national minority, a recognition of the people as a distinctive racial group within another group. Such group minority rights the Jews have today in Poland, Lithuania, Russia and elsewhere. There was no need of a Balfour Declaration for that.

What was the object of the Declaration? Clearly the object was what is stated in simple clear terms in the Declaration itself: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine."

It meant the return of Palestine to the Jewish people so that they may reconstitute their national life there. It meant giving the Jews the same opportunities to do in Palestine what the Poles had done in Poland, the Irish in Ireland, the Czechs in Czechoslovakia,--to upbuild their national life, realizing that while Jews the world over are citizens of their respective countries and as such are recognized within the countries wherein they dwell.



As a people they have no national center of their own and the Balfour Declaration aimed to rectify that                      that Lakuna in Jewish life.

The Balfour Declaration, of course, recognized that the Jews were not in authority in Palestine and therefore the first objective was to facilitate the immigration of Jews into Palestine so that in an appreciable length of time

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In one spot of the world the Jew wanted to establish himself as a dominant majority, not the exploited majority, the dominant majority - numerically the strong group.

The Balfour Declaration did not promise the establishment of a national home in Palestine for the Arabs there. Not a word in the Declaration about it. Not a word in the <sup>Mandate</sup> ~~Mandate~~, as we shall see in a moment. Because those who framed the Declaration and the Mandate realized fully that the legitimate national aspirations of the Arab would be satisfied elsewhere, that the Arab people have three national homes. In Syria, Mesopotamia and the Hedjaz, national homes have been established where



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"So far as the Arabs are concerned--a great, an interesting, and an attractive race--I hope they will remember that while this assembly and all Jews that it represents through the world desire under the aegis of Great Britain to establish this home for the Jewish people, the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their brutal conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hejaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch--for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically--that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it--but surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers, which ought to appeal to the sympathy of the Arab people, as it, I am convinced, appeals to the great mass of my own Christian fellow-countrymen."

In other words, the Arabs who had been given an opportunity to build up their national life in Mesopotamia ought not to object to the Jews building up their life in that little notch of territory which has been given to them for that purpose.



The Declaration, of course, and rightly so, demands that the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities in Palestine shall not be prejudiced. In other words, all the religious and civil rights which they enjoyed at the time shall be theirs, and they have been theirs, and they have not been prejudiced. There is no mention of political rights, for they had none at that time and none had been promised them by the Declaration or the Mandate.

We have since spoken a great deal of Palestine as a bi-national state. A state where both Arabs and Jews shall have an opportunity to develop their national life. Switzerland is a bi-national state. But this concept of a bi-national state is a much later development--since the Declaration and the Mandate, induced by the exigencies of the situation and incidentally the Arabs do not expect and Britain, by making it impossible for the Jews to migrate or to purchase land there certainly is making it impossible for the Jews to build their national home there.

In 1917 and in 1922 when the Mandate was given to Great Britain this was its implication, the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. We may be non-Zionists or anti-Zionists, that is not the point I am driving at at this moment. I am the international commitment made to the Jews and accepted in good faith and upon which commitment the Jews sent 100,000 men and \$225,000,000 into Palestine and which is now being dishonored. Even the non-Zionists and the anti-Zionists can see the injustice in the situation.

This Declaration was endorsed by the principle Allied Powers, when the treaty with Turkey was signed in 1920. By this treaty Turkey renounced its power over Palestine. This treaty called for an arrangement whereby Palestine would be entrusted to a mandated government which shall carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration. It had previously been agreed that



that mandate power shall be Great Britain. So that by the decision at San Remo in 1920 and by the terms of the Mandate issued by the League of Nations in July 1922 Great Britain was entrusted with the Mandate over Palestine: the chief provision of which was that the Mandated Power shall carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration.

Again this is not my interpretation. This is the clear reading of the mandate. Thus I read from the Mandate for Palestine:

"Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed that the Mandatory shall be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on Nov. 2d, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might 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; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for re-constituting their national home in that country;"

In other words, the recognition not merely of the fifty or sixty thousand who dwelled in Palestine had an interest in Palestine but that the whole Jewish people had a claim on it. They were warranted in Therefore the Mandate is given to Great Britain.

What must Great Britain do in Palestine in order to carry out the primary conditions of this Mandate? This is also specifically stated in the Mandate itself. I read 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 4.

"An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating 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 Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all ~~the inhabitants of~~ ~~Palestine~~ Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

In other words the Mandatory Government was to cooperate with the Jewish Agency.

Since that time, through the efforts of Mr. Louis Marshall, the enlarged Jewish agency which included Zionists and non-Zionists<sup>2</sup> in the up-building of the country. Since that time the Colonial Office has ruled that the Jewish Agency, which was to be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine has no status whatsoever and can only offer suggestions from time to time.

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required for public purposes."

In other words, if other words are necessary to explain what is self-evident, the Mandatory Government undertook to build up the Jewish homeland in Palestine, to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, not alone upon land which they themselves bought but upon state land and waste land not required for public purposes.

