



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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American Zionist Emergency Council, rally for Palestine, Madison  
Square Garden, New York, 1944.



confront our people in many parts, the  
world, ~~and by the~~ and by the historic task of  
the upbuilding of Palestine. In the fraternal-  
ity of a great Jewish service, we have  
<sup>new</sup> ~~united~~ our interest and our devotion.  
~~we~~ <sup>we</sup> have not surrendered, nor have we  
been united to surrender. Each his  
individual philosophy of life, or his  
cherished solution of ~~the~~ what he  
holds to be the basic problem of  
life. But a common denominator  
has, after years of searching & probing,  
been discerned and on that basis we  
have united. <sup>over</sup> In the fraternal comradeship  
<sup>in action</sup> ~~in action~~, in the common tasks which  
<sup>we shall</sup> ~~we shall~~ jointly undertake, and in the continued  
conference of heart and mind, we  
shall undoubtedly come to know  
each other better, and gain greater  
sympathy for each other's points of view.

3. There has been much misunderstanding  
in the past, and much overstatement  
based on misunderstanding. Some  
have charged the J. with a mean use of  
influence to the econ. plight of their fellow  
Jews in E. Europe because of their absorption



Time achieves more & logic ~~is~~ <sup>is</sup> ~~unavoidable~~ <sup>unavoidable</sup>

In place of conflict in ideologies,  
we have here <sup>presented</sup> ~~submitted~~ to cooperation  
in <sup>the</sup> ~~one~~ <sup>great</sup> ~~consensus~~ <sup>ideal</sup> - That of  
~~meeting~~ <sup>satisfying</sup> the <sup>urgent</sup> ~~needs~~ <sup>essential</sup> of our people  
everywhere, realizing that these  
need differ not only quantitatively  
but qualitatively. We are content to  
let time take care of our differences.  
~~But this is just what it is~~

~~It is probable that~~ - "and it shall come  
to pass that the result of the ingenious  
series will be peace! We will always  
be ~~different~~ <sup>different</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>in</sup> ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> tasks, outlooks  
and attitudes. <sup>for years to come, until</sup>  
the assimilation process of the ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> ~~era~~ <sup>era</sup>  
will have accomplished its work.  
We shall be classified <sup>in thousands</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>into</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup>  
long to the group where ancestors  
came from the ~~shells~~ <sup>shells</sup>, Russia & Poland  
Others will belong to the group where  
ancestors came from the ~~shells~~ <sup>shells</sup>,  
Germany and Austria-Hungary. Some  
will be liberals in their econ. pol. & rel.  
that. Others conservative. Still others  
radical. That is true of every people.





HOTEL WASHINGTON  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

In rapid succession, out, the  
frail, the war, came the B. deal,  
the San Remo decision, the Pol. scandal,  
the with. approval of Pol. as the a J.  
land, the heavily underwritten of the  
J. land by an even first - the  
very field of the - the new plus of  
10003 J. settles with Pol. <sup>new</sup>  
<sup>was interesting, also talked</sup>  
him, new columns, new circles of J.  
life and that the high community - a in  
eyes, threatening, joyous creation of.  
Life in P.

There was too much of human  
with here to be ignored. Too much  
of J. power. Too much of J. honor  
at stake.

No 2. ~~unlike~~ <sup>with</sup> the name, with the spirit  
this all of comparison is in complete  
concordance with the world scope &  
~~all-evil~~ <sup>all-evil</sup> ~~expression~~ <sup>expression</sup> of sympathies of Ziemer  
No 2. ~~unlike~~ <sup>with</sup> the name, will <sup>part</sup> <sup>of the</sup> <sup>part</sup> <sup>of the</sup>  
for his readiest & fullest cooperation  
~~to it.~~

4. On the other hand <sup>action is in the Relief work</sup> ~~non-~~ <sup>few</sup> charged  
with not with a failure to extend in  
just manner relief to Pal - <sup>with</sup> <sup>that</sup>  
they were ~~never~~ <sup>charged</sup> <sup>assigned</sup> <sup>in the part</sup> <sup>of the</sup>  
a dis inclination to provide beyond  
that to <sup>an</sup> active participation in  
the actual rebuilding of the <sup>of the</sup> <sup>land</sup>  
land. <sup>in</sup> They ~~would~~ <sup>did</sup> not <sup>a</sup> <sup>world</sup>  
not see the <sup>also</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>very</sup> <sup>diff</sup>  
status of the Pal. <sup>there</sup> <sup>is</sup> <sup>no</sup>  
~~expression~~ <sup>expression</sup> <sup>in the</sup> <sup>land</sup> <sup>to be</sup> <sup>rebuild</sup>  
for <sup>the</sup> <sup>land</sup> <sup>to be</sup> <sup>rebuild</sup>  
~~was to be rebuilt~~ <sup>for the</sup> <sup>of the</sup> <sup>people</sup>

