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Advance on all fronts, 1943.

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NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE
Bellevue-Stratford Hotel
Philadelphia, May 1, 1943

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

During the past year the Yishuv in Palestine made substantial progress, but our movement received some serious setbacks. A considerable number of Jews entered the country in spite of the difficulties of travel caused by the war. The demands of the war stimulated the economic life of the country. Many new industries producing war essentials were established. The production of foodstuffs greatly increased and has proved of vital help to the military forces in and near Palestine. Labor has been in great demand, and unemployment has been reduced to a minimum. The Yishuv is mobilized as one man to help win the war. Thousands of young Palestinian Jews are fighting with the Allied forces in Africa, and thousands more are in various auxiliary military services. There was no slackening of effort in the work of upbuilding in the country. New colonies were established, and older ones were expanded. More land was acquired. All along the line in the fields of industry, manufacture and labor, in education, health and social services, the Yishuv made and is continuing to make commendable progress. When not interfered with, the Jews of Palestine can be counted on to exercise initiative and to make maximum exertions and maximum sacrifices.

But politically our movement has not fared so well, and, because of it, the entire future of the Jewish homeland is in jeopardy. The hostile attitude of the Mandatory government toward our legitimate national aspirations in Palestine -- the attitude which found its most shocking expression in the White Paper of 1939 -- has not changed one iota. The effort to liquidate the Jewish national idea, which was the motivating force behind the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to reduce the Jewish population of Palestine to the status of a permanent minority with restricted rights, is continuing unabated. Only recently has the notorious White Paper been reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government.

The attitude of our own government has undergone a marked change within the year. With the landing of our troops in North Africa, a policy of political expediency was adopted by our government, which has been defended on the ground of military necessity. Among the first victims of this policy of expediency were the Jews of North Africa and the traditional friendly attitude of our government toward the Jewish homeland in Palestine. The infamous Vichy laws against the Jews were to be retained in North Africa, under the protection of the American flag, in order not to antagonize the Arabs. It was only the relentless pressure of an outraged public opinion which compelled our State Department finally and reluctantly to persuade Giraud to abrogate these laws - and, surprisingly enough, their abrogation did not bring the heavens tumbling down upon our American troops, and did not incite any Arab disturbances, such as our State Department had been led to expect. Our government was simply taken in by a notorious piece of propaganda, skillfully placed by anti-Semites and Fascists, to the effect that nothing must be done to assist Jews either by way of restoring rights of which they had been robbed, or by way of fulfilling solemn international obligations, undertaken on their behalf, lest, forsooth, the Arabs be aroused. The defense by our State Department of the illegal and morally unjustifiable abrogation of the Cremieux laws, which took away French citizenship from the Jews of Algeria, is also part and parcel of this same complex, and it is, of course, utterly un-American and utterly at variance with everything for which this war is being waged.

It is not convincing and, we are afraid, dangerously self-deluding to maintain that what is now being done in sharp and bewildering contrast to the announced objectives of this war will all be set right as soon as the war is won, and that there is nothing to worry about. The thing, unfortunately, is not as simple as all that. When we make allies of Fascist elements, we not only become their debtors to whom we will have to discharge after the war

obligations which we are now incurring, but, because of our political, economic and military alliance with them, we help to entrench them in power and to keep them in all the strategic positions which will be decisive for the political reconstruction which is to follow the war. We also unwittingly discourage all the free forces of the world, who are hoping not only for a victory over Nazi arms, but for a victory over everything that this infamous revolutionary reaction, called Nazism and Fascism, stands for. The American armies should move forward as armies of liberation, but when, on entering a country under the iron heel of a Fascist regime, their generals with the approval of their government proceed, on the plea of expediency or of saving lives, to make deals with these Fascist foes of all human liberties, and tacitly to sanction the retention of their controls and, above all, the retention of that which is most symptomatic of Fascism - anti-Semitic laws - then our armies can no longer be regarded as armies of human liberation, and the war is in danger of becoming just another war between rival combinations of powers fighting for supremacy.

Ever since the first World War our government has manifested friendship towards our national aspirations in Palestine. Every president who occupied the office between the two wars has enthusiastically endorsed the Jewish homeland. The Congress of the United States passed a unanimous resolution expressing its fullest sympathy with the purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate which embodied it. At the last annual Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, held in January of 1942, we received most warm messages from many government officials and members of the Cabinet. But within the last few months, as if by concerted action, there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish homeland. The whole subject has suddenly become taboo in Washington. A prominent member of the Cabinet, who on previous occasions spoke most eloquently and understand-

ingly of Zionism, recently addressed two important Zionist meetings, and on both occasions completely ignored -- and not by accident -- the purpose for which the meetings were held and for which he had been incited. An eminent American, very close to the government, who last year sent us a most heartening message, writes to us this year expressing his horror at the cruelties and inhumanities which have been visited upon our people and his hope that the forces responsible for this savagery will soon be punished; but is quick to add: "In our efforts and our thoughts concerning these important matters, we are unable to support even by implication any solution which might tend to compromise the security of our armed forces or to involve us in controversial political questions" - as if anything involved in this war and anything which preceded or is likely to follow this war has not been, is not, or will not be a "controversial political question"!! The President of the United States on other occasions spoke of Palestine with fine sympathy and encouragement:

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

But in 1943 the President of the United States sends an official greeting to the United Jewish Appeal which quite pointedly - and not by accident - omits any mention whatever of Palestine, although the United Palestine Appeal is a principal beneficiary of this fund and is not, as the President knows, a purely refugee serving agency.

Unfortunately this seems to have become the established "line" of our government with reference to Palestine at least for the duration, and who knows for how long thereafter. Government officials, who have been persuaded that silence

and the complete avoidance of the entire subject is the proper line to follow during the war, may be easily persuaded that is also the proper line to follow after the war, at the Peace Conference. The inclination to be persuaded is unfortunately there; and men to do the persuading both here and abroad will certainly not be wanting.

Our former friends in government circles now content themselves with sending us prolific expressions of sympathy on Jewish persecution. When pressed to do something about it, to help save a race from annihilation, they regretfully remind us how difficult it is to do anything for these poor unfortunate people under present war conditions. They counsel us to have patience. The suggestion is even made that anything which may be done for these unfortunate Jews now might in some way postpone the day of their ~~ultimate~~ ultimate liberation. That they may all be dead when the ultimate day of liberation arrives does not seem to arouse these friends of ours to any extraordinary emergency acts of rescue and deliverance. These are men of many words and few deeds, whose compassion never goes beyond political expediency. When hounded and challenged by public opinion, which has not become utterly calloused, they detour the world's clamour into some inter-governmental refugee conference. When that problem reached alarming proportions before the war, the Evian Conference was convoked. It accomplished nothing beyond offering a way out for governments who never really intended to do anything significant, anything commensurate with the scope of the appalling tragedy. And now we have been treated to another such conference at Bermuda. The Conference was shunted off to an inaccessible corner so that the world would not be able to listen in. Its final decisions are still unrevealed, but from the tone of the opening statements of its chief spokesmen, and from the official announcement that the Conference was intended to be purely informal and exploratory - mind you - for ten years now the world's highways have been choked with helpless refugees, and this Conference first starts to "explore" the refugee problem - we are afraid that

there is another banal futility in the making.

Prior to the Conference, the British Government announced that the resources of Great Britain are already strained to the utmost and that it could therefore not be counted on to admit any more refugees. Our own government expressed the hope that the refugees would be taken care of in countries adjacent to their places of origin; this is to say, in Europe. As far as Palestine is concerned, the British Government seized the opportunity to state categorically that it stands back of the White Paper and that, beyond the thirty odd thousand visas still available under its terms, no more Jews will be admitted into the country. Mr. Churchill, who denounced the White Paper, when it was first promulgated in 1939, now rises to its defense and proclaims it to be the fixed British policy. Our own government remains silent.

These are the cold, unadorned facts. There are other discouraging facts. Throughout the last year we carried on a vigorous campaign for a Jewish Army of Palestinian and stateless Jews based on Palestine. In fact we carried on two campaigns - one a slow, rather lumbering and intermittent one by the official Zionist bodies, and another, a dramatic and streamlined one, with all the accompanying fanfare and glamour of publicity and imposing names under the auspices of the Committee for a Jewish Army. Both campaigns failed! The Jews of Palestine have been denied the right which is granted to every other people in the world to defend their national homeland while fighting under their own flag.

Clearly the friends upon whom we had hoped to lean have turned out to be broken reeds. The enemies of Israel do seek us out and single us out, but our friends would like to forget our existence as a people. Our fortunes were seldom so low.

At the second battle of the Marne, Marshall Foch is reported to have issued an order of the day to his troops: "We have been beaten on the right; we have been shattered on our left; our center is broken. I have issued orders to advance on

all fronts". There are no other instructions which responsible Jewish leadership can issue to the Jewish people at this time.

One thing we must make clear to ourselves and to the world. We must not beguile ourselves or permit others to beguile us by empty words of sympathy, praise, or the denunciation of Hitler or Nazi persecutions. Everybody knows by now that Hitler is a bad man and that the massacre of two million Jews is horrible. If responsible government officials and men who possess political power and influence can bring us no greater balm or help at this time when a cataract of disaster has descended upon us, then we must respectfully advise them that we already have had enough of it. Such expressions of sympathy have turned stale and tasteless. The tragic problems of the Jewish people in the world today cannot be solved by chiefs of governments or prominent officials sending us Rosh Hashonah greetings!...

We shall have to continue our struggle for survival in the same way as we have had to do throughout the ages - with our own resources, however diminished, with our own unbroken will, our own unshaken confidence in our destiny and with the help of God. The sins which are being visited upon our helpless refugees - wittingly or unwittingly - will return to plague the world. This is the unfailing law of moral retribution. Corrupt and cursed indeed is a world that cannot give sanctuary to men fleeing from death! We are confident that the inescapable logic of events will in due time make Palestine a Jewish State. For a shorter or a longer time this may be halted or retarded, but the rebirth of Israel as a nation in its historic home is as sure to come to pass as God's word never returns empty until it has accomplished that for which it was sent.

The inescapable logic of events!! When all the doors of the world will be closed to our people, then the hand of destiny will force open the door of Palestine. And that hour is rapidly approaching. We are dealing here with a thing as elemental as a volcano. There will be masses of Jews after this war who will have to emigrate from Europe, and there will be no places for them to go to. It is idle to expect

to which to go

that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants after the war. Their own populations will be confronted with serious problems of unemployment and of reconstruction, and they will not tolerate humanitarian action at their expense. Surely no one in his right senses will at this time suggest new colonial adventures like Crimea, Biro-Bidjan or Santo-Domingo to meet the great immigration pressures after the war. It is too late in the day to indulge in what Sacher has so aptly called "ramblings in the irridescent nothingness of utopia". Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine, too, will have to be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the thirty odd thousand visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued, it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into that country. Thereafter it will be the Arabs of Palestine who will determine whether another single Jew will be permitted to enter that country. The Arabs of Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State, but to Jewish immigration as well. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program, the Arabs of Palestine might be induced to welcome Jews into that country are simply uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands -- Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia -- will welcome those Jews for whom the Christian lands can no longer find any haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created within the Moslem world, are beguiling themselves with wishful thinking. Things being what they are, it will either be Palestine or nothing at all.

