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World Zionist Congress, 1939.

It is clear that we cannot accept the Whitw Paper. Its proposals are contrary to law and unjustifiable on moral grounds. Nevertheless we must yield to an odious necessity just as other violated peoples have had to do in recent years, and for the time being.

We must continue our cooperation with the mandatory government so as to avert chaos in Palestine, and the demoralization of our work outside of Palestine.

We cannot fight the British government with violence even if we should wish to, unless driven to desperation. The English people are not their government in this blind act of betrayal.

Passive resistance will hurt no one as much as ourselves. We cannot afford it. We do not acknowledge the term "illegal" immigration as applied to Jews seeking refuge in the Jewish Homeland; nevertheless we do not deem it wise or helpful to encourage it, as long as so-called "legal" immigration is permitted, even though cruelly restricted. Incalculable suffering is inflicted upon the unfortunate refugees from Germany and Eastern Europe, who seek this avenue of unauthorized immigration. Nor is a proper selection of immigrants, who are best fitted for Palestine, possible under such a system.

The White Paper plans to set up after a term of years a Palestine State, in which the Jews shall constitute a permanent minority. We cannot accept such a status. It promises to safeguard the Jewish National Home within the framework of the new State. It does not even define the Nature or status of this Jewish National Home within this new political framework.

Nor the real character of the proposed new Palestine State. (lines crossed out in mss.) It should be the task of our Executive to proceed to offer its own proposals to the Government, to the League and to the Arabs. Perhaps the Federal form will prove the most acceptable.

At all events, we cannot stand still and in these early stages of our economic development in the country.

We must work in Palestine both with the British government and the Arabs, or with one or the other. Alone, we face disaster. The Arabs have shown no willing-



ness to work with us. There remains no other choice but to cooperate with the mandatory until such ~~XXXX~~ cooperation is rendered entirely impossible.

For the next five years we are permitted 75,000 new immigrants. There is, of course no sound basis in law or in economics for this arbitrary figure. Yet we must accept it. More should come in. More can come in and the world's highways are choked with Jewish refugees. It would have been a crowning achievement of the International Refugee Conference if it had made that possible. But British imperial interests have decreed otherwise. grievously in both instances. The League is no longer the final authority on the Palestine mandate, but the British Colonial Office.





## HOTEL CORNAVIN

Genève

TÉLÉPHONE: 2.80.30

aug 15, 1939 397-31

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Geneva  
Aug. 15, 1939

It is clear that we cannot accept the White Paper.  
I have come to the Zionist Congress to urge acquiescence in the White Paper. Its proposals are contrary to law and unjustifiable on moral grounds. Nevertheless we must yield to an obvious necessity just as other violated peoples have had to do in recent years, - and for the time being.

By accepting the White Paper de facto, and by continuing our cooperation with the mandatory government we will avert chaos in Palestine and the demoralization of our work in Palestine.

We cannot fight the British Government with violence even if we should wish to, and we do not wish to, unless driven to desperation. The English people are not with their government in this blind act of betrayal.

Passive resistance will hurt no one as much as ourselves. We cannot afford it





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the new state. It does not <sup>even</sup> define the nature or status of this Jewish National Home within this new political framework. It should be the ~~immediate~~ <sup>immediate</sup> task of the Executive to explore this vital matter further with the British Government and to obtain a clear-cut and unequivocal exposition of just how the Government intends to safeguard the Jewish National Home within a State which is two-thirds Arab.

<sup>we</sup> The real character of the proposed new Palestinian State is ~~also not indicated~~. It should be the task of our Executive to proceed to offer its own proposals to the Government, to the League and to the Arabs. Perhaps, the Federal form will prove the most acceptable. At all events, we cannot stand still and



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Jerusalem counselled full cooperation  
with the Babylonian government <sup>even though</sup> ~~which~~ had  
just completed the destruction of Jerusalem.  
The Jews took his advice. It was not long  
before they were able to return and  
rebuild Judea... Let us take a leaf  
from our own history.



p.8 39-31

# CONGREZION

BULLETIN OF THE 21<sup>TH</sup> ZIONIST CONGRESS, GENEVA  
ISSUED BY THE PALESTINE TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY „PALCOR“



BULLETIN NO.4.

August 21st, 1939.

FIFTH SESSION, FRIDAY MORNING, Aug.17.

THE CHAIRMAN, Mr. Ussischkin, asked the delegates to rise in honour of the memory of the late Chief Rabbi Kuk, the anniversary of whose death occurred that day.

DR. KLEINBAUM (General Zionists A) pointed out that the new policy was due to the international situation, and that the improvement of the Jewish position necessitated co-operation with Britain and the democracies. The economic blockade preached by Mr. Grossman might do more harm to the Jews than to the Government. The policy of the White Paper would be destroyed by the pressure of the refugees compelled to force their way into Palestine. It was impossible at present to co-operate with the Arabs, as there were no Arab leaders willing to co-operate. Therefore they must continue immigration, colonisation, and strengthening their own self-defence: in that way they would overthrow the White Paper. There must be co-operation with Britain despite the White Paper, and an effort made to come to an understanding with the Arabs. The opponents of Dr. Weizmann's policy had no definite alternative to offer. The Congress should condemn as treacherous any attempt at Jewish terror. All support given to territorial projects weakened the efforts necessary for upbuilding the National Home. Leading Zionists in England and Poland should not support schemes that were contrary to Zionist interests. There should be a reform in the Shekel system: the shekel should be procurable only by those who were genuine Zionists. There should be no abuses in Congress elections. All who took part in the Coalition Executive must cooperate loyally! He hoped that after the world crisis was over the Jewish position would be greatly improved both in Palestine and in the world at large.