Time and events <sup>have also</sup> <sup>in the</sup> <sup>land</sup> <sup>to be</sup> <sup>rebuild</sup>  
~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> <sup>multiply</sup> <sup>these</sup> <sup>changes</sup>  
<sup>of</sup> <sup>intelligence</sup> <sup>could</sup> <sup>not</sup> <sup>long</sup> <sup>break</sup>  
~~such~~ <sup>an</sup> <sup>intransigent</sup> <sup>doctrinaire</sup>  
attitude of indifference or hostility  
to such <sup>unfounded</sup> <sup>measures</sup>  
<sup>movement</sup>. And as by <sup>one</sup> <sup>thing</sup>  
began to reach out a helping  
hand. First those who were



[illegible]

the thinking center, J. life, <sup>who from our first Heron Council - 1842</sup> and then  
down as the periphery. ~~It~~ It was  
a <sup>slow but steady</sup> ~~deliberate~~ process of self education  
and <sup>intel.</sup> ~~the~~ adjustment made almost  
inevitable by the logic, events  
and <sup>the</sup> new conditions. The climax  
was reached in the formation of the  
J. Agency - <sup>which</sup> ~~and the~~ mag. symbol  
and ~~consummation~~ was the Zurich Conf. Conf.

- Egypt -

- Rome - Suffering

- Pal -

5. This 10. Conf. is the <sup>beginning</sup> ~~the~~ of the Z. Conf.

In diversity, elements represented  
and in the <sup>which is</sup> ~~uniformity~~ <sup>unifying</sup> ~~unifying~~ it, our Conf. today is a perfect  
reflex of that historic assembly of  
~~issues~~ ~~new~~ ~~at~~ Zurich.

I was privileged to attend it. <sup>no one who witnessed it will ever forget it</sup>  
~~that~~ ~~was~~ ~~just~~ it. <sup>something quite</sup>  
unprecedented, something <sup>vast</sup> ~~great~~ <sup>heroic</sup>  
in scope and vision, something  
~~very~~ august, <sup>and</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>hundreds</sup> majority  
transpired there. The prince, and



[illegible]



HOTEL WASHINGTON  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

And yet for all this we make  
a new covenant, and write it: on  
parchment, on Tablets and on  
purple.





And in 2000 yrs had such a <sup>new, renewed</sup> assembly  
of souls ~~notable~~ taken place. And  
as I sat there, <sup>same, regularly</sup> watching the leaves  
unfolding trees, I was struck.  
No, no I said: The solus has  
not ~~broken~~ <sup>broken</sup> there. They are strong -  
~~they are strong~~ <sup>they are strong</sup> -  
~~they are the strength of their~~  
~~valour, men.~~ The world has not  
conquered us. We have triumphed  
it! Misfortune has not humbled  
us - we are proud. Persecution  
has not scattered us. We are  
united. The prophecy has been  
fulfilled: etc. BIN PB -

~~last~~ <sup>my friends,</sup> to me  
6. (This Conf. ~~always back to me~~ <sup>is</sup> <sup>to me</sup>  
your reflex of that one. The setting,  
the composition, ~~the spirit~~ <sup>the objectives</sup> are  
the same. There is but one diff:  
We meet in a much more diff.  
time, in a much more harassed  
and troubled world. Since Zurich  
mail has transferred to weyatt  
our spirit down. First came  
the death of Jesus M. the Key stone

in the arch, the newly formed J. Agency  
He died for ~~humanity but not for~~ his  
nations having achievement & consciousness  
this. His life closed in triumph. For  
us his death was little short  
& calamity. And were it not that  
others were soon found who stepped into  
the breach in splendid courage and resolution  
to the great emergency in ~~the coming~~ <sup>at this critical time</sup> of  
the passing, L. M. ~~would have been~~  
disasters. — Then followed the  
riots in Cal, and the confusion  
shifting <sup>our</sup> interest from reconstruction  
to relief <sup>measures</sup> ~~undertakings~~, and the from  
an exacted record of optimism &  
confidence <sup>in our work</sup> to one of depression  
and <sup>confusion</sup> ~~panic~~. — Then followed the  
economic <sup>slump</sup> ~~disturbance~~ is all over  
country, <sup>seriously affecting</sup> ~~disrupting~~ many of  
our people, and many <sup>more</sup> ~~men~~ <sup>men</sup> ~~men~~  
upon themselves & their <sup>own</sup> ~~self~~ interests  
and despairing of their <sup>not the least</sup> ~~the~~ ability  
to fix. And lastly came the  
desperate reports from Russia  
where a new <sup>+ determined</sup> ~~movement~~ to the left



or weariness among your people.  
You must provide to dissipate it by <sup>education</sup>  
~~any other way~~ <sup>from</sup>  
education and inspiration.