If Jews are kept out of Palestine where we have an internationally established, recognized and unique status -- that of a people in its national home -- where we have invested our substance, our tears, our sweat and our blood, whose modern foundations we ourselves have laid and whose settlements, villages, towns and cities we ourselves have built; if Jews are to be prohibited from entering Palestine, what

hope or prospect is there that they will be welcomed elsewhere? And if they will be unable to go elsewhere and conditions in Europe will nevertheless irresistably force them to move, there will be created by the very stress of our necessity and our importunate needs a situation so dangerous and explosive as will endanger the stability of any scheme of reconstruction in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Statesmen should clearly understand this. If the problem of mass Jewish emigration and of the national homelessness of the Jewish people is not clearly faced and solved after the war, it will return over and over again to harass and unsettle the world. Reaction will exploit the situation again and again, to destroy liberty and democracy and to stop the social and economic progress of free men. The defenseless position of the Jews was exploited by the Nazis to rise to power. They employed it as a weapon to achieve the disintegration of Europe. It was a major technique in their schemes of imperial expansion. As such, anti-Semitism became one of the decisive factors which brought about the second world war. The Jewish problem is quite as much the world's problem as it is that of the Jews.

What the world will do concerning the Jewish people and concerning the restoration of its national life in Palestine after the war will be the true index of the nature and character of the entire program of world reconstruction. The world pattern of reconstruction will unerringly reflect the decisions which will be made concerning the Jewish people and its national status. A Jewish mystic generations ago, Nachman Bratzlav, declared: "The reconstruction of the world in the future will be patterned after Palestine." If in the case of the Jewish people, which possesses no political power, no armies or navies and which will emerge from the world war the most ravaged and shattered of all peoples, the United Nations will act in a spirit of justice, vision and true statesmanship, then there is hope that, by the same spirit, the entire world will be healed and saved.

The new line both here and in Great Britain is to tell the Jews to wait for the end of the war and for an Allied victory. That, I am afraid, is cold comfort.

Government officials will be able to discover after the war as many insurmountable difficulties in the way of helping our people as they have discovered heretofore unless there is a complete and radical revision of attitude and, above all, a change of heart. We had hoped that the war with its generous outpouring of human idealism would bring about such a new attitude, and that responsible statesmen would realize that the Jews have been the greatest victims of those very evils which the United Nations are now trying by force of arms to destroy; and that as a sheer measure of justice everything must immediately be done to save as many Jews as can still be saved; and that, in order to make the position of the Jewish people secure in the world tomorrow and to avert such recurrent tragedies in the future, generous measures must forthwith be taken to insure the full national rehabilitation of the people in Palestine. But nothing of the sort has happened.

Nevertheless in spite of all these discouragements, we shall carry on along that course which was long ago charted for us. We have no other course. Zionists, who in the past were the only Jews who correctly read the signs of the times, whose clear vision and capacity for achievements have been so thoroughly vindicated, and whose leadership in Jewish life has therefore been so completely justified, must now, as the great hour of decision approaches, neither falter nor grow weary or confused. They must not compromise. Our historic charge and mandate are to realize the Jewish national idea, not to compromise it. We must learn to be resolute with ourselves and with our friends and our foes. We have nothing to surrender. We have no one to appease. We ask for nothing new or anything more than that which our people has asked for and has prayed for through these long weary centuries -- the chance to rebuild its national life in its historic home, from which a tragic fate had exiled it.

In 1917, Great Britain, voluntarily and under no compulsion, assumed the role of the champion of our national aspirations. We were overjoyed. Whatever the motive -- and no such decision, made by any great power, is ever completely altruistic or unselfish --, the declaration and the act were clear and unmistakable.

They were a covenant of friendship made with the people of Israel, and we entrusted the fulfillment of our national hopes to the good will and the loyal cooperation of a people whom we had no reason to mistrust. If now Great Britain finds itself unable or unwilling to continue as the champion of our historic national aspirations, which we cannot and will not surrender, then in all fairness and justice it should step aside and not permit itself by force of circumstances to be maneuvered into the tragic and, I am sure, unwelcome role of becoming the principal enemy of those very hopes which it had covenanted itself to fulfill. The White Paper is by no stretch of the imagination the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is their total liquidation. Surely the government of Great Britain understood at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the acceptance by it of the Mandate that what was involved was not a Jewish refugee, but a Jewish national problem. Unfortunately, by a tragic concatenation of mistakes, blunders and compromises, the Government of Great Britain finds itself today in the role of obstructing the solution not only of the Jewish national problem, but of the Jewish refugee problem as well.

We Zionists must not spend our energies or exercise our ingenuities in devising formulas acceptable to the Colonial office or to the Arabs all of which must in the last analysis be based on the sacrifice of our just rights in Palestine. For twenty years now we have been repeating this blunder and we have drifted into a progressively deteriorating position. For twenty years now we have carried on what amounts to a heated unilateral negotiation with ourselves, and have progressively whittled down our demands in order to please people who unfailingly interpreted each and every successive concession on our part as an additional sign of weakness and defeat. In 1937 we agreed to partition, to a sacrifice of two-thirds of Palestine. As a result we were not given partition, but the White Paper which completely nullifies all the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

We also have no pleasing or acceptable formulas to offer to our fellow-Jews in order to win them over to our side. We cannot sell our national birthright for a

pottage of dubious philanthropy. We are not bargaining with Jewish destiny. To be sure we need the help of all Jews in the colossal task which we have undertaken. But we cannot buy that help. The truly well-meaning Jews, who wish to help the Jewish people today and Jewish Palestine, should realize that we are today no longer at the beginning of the Zionist movement, but, in a sense, at the stage of its consummation; that much has transpired in the world with reference to Palestine, and that it is too late in the day now to wage anew those interesting ideologic battles of a generation ago, the generation which preceded the Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate are today political facts which must be recognized and reckoned with. In them the historic claim of the Jewish people to Palestine as their national homeland has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy and substance in the building of that national homeland. Under the terms of the enlarged Jewish Agency, a formula was evolved years ago, after long deliberation and discussions, which made it possible for both Zionists and non-Zionists to cooperate in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these things are matters of record. What remains now for intelligent Jews is not to reopen the whole question de novo, but to see to it that the work of upbuilding is continued uninterruptedly and that illegal obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of our work in Palestine. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine and rely solely on philanthropic refugee appeals, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of philanthropy, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world. The Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers elsewhere have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country, and far more than most of the larger countries have done. It is because Palestine is the Jewish homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of "the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" that the Mandatory government

undertook to reconstitute it as the national home of the Jewish people and pledged itself "to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement by Jews on the land." In other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large-scale Jewish immigration has always rested, and can alone continue to rest.

I have spoken of the well-meaning Jews. What shall we say of those Jews, laymen and Rabbis alike, who in this desperate hour have joined forces with our enemies and who are snatching the cup of hope from parched lips and the bread of life from doomed men? There is bitterness in our hearts, of course, and pity and shame. These men fall within a well-known pattern of Jewish experience. Their breed frequently made its appearance at critical junctures in our history. Our sages of old knew them and damned them. When after 400 years of slavery in Egypt our ancestors finally struck out for freedom: "There were rebels and transgressors among the Jews", declared the Rabbis, "who enjoyed Egyptian patronage and had acquired wealth and prestige" - presumably had become publishers of important newspaper in the Nile Delta, or heads of investment trusts in Pithom and Rameses, or corporation lawyers, or men very close to the court - "And did not want to leave Egypt". We are not told what became of them. They were probably blamed by the Egyptians for the disasters which finally overtook their armies at the Red Sea - for having stabbed them in the back, as it were, and these "patronized" Jews were probably forced to organize the first civic protective agency known to our history under the slogans: "Down with Moses and the Nationalist Jews!" "Down with those secularist Jews who are out to build a little Jewish State in Palestine!" "Down with those chauvenists who would drive the Canaanites out of their own country!" "The Jews are going out from Egypt armed. Down with a Jewish army!" "The Jews are travelling under their own standards and banners. Down with the Jewish flag!" "We are universalists - that is, we are 100 percent Egyptian nationalists, but we are opposed to Jewish nationalism!!" It is not recorded ~~whether~~ whether the Egyptians were impressed by these slogans. Probably

not. The Bible speaks of their wizards who were on to all kinds of political and ideologic juggling and legerdemain, and, as a rule, were not taken in.

Unfortunately for these archetypal opponents of Jewish emancipation, the very first to rationalize their flesh-pots into a philosophy of Jewish history, the prophets of Israel had not yet made their appearance, and so they could not quote them as their authorities. Far more fortunate are their descendants today who can lay claim to Isaiah and Jeremiah as charter members of their American Council for Judaism and who can quote these prophets in such a cunning, eclectic and discretionary manner as to make the thunder and passion of these prophets and their immortal themes about Israel the eternal people, and Palestine the eternal home of Israel, sound like the squeaks and murmurs of the Obot and Yiddonim -- the ghosts and familiar spirits of Philadelphia, Baltimore or New York.....

We know what the prophets of Israel prophesied: "Whoever prophesied, did so either in Palestine or for the sake of Palestine". That is the valid and final summation. Whatever new prophets the Council for American Judaism may some day produce, - and from present indications the prospects are not very promising - these ancient prophets should be left undisturbed in their integrity and should not be made to utter modern accommodative banalities.

It is both sad and amusing to listen to Jewish laymen who themselves never enter a synagogue vociferously proclaim that the Jewish people is nothing but a religious community. They are driven to their anomalous position by their rabid opposition to Zionism. The polemical discovery that the Jewish people is exclusively a religious community does not, however, make them any more religious or send them into the synagogue, or prompt them to participate more actively in the religious life of their communities. Not at all! They do not intend to do anything about it except to use it as a clug with which to belabor Zionism. It is just another welcome ideologic obstacle to throw in the way of the builders of Zion. It is not a conviction which determines their conduct or molds their basic attitudes to Jewish life. It is just another clever lawyer's argument.

Who today really believes their fantastic definition? Certainly not the anti-Semite! Certainly not the historian, the sociologist, the statesman! Certainly not our non-Jewish neighbors and friends, our business and professional associates. They know us for what we are - a people like any other people, and - in the United States, where there are many nationality groups - a distinctive group like the Germans or the Italians or the Irish who have settled here. They are not taken in by attempts at camouflage or periphrasis. They are not naive. They know that we are frequently discriminated against, and oft-times persecuted, not because of our religion - that was one of the important causes in the past - but because we are Jews and a minority, and a nationally homeless people.

Many books have appeared in recent years on the subject of anti-Semitism and the status of the Jew in the modern world, from the pen both of Jews and non-Jews. I do not recall a single instance where any scholar or scientist treated of the Jews in the exclusive sense of a sect or a religious community, but always as a people!