MR. CHAZAN (Hashomer Hazair) said that it was necessary for them to adopt a statesmanlike view of the situation. It had been a mistake on their part in the past that they had not given the British public to understand that they would adhere to a maximum programme from the very beginning. The Executive's attitude to the White Paper had been correct. It had already achieved half a victory in the report of the Permanent Mandates Commission. There must be no retreat before the White Paper and no pessimism. Their most important problem was to fortify the faith of the masses in the ultimate victory of Zionism. They had had a White Paper before from a Labour Party leader. They should not carry on a fight against the Arabs but it was also a mistake at this moment to emphasise feelings of friendship for them. They should concentrate on strengthening the political work and the Yishuv and continue their constructive work in Palestine.



MR. SPRINZAK in the Chair.

DR. SCHWARZBART (General Zionists B) said it was a mistake to emphasise the desire to co-operate with the Arabs when they knew that such co-operation was at present impossible. They needed a united Yishuv of all parties, not a union limited to certain parties. They needed a united front in this time of war. They must also mobilise the Jewish people in support of their case, for there were many Zionists who were not Shekel payers. The majority in the movement must not embitter the minority: there must be a friendly understanding between all sections. Absolute unity was supremely necessary for the success of their movement.

MR. SCHRAGAI (Hapoel Hamizrachi) said that the Jews returned to Palestine in order to be Jews not Goyim, for it was because they were Goyim in the Diaspora that they went to Palestine. If they spoke of Isaiah and Amos as representing the Jewish mentality, then they should observe the principles and precepts of these Prophets. They should observe the laws of the Jewish religion in Palestine: they should honour the Sabbath which was now desecrated in various places. Referring to Dr. Weizmann's statement that it was possible to continue work in Palestine within the framework of the White Paper, the speaker said that it was impossible to develop their National Home in a territorial Ghetto. It was necessary to adopt an active policy to combat the White Paper: they must fight with all the resources at their disposal. The policy now indicated by Dr. Weizmann was in contradiction to the decisions adopted by the General Council with the assent of Dr. Weizmann, after the publication of the White Paper. They must reaffirm their determination to fight the White Paper in every possible way and open the gates for their people to enter Palestine.

The session closed at 1.30 p.m.

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SIXTH SESSIONFriday Afternoon - 2:45 - August 18th.MR. SPRINZAK in the Chair:

MR. I. GRUENBAUM (Executive) referring to the White Paper said that Zionist policy could not be held responsible for its publication, and that it was naive to think that it only needed strong words in order that the British Government should fulfill their demands. The question confronting them was whether they could have a million Jews in Palestine, and their tactics depended upon it. The Jews must be very careful in the methods they chose to adopt. Terrorism would not lead them anywhere, and although revolt could be used by a people in their own land, the Jews in Palestine were not yet sufficiently strong to follow similar methods and would therefore have to employ others. Their main objective was to bring Jews into Palestine. That must be the dominating factor in all their activity. The Jewish people must show that no power in the world could prevent Jewish immigration into Palestine, and only continued intensified immigration would destroy the White Paper. Neither civil disobedience nor non-co-operation were factors in their struggle against the White Paper. What they had to do was to extend and expand their practical work in every direction.

MR. EREM (Left Poale Zion) said that it must be clear to everybody that they needed a united National Front, and although there were serious economic difficulties in many settlements, yet there was little sign of national unity at the Congress. He compared the plight of the Jews in Palestine with the fate that had overtaken Czecho-Slovakia, although this country had wealth, a strong army, and an able Government. The fate of Czecho-Slovakia showed that other than physical and political forces counted in the world. What the Congress had to do was to ensure that the Jewish people should not be broken under the White Paper: it was not enough merely to fight it. They were exposed to greater danger from the activity of the Irgun Tsvai Leumi than from the White Paper policy. Whatever tactics they adopted against the White Paper should not be such as to prevent them from strengthening their position in Palestine. They must aim at maximum immigration into Palestine, and for this purpose they must bring proper influence to bear upon the Arabs, for they were not all under the control of their leaders.

RABBI SOLOMON GOLDMAN (Zionist Organisation of America) called attention to the fact that although they were mainly concerned with a political issue, many speakers diverged to other questions. At the last Congress, many delegates discussed their ultimate ideal, but at this Congress they discussed methods, and hence the difference of opinion. There were some who suggested that if the Jews physically resisted the Palestine Government and Jewish blood was shed, then the British would refrain from any repressive measures. They should have learned from the attitude of the civilised world after the Nazi pogroms when moral sympathy was not followed by practical help, what they had to expect. No salvation



could be expected from the exercise of force.

In the last struggle for Jewish independence, Jochanan ben Zakkai was regarded as a greater hero than Bar-Kochbah. True, Jews had fought, but the Jewish idea was opposed to militarism. Rabbi Berlin complained that the Jews in America had not given enough for Palestine, but he had often worked and spoken in America himself, and with what result? The reason for the unsatisfactory response was that the Jews in America were under the influence of the Golus. The Jews in Palestine could carry on terror, but could not ensure victory. The party-fight in Palestine had sunk to a low level, and yet those who took part in it preached unity at the Congress. Rabbi Goldman appealed particularly to the Labour Party, which had contributed seventy-five percent to the victims of the terror, to take the initiative in creating unity. The Arabs had achieved only a negative victory in obstructing the work of the Jews. If the Jews now interfered with the Arabs, the British would again say they were not responsible. The Jews must strengthen their every position in Palestine, in every way. Nothing could prevent the Jews from entering Palestine: the British decrees would not succeed any more than the decrees of Hadrian and all subsequent prohibitions. Justice Brandeis had sent a message that if Jews began to use destructive tactics, it would be a proof of Jewish weakness: the strength of the Mishuv must consist in constructive work.