The Mandatory Government undertook furthermore to assist in this historic project of upbuilding a Jewish home land in Palestine. What has happened? How has the Mandatory Government carried out the purposes of the Declaration and the Mandate? The British have been in Palestine now for thirteen years. They have failed to carry out either the letter or spirit of both of these documents. The Colonial Office in London began very early to re-discount these documents, to re-interpret them out of their clear meaning, to ignore them, to administer as WRHS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES semi-civilized barbarians, as though this project of the up-building of a home land did not exist at all. Many of the Palestinian officials were hostile to the project. They did not understand why Great Britain should bother about the up-building of Palestine as a Jewish home land. In Palestine many of their officials began to carry on sabotage, to place obstacles and restrictions upon the work, to magnify difficulties, to depreciate achievement. Many of them secretly fomented. Again the realization of a Jewish home land

showed to the Arabs its indifference about the project and by yielding to the Arab whenever Arabs put pressure upon the . The Arabs showed an eagerness to cooperate with the Jews in the up-building of a home land and it placed and it encouraged.



and tragedy of last August, I am sure, would have been averted.

They practically scrapped the Balfour Declaration and the terms of the Mandate. They were to facilitate the achievement of establishing in Palestine a national home land for the Jewish people. They did nothing of the sort.

Dr. Shield at the last session of the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations when England was raked over the coals for the violation of the Declaration and the Mandate makes this statement:

and not only did they not facilitate Jewish immigration, they put stumbling blocks in the way of Jewish immigration and now as a result of the latest White Paper, Jewish immigration has been practically suspended. They had made a solemn declaration that they would encourage the settlement of Jews upon the land and give the Jews waste land to cultivate. They did not give the Jews one acre of land in Palestine. Every acre of land that the Jews own in Palestine has been bought and paid for and oftentimes very fancy prices were paid for it. The Government did give free land and state land to the Arab but in turn they later on sold part of it to the Jews. How the Palestine Government or the British Government intends to have the Jews build up their ~~national~~ national home in Palestine without land and without people remains one of the great mysteries of modern



In government works, the building of roads, government offices, the railroads, the constabulary of Palestine, Jews are represented far below their percent of the population. The Jews receive only a very small contribution from the government for their health program. Only eleven percent of the health budget of the Jews in Palestine is contributed by the government. In most countries health, sanitation is a government enterprise. In Palestine the Jews spend more on the health institutions which by the way are open to Mohammedans, Christians and Jews alike, than the government of Palestine spends on the whole country. They spend more on the schools of Palestine than the Government does for the entire population of Palestine. The Jews have paid their way. The Government has not contributed a penny in the upbuilding of Palestine. It has contributed difficulties and obstacles and such as this latest White Paper.

"quote"

more preposterous than that has ever been put into a document of a great nation.

condition of the Arab before the Balfour Declaration so that an intelligent and scientific comparison can be made between the economic status of the Arab then and now and as far as dispossessing of the Arab from the land, as yet not a single Arab has been dispossessed in Palestine. Those who sold their land to the Jews were handsomely paid for it. And 80% of those who sold their land to the Jews have since re-established themselves on other land. It has been estimated that no more than a hundred Arab families have actually been shifted from agricultural to urban life, through the Jewish colonization policy and the displacement of this negligible number (who of course received adequate compensation for their land) went hand in hand with the

As to the dispossessed Arab, nothing

Does not know the



retirement, of course, was not compulsory.

From what you read in the papers you may get the impression that the Jews hold ninety-nine percent of all the land in Palestine. Preposterous! All that we have in Palestine today is eight percent of the available land of the country and we are fifteen percent of the population.

In 1920-21 the Palestinian Government enacted what is known as a Land Ordinance Act which aimed at protecting the Arab peasant against exploitation and the Arabs went to the Palestinian Government and begged them not to enforce the ordinance as it would work against the interests of the Arabs

Since the publication of the Simpson report, Arabs are rushing to sell land to the Jews before the restrictions went into effect. Much of the land which the Jews own, the eight percent of which I speak was desert land, swamps which had not known a plow in two thousand years. The Jews by their sweat and their blood have

A few years ago when I was in Palestine, I visited Nahalal. Nahalal was a fever stricken, plague-infected, malarial swamp from which Arabs fled, but young Jewish Chalutzim six or seven years ago went there, risked their lives, drained it, planted it and today Nahalal is a beauty spot in the whole of Galilee. In ten short years they made the land productive. Villages, towns, cities, shops, factories, new industries, banks, credit institutions, high schools, a university, were established. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed to give electricity to the country. When economic stimulation permeates a whole country, the entire population benefits from it. And one of the causes of the recent is just this; that the Jews have succeeded all too well.

The standard of living has been materially raised throughout the country and the exploited Felaheen, who up to the coming of the Zionists into



slaved for a few piastres a day, is beginning to profit from the higher standard of wages and living conditions which Jewish labor introduced into the country.