Among our people there developed through the ages a great and exalted religion. For long centuries, nearly all Jews believed and practiced this religion. Religion and national life were closely intertwined among our people as among many other peoples. With the spread of new ways of life and political organization in modern times religion and nationhood were more or less disengaged among Jews as among other peoples. But the two - people and religion - persisted. As in the past, they still interact upon one another and draw sustenance from each other. Many of us hope and labor to the end that the profound spiritual and ethical ideals of our faith may become more vital and determinative in the lives of our people and that more and more may be drawn under the wings of our religious inspirations and discipline. As a religion, Judaism has its tasks and its problems in the modern world. As a people, Israel has its task and problems - and its tragic emergencies - in the modern world. To deny the Jewish people a chance to escape the hells of the diaspora and, by rebuilding its national life in Palestine, to put an end at last to the shame, the degradation, the wanderings and the recurrent and increasing massacres,

on the plea that we are not a nation but a religious community, is colossal intellectual and spiritual befuddlement, gross blindness or calculated cynical self-interest -- the kind which motivated the "patronized", and well-heeled Jews of Egypt who resisted and resented the call to national emancipation and freedom in the days of Moses.

What is really moving us toward Palestine, and why is our movement irresistible? Our sages say that two arks led the Children of Israel through the wilderness on to the Promised Land; the ark wherein lay the dead body of Joseph, and the ark of the Covenant. Two arks! The ark of death and the ark of faith!

Two million dead are leading us on today through the wilderness to Palestine! Our myriad martyred hosts in this last and greatest tragedy of our dispersion - they are leading us on. The horror and pathos and the crushing logic of their needless deaths - they are leading us on. Their bodies lie in unknown mass graves, but the ark which enshrines their imperishable memories moves on before us. This vast ghostly company from the slaughter-pens of Warsaw, Cracow and Lemberg now join up with the older companies of the last war from Galicia and the Ukraine, and from Kishenev and Bialistok of the earlier years, and with those tortured hosts of the foregoing generations - all the way back to the universal holocaust in the days of Chmielnicki, and with their brothers from other parts of Europe in almost every century and every land. It is their spirits which give us no rest, which admonish us against all vain illusions and false hopes. It is their innocent blood which will not be covered up until out of their martyrdom a new life is born - the free and redeemed life of their people.

The legendary hero of the brave Czechs, Zizka, the avenger of Huss, on dying, asked his followers to remove his skin and make of it a drum with which to lead the Taborites into battle! That is how a life-hungry people employs even death to lead it on to victory!

And along with the ark of death there moves before us also the ark of the covenant - the ark of faith - our covenant with the future, our faith in our destiny, in ourselves and in the God of our Fathers Who sleepeth not, nor slumbereth." "Exiles are never terminated and peoples are never freed except through faith."

My friends! The hammer of destiny is even now fashioning a new world, and Israel is again the anvil which bears the strokes of humanity. It is a noble role, but we are a little tired of this role. We have been noble and beaten for a long time. We now wish to be noble and free! And as a free people in its own land to work together with all other free peoples for a just and peaceful world.



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LEADERS PLAN FOR PHILADELPHIA PARLEY, MAY 1-2

National Bodies Name Delegates

AMONG the organizations which this week announced that they would be sending representatives to the Philadelphia Conference on May 1-2 are Aleph Zadik Aleph, whose delegation will be headed by Philip M. Klutznick, President; the American Jewish Congress which will be represented by the Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig and Dr. Samuel Margoshes; B'nai B'rith whose President, Henry Monsky, has designated five delegates; the Central Conference of American Rabbis, represented by Rabbis Joshua Trachtenberg, Louis I. Newman, Max Raisin, and Marius Ranson; the Free Sons of Israel, by Hermann Stern, Grand Master; Hapoel Hamizrachi, by Dr. Simon Federbusch, President; Hashomer Hatzair, Independent Order Brith Abraham, Jewish National Workers Alliance; Junior Hadassah, headed by Miss Naomi Chertoff, President; Rabbinical Assembly; Women's League of the United Synagogue; Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, and the Zionist Organization of America.

Welfare Funds

The Allied Jewish Appeal of Philadelphia has designated Robert M. Bernstein and William H. Sylk as its official representatives at the Conference. Boston United Jewish Appeal's delegation consists of Yoland D. Markson, Benjamin Ulin, and Irving Usen. Detroit Allied Jewish Appeal will be represented by Abraham Sreer and Abraham Cooper. Others include the Jewish Community Council of Fitchburg-Leominster, to be represented by Messrs. Mendell Selig, Felix Rosenbaum, and Rabbi Jules Lipschutz; the Jewish Community Council of Springfield, Mass., by Nathan E. Goldstein and Harry M. Ehrlich. Rabbi George Vida and Samuel Reichman will represent the Federation of Jewish Charities of Camden; Joseph R. Freifield and Samuel Berkman, the Jewish Welfare Fund of Canton, and David Gary

To Speak at National Conference



DR. CHAIM WEIZMANN



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER



Dorothy Thompson



Dr. Stephen S. Wise



Frank E. Gannett

for the Jewish Welfare Fund of Lorain; also the Jewish Welfare Fund of Orlando, the New Haven Jewish Welfare Fund, Chester United Jewish Appeal, Niagara Falls Jewish Federation, Norfolk (Va.) United Jewish Fund, Woonsocket United Jewish Appeal, Fairmont (W. Va.) Federated Jewish Charities, and the Williamsport (Pa.) Federation of Jewish Charities.

The great national Jewish organizations, as well as local Welfare Funds through which the

United Palestine Appeal receives its income, are sending official delegates to the Conference to associate themselves with its purpose to pledge wartime support to the Yishuv, and to consider the post-war requirements of the Jewish National Home.

William H. Sylk, Chairman for the U.P.A. in Philadelphia, has urged that those planning to attend the Conference should immediately make reservations with the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford to assure accommodations.

Distinguished Figures on Speaking Program

INDICATIONS point to an extraordinary attendance at the National Conference for Palestine to be held at the Hotel Bellevue-Stratford, Philadelphia, on May 1 and 2. The announcement made this week by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, that a guest of honor at the Conference would be Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, has stimulated increased interest in the sessions, especially in view of the international developments affecting Palestine that have taken place during the past few months and on which Dr. Weizmann is expected to make a statement of vital importance. Dorothy Thompson, outstanding champion of democracy, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Frank Gannett, noted newspaper publisher, and other distinguished personalities will take part in the various sessions.

Post-War Palestine

The Conference will begin with an Oneg Shabbat on Saturday afternoon, May 1. Chief speaker at this session will be Dr. Ernst Bergman, assistant director of the Daniel Sieff Chemical Institute at Rehovoth, who will speak on the important topic, "Planning for the Postwar Period in Palestine." Another important feature of the Oneg Shabbat session will be the participation of Arthur Szyk, the great Polish-Jewish artist. For the occasion there will be a special exhibition of the originals of Mr. Szyk's masterful illustrations.

The keynote address of the Conference will be delivered on Saturday night by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, whose statements at the National Conference annual sessions have come to be looked forward to as the most vital and eloquent expressions of American Jewry's link to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. There will be other sessions on Sunday morning, at luncheon and in the afternoon, closing with the banquet session on Sunday evening.



GET-TOGETHER. Soldiers of the Second Battalion of the Palestine Regiment join the youngsters of Kiryat Anavim, U.P.A. settlement outside Jerusalem, preparatory to the planting of the "Soldiers' Forest" at Maale Hahamisha, nearby offshoot settlement named in memory of five young Jews killed during 1936-39.

Built for Peace by Men of War

A FEW weeks ago visitors in the vicinity of Jerusalem witnessed the rare sight of squads of soldiers in battle-dress wielding hoes and pick-axes, as contingents of Jewish units in the British Army planted the first 100 pine saplings in the "Soldiers' Forest" at the Maale Hahamisha Hill settlement. Soldiers of the allied forces stationed in Palestine joined in the memorable ceremony.

The planting of trees is one of the great achievements of the Jewish National Fund, whose budget for the current year includes over \$180,000 for development of the soil and afforestation. The total expected expenditure is \$6,100,000 for land purchase. The afforestation program of the Fund, which together with the Keren Hayesod forms the United Palestine Appeal, has resulted in the planting of some 3,400,000 trees to date.

The "Soldiers' Forest" was planted with funds contributed to the J.N.F. by men from the Jewish Battalions of the Palestine Regiment. Almost 22,000 Jews and Jewesses have thus far volunteered for service with the British Army, many of them now giving another heroic account of themselves in the Tunisian battles. When these Jews return from the war, their peace-time labors in their homeland will be made easier as a result of the planting of this forest, one of many improving the health and beauty of Palestine.



A view of Maale Hahamisha. In the distance is the Arab village of Abu Gosh. It is in U.P.A. settlements such as these that a new Jewish life has been created in Palestine. The settlers of yesterday are today's soldiers. (Below, left) After planting their trees, soldiers prepare a path to the forest named for them.



The soldiers (left, above) take the path through the woods which joins Maale Hahamisha to Kiryat Anavim. (Right, above) is a general panorama of Maale Hahamisha and of the planting ceremony. (Bottom, left) Jerusalem



District Commissioner Edward Keith-Roach makes a good job of planting the first tree in the "Soldiers' Forest." (Bottom, right) Notable personalities participating in the tree-planting ceremonies. In center is Chief Rabbi



Uziel. To his left are Mr. Keith-Roach, J.N.F. Director Dr. Abraham Granovsky and Captain Jonson, Scotch officer. To his right are Col. Leicester, Recruiting Officer for Palestine, and Capt. Hoter-Ishay.



CHILDREN'S ARBOR DAY. Arbor Day was celebrated with the usual enthusiasm by Palestine's Jewish children. The children above were photographed at special tree-planting exercises on the grounds of the Jewish National Fund headquarters in Jerusalem. At the close of the planting they raised the Zionist colors and sang the Hatikvah. To the left is a typical participant in the Jewish Arbor Day exercises.

TYPHOID FEVER DISCOVERY

AN AMERICAN medical mission, composed of three Columbia University professors, has just been in Palestine to conduct an inquiry into what may prove to be a far-reaching discovery in the treatment of typhoid fever. Two refugee Jewish scientists, Dr. Richard Marberger, a chemist, and Dr. Felician Zipser, a physician, both formerly of Vienna, have successfully produced a medical preparation, containing tin, made in tablet form. It is claimed, after extensive experiments, that there has been a reduction in the duration of the disease and a lowering of the death rate. This discovery is typical of the enormously important research work, for war and peace-time purposes, now going forward in the Jewish National Home.



PALESTINE JEWRY TO U.S.S.R. This is one of scores of crates and cases being dispatched by Palestine Jewry for the use of the Russian Army. Clothing, medical supplies, ambulances, and Dead Sea bromide are among the articles shipped with funds contributed by Palestine Jews. The packing cases are inscribed in Hebrew, Yiddish, and Russian with the legend: "Gift of the Jewish population of Palestine to the Union of Socialist Soviet Republic peoples and the Red Army, from the V League for Russia in Eretz Israel."