REV. M.L. PERLZWEIG (General Zionists A) said that historic Zionism could not be destroyed by any political act. But there was a political Zionism, which the Zionist Organisation was founded to further, and which strived to secure for their historic right the sanction of public Law. The object of the Congress must be to recapture the sanction of public Law for the aims of their movement after the setback suffered through the White Paper. Analysing the political situation, Mr. Perlzweig said that the present political difficulties were due to the fact that forces which had long been hostile in official circles in England had secured the opportunity of a movement for the liquidation of the Versailles settlement. Those forces had been strengthened as a result of the racial philosophy which would have suffered a grave defeat by the establishment of a Jewish State. But the international balance of Powers was changing steadily and surely, and the balance was changing in favour of those forces which were sympathetic to the aims of the Zionist movement. The Mandates Commission had delivered a shattering blow at the policy adopted by the British Government. Its Report was an extremely important incident in the struggle against the White Paper. But for the international situation, the result of Parliament's vote on the White Paper might have been different. As the balance of Powers altered in the international field, so the Jewish possibility of influencing the course of events in England grew. They had to fight within Great Britain and not against it. In order to do that they had to come back to the realisation of the importance of the political struggle. Congress should give consideration not only to the principle of the methods of the struggle



but also to the question of strengthening their political machinery in London. They could achieve their aim by appealing to moral values, to the conscience of the world, and to justice that still existed in the world.

MR. F. BERNSTEIN (General Zionists B) said that not the Zionist policy was to be blamed for the White Paper, but it was owing to the activity of a Hitler and a Mussolini that England was forced to sell the Zionists to the Arabs. That was not the time for discussing whether Zionist policy had been good or otherwise. In his opinion the Executive had acted throughout all these years in a logical, suitable and proper manner. There had been a tendency for some time past on the part of British policy, and particularly on the part of its administration in Palestine, to bring an end to Zionist work in Palestine.. He could not accept Ben Gurion's idyll in description of the relations that had existed between themselves and the Palestine administration. It was true that the English people were entirely different from themselves, but it was a fact that the Administration, from the very outset, had aimed at the crystallisation of the Yishuv. He thought that the Executive were aware of this, but it seemed that that was not the case. The Executive had accepted the Government's restrictions and declarations, and yet they had said that they were bringing Jews into Palestine and were building. That policy had now led to the results which they had feared for some time. He thought that the Executive could not evade full responsibility for the present state of affairs.

Session closed at 5:15 p.m.

#### SEVENTH SESSION

Saturday night - August 20th, 1939.

Mr. Ussishkin in the Chair.

DR. JACOBY (Germany) brought a message from the Jews in Germany, declaring their solidarity with all delegates at the Congress. They expressed their thanks to the Halutz movement which had done so much for the development of Palestine and came to Congress without any party affiliations, to represent the Jews of Germany who were waiting for their certificates for Palestine. He reminded the Congress that they expected practical help, as there were still so large a number of Jews in Germany anxiously awaiting the opportunity of taking part in the work in Palestine. The Jews in Germany who had provided 80,000 Tnekolim<sup>9</sup> reaffirmed their profound faith in the future of Eretz-Israel and hoped that the Congress would have successful results.

MR. B. LOCKER (Labour) recalled that Herzl wrote that his solution of the Jewish problem was also intended to be a contribution to the solution of a great social question. His party wanted the social equality of all persons, and the equal civil rights of all Jews in Palestine. There could be real unity only on the basis of real equality. Turning to the political issue, he asked what would have happened if as some delegates had demanded, Palestine had at once been made an independent Jewish State. Mr. Grossman, the former Revisionist, now reproached the Zionist leaders with believing in Great Britain, but his



former leader Jabotinsky used to say that Great Britain was the ideal Mandatory for Palestine. Even if they had followed the views of the Revisionists in the past, would that have prevented the course of events that began in 1933? There was no sense in any critic saying: "I told you so," for they could not have foreseen what had developed. As a result of the policy actually followed the last twenty years they had so strengthened ~~their~~ **number** and their position in Palestine that they were able now to fight against the White Paper. There was a time when the Jews in the Diaspora were strong, but that position had changed since the regime of Hitlerism, which had affected not only Jews in

Germany, but also in other countries. There was only one country in which the Jews ... really become stronger - that was Palestine. The Zionists had good friends among the Conservatives as well as among the Labour and Liberal parties, and they esteemed them all alike. A great section of Parliament had real sympathy with the Zionist cause, and only a small part were on the side of the Arabs. The small majority of the Government in the Palestine Debate showed how profound and extensive was British sympathy with Zionism. In England there was a strong sense of law, yet not a single English paper condemned the illegal immigration into Palestine. It was contradictory for the British Government to discuss with Colonial Beck the emigration of Jews from Poland, and yet ask Poland to prevent Jews from going to Palestine. The Colonial Secretary knew full well of the terrible oppression of the Jews, and could not expect the Zionists to help him keep Jews out of Palestine. Locker said that they would not allow themselves to be misled into a campaign of violence, but would oppose all those bent upon destroying their work in Palestine. The Colonial Secretary expected the Jews to show gratitude to Great Britain for their friendly treatment, but he was only a temporary representative of the British Government and did not represent the British people. He also asked for gratitude for the Balfour Declaration which he was trying to cancel. The White Paper was now discredited by the Mandates Commission, and if only the Yishuv would keep strong the White Paper would be destroyed.