I wish I had more time to dwell at greater detail. I haven't. I must finish.

The present Labor Government has given the Movement its most severe blow yet. It has prohibited practically, it says for the time being, immigration "

They could readily accept them. It makes them for all intents and purposes masters of the country and that's the end of the idea for

a Jewish national home.

However the situation is not as dark as we might be led to assume. The labor party in England has not spoken the last word on the subject. The Labor party will not remain in power forever in England. The will of a historic people goes on forever. The League of Nations has not been heard from. In England, Baldwin, Lloyd George, Austin Chamberlain and others have disassociated themselves completely from this latest declaration of the Labor government.

The future belongs to those who have faith in the ~~future~~ future. The future belongs to the Jews who went to Palestine long before the Balfour Declaration. Long before 1880 they began to pray and hope for the restoration, at the time the Temple was destroyed nearly 1900 years ago. The Jews will

It would be a miracle if all the Jews did agree on any one thing.

There is in that people that inescapable will to rebuild its national life and home in Palestine.



Especially today so much of anti-semitism in the world and so many doors are shut against them, but they will continue their quiet work in Palestine. They have no quarrel with the Arabs in Palestine. They are willing to live on friendly and equal terms with the Arabs. But they will insist that their ~~basic~~ national rights shall be respected because those are legitimate national aspirations which have since received international sanction and approval.

We are accustomed to being patient and so we are a people who are not demoralized by any sudden shift in the historic setting. We are an old patient, quiet people. We had our difficulties with the Persian Empire, the Greek Empire, the Roman Empire. We are now having our difficulties with the British Empire. We shall carry on!





ABSTRACT OF THE ADDRESS

THE GREAT BETRAYAL  
BY

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
AT  
THE TEMPLE, OCT. 26th, 1930

Under the terms of the Mandate the British Government undertook to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and to encourage the close settlement by Jews on the land for the purpose of carrying out the primary objective of establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

This was to be done without prejudicing the civil and religious rights of any of the non-Jewish communities in that country. No one has brought a scintilla of proof to indicate that such civil and religious rights have been prejudiced by the new Jewish settlement in that country. They have been amply protected. But nothing has been done by the Mandatory Power to fulfill its obligations to establish a Jewish national home.

The government has not facilitated Jewish immigration. It has hindered it. By the terms of its latest White Paper it has practically suspended it.

The government has not encouraged the close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands. It has given the Jews not a single dunam of land. Nor has it extended any credits for purposes of colonization.

All that has been done in Palestine in the interest of Jewish immigration and colonization has been done by the Jewish Agency.

The Colonial Office, while repeatedly proclaiming its adherence to the project of upbuilding a Jewish national home has done absolutely nothing toward its realization and now by prohibiting immigration and purchase of land by Jews it has practically nullified it.



Its excuse has been that the incoming of Jews into Palestine has impoverished the Arab population and has made for the dispossession of Arab peasants.

The Jews today own only eight percent of the available land of Palestine whereas they are fifteen percent of the population. Not a single Arab has been evicted or dispossessed. The Jews paid handsomely for every dunam of land they required. Only ten percent of the land acquired by Jews came from small land-owning peasants. Most of them have since settled on other land. The rest was purchased from absentee landlords. Much of the land was re-claimed from swamps and the desert - land which had not known a plow in a thousand years.

With proper methods of scientific farming and irrigation and with the up-building of the industrial life of the country, both of which projects the Jews have been zealously pursuing in the last ten years, Palestine can hold a population thrice and four times its present size.

The Jews have brought prosperity to the country. They have modernized a backward, medieval province. They have established modern, model colonies, agricultural stations, banks, credit institutions, factories, schools, modern newspapers and many of the agencies of Twentieth Century civilization. They have harnessed the waters of the River Jordan and they are now supplying light and power to the country. They have begun to utilize the vast mineral resources of the Dead Sea and are enriching the industrial life of the country.

The Arabs have shared in this prosperity. Land values have increased, wages have risen, the condition of the poor, exploited Arab Felaheen has been improved. The whole of Palestine has felt the stimulation of the incoming of new Jewish settlers.

The present British Labor Government is fatuously sacrificing this great project of modernization and civilization in an effort to placate the Arabs upon whose co-religionists in India, England is counting for support in its war upon Indian self-government.



It is gratifying that the leaders of both the Liberal and Conservative parties in England, Lloyd George, Baldwin, Austin Chamberlain and others have dis-sociated themselves entirely from this latest declaration of the British Government. It is hoped that the sense of justice and fair play upon which the English people pride themselves will ultimately assert itself and will induce them to honor their international commitments which they had solemnly undertaken by the terms of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate.

The Jewish people has had its difficulties before with the Babylonian Empire, the Persian Empire, the Greek Empire and the Roman Empire. It now has its difficulties with the British Empire. It will undoubtedly surmount them, too, and outlive them.