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RARE SIGHT IN JERUSALEM. Military censors have now passed through these unusual scenes of Jerusalem under snow, which fell on January 31. (Above) is the Jewish section of the Old City with the Nissan Back Synagogue at the left. (Below) is the Street of the Prophets.



NEW SETTLEMENT RISES. Maanith is a new settlement in the easternmost corner of Samaria where industrial and agricultural pursuits will be undertaken. On Jewish National Fund land and with funds of the Keren Hayesod, both receiving their American support through the United Palestine Appeal (through U.J.A.), Maanith has built the war-important glucose plant shown below.



“Advance On All Fronts”

DURING the past year the Yishuv in Palestine made substantial progress, but our movement received some serious setbacks. A considerable number of Jews entered the country in spite of the difficulties of travel caused by the war. The demands of the war stimulated the economic life of the country. Many new industries producing war essentials were established. The production of foodstuffs greatly increased and has proved of vital help to the military forces in and near Palestine. Labor has been in great demand, and unemployment has been reduced to a minimum. The Yishuv is mobilized as one man to help win the war. Thousands of young Palestinian Jews are fighting with the Allied forces in Africa, and thousands more are in various auxiliary military services. There was no slackening of effort in the work of upbuilding in the country. New colonies were established, and older ones were expanded. More land was acquired.

All along the line in the fields of industry, manufacture and labor, in education, health and social services, the Yishuv made and is continuing to make commendable progress. When not interfered with, the Jews of Palestine can be counted on to exercise initiative and to make maximum exertions and maximum sacrifices.

But politically our movement has not fared so well, and, because of it, the entire future of the Jewish homeland is in jeopardy. The hostile attitude of the Mandatory government toward our legitimate national aspirations in Palestine—the attitude which found its most shocking expression in the White Paper of 1939—has not changed one iota. The effort to liquidate the Jewish national idea, which was the motivating force behind the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to reduce the Jewish population of Palestine to the status of a permanent minority with restricted rights, is continuing unabated. Only recently has the notorious White Paper been reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government.

Change in Attitude

The attitude of our own government has undergone a marked change within the year. With the landing of our troops in North Africa, a policy of political expediency was adopted by our government, which has been defended on the ground of military necessity. Among the first victims of this policy of expediency were the Jews of North Africa and the traditional friendly attitude of our government toward the Jewish homeland in Palestine. The infamous Vichy laws against the Jews were to be retained in North Africa, under the protection of the American flag, in order not to antagonize the Arabs. It was only the relentless pressure of an outraged public opinion which compelled our State Department finally and reluctantly to persuade Giraud to abrogate these laws—and, surprisingly enough, their abroga-

Zionism's Deteriorated Political Position Calls for Vigorous Action

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

tion did not bring the heavens tumbling down upon our American troops, and did not incite any Arab disturbances, such as our State Department had been led to expect. Our government was simply taken in by a notorious piece of propaganda, skillfully placed by anti-Semites and Fascists, to the effect that nothing must be done to assist Jews either by way of restoring rights of which they had been robbed, or by way of fulfilling solemn international obligations, undertaken on their behalf, lest, forsooth, the Arabs be aroused. The defense by our State Department of the illegal and morally unjustifiable abrogation of the Cremieux laws, which took away French citizenship from the Jews of Algeria, is also part and parcel of this same complex, and it is, of course, utterly un-American and utterly at variance with everything for which this war is being waged.

Fascist Allies

It is not convincing and, we are afraid, dangerously self-deluding to maintain that what is now being done in sharp and bewildering contrast to the announced objectives of this war will all be set right as soon as the war is won, and that there is nothing to worry about. The thing, unfortunately, is not as simple as all that. When we make allies of Fascist elements, we not only become their debtors to whom we will have to discharge after the war obligations which we are now incurring, but, because of our political, economic and military alliance with them, we help to entrench them in power and to keep them in all the strategic positions which will be decisive for the political reconstruction which is to follow the war. We also unwittingly discourage all the free forces of the world, who are hoping not only for a victory over Nazi arms, but for a victory over everything that this infamous revolutionary reaction, called Nazism and Fascism, stands for. The American armies should move forward as armies of liberation, but when, on entering a country under the iron heel of a Fascist regime, their generals, with the approval of their government, proceed on the plea of expediency or of saving lives, to make deals with these very Fascist foes of all human liberties, and tacitly to sanction the retention of their controls and, above all, the retention of that which is most symptomatic of Fascism—anti-Semitic laws—then our armies can no longer be regarded as armies of human liberation, and the war is in danger of becoming just another war between rival combinations of powers fighting for supremacy.

Ever since the first World War our government has manifested friendship toward our national aspirations in Palestine. Every President who occupied the office between the two wars has enthusiastically endorsed the Jewish homeland. The Congress of the United States

passed a unanimous resolution expressing its fullest sympathy with the purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate which embodied it. At the last annual Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, held in January of 1942, we received most warm messages from many government officials and members of the Cabinet. But within the last few months, as if by concerted action, there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish homeland. The whole subject has suddenly become taboo in Washington.

Silent Friends

A prominent member of the Cabinet, who on previous occasions spoke most eloquently and understandingly of Zionism, recently addressed two important Zionist meetings, and on both occasions completely ignored—and not by accident—the purpose for which the meetings were held and for which he had been invited.

An eminent American, very close to the government, who last year sent us a most heartening message, writes to us this year expressing his horror at the cruelties and inhumanities which have been visited upon our people and his hope that the forces responsible for this savagery will soon be punished; but is quick to add: "In our efforts and our thoughts concerning these important matters, we are unable to support even by implication any solution which might tend to compromise the security of our armed forces or to involve us in controversial political questions"—as if anything involved in this war and anything which preceded or is likely to follow this war has not been, is not or will not be a "controversial political question"!

The President of the United States on other occasions spoke of Palestine with fine sympathy and encouragement:

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

But in 1943 the President of the United States sends an official greeting to the United Jewish Appeal which quite pointedly—and not by accident—omits any mention whatever of Palestine, although the United Palestine Appeal is a principal beneficiary of this fund and is not, as the President knows, a purely refugee serving agency.

The New "Line"

Unfortunately this seems to have become the established "line" of our government with reference to Palestine at least for the duration, and who knows for how long thereafter. Government officials, who have been

persuaded that silence and the complete avoidance of the entire subject is the proper line to follow during the war, may be easily persuaded that it is also the proper line to follow after the war and at the Peace Conference. The inclination to be persuaded is unfortunately there; and men to do the persuading both here and abroad will certainly not be wanting.

Our former friends in government circles now content themselves with sending us prolific expressions of sympathy on Jewish persecution. When pressed to do something about it, to help save a race from annihilation, they regretfully remind us how difficult it is to do anything for these poor unfortunate people under present war conditions. They counsel us to have patience. The suggestion is even made that anything which may be done for these unfortunate Jews now might in some way postpone the day of their ultimate liberation. That they may all be dead when the ultimate day of liberation arrives does not seem to arouse these friends of ours to any extraordinary emergency acts of rescue and deliverance.

Futile Conferences

These are men of many words and few deeds, whose compassion never goes beyond political expediency. When hounded and challenged by public opinion, which has not become utterly calloused, they detour the world's clamor into some intergovernmental refugee conference. When that problem reached alarming proportions before the war, the Evian Conference was evoked. It accomplished nothing, beyond offering a way out for governments who never really intended to do anything significant, anything commensurate with the scope of the appalling tragedy. And now we have been treated to another such conference at Bermuda. The Conference was shunted off to an inaccessible corner so that the world would not be able to listen in. Its final decisions are still unrevealed, but from the tone of the opening statements of its chief spokesmen and from the official announcement that the Conference was intended to be purely informal and exploratory—mind you—for ten years now the world's highways have been choked with helpless refugees, and this Conference first starts to explore the refugee problem—we are afraid that there is another banal futility in the making.

Prior to the Conference the British government announced that the resources of Great Britain are already strained to the utmost and that it could therefore not be counted on to admit any more refugees. Our own government expressed the hope that the refugees would be taken care of in countries adjacent to their places of origin; this is to say, in Europe. As far as Palestine is concerned, the British government seized the opportunity to state categorically that it stands back of the White Paper and that, beyond the thirty odd thousand visas still available under its terms, no more Jews will be admitted into the country. Mr. Churchill, who denounced the White Paper, when it was first promulgated in 1939, now rises to its defense and proclaims it to be the fixed British policy. Our own government remains silent.

Clearly the friends upon whom we had hoped to lean

have turned out to be broken reeds. The enemies of Israel do seek us out and single us out, but our friends would like to forget our existence as a people. Our fortunes were never so low.

The Jewish Reply

At the second battle of the Marne, Marshal Foch is reported to have issued an order of the day to his troops: "We have been beaten on the right; we have been shattered on our left; our center is broken. I have issued orders to advance on all fronts." There are no other instructions which responsible Jewish leadership can issue to the Jewish people at this time.

One thing we must make clear to ourselves and to the world. We must not beguile ourselves or permit others to beguile us by empty words of sympathy, praise, or the denunciation of Hitler or Nazi persecutions. Everybody knows by now that Hitler is a bad man and that the massacre of two million Jews is horrible. If responsible government officials and men who possess political power and influence can bring us no greater balm or help at this time, then we must respectfully advise them that we already have had enough of it. Such expressions of sympathy have turned stale and tasteless. The tragic problems of the Jewish people in the world today cannot be solved by chiefs of governments or prominent officials sending us *Rosh Hashonah* greetings!

We shall have to continue our struggle for survival in the same way as we have had to do throughout the ages—with our own resources, however diminished, with our own unbroken will, our own unshaken confidence in our destiny and with the help of God. The sins which are being visited upon our helpless refugees—wittingly or unwittingly—will return to plague the world. This is the unfailing law of moral retribution. Corrupt and cursed indeed is a world that cannot give sanctuary to men fleeing from death. We are confident that the inescapable logic of events will in due time make Palestine a Jewish State. For a shorter or a longer time this may be halted or retarded, but the rebirth of Israel as a nation in its historic home is as sure to come to pass as God's word never returns empty until it has accomplished that for which it was sent.

We Have Blundered

We Zionists must not spend our energies or exercise our ingenuities in devising formulas acceptable to the Colonial office or to the Arabs, all of which must in the last analysis be based on the sacrifice of our just rights in Palestine. For twenty years now we have been repeating this blunder and we have drifted into a progressively deteriorating position. For twenty years now we have carried on what amounts to a heated unilateral negotiation with ourselves, and have progressively whittled down our demands in order to please people who unfailingly interpreted each and every successive concession on our part as an additional sign of weakness and defeat. In 1937 we agreed to partition, to a sacrifice of two-thirds of



Dorothy Thompson and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

Palestine. As a result we were not given partition, but the White Paper which completely nullifies all the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

We also have no pleasing or acceptable formulas to offer to our fellow-Jews in order to win them over to our side. We cannot sell our national birthright for a pottage of dubious philanthropy. We are not bargaining with Jewish destiny. To be sure we need the help of all Jews in the colossal task which we have undertaken. But we cannot buy that help. The truly well-meaning Jews, who wish to help the Jewish people today and Jewish Palestine, should realize that we are today no longer at the beginning of the Zionist movement, but, in a sense, at the stage of its consummation; that much has transpired in the world with reference to Palestine, and that it is too late in the day now to wage anew those interesting ideologic battles of a generation ago, the generation which preceded the Balfour Declaration.