DR. KIRSCHNER (South Africa, General Zionists A) said that the Congress must declare to the whole world that they did not accept the limitations imposed upon them with regard to their constructive work in Palestine. He had come on behalf of the Jews in South Africa to express their rejection of the White Paper. They would not accept a curtailment of their rights to rebuild the ancient land of their people. The Jews of this generation had no more right than the Jews of any previous generation to renounce the right of the Jews to Eretz-Israel. They should demand that the conflict between them and the Mandatory Power should be submitted to the International Court at the Hague. It was a question of honour for England, but a question of life to the Jewish people. He declared that the exclusion of Jewish immigration from Palestine was illegal. They were not responsible for the consequences of the Colonial Secretary's policy and actions. They stood by the statement issued by the Jewish Agency. The Jews could not be kept away from Palestine or from the soil upon which their youth had laboured so long and so fruitfully. They had a just cause and the Executive must fight for its acceptance. The main source of their strength consisted of the position of the Yishuv and its constructive achievements. He had been to Palestine many



times and had seen it in days of prosperity as well as in days of adversity. He had spoken to many people and was impressed by the feeling of unrest and uncertainty as regards the future. He found that there were too many plans, loosely conceived, and found that there was a lack of co-ordination between them. He urged that a central body be established, small in number but great in prestige which should decide what should be done day by day. It was the duty of the Congress to find out the faults in the structure of their Organisation and to improve it so that it should be adequate to deal with the difficult problems with which it had to cope. He urged that the price of the Shekolim should be reduced so as to bring it within the means of their poorest members. Their programme should be "all for country, none for party".

The President's appeal for unity should be heard by the Yishuv and by all of them, and if acted upon they would be able to increase their progress at a much greater rate than hitherto. They should not stand rigidly by their party formulas, as the times were too serious. Their work should be stimulated to such an extent that it would burst the bonds which had been placed upon them, but to achieve this they needed an intelligent understanding of their aims as well as zealous and generous sacrifice on the part of the whole people.

PROF. BRODETSKY (Executive) thought it would have been better if immediately after their President's address they had adopted a resolution rejecting the White Paper, instead of spending so much time on discussing theories. What was their attitude to the White Paper, and what methods should they adopt to combat it? They could reject the White Paper and yield, or they could revolt. They said to the Government that the White Paper would not be carried out: for thirty percent of the population and contributors of seventy percent of the inland revenue could make it impossible for the White Paper to be implemented. Those who had to fight against the White Paper in England had the right to demand that there should be a uniformity in the tactics adopted by those engaged on other sectors of their front. Not only the Zionists but all Jews in England were loyal in the fight against the White Paper. The British Zionists had shown what they could do. What was necessary was that the Yishuv should grow ever stronger, and everything should be done to win over public opinion in England. The decision of the Mandates Commission had shown that much could be achieved by argument. What was now necessary was to bring about a reversal of the new policy. It was absurd for the Colonial Secretary to expect the Zionist leaders to prevent Jews from Germany or other countries fleeing to Palestine. The British soldiers would not shoot at any Jewish refugees trying to get into Palestine: they had shown true kindness to the refugees.

Their British friends and the Jewish world at large expected that the Congress would send out a powerful call to fight against the White Paper. The mobilisation of the Jewish people was a necessary factor in the political fight. It was time to realise that the Jews in English-speaking countries were just



as good Zionists as the Jews in other countries. A great attempt must be made to enlist the youth, also, during the next two years. There must be a large political apparatus in London in order to influence the public. American Jewry should form part of the body that gave instructions and not merely received them. They should have political centres in New York and Washington as well as in London and Jerusalem. As regards non-cooperation, they must be careful not to adopt measures that might do more harm to themselves than to the Government. The Yishuv must be disciplined, and there should be closer contact between the Executive and the Yishuv. The fight was with the British Government and not with the British people. They wanted peace but based only upon the right of immigration and the right of not being reduced to a minority. They stood for the principle of non-domination by Arabs of Jews or by Jews of Arabs and they desired real fraternal co-operation between the two peoples.

RABBI BROD (Mizrachi) spoke strongly against any feeling of defeatism. The Executive had had time since last May, when the White Paper appeared, to discuss and decide what they meant by non-co-operation. The Executive had not yet shown whether they knew what they wanted: they had not yet found a common platform for their political activity. The Mizrachi would not make any reckoning about the past, but the great mistake was that they could not rise to the level now required. The Executive should give a clear programme to show in what direction they should go. Rabbi Brod criticised the lack of observance of religious law in various quarters in Palestine.

#### J. Sprinzak in the Chair

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER (General Zionists A) said that although Dr. Weizmann was criticised, he was not blamed entirely by the delegates for the present impasse. Not only the Jews, but all humanity was suffering, though the Jews had to drink the cup of bitterness to the very dregs. Czechoslovakia, a powerful nation, had lost more overnight than the Jews had lost through the White Paper. Dr. Weizmann might have been too yielding and trusting, but that was not the cause of the White Paper. Dr. Weizmann did not stand before them as a discredited leader, but was nearer to them to-day in the seeming hour of defeat than at any time in the past. Mr. Macdonald stood branded by the Mandates Commission as a breaker of covenants. The judgment of the Mandates Commission was a vindication of the position maintained by their leaders. The British Government would not dare to come before the Council of the League to ask for endorsement of the White Paper. It would not cling to a policy that many British statesmen rejected. New proposals were bound to arise before long. They had not yet come to a final hour of decision, and therefore nothing should be done to bring them into conflict with the Mandatory Power. They should not yield to emotion or passion. The White Paper was a temporary document only: while they should oppose it with all energy, there were good prospects of its being nullified, and therefore no extremist measures should be adopted. Whatever anti-Government acts were undertaken would be counteracted by the Government. It was dangerous to act as though they were the State, when they were not: they would be exposed to disaster. Preparations should be made now for the day when action should be taken. But in their desperation they should not put weapons into the hands of their enemies. They should not make a strategic blunder. Palestine had passed through



three years of terror which had damaged its economic conditions: should the Jews now continue the same tactics? They could not give their youth any greater vision than that which they had always had in the past. He approved of the programme announced by Dr. Weizmann - resistance to the White Paper, and until the White Paper was overthrown they should work to secure as much immigration as possible. He concluded by appealing for greater unity in the Yishuv, for that would be a stimulus to the Galuth. The hour called for the spiritual militancy of their people to assert itself.