What remains now for intelligent Jews is not to reopen the whole question *de novo*, but to see to it that the work of upbuilding is continued uninterruptedly and that illegal obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of our work in Palestine. If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine and rely solely on philanthropic refugee appeals, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of philanthropy, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world. The Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers elsewhere have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country, and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of "the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" that the Mandatory government undertook to reconstitute it as the national home of the Jewish people and pledged itself "to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement by Jews on the land." In other words, it is on the national idea that the up-

building of Palestine as a place of large-scale Jewish immigration has always rested, and can alone continue to rest.

Historical Atavism

I have spoken of the well-meaning Jews. What shall we say of those Jews, laymen and Rabbis alike, who in this desperate hour have joined forces with our enemies and who are snatching the cup of hope from parched lips and the bread of life from doomed men? There is bitterness in our hearts, of course, and pity and shame. These men fall within a well-known pattern of Jewish experience. Their breed frequently made its appearance at critical junctures in our history. Our sages of old knew them and damned them.

When after 400 years of slavery in Egypt our ancestors finally struck out for freedom, declared the Rabbis, "there were rebels and transgressors among the Jews who enjoyed Egyptian patronage, and had acquired wealth and prestige"—presumably had become publishers of important newspapers in the Nile Delta, or heads of investment trusts in Pithon and Rameses, or corporation lawyers, or men very close to the court "who did not want to leave Egypt." We are not told what became of them.

They were probably blamed by the Egyptians for the disasters which finally overtook their armies at the Red Sea—for having stabbed them in the back, as it were—and those "patronized" Jews were probably forced to organize the first civic protective agency known to our history under the slogans: "Down with Moses and the Nationalist Jews!" "Down with those secularist Jews who are out to build a little Jewish State in Palestine!" "Down with those chauvinists who would drive the Canaanites out of their own country!" "The Jews are going out from Egypt armed. Down with a Jewish army!" "The Jews are travelling under their own standards and banners. Down with the Jewish flag!" "We are universalists—that is, we are 100 per cent Egyptian nationalists, but we are opposed to Jewish nationalism!"

It is not recorded whether the Egyptians were impressed by these slogans. Probably not.

Unfortunately for these archetypal opponents of Jewish emancipation, the very first to rationalize their fleshpots into a philosophy of Jewish history, the prophets of Israel had not yet made their appearance, and so they could not quote them as their authorities. Far more fortunate are their descendants today who can lay claim to Isaiah and Jeremiah as charter members of their American Council for Judaism and who can quote these prophets in such a cunning, eclectic and discretionary manner as to make the thunder and passion of these prophets and their immortal themes about Israel the eternal people, and Palestine the eternal home of Israel, sound like the squeaks and murmurs of the *Obot* and *Yiddonim*—the ghosts and familiar spirits of Philadelphia or Baltimore or New York.

We know what the prophets of Israel prophesied: "Whoever prophesied, did so either in Palestine or for the sake of Palestine." This is the valid and final summa-



Sol Cohen, President, Long Island Region, Gustave Goldstein, Los Angeles, and Dr. Ilie Berger, Providence.

tion. Whatever new prophets the American Council for Judaism may some day produce—and from present indications the prospects are not very promising—these ancient prophets should be left undisturbed in their integrity and should not be made to utter modern accommodative banalities.

Death—And Faith

What is really moving us toward Palestine, and why is our movement irresistible? Our sages say that two arks led the Children of Israel through the wilderness on to the Promised Land; the Ark wherein lay the dead body of Joseph, and the Ark of the Covenant. Two Arks! The Ark of death and the Ark of faith!

Two million dead are leading us on today through the wilderness to Palestine. Our myriad martyred hosts in this last and greatest tragedy of our dispersion—they are leading us on. The horror and pathos and the crushing logic of their needless deaths—they are leading us on. Their bodies lie in unknown mass graves, but the ark which enshrines their imperishable memories moves on before us. This vast ghostly company from the slaughter-pens of Warsaw, Cracow and Lemberg now joins up with the older companies of the last war from Galicia and the Ukraine, and from Kishinev and Bialystok of the earlier years, and with those tortured hosts of the foregoing generations—all the way back to the universal holocaust in the days of Chmielnicki, and with their brothers from other parts of Europe in almost every century and every land. It is their spirits which give us no rest, which admonish us against all vain illusions and false hopes. It is their innocent blood which will not be covered up until out of their martyrdom a new life is born—the free and redeemed life of their people.

And along with the Ark of Death there moves before us also the Ark of the Covenant—the Ark of Faith—our covenant with the future, our faith in our destiny, in ourselves and in the God of our Fathers who sleepeth not, nor slumbereth. "Exiles are never terminated and peoples are never freed except through faith."

The hammer of destiny is even now fashioning a new world, and Israel is again the anvil which bears the strokes of humanity. It is a noble role, but we are a little tired of this role. We have been noble and beaten for a long time. We now wish to be noble and free! And as a free people in its own land to work together with all other free peoples for a just and peaceful world.

ADDRESS BY DR. WEIZMANN
U.P.A. CONFERENCE, PHILADELPHIA
MAY 2, 1943

Mr. Chairman, Dr. Silver, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I wish to express my profound regret at being unable to attend, in person, this important representative gathering of American Jewry devoted to the upbuilding of Palestine - the annual assembly of the United Palestine Appeal. My absence from your midst is due to circumstances beyond my control, and my regret is the greater because this may be the last opportunity I shall have before returning to England to meet with representative Jews from various parts of the country. It is, I assure you, as deep a disappointment to me as it may perhaps be to you.

Had it been given to me, as I had hoped, to be with you, I would have used the occasion to say something which I feel deeply needs to be said, not only to the Jews of America but to the democracies, to the United Nations, yes, and even to the Arabs. Reluctant therefore to confine myself to a few perfunctory words of greetings, possible under these restrictive mechanical circumstances and physical limitations, I have asked your leader and my good friend, Rabbi Silver, - and he has graciously consented - to read to you what I would have said had I been privileged to be with you in person. Again I ask, that you forgive me for my absence. From the solitude of my enforced retreat I send you my heartfelt greetings.

I now turn you over to Dr. Silver whose voice, at

least, for the next fifteen minutes, you will consider as mine.
Shalom and good night. Dr. Silver.

(Here Dr. Weizmann stops)

(Dr. Silver begins)

A double tragedy, such as is borne by no other people, is laid upon us today. We were the first to be singled out in the barbarous attack on civilization; we are the last to be remembered when the talk is of victory and restitution. Our contribution to the world's suffering is out of all proportion to our numbers; but in the general planning for a better world the offers that are made to us to help us, unfortunately, bear no relation to the realities of our need.

Why is this? It is not because our plight is unknown to the world, or to that part of it, - the United Nations - which is defending civilization from annihilation. Belatedly - for it took the facts two years to break through to public knowledge, or rather to public acknowledgment - the ghastly story of our millions of civilian dead, sacrificed to the mad hatred of the conqueror, has registered on the conscience of mankind; and even in the midst of a period sated with horrors, a revulsion of indignation and pity took place among the civilized nations. Indignation and pity - and very little else. The fundamental approach to our sufferings is absent from all these expressions of sympathy.

I do not know if this evasion is due to the lack of imagination, to the inability to face the responsibility laid upon the conscience. But the truth remains that the one area which we Jews have for a generation prepared for our own salvation is studiously thrust into the background of discussion whenever our plight is considered. In particular, of late, all sorts of strange, mysterious half-utterances reach us concerning the Near East, forebodings and preparations and manoeuvres which seek to reduce the vast Jewish world tragedy to the question of an adjustment between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. Instead of recognising the intolerable injustice which an ancient people suffers on an unprecedented scale, we are confronted with trivial suggestions, arguments which seem meaningless in the face of our unprecedented disaster.

We are told on all sides, by military and political emissaries - and they are many these days - soldiers, sailors, scientists, merchants, who come and go to and from Palestine: "What the Jews have accomplished in Palestine is a real miracle". They sing our praises, they laud our achievements. But - then comes that treacherous "but" - if another Jew enters Palestine there will be an Arab uprising, there will be a revolt. Hence keep the doors closed to our last hope - our only hope. Beware of these "friends" and their generous praise. They are ubiquitous; they bedevil public opinion - a technique so skillfully employed by the Nazis in the course of this war.

I say to you in all solemnity: We shall not permit our long deferred hopes to be smothered by such an atmosphere, nor shall we be intimidated by threats of revolt, come they from inspired Nazi sources in the Near East or far off India. We shall not permit our patient, laborious upbuilding of Palestine, on which are concentrated the last hopes of millions, to be by-passed as if it were a prejudged matter. We must demand, and we shall demand, that the United Nations address themselves to this question with a full understanding of all its implications. It is a tragic paradox to call refugee conferences and to ignore Palestine, a country - the only country - ready and eager to receive the greatest number of refugees.

I believe that if I were to utter that which stirs in the depths of the conscience of the United Nations, I would speak thus to the Arabs:

"You are a people recognized by the world. Palestine is one - and it is among the smallest - of the many countries which you inhabit, but none of which you fill to the extent of one half, one quarter, or one tenth of their capacity. You have territories which could harbor seventy or eighty millions, occupied by a handful of people."

And I would say: "If the chance is given you to develop in freedom and peace, if you can call your lands your own, remember that this is due to the efforts of the democracies in the last war, and of the United Nations in this war. What you will get out of this war you will owe to the sacrifices of the peoples of

America, of England, who have poured out their blood on a score of battlefields for the freedom of the world."

And I would say: "You owe it also in a measure to the Jewish people, to the very soldiers which Jewish Palestine has furnished - the flower of its manhood - without compulsion, to swell the armies of the United Nations in the Near East. We think it right and proper that this Jewish people should be restored at last to that small niche which it has cherished through thousands of years of homelessness, that niche in which were born the principles of the civilization for which we fight. We think that in such a restoration you Arabs will not come to any harm. Your legitimate rights, your religion, your language, your culture, your property will suffer no diminution; not a hair of your heads shall be touched. We think that if you and Jews will cooperate, you will build up, for your mutual benefit, and for the benefit of the world, those tremendous areas which today are a desert and a reproach to humanity. Such an upbuilding, indeed, is a life and death necessity for you. An empty country, a political and geographical vacuum invites aggression, it invites predatory nations. You and the Jews can make this part of the world safe for yourselves and for us: for all three of us have a stake in this part of the world."

I know, ladies and gentlemen, that such words addressed to the Arabs would not be accepted by all of them. They would not be accepted by the Mufti nor by the so-called "disbanded" Arab National Higher Committee for whom the Moslems of India shed such copious tears. But honest, decent people among the Arabs would hear, and would be moved by the thought of a recreated civilization built up in common

by two people who have always belongs to the same Semitic branch of mankind; Arabs who will reflect that instead of a permanent friction and hostility, they can have permanent peace and collaboration for the asking.

The tradition of a great leadership, such as was represented by Feisal, is not dead among the Arabs; it is only dormant. Feisal, whom the Arabs remember as one of their greatest modern figures, understood the irreplaceable value of Arab-Jewish collaboration, and of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. But if the memory of his tradition and his great-hearted policy is to be re-awakened, the call must come from an equally great-hearted policy on the part of the United Nations. It cannot come from men who appease the Arabs at any price and ignore the solemn pledges given to the Jews.

Let us refuse to be frightened out of these legitimate demands, out of this far-sighted view of our problem, and the world's problem, by so-called diplomatic advice to keep quiet until a more opportune moment. We are told to wait; victory is the thing! We are told victory is the thing - as if there were a single people which has as much to dread from defeat or one which is prepared to make

greater sacrifices for victory. What other people, indeed, prepared, far in advance of this war, an ally of democracy, a support for the United Nations, at one of the cross-roads of the war? I do not know what value to assign to Palestine's war effort; its soldiers, its technicians, its doctors, its farmers, its workers: the scouts who led the invaders into Syria, the engineers who built the fortifications of North Africa. If our contribution to the victory has not been twice as great as it was, the fault was not ours. And yet, let me add: ~~even though we are still a minority in Palestine - one-third of the population - at least in one respect the Jews of Palestine have a clear majority over the Arabs, unquestioned and undisputed - and that is on the battlefield of Montgomery's victorious army.~~

We certainly don't wish to embarrass our friends, and we have many both here and in England, but we cannot stand by and see our vast problem fragmentated and reduced to a patchwork of little charitable proposals, which may be well meant, but which only serve to obscure the magnitude of the task, both morally and physically. Millions are in imminent peril of death, millions will be uprooted and homeless at the end of the war. We are asked to fix our attention on a few thousand certificates offered us by the High Commissioner of Palestine - always within the straight jacket of the White Paper - or on the hope of a few hundred refugees admitted here, a few dozen elsewhere.

Certainly we shall not neglect a single opportunity for saving a single life. But is this the reply of the civilized world to the cry of agony of an entire people? We appreciate that there are difficulties, that great plans will run up, today, against obstacles which will give pause to the boldest. But those who start out with a defeatist attitude are not the ones to confront the difficulties. We are too weary, our suffering is too great, to be satisfied with palliatives. We want evidence of a generous understanding and a will to action. We are convinced that a bold courageous approach to our problem will in the end prove of great value to the war effort and to the peace to come.

I know there are some among us who are so overwhelmed and bewildered by our problem that they are incapable of demanding a larger outlook from the civilized governments of the world. They are content - if one may use that word - to apply nineteenth century relief mentality, with sixteenth century methods, to a twentieth century task. These little retail doses will not meet the wholesale problem, even if they were multiplied a hundred fold. Once before, from a platform in Philadelphia, I warned against what I called this geographic polygamy of some Jews. These Jews seem to have become great experts in geography - in fact, they have become veritable geopoliticians. One country is not enough. We must have several. I repeat this warning, for the notion is still alive. It is sheer humbug - and let us call it by the right name. Perhaps this toying with a hundred little solutions is a last resort for those who have not the strength for clear vision and great action; but whatever its reason, it will end, as it has always ended, in futility.

We will not be diverted from our last and greatest hope.

We do not accept the White Paper, we never shall accept it, as the last word of British statesmanship or the last answer of the civilized world. Remember that there were not always White Paper Governments in Palestine. There were years when everything was open. You could buy land from Dan to Beersheba. You could bring in as many Jews as the boats would carry. Those years will return. We shall hasten their return if we create a united program of action, a program of action based not on illusory schemes and a refusal to face the realities of the Jewish position, but one that will stand the test of time and indeed be worthy of our ancient heritage. We shall hasten the return if we remember that either we shall build up Palestine or we shall go under. And because I believe in the eternity of Israel I believe that in spite of what is passing over our heads we shall yet be given the privilege of creating in Palestine a free Jewish Commonwealth at peace with itself, its neighbors and the world.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE
of the
UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL



MAY 1 and 2, 1943

1—ONEG SHABBAT—Saturday, May 1, 2:30 P.M.

Henry Montor, Executive Director, United Palestine Appeal, presiding

"Post-War Planning for Palestine"—Dr. Ernst Bergmann, Chief Chemist at Daniel Sieff Research Institute, Rehovoth, Palestine, and scientific collaborator with Dr. Weizmann

Arthur Szyk, distinguished Polish-Jewish artist

[The first complete showing in America of original illustrations by Mr. Szyk of the Haggaddah is being held in connection with the Conference on the Hotel Roof]

Community Singing, led by Cantor Adolph J. Weisgal, Congregation Chizuk Amunah, Baltimore, Md.

2—OPENING SESSION—Saturday, May 1, 8:30 P.M.

Leon Sunstein, President, Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal, presiding

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Max D. Klein

Introductory Greetings—

William H. Sylk, Chairman, Philadelphia United Palestine Appeal

Mark Sugarman, Coatesville, Pa., Chairman, Pennsylvania Region, U.P.A.

"Palestine as the Jewish Hope"—Miss Dorothy Thompson

"The Challenge to the Jewish People"—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio, National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

Report of Credentials Committee

Naming of Resolutions Committee

3—MORNING SESSION—Sunday, May 2, 10:00 A.M.

Joel Gross, member Executive Committee of Newark, N. J., United Jewish Appeal, presiding

Financial Report—Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, National Treasurer, U.P.A.

"Role of Palestine Funds in the American Jewish Community Structure"—

Abe Sreer, President, Jewish Welfare Federation, Detroit, Mich.

Gustave Goldstein, representing United Jewish Welfare Fund, Los Angeles, Calif.

Rabbi Morton Goldberg, Co-Chairman, United Jewish Fund, Toledo, Ohio

Mortimer May, Chairman, Jewish Welfare Fund, Nashville, Tenn.

Sylvan Gotshal, President, New York United Jewish Appeal, Inc.

Irving Usen, United Jewish Appeal, Boston, Mass.

Summary by Kurt Peiser, Executive Director, Philadelphia Allied Jewish Appeal

4—LUNCHEON SESSION—Sunday, May 2, 12:30 P.M.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, presiding

Invocation—Rabbi Meier Lasker

"The Jewish World in War"—Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman, Administrative Committee, U.P.A.

5—AFTERNOON SESSION—Sunday, May 2, 3:00 P.M.

Leon Rittenberg, Chairman, New Orleans Jewish Welfare Fund, presiding

"The Work of the Keren Hayesod"—Hon. Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Chairman of the Board, Keren Hayesod

"The Work of the Keren Kayemeth"—Dr. Israel Goldstein, President, Jewish National Fund

Greetings from the Jewish Agency Executive—Rabbi Meier Berlin, President, World Mizrahi Organization

"Post-War Aims and Palestine"—A resolution introduced and discussed by Louis Lipsky, Chairman, Executive Committee of the U.P.A.

Announcement of U.P.A. Officers for 1943

Presentation of Resolutions



6—BANQUET SESSION—Sunday, May 2, 7:00 P.M.

Judge Morris Rethenberg, Chairman, Council of Jewish Agency for Palestine, and Co-Chairman, United Palestine Appeal, presiding

Opening Prayer—Rabbi Simon Greenberg, Philadelphia, Pa.

Speakers—

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine

Mr. Frank Gannett, newspaper publisher

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, President, Zionist Organization of America

Palestine Music—American Zionist Youth Chorus; Director, Chemjo Vinaver

"Advance On All Fronts!"

WRHS



BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

Issued by

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

41 East 42nd Street, New York

"Advance On All Fronts!"



BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

National Chairman, United Palestine Appeal

An address delivered at the 1943 National
Conference for Palestine, Philadelphia, Pa.

"Advance On All Fronts!"

DURING the past year the Yishuv in Palestine made substantial progress, but our movement received some serious setbacks. A considerable number of Jews entered the country in spite of the difficulties of travel caused by the war. The demands of the war stimulated the economic life of the country. Many new industries producing war essentials were established. The production of foodstuffs greatly increased and has proved of vital help to the military forces in and near Palestine. Labor has been in great demand, and unemployment has been reduced to a minimum. The Yishuv is mobilized as one man to help win the war. Thousands of young Palestinian Jews are fighting with the Allied forces in Africa, and thousands more are in various auxiliary military services. There was no slackening of effort in the work of upbuilding in the country. New colonies were established, and older ones were expanded. More land was acquired. All along the line in the fields of industry, manufacture and labor, in education, health and social services, the Yishuv made and is continuing to make commendable progress. When not interfered with, the Jews of Palestine can be counted on to exercise initiative and to make maximum exertions and maximum sacrifices.

But politically our movement has not fared so well, and, because of it, the entire future of the Jewish homeland is in jeopardy. The hostile attitude of the Mandatory government toward our legitimate national aspirations in Palestine—the attitude which found its most shocking expression in the White Paper of 1939—has not changed one iota. The effort to liquidate the Jewish national idea, which was the motivating force behind the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and to reduce the Jewish population of Palestine to the status of a permanent minority with restricted rights, is continuing unabated. Only recently has the notorious White Paper been reaffirmed by His Majesty's Government.

The attitude of our own government has undergone a marked change within the year. With the landing of our troops in North Africa, a policy of political expediency was adopted by our government, which has been defended on the ground of military necessity. Among the first victims of this policy of expedi-

ency were the Jews of North Africa and the traditional friendly attitude of our government toward the Jewish homeland in Palestine. The infamous Vichy laws against the Jews were to be retained in North Africa, under the protection of the American flag, in order not to antagonize the Arabs. It was only the relentless pressure of an outraged public opinion which compelled our State Department finally and reluctantly to persuade Giraud to abrogate these laws—and, surprisingly enough, their abrogation did not bring the heavens tumbling down upon our American troops, and did not incite any Arab disturbances, such as our State Department had been led to expect. Our government was simply taken in by a notorious piece of propaganda, skilfully placed by anti-Semites and Fascists, to the effect that nothing must be done to assist Jews either by way of restoring rights of which they had been robbed, or by way of fulfilling solemn international obligations, undertaken on their behalf, lest, forsooth, the Arabs be aroused. The defense by our State Department of the illegal and morally unjustifiable abrogation of the Cremieux laws, which took away French citizenship from the Jews of Algeria, is also part and parcel of this same complex, and it is, of course, utterly un-American and utterly at variance with everything for which this war is being waged.