THE SESSION WAS CLOSED AT 12:00 midnight.

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THE EIGHTH SESSION.

The eighth session was held on Sunday morning, August 20th, with Mr. Ussishkin in the Chair. Mr. Gronemann, Chairman of the Congress Court, reported that the elections in Poland had been approved and that one mandate each from the World Electoral List had been assigned to Labour, Left Poale Zion, and the State Party. The Court had also unanimously decided to approve the elections in Palestine. Dr. Silberschein gave a detailed report of the Court's findings on the elections in Palestine and stated that the number of mandates assigned to the ~~country~~ had been increased by one, so that there was now a total of 134. After Dr. Silberschein had delivered his report, there was some disorder before Mr. Beryl Katznelson was allowed to speak. ~~or~~ ~~at~~ ~~the~~ members of the Mizrachi, General Zionists B, and the State Party, demanded an immediate adjournment. After some time, it was agreed that the adjournment ~~should~~ take place after Mr. Katznelson had spoken, and he was allowed to deliver his speech which was concluded at 1:00 p.m.

The next session which was to have begun at 3:30 p.m. was later ~~postponed~~ until 7:30 p.m. A report of Sunday's proceedings will appear in the next issue.

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NEWS FROM PALESTINEPalcor Cables.Jerusalem,  
August 16th, 1939.MEASURES AGAINST ILLEGAL IMMIGRANTS.

An order under the Emergency Regulations will be published in to-morrow's issue of the "Palestine Gazette", which provides that any illegal immigrant who is at present in the country can be brought to trial before the Chief Magistrate, who can summarily direct his detention during the pleasure of the High Commissioner. The High Commissioner may also issue directions concerning the custody of such persons.

THE SUSPENSION OF THE DAVAR.

It is now stated that the "Davar" was suspended by the authorities on account of a leading article in last Sunday's issue in which criticism was directed against the treatment of the refugees who arrived in small boats at Haifa and were transferred on the Sabbath to Sarafand concentration camp. The article contrasted the humanitarian attitude of the British policemen who witnessed the arrival of the refugees, with the political motive of the Government, which aims at deterring other refugees from entering the country. The article finally appealed to the Government, which aims at deterring other refugees from entering the country. The article finally appealed to the Government to cease its maltreatment of the refugees, which would not deter people who have no other choice.

No Jewish papers have been suspended for nearly a year, with the exception of the "Hamashkif" which was suspended recently. A characteristic feature of the suspension of the "Davar" was the fact that the article in question appeared on Sunday, and the closure of the paper was ordered from Thursday. This date coincides with the first day of the Zionist Congress, and will therefore deprive a large section of the Yishuv of reports of the Congress. This action is resented by the public.

ARAB VICTIMS OF AMBUSH ATTACK

An Arab was killed and two were wounded when the car in which they were travelling was ambushed near Jenin to-day. The victims belonged to the anti-terrorist organisation known as the "Vigilantes".

CURFEW FOR ARAB QUARTERS  
IN JERUSALEM

Longer curfew was imposed on the Arab sections of the Old City of Jerusalem from to-night as a result of the murder by Arabs yesterday of Fahmi Sufan, a former secretary of the terrorist leader, Abdul Razzak. Sufan had recently been an agent of the police.

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Palcor Cables

Jerusalem.  
August 17th, 1939.

SERIOUS AMENDMENT OF NATIONALITY LAW.

Amendments to the Nationality Law are expected to be issued shortly, to be retrospective from the 25th July, 1939. According to these amendments, Palestinian citizens who marry either in Palestine or abroad, a woman who does not possess the right of permanent residence in Palestine, must apply for a dependant's certificate, as marriage will not give the woman right of residence in the country.

THE HULEH RECLAMATION SCHEME.

It is officially stated that the Colonial Secretary is asking Parliament to vote £ 235,000 towards the cost of the Huleh reclamation scheme. The present concessionaires, the Palestine Land Development Company, have agreed to reserve 15,700 dunams for Arab cultivators. The Government intends to provide irrigation works for 50,000 dunams outside the concession area and in addition to the whole concession area. The total area to benefit will amount to 116,000 dunams. It is estimated that the entire cost of the reclamation scheme will be £ 933,000, excluding the price paid for the concession by the P.L.D.C.

The Government will contribute the amount of £ 235,000, and the balance of £698,000 will be provided by Jewish bodies. The Government grant is intended for anti-malarial measures, for irrigation, and for the development of the Arab section of the concession area.

SEWERAGE IN HAIFA.

The Government has granted the sum of £ 65,000 for sewerage works in Haifa.

ARMS SEARCH IN TEL-AVIV.

Searches for arms took place throughout Tel-Aviv last night, but they yielded no results. Two Jews were, however, detained.

August 18th, 1939.

JEWISH GUARDS INJURED BY LAND-MINE.

Two Jewish civilian guards were seriously wounded and three slightly injured when a tender in which they were travelling from Hulda crashed on a land-mine near an Arab village between Ekron and Rehovoth.

"HEGE" SUCCEEDS "DAVAR".

Following the suspension of the Hebrew daily "Davar", a new Hebrew daily "Hege" appeared yesterday.