It is not convincing and, we are afraid, dangerously self-deluding to maintain that what is now being done in sharp and bewildering contrast to the announced objectives of this war will all be set right as soon as the war is won, and that there is nothing to worry about. The thing, unfortunately, is not as simple as all that. When we make allies of Fascist elements, we not only become their debtors to whom we will have to discharge after the war obligations which we are now incurring, but, because of our political, economic and military alliance with them, we help to entrench them in power and to keep them in all the strategic positions which will be decisive for the political reconstruction which is to follow the war. We also unwittingly discourage all the free forces of the world, who are hoping not only for a victory over Nazi arms, but for a victory over everything that this infamous revolutionary reaction, called Nazism and Fascism, stands for. The American armies should move forward as armies of liberation, but when, on entering a country under the iron heel of a Fascist regime, their generals with the approval of their government proceed, on the plea of expediency or of saving lives, to make deals with these Fascist foes of all human liberties, and tacitly to sanction the retention of their controls and, above all, the retention of that which is most symptomatic of Fascism—anti-Semitic

laws—then our armies can no longer be regarded as armies of human liberation, and the war is in danger of becoming just another war between rival combinations of powers fighting for supremacy.

Palestine Becomes "Controversial"

Ever since the first World War our government has manifested friendship toward our national aspirations in Palestine. Every President who occupied the office between the two wars has enthusiastically endorsed the Jewish homeland. The Congress of the United States passed a unanimous resolution expressing its fullest sympathy with the purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and of the Mandate which embodied it. At the last annual Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, held in January of 1942, we received most warm messages from many government officials and members of the Cabinet. But within the last few months, as if by concerted action, there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish homeland. The whole subject has suddenly become taboo in Washington. A prominent member of the Cabinet, who on previous occasions spoke most eloquently and understandingly of Zionism, recently addressed two important Zionist meetings, and on both occasions completely ignored—and not by accident—the purpose for which the meetings were held and for which he had been invited. An eminent American, very close to the government, who last year sent us a most heartening message, writes to us this year expressing his horror at the cruelties and inhumanities which have been visited upon our people and his hope that the forces responsible for this savagery will soon be punished; but is quick to add: "In our efforts and our thoughts concerning these important matters, we are unable to support even by implication any solution which might tend to compromise the security of our armed forces or to involve us in controversial political questions"—as if anything involved in this war and anything which preceded or is likely to follow this war has not been, is not or will not be a "controversial political question"!

The President of the United States on other occasions spoke of Palestine with fine sympathy and encouragement:

"The interest which I have had and have frequently manifested in the rebuilding of the ancient Jewish homeland is, I am persuaded, an

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

But in 1943 the President of the United States sends an official greeting to the United Jewish Appeal which quite pointedly—and not by accident—omits any mention whatever of Palestine, although the United Palestine Appeal is a principal beneficiary of this fund and is not, as the President knows, a purely refugee serving agency.

Unfortunately this seems to have become the established "line" of our government with reference to Palestine at least for the duration, and who knows for how long thereafter. Government officials, who have been persuaded that silence and the complete avoidance of the entire subject is the proper line to follow during the war, may be easily persuaded that is also the proper line to follow after the war, at the Peace Conference. The inclination to be persuaded is unfortunately there; and men to do the persuading both here and abroad will certainly not be wanting.

Our former friends in government circles now content themselves with sending us prolific expressions of sympathy on Jewish persecution. When pressed to do something about it, to help save a race from annihilation, they regretfully remind us how difficult it is to do anything for these poor unfortunate people under present war conditions. They counsel us to have patience. The suggestion is even made that anything which may be done for these unfortunate Jews now might in some way postpone the day of their ultimate liberation. That they may all be dead when the ultimate day of liberation arrives does not seem to arouse these friends of ours to any extraordinary emergency acts of rescue and deliverance. These are men of many words and few deeds, whose compassion never goes beyond political expediency. When hounded and challenged by public opinion, which has not become utterly calloused, they detour the world's clamor into some intergovernmental refugee conference. When that problem reached alarming proportions before the war, the Evian Conference was convoked. It accomplished nothing beyond offering a way out for governments who never really intended to do anything significant, anything

commensurate with the scope of the appalling tragedy. And now we have been treated to another such conference at Bermuda. The Conference was shunted off to an inaccessible corner so that the world would not be able to listen in. Its final decisions are still unrevealed, but from the tone of the opening statements of its chief spokesmen, and from the official announcement that the Conference was intended to be purely informal and exploratory—mind you—for ten years now the world's highways have been choked with helpless refugees, and this Conference first starts to "explore" the refugee problem—we are afraid that there is another banal futility in the making.

Prior to the Conference, the British Government announced that the resources of Great Britain are already strained to the utmost and that it could therefore not be counted on to admit any more refugees. Our own government expressed the hope that the refugees would be taken care of in countries adjacent to their places of origin; this is to say, in Europe. As far as Palestine is concerned, the British Government seized the opportunity to state categorically that it stands back of the White Paper and that, beyond the thirty-odd thousand visas still available under its terms, no more Jews will be admitted into the country. Mr. Churchill, who denounced the White Paper when it was first promulgated in 1939, now rises to its defense and proclaims it to be the fixed British policy. Our own government remains silent.

These are the cold, unadorned facts. There are other discouraging facts. Throughout the last year we carried on a vigorous campaign for a Jewish Army of Palestinian and stateless Jews based on Palestine. In fact we carried on two campaigns—one a slow, rather lumbering and intermittent one by the official Zionist bodies, and another, a dramatic and streamlined one, with all the accompanying fanfare and glamor of publicity and imposing names under the auspices of the Committee for a Jewish Army. Both campaigns failed! The Jews of Palestine have been denied the right which is granted to every other people in the world to defend their national homeland while fighting under their own flag.

Clearly the friends upon whom we had hoped to lean have turned out to be broken reeds. The enemies of Israel do seek us out and single us out, but our friends would like to forget our existence as a people. Our fortunes were seldom so low.

"Advance On All Fronts"

At the second battle of the Marne, Marshal Foch is reported to have issued an order of the day to his troops: "We have been beaten on the right; we have been shattered on our left; our center is broken. I have issued orders to advance on all fronts." There are no other instructions which responsible Jewish leadership can issue to the Jewish people at this time.

One thing we must make clear to ourselves and to the world. We must not beguile ourselves or permit others to beguile us by empty words of sympathy, praise, or the denunciation of Hitler or Nazi persecutions. Everybody knows by now that Hitler is a bad man and that the massacre of two million Jews is horrible. If responsible government officials and men who possess political power and influence can bring us no greater balm or help at this time when a cataract of disaster has descended upon us, then we must respectfully advise them that we already have had enough of it. Such expressions of sympathy have turned stale and tasteless. The tragic problems of the Jewish people in the world today cannot be solved by chiefs of governments or prominent officials sending us Rosh Hashonah greetings!

We shall have to continue our struggle for survival in the same way as we have had to do throughout the ages—with our own resources, however diminished, with our own unbroken will, our own unshaken confidence in our destiny, and with the help of God. The sins which are being visited upon our helpless refugees—wittingly or unwittingly—will return to plague the world. This is the unfailing law of moral retribution. Corrupt and cursed indeed is a world that cannot give sanctuary to men fleeing from death! We are confident that the inescapable logic of events will in due time make Palestine a Jewish State. For a shorter or a longer time this may be halted or retarded, but the rebirth of Israel as a nation in its historic home is as sure to come to pass as God's word never returns empty until it has accomplished that for which it was sent.

The inescapable logic of events! When all the doors of the world will be closed to our people, then the hand of destiny will force open the door of Palestine. And that hour is rapidly approaching. We are dealing here with a thing as elemental as a volcano. There will be masses of Jews after this war who will have to emigrate from Europe, and there will be no places to which to go. It

is idle to expect that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants after the war. Their own populations will be confronted with serious problems of unemployment and of reconstruction, and they will not tolerate humanitarian action at their expense. Surely no one in his right senses will at this time suggest new colonial adventures like Crimea, Biro-Bidjan or Santo Domingo to meet the great immigration pressures after the war. It is too late in the day to indulge in what Sacher has so aptly called "ramblings in the iridescent nothingness of Utopia." Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine, too, will have to be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the thirty-odd thousand visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued, it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into that country. Thereafter it will be the Arabs of Palestine who will determine whether another single Jew will be permitted to enter that country. The Arabs of Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State but to Jewish immigration as well. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program the Arabs of Palestine might be induced to welcome Jews into that country are simply uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands—Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi Arabia—will welcome those Jews for whom the Christian lands can no longer find any haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created within the Moslem world, are beguiling themselves with wishful thinking. Things being what they are, it will either be Palestine or nothing at all.

If Jews are kept out of Palestine where we have an internationally established, recognized and unique status—that of a people in its national home—where we have invested our substance, our tears, our sweat and our blood, whose modern foundations we ourselves have laid and whose settlements, villages, towns and cities we ourselves have built; if Jews are to be prohibited from entering Palestine, what hope or prospect is there that they will be welcomed elsewhere? And if they will be unable to go elsewhere and conditions in Europe will nevertheless irresistibly force them to move, there will be created by the very stress of our necessity and our importunate needs a situation so dangerous and explosive as will endanger the stability of any scheme of recon-

struction in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe. Statesmen should clearly understand this. If the problem of mass Jewish emigration and of the national homelessness of the Jewish people is not clearly faced and solved after the war, it will return over and over again to harass and unsettle the world. Reaction will exploit the situation again and again, to destroy liberty and democracy and to stop the social and economic progress of free men. The defenseless position of the Jews was exploited by the Nazis to rise to power. They employed it as a weapon to achieve the disintegration of Europe. It was a major technique in their schemes of imperial expansion. As such, anti-Semitism became one of the decisive factors which brought about the Second World War. The Jewish problem is quite as much the world's problem as it is that of the Jews.

What the world will do concerning the Jewish people and concerning the restoration of its national life in Palestine after the war will be the true index of the nature and character of the entire program of world reconstruction. The world pattern of reconstruction will unerringly reflect the decisions which will be made concerning the Jewish people and its national status. A Jewish mystic generations ago, Nachman of Bratzlav, declared: "The reconstruction of the world in the future will be patterned after Palestine." If in the case of the Jewish people, which possesses no political power, no armies or navies and which will emerge from the World War the most ravaged and shattered of all peoples, the United Nations will act in a spirit of justice, vision and true statesmanship, then there is hope that, by the same spirit, the entire world will be healed and saved.

We Have Nothing to Surrender

The new line both here and in Great Britain is to tell the Jews to wait for the end of the war and for an Allied victory. That, I am afraid, is cold comfort. Government officials will be able to discover after the war as many insurmountable difficulties in the way of helping our people as they have discovered heretofore unless there is a complete and radical revision of attitude and, above all, a change of heart. We had hoped that the war with its generous outpouring of human idealism would bring about such a new attitude, and that responsible statesmen would realize that the Jews have been the greatest victims of those very evils which the United Nations are now trying by force of arms to destroy; and that as a sheer measure of justice everything must immediately be done to

save as many Jews as can still be saved; and that, in order to make the position of the Jewish people secure in the world tomorrow and to avert such recurrent tragedies in the future, generous measures must forthwith be taken to insure the full national rehabilitation of the people in Palestine. But nothing of the sort has happened.

Nevertheless, in spite of all these discouragements, we shall carry on along that course which was long ago charted for us. We have no other course. Zionists, who in the past were the only Jews who correctly read the signs of the times, whose clear vision and capacity for achievements have been so thoroughly vindicated, and whose leadership in Jewish life has therefore been so completely justified, must now, as the great hour of decision approaches, neither falter nor grow weary or confused. They must not compromise. Our historic charge and mandate are to realize the Jewish national idea, not to compromise it. We must learn to be resolute with ourselves and with our friends and our foes. We have nothing to surrender. We have no one to appease. We ask for nothing new or anything more than that which our people has asked for and has prayed for through these long weary centuries—the chance to rebuild its national life in its historic home, from which a tragic fate had exiled it.

In 1917, Great Britain, voluntarily and under no compulsion, assumed the role of the champion of our national aspirations. We were overjoyed. Whatever the motive—and no such decision, made by any great power, is ever completely altruistic or unselfish—the declaration and the act were clear and unmistakable. They were a covenant of friendship made with the people of Israel, and we entrusted the fulfillment of our national hopes to the good-will and the loyal cooperation of a people whom we had no reason to mistrust. If now Great Britain finds itself unable or unwilling to continue as the champion of our historic national aspirations, which we cannot and will not surrender, then in all fairness and justice it should step aside and not permit itself by force of circumstances to be maneuvered into the tragic and, I am sure, unwelcome role of becoming the principal enemy of those very hopes which it had covenanted itself to fulfill. The White Paper is by no stretch of the imagination the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It is their total liquidation. Surely the government of Great Britain understood at the time of issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the acceptance by it of the Mandate that what was involved was not a Jewish refugee problem, but a Jewish national problem. Unfortunately, by a tragic concatenation of mistakes, blunders and

compromises, the Government of Great Britain finds itself today in the role of obstructing the solution not only of the Jewish national problem, but of the Jewish refugee problem as well.

We Zionists must not spend our energies or exercise our ingenuities in devising formulas acceptable to the Colonial office or to the Arabs, all of which must in the last analysis be based on the sacrifice of our just rights in Palestine. For twenty years now we have been repeating this blunder and we have drifted into a progressively deteriorating position. For twenty years now we have carried on what amounts to a heated unilateral negotiation with ourselves, and have progressively whittled down our demands in order to please people who unfailingly interpreted each and every successive concession on our part as an additional sign of weakness and defeat. In 1937 we agreed to partition, to a sacrifice of two-thirds of Palestine. As a result we were not given partition, but the White Paper which completely nullifies *all* the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

We also have no pleasing or acceptable formulas to offer to our fellow-Jews in order to win them over to our side. We cannot sell our national birth-right for a pottage of dubious philanthropy. We are not bargaining with Jewish destiny. To be sure we need the help of all Jews in the colossal task which we have undertaken. But we cannot buy that help. The truly well-meaning Jews, who wish to help the Jewish people today and Jewish Palestine, should realize that we are today no longer at the beginning of the Zionist movement, but, in a sense, at the stage of its consummation; that much has transpired in the world with reference to Palestine, and that it is too late in the day now to wage anew those interesting ideologic battles of a generation ago, the generation which preceded the Balfour Declaration. The Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate are today political facts which must be recognized and reckoned with. In them the historic claim of the Jewish people to Palestine as their national homeland has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy, and substance in the building of that national homeland. Under the terms of the enlarged Jewish Agency, a formula was evolved years ago, after long deliberation and discussions, which made it possible for both Zionists and non-Zionists to cooperate in the upbuilding of Palestine. All these things are matters of record. What remains now for intelligent Jews is not to reopen the whole question *de novo*, but to see to it that the work of upbuilding is continued unin-

interruptedly and that illegal obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of our work in Palestine.

If we surrender our national and historic claims to Palestine and rely solely on philanthropic refugee appeals, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of philanthropy, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world. The Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers elsewhere have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country, and far more than most of the larger countries have done. It is because Palestine is the Jewish homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of "the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" that the Mandatory government undertook to reconstitute it as the national home of the Jewish people and pledged itself "to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement by Jews on the land." In other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large-scale Jewish immigration has always rested, and can alone continue to rest.

"There Were Rebels and Transgressors"

I have spoken of the well-meaning Jews. What shall we say of those Jews, laymen and Rabbis alike, who in this desperate hour have joined forces with our enemies and who are snatching the cup of hope from parched lips and the bread of life from doomed men? There is bitterness in our hearts, of course, and pity and shame. These men fall within a well-known pattern of Jewish experience. Their breed frequently made its appearance at critical junctures in our history. Our sages of old knew them and branded them. When after 400 years of slavery in Egypt our ancestors finally struck out for freedom: "There were rebels and transgressors among the Jews," declared the Rabbis, "who enjoyed Egyptian patronage and had acquired wealth and prestige"—presumably had become publishers of important newspapers in the Nile Delta, or heads of investment trusts in Pithom and Rameses, or corporation lawyers, or men very close to the court—"and did not want to leave Egypt." We are not told what became of them. They were probably blamed by the Egyptians for the disasters which finally overtook their armies at the Red Sea—for having stabbed them in the back, as it were, and these "patronized" Jews were probably forced to organize the first civic protective agency known to our history under

the slogans: "Down with Moses and the Nationalist Jews!" "Down with those secularist Jews who are out to build a little Jewish State in Palestine!" "Down with those chauvinists who would drive the Canaanites out of their own country!" "The Jews are going out from Egypt armed. Down with a Jewish army!" "The Jews are traveling under their own standards and banners. Down with the Jewish flag!" "We are universalists—that is, we are 100 per cent Egyptian nationalists, but we are opposed to Jewish nationalism!" . . . It is not recorded whether the Egyptians were impressed by these slogans. Probably not. The Bible speaks of their "wizards," who were on to all kinds of political and ideologic juggling and legerdemain, and, as a rule, were not taken in.

Unfortunately for these archetypal opponents of Jewish emancipation, the very first to rationalize their flesh-pots into a philosophy of Jewish history, the prophets of Israel had not yet made their appearance, and so they could not quote them as their authorities. Far more fortunate are their descendants today who can lay claim to Isaiah and Jeremiah as charter members of their American Council for Judaism and who can quote these prophets in such a cunning, eclectic, and discretionary manner as to make the thunder and passion of these prophets and their immortal themes about Israel the eternal people, and Palestine the eternal home of Israel, sound like the squeaks and murmurs of the Obot and Yiddonim—the ghosts and familiar spirits of Philadelphia, Baltimore, or New York. . . .

We know what the prophets of Israel prophesied: "Whoever prophesied, did so either in Palestine or for the sake of Palestine." That is the valid and final summation. Whatever new prophets the Council for American Judaism may some day produce—and from present indications the prospects are not very promising—these ancient prophets should be left undisturbed in their integrity and should not be made to utter modern accommodative banalities.

It is both sad and amusing to listen to Jewish laymen who themselves never enter a synagogue vociferously proclaim that the Jewish people is nothing but a religious community. They are driven to their anomalous position by their rabid opposition to Zionism. The polemical discovery that the Jewish people is exclusively a religious community does not, however, make them any more religious or send them into the synagogue, or prompt them to participate more actively in the religious life of their communities. Not at all! They do not intend to do anything about it except to use it as a club with which to belabor Zionism. It is just another welcome ideologic obstacle to throw in the way of

the builders of Zion. It is not a conviction which determines their conduct or molds their basic attitudes to Jewish life. It is just another clever lawyer's argument.

Who today really believes their fantastic definition? Certainly not the anti-Semite! Certainly not the historian, the sociologist, the statesman! Certainly not our non-Jewish neighbors and friends, our business and professional associates. They know us for what we are—a people like any other people, and—in the United States, where there are many nationality groups—a distinctive group like the Germans or the Italians or the Irish who have settled here. They are not taken in by attempts at camouflage or periphrasis. They are not naive. They know that we are frequently discriminated against, and oftentimes persecuted, not because of our religion—that was one of the important causes in the past—but because we are Jews and a minority, and a nationally homeless people.

Many books have appeared in recent years on the subject of anti-Semitism and the status of the Jew in the modern world, from the pen both of Jews and non-Jews. I do not recall a single instance where any scholar or scientist treated of the Jews in the exclusive sense of a sect or a religious community, but always as a people!

Among our people there developed through the ages a great and exalted religion. For long centuries, nearly all Jews believed and practiced this religion. Religion and national life were closely intertwined among our people as among many other peoples. With the spread of new ways of life and political organization in modern times religion and nationhood were more or less disengaged among Jews as among other peoples. But the two—people and religion—persisted. As in the past, they still interact upon one another and draw sustenance from each other. Many of us hope and labor to the end that the profound spiritual and ethical ideals of our faith may become more vital and determinative in the lives of our people and that more and more may be drawn under the wings of our religious inspirations and discipline. As a religion, Judaism has its tasks and its problems in the modern world. As a people, Israel has its tasks and problems—and its tragic emergencies—in the modern world. To deny the Jewish people a chance to escape the hells of the diaspora and, by rebuilding its national life in Palestine, to put an end at last to the shame, the degradation, the wanderings, and the recurrent and increasing massacres, on the plea that we are not a nation but a religious community, is colossal intellectual and spiritual befuddlement, gross blindness or calculated cynical self-interest—the kind which

motivated the "patronized," and well-heeled Jews of Egypt who resisted and resented the call to national emancipation and freedom in the days of Moses.

The Ark of Death and the Ark of Faith

What is really moving us toward Palestine, and why is our movement irresistible? Our sages say that two Arks led the Children of Israel through the wilderness on to the Promised Land; the Ark wherein lay the dead body of Joseph, and the Ark of the Covenant. Two Arks! The Ark of death and the Ark of faith!

Two million dead are leading us on today through the wilderness to Palestine! Our myriad martyred hosts in this last and greatest tragedy of our dispersion—they are leading us on. The horror and pathos and the crushing logic of their needless deaths—they are leading us on. Their bodies lie in unknown mass graves, but the Ark which enshrines their imperishable memories moves on before us. This vast ghostly company from the slaughter-pens of Warsaw, Cracow, and Lemberg now join up with the older companies of the last war from Galicia and the Ukraine, and from Kishenev and Bialistok of the earlier years, and with those tortured hosts of the foregoing generations—all the way back to the universal holocaust in the days of Chmielnicki, and with their brothers from other parts of Europe in almost every century and every land. It is their spirits which give us no rest, which admonish us against all vain illusions and false hopes. It is their innocent blood which will not be covered up until out of their martyrdom a new life is born—the free and redeemed life of their people.

The legendary hero of the brave Czechs, Zizka, the avenger of Huss, on dying, asked his followers to remove his skin and make of it a drum with which to lead the Taborites into battle! That is how a life-hungry people employs even death to lead it on to victory and to life!

And along with the ark of death there moves before us also the ark of the covenant—the ark of faith—our covenant with the future, our faith in our destiny, in ourselves and in the God of our Fathers Who sleepeth not, nor slumbereth. "Exiles are never terminated and peoples are never freed except through faith."

My friends! The hammer of destiny is even now fashioning a new world, and Israel is again the anvil which bears the strokes of humanity. It is a noble role, but we are a little tired of this role. We have been noble and beaten for so long. We now wish to be noble and free! And as a free people in its own land to work together with all other free peoples for a just and peaceful world.

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