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# CONGREZION

BULLETIN OF THE 21<sup>TH</sup> ZIONIST CONGRESS, GENEVA  
ISSUED BY THE PALESTINE TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY „PALCOR“



BULLETIN NO.5.

August 22nd 1939.

EIGHTH SESSION, SUNDAY MORNING, Aug. 21.

MR. M. USSISCHKIN in the Chair.

After greetings read by Mr. Israel Cohen and Dr. Herlitz, MR. S. GRONEMANN said that the Congress Court approved the elections held in Poland, and it allotted from the World List one mandate each to the Labour Party, the Left Poale Zion, and the Jewish State Party. The elections in Palestine had been most carefully examined, and the Court had come to its decision unanimously.

DR. SILBERSCHN, on behalf of the Congress Court, reported that the general accusation made about violence exercised at the elections in Palestine was unjustified, as there had only been one attack upon a polling booth and the guilty persons had been punished. In order to satisfy those Palestinians who had been unable to vote owing to the tense atmosphere in the country, the mandates for Palestine had been increased by one, so that there was now a total of 134. The Court condemned the Shekel irregularities that had taken place and the attempts by certain groups to falsify the elections and regretted the non-participation of the Mizrachi in the elections. A total of 10,000 had been annulled pro rata in all lists, the result being that Labour lost two, the Hapoel Hamizrachi four, the General Zionist Workers two, and the Union of General Zionists one while the Confederation of General Zionists had increased their mandates by two. The Hapoel Hamizrachi was reprimanded by the Court for its conduct in connection with the elections.

Upon Dr. Silberschein's concluding the reading of his report, the Chairman called upon Mr. Berl Katznelson, but the latter was unable to proceed owing to the disorder created by members of the Mizrachi, the General Zionists B and the State Party, who demanded the immediate suspension of the session. Mr. Ussischkin appealed to the interrupters to respect the dignity of the Congress, and after Dr. N. Goldmann had explained that the Congress would be unable to discuss the findings of the Congress Court until they had translations in the various languages, which had yet to be prepared, Rabbi M. Berlin agreed to withdraw the demand for the adjournment until after Mr. Katznelson had spoken.

MR. B. KATZNELSON was afraid that the Congress showed a tendency to accept the White Paper. The Balfour Declaration had been changed for an anti-Balfour Declaration. The White Paper had been given as the result of pressure by the Axis. They knew how the Balfour Declaration had been carried out and could understand how the anti-Balfour Declaration would be carried out. A severe blow had been struck at their work.



They now realised that the tempo of their work had been altogether too slow in view of the difficulties facing them. They should strengthen their economic position in every possible way, for they lived in difficult times. They once dreamt that they would establish Jewish peasants in Palestine, yet they saw how the peasants who had been bound to the soil of the Tyrol for centuries were uprooted by a sudden decree. He could not understand Grossman, who said that he was against terror and also against self-restraint. Their self-restraint consisted in the purity of their weapons, which should not be stained by innocent blood. He was prepared to pay for their fight, but this should be conducted in an honourable manner and their attitude had evoked the appreciation of the military authorities. They had not evacuated a single position in Palestine during the past three years, and had extended their front. They had created four new settlements in the extreme north and had built settlements in the south: altogether they had established 50 settlements during the year of terror. It was unworthy of certain critics to minimise all this. They must not follow the methods and political mentality of the Mufti. Not enough had been done to show up the connection of the Mufti's plotting with the Axis policy. Some young Jews were misled to indulge in terrorist methods which did the utmost injury to their position and their cause.

Mr. B. Katznelson criticised Rabbi Goldman who had contrasted Jochanan ben Zakkai with Judas Maccabaeus. Judas Maccabaeus and Bar-Kochba had been excluded from the Jewish Canon, but there was no justification at the present day to delete these heroes from their history. Zionist leaders should now speak with greater responsibility than before. Dr. Nahum Goldmann had said in his opening speech that they had never thought that the whole of the Jewish people would go to Palestine: there was no need for that statement. Rabbi Silver's speech was like a stone thrown at the refugees wandering on the seas: it was a stab in the back. Even the seas were merciful to the refugees: a little while ago a little boat with 12 German Jews arrived, which they had rowed themselves, as it had no motor. Some described the illegal immigrants as undesirable, but he (Katznelson) had often seen many of these immigrants at work on the day after their arrival. He hoped that the time would come when not only poems would be written about the fugitives on the sea, but prayers would be composed for their safety, which would be offered up in American Temples. If some young Jews from America would take part in the attempts of these fugitives they would appreciate their sufferings and tell their fellow-Jews in America of them. He was proud of the suspension of "Davar", which was due to his attitude on the question of illegal immigration. He had himself been a semi-illegal immigrant 30 years ago.

The centre of their political fight was on the seas - the struggle to get into Palestine. History had decided that the leaders of this movement should not be American Rabbis but obscure people. It was a question of saving Jews from Concentration Camps and from the effects of any war that might break out. The attitude of those who defended these refugees from the illegal policy of the Government was one showing moral courage. The cause was one that deserved the support of the whole Jewish people. The work that had to be done needed enormous funds and a sound organisation, and more efficacious methods must be adopted than hitherto.



Turning to the internal situation in the movement, Mr. Katsnelson criticised the methods of opposition adopted by certain parties to the Executive. After the publication of the White Paper there were many Jews in Palestine who showed greater hostility to the Executive than to the Colonial Secretary or the High Commissioner. There was a demand for the appointment of a Supreme Jewish Committee on the lines of the Higher Arab Committee, but that demand was turned down by those loyal to the Executive. He (the speaker) agreed that economic groups should have full opportunity of contributing more to the development of Palestine, and that the necessary reforms should be made in the matter of organisation and Shekel. The principle of unity was absolutely essential, but should not be exploited for petty purposes. Their unity should be based on real democratic principles, not on a dictatorship of Right or Left. They should unite all their forces to attain their common goal and they would triumph.

The session closed at 1 p.m.

#### NINTH SESSION, MONDAY MORNING - AUGUST 21st.

Mr. Kaplansky in the Chair.

RABBI BROD made a statement. (See page NO.7 ).

#### New Election Regulations.

MR. GROSSMAN (Jewish St. Party) submitted a proposal that the Congress should not accept the Report of the Congress Court and that the Organisation Commission should be instructed to prepare revised election regulations to be voted upon by the Congress within two days.

MR. USSISHKIN proposed on behalf of the Presidium that the Organisation Commission should be instructed to deal with the question of new regulations for elections and the Shekel for the next Congress, but that the Commission should not be required to come to a conclusion within two days. The Presidium agreed that the proposals of the Organisation Commission in regard to elections and Shekel regulations should be the first matter to be submitted to the Congress at the next session, and should thus have priority before the political or any other resolutions.

After some discussion, in the course of which an amendment was proposed that the proposals of the Organisation Commission should be submitted after the political resolutions, and was then withdrawn, Mr. Grossman agreed to the proposal of the Presidium.

The Chairman then formally submitted the proposal of the Presidium that the Organisation Commission be instructed to deal forthwith with the question of new regulations for the elections and Shekel for the next Congress and that the Commission's resolutions should be given priority at the next plenary session of the Congress. This proposal was unanimously adopted.



MR. MOSS MORRIS (South Africa) made a statement on behalf of the South African delegation to the effect that a decision given by the Congress Court must be accepted, otherwise the Congress would suffer in prestige. Those delegates who had come from remote parts of the world resented the fact that the proceedings of the Congress had been delayed by the refusal of certain sections of the delegates to accept the decision of the Congress Court.

#### GREETINGS FROM BOHEMIA-MORAVIA

DR. FRANZ KAHN made a statement on behalf of the eight delegates from the Protectorate of Bohemia-Moravia. He asked the Congress to accept their declaration of loyalty to the Zionist Organisation. In former times, before they had fallen under the present pressure, they had given notable personalities to the Yishuv, and their Halutzim had created a number of settlements in Palestine. They had a large reserve of youth who had been fired with zeal for Palestine long before the beginning of the present distress. They also had very large numbers of middle-class people engaged in business, industry, and farming, who bitterly regretted that they had not gone through a period of Zionist cultural preparation before now. They were all anxiously looking forward to the day when they could go to Palestine. They demanded the help of the Zionist Organisation for this purpose, as they did not wish to act in a planless manner. They were all well-disciplined and organised, and hoped that the Zionist movement would not deny them this practical help.

The statement of Dr. Kahn was received by the Congress with loud applause.

MR. E. KAPLAN (Treasurer of the Executive) replied to the interpellation why the Executive had not yet established a Control Office for their national institutions. He said that the Executive had done everything possible to carry out the decision respecting this office, but neither the Executive nor the General Council had yet been able to find the suitable personalities. He would give a detailed explanation in the Finance Commission.

MR. SUPRASKY read a statement on behalf of the General Zionists B to the effect that as they were dissatisfied with the decision of the Congress in regard to the judgment of the Congress Court on the elections in Palestine, they had decided to withdraw from the Congress and would not take any further part in its proceedings.

MR. LOCKER, on behalf of the Labour Party, repudiated all the accusations made by representatives of certain groups, which had been repudiated by the decision of the Congress Court. His party regretted that there were elements in the Congress who took advantage of the pressure of circumstances, to obtain privileges to which they were not entitled and who were wasting the time of the Congress on petty matters. All serious proposals that would be submitted to the Organisation Commission would receive serious consideration.

The Chairman said that they had originally intended devoting another four hours to the General Debate and to give an extra quarter of an hour to the representatives of certain small bodies, but as they had lost a whole day yesterday, the Presidium had decided that the Debate could not be prolonged and must now be brought to a close with the reply by a member of the Executive. He was willing to allow one delegate to speak for and one delegate to speak against the prolongation of the debate.

MR. FELIX ROSENBLUTH (Tel-Aviv) opposed the closing of the debate and urged that at least two more speakers should be allowed. Mr. K. Blumenfeld and a representative of the American Hadassah, RABBI S. GOLDMAN (Chicago) supported the proposal for the closure.



and hoped that at future Congresses the General Debate would be greatly shortened. The Chairman then submitted the proposal for the closure of the debate, which was adopted by a great majority.

#### REPLY BY THE EXECUTIVE.

MR. M. SHERTOK said that the statement made by Dr. F. Kahn was the most moving at the Congress they had heard until now. It had made them realise the whole tragedy of the Zionist movement and of the Jews of the world. In the discussion an antithesis was made between a political fight and constructive work: but both were necessary. Their aim was to become a great power in Palestine, and to increase constantly. They must not forget the horizon before them - they must advance constantly. It was not enough to talk about constructive work, they must also carry on political work. He hoped that those who emphasised constructive work were not afraid of political work. They must have much larger resources than they had at present. All private capital that came into Palestine was more sensitive than national capital, as it was afraid of what might happen, if the Jews were reduced to a minority. The funds raised by the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth were therefore all the more important. Proposals had been made for a committee to be supreme over the Executive in Palestine, yet all responsibility was attached to the Executive, who were expected to provide means for all objects. This question would doubtless be discussed in the Commissions. In the last two years they had bought land in Palestine, and in the last year the Keren Kayemeth had bought a larger plot than in any previous year. This entailed big efforts on the part of the K.K. They were determined to go on buying land, and it would be more difficult in face of the Government's new policy. They had acquired land in Beisan, and hoped to begin reclamation and colonisation within the next two years in another district. They were proud of the 50 new settlements created in the last three years, but no settlements had any value only as strategic points: they must be centres of agricultural activity while being defended by Jewish weapons.

In the last two years they had built up a territorial force comprising 20,000 men! together with those protecting public works they had a total of 22,000 entitled to bear arms. This nucleus must be developed so as to discharge the duties the duties imposed upon it. They had now acquired new new points on the coast of Palestine, e.g., for the first time they had a beginning of Jewish fishery. There were settlements of Jewish fishermen also on the inland waters! Altogether there were 80 persons engaged in fishing, providing 5 per cent. of the fish production of the country, and only 2½ per cent. of the requirements of the country. But means were needed for the development of this activity. The Tel Aviv port so far only covered half of the area of the Jaffa port: to enlarge it money was needed. They had excellent men also in aviation, and further development needed money. The strengthening of all these positions was necessary from the strategic and political points of view.

They were fighting for their independence. They were exposed to a far greater danger than Czecho-Slovakia. The Czechs existed on their own soil and with their own language: they were robbed of their political independence. But the Jews still lacked the foundations of their national independence. They would not relinquish their moral demands. There were currents of anxiety among certain circles, who doubted whether they were going along the right road. The Arabs had carried on terror and achieved political victory, and the Zionists were told to do the same. If the goal of the Jews were the same as that of the Arabs, they should follow the same policy. But the Jews wanted to change the system in Palestine and therefore must adopt other methods. The concessions made to the Arabs was due to



their exercising pressure. They must appeal to the world as a Yishuv rooted to the soil that would not give way to terror. Their task was to bring more Jews into Palestine. Should they follow along the road of the Arabs, or base themselves upon their historic and moral rights. They should adopt only just methods. A British Parliamentarian had said, in reference to the question of Palestine immigration, that above the law of a Government were the laws of humanity. The Government had said it would follow along the lines suggested in the Woodhead Report, - that in those districts where Jews had already acquired much land they would not be allowed to buy any more. The land had not been taken away from the Arabs, and the prohibition was due solely to political motives.

They knew that all parties had rejected the idea of terrorism, but it was necessary to reaffirm their opposition. They must have a military ethic, but what had happened the last two months was militarily disgraceful. To take reprisals for the murder of a Jew upon an innocent person was not self-restraint. The Executive had distributed an Arabic brochure from N. Africa to the Persian Gulf, saying that a society should be judged not according to acts of terror committed by individuals, but according to the attitude of the society. The Arab community did not protest against terror, but the Jewish community did. They should not indulge in blind revenge upon innocent persons. They should show that the new policy was unjust and impracticable. In England there were influential circles and news-papers that said that the White Paper was not acceptable because they felt that it was unjust and impracticable. Both Englishmen and Arabs had a profound doubt whether the new policy would be carried out, as they knew that the Jews would do their utmost to prevent it. It was a matter of life to the Jews, but not to the British Government or the nonexistent Arab States. Every measure adopted by the British Government against them would also be exposed to the criticism of public opinion. The Parliamentary debate showed there was a belief that the White Paper was both unjust and impracticable.

Referring to Rabbi Silver, Mr. Shertok said it was not enough for the Jew to say: "I remain a Jew, no matter what happens!" He recalled a difference of opinion that he once had with Arlosoroff in regard to an impasse: it was not enough to stand before an iron wall, they must try to break through it. Zionism was Jewish activism - a movement to break through the iron wall and to acquire independence. It was not easy to be loyal to Britain and to fight against the White Paper, but they must find a synthesis on a Zionist basis. He agreed that the political office in London should be strengthened, and their political centre in America should also be strengthened. The Zionist leaders in America had rendered valuable services in the period between the St. James's Palace Conference and the publication of the White Paper. It was not enough merely to consolidate their work in Palestine.

Mr. Shertok welcomed the return of the Left Poale Zion to the Organisation! They could not sit back and wait for a change in the world order which would result to their benefit. The Jews could not refrain from fighting in their cause, and they must act in such a way as to convince everybody that they were fighting for their life. An enlightened Englishman



had said a couple of years ago that he did not believe that the Jews would succeed in building a State, as there would be civil war between them in a time of national emergency. They could be proud of the heroic defence made by the Jews in the second century for their independence, and of the bravery displayed by the Jews in the times of the Inquisition and later persecutions. The same spirit now animated their Haganah and should also animate all their ranks. Every effort must be made by them in brotherly co-operation to ensure the success of their fight for the future.

THE CHAIRMAN announced that the general debate was now concluded. All the Commissions, as previously enumerated, would begin their sittings at half-past-four in the afternoon and would be expected to finish their work by Wednesday evening, so that their resolutions could be submitted to the next plenary session of the Congress on Thursday morning.

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#### RABBI BROD'S STATEMENT.

After the opening of Monday morning's session Rabbi Brod read a statement on behalf of the Mizrach Party, in which he expressed dissatisfaction with the judgment of the Congress Court respecting the elections in Palestine and regretted that it was impossible for the Congress to discuss that judgment owing to the Constitution of the Zionist Organisation. He accordingly announced that (a) the Mizraci did not accept the two mandates assigned to them by the Congress Court, (b) they did not accept the reprimand administered to the Mizrachi in Palestine on account of their non-participation in the elections, as they considered it better to refrain, (c) they declared that the composition of the Congress did not reflect the true relative strength of the various parties in the Organisation, and (d) the Mizrachi would submit proposals for the re-organisation of the Congress Court and also for regulations that would prevent abuses in future.

The session closed at 2 p.m.

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