7. Tell them that the uncertainties which surround our relief labors in Russia are no warrant for our descontinuing them. Mistakes <sup>may</sup> have been made, ~~but~~ <sup>more</sup> mistakes will be made. It is in the very nature of a hastily conceived program of relief to ~~meet pressing and definite needs~~, that no single element of error in judgment ~~and~~ <sup>into it</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>may some times</sup> will enter many remedies ~~are~~ <sup>will</sup> be tried for the real cure is discovered for a patient who is very ill and whose illness ~~cannot~~ <sup>escape eludes</sup> an accurate diagnosis. In a land of such swiftly shifting ~~economic~~ <sup>as</sup> ~~recesses~~ <sup>the</sup> ~~as~~ <sup>best</sup> ~~the~~ <sup>was</sup> ~~like~~ <sup>confronted</sup> with such a heart-breaking set of problems, social, pol. econ. rel. <sup>and</sup> at the hands of a ~~seemingly~~ <sup>giant</sup> as the R. J. Com - vast upheavals, vast upheavals, vast econ. & ideal. readjustments, in the midst of a ~~hazy~~ <sup>hazy</sup> ~~world~~ <sup>world</sup> of blind action. What can they do?



Proud R. Jerry! What a hell it has  
passed thru there 15 years! War, ~~against~~  
~~international~~ <sup>militarism</sup>, evacuations, invading armies,  
~~defeat~~ <sup>defeat</sup>, ~~replenition~~ <sup>replenition</sup>, counter revolutions,  
~~poisons~~ <sup>poisons</sup>, ~~dictatorships~~ <sup>dictatorships</sup>, econ. annihilation,  
cultural poisons, religious  
poisons, <sup>caught, want, isolated</sup> - all in 15 bloody, tragic  
years. It has bleeding to-day and  
perstrate. But it will arise again!  
R. Jerry will arise again. Stalin  
and the ~~Soviet~~ <sup>Grand</sup> ~~Union~~ <sup>Union</sup> have not written  
the ~~best~~ <sup>grand</sup> chapters in the history of the  
100 year old R. J. ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup>. Other days  
will come. The world is a wheel  
which revolves. R. Jerry, who  
withstand the Czar and under Med.  
restrictions, protect a whole of  
culture, and a splendid Jerry's life  
will rise ~~firmly~~ <sup>firmly</sup> ~~unshakably~~ <sup>unshakably</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>in</sup>  
poverty, suffering and disabilities.  
~~as well~~. The ~~new~~ <sup>new</sup> R. will again  
begin the ~~benefactors~~ <sup>benefactors</sup> ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup>  
and not the ~~benefactors~~ <sup>benefactors</sup>  
~~benefactors~~. But until that time,  
and as long as they are in the mire  
of want & privation, we must keep





in the cen. When, the Soviet part and  
the involved peasants & land socialization  
~~and certain~~  
~~are bound~~ to affect ~~the whole movement~~ the colonization  
work which we entered as Russia,  
and where a renewed anti-Rel.  
crusade <sup>began to</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>was</sup> putting their hands  
upon the rel. <sup>faithful</sup> ~~missionaries~~ among our fellow-  
Jews there.

X Certainly this hour is heavily freighted  
with rougher and surier problems.  
And ∴ this hour demands ~~a far~~  
<sup>on our part -</sup> more courageous leadership -  
ship - far more intelligence, patience  
and a ~~hardness~~ <sup>williness</sup> on the part; those who are  
in their circumstances to submit  
to criticism and unpopularity for  
the sake of the great objectives. It is  
long and pleasant to lead when  
all understand and are ready to  
follow. But there leadership may be  
a cross. <sup>It is also</sup> But a cross! No man  
can afford to be afraid and inflexibly led  
when men do not & will not under-  
stand. You may encounter a  
kind of rebellion or depression



What could we do for them? They  
had no uniform opinion in the  
<sup>the matter</sup> matter neither did we. They we  
listened to those who seemed to  
be their most authoritative and  
best informed spokesman, and we  
followed their advice. We must  
do so now. There is no other  
way. At this distance we cannot  
determine for every what <sup>the relief</sup> ~~it is to~~  
~~is best suited to the need~~. We must take counsel with  
them. We must be guided by them.

But as long as their needs are <sup>there</sup> ~~as~~  
~~great as they are~~, as long as their plight  
is as sad ~~and~~ as it is, as long as hundreds  
of thousands of them are without any  
means of <sup>livelihood</sup> ~~earning~~ a living, doctored,  
retarded, defenceless, without trade, ~~less~~  
or tools, ~~less~~, landless, doomed to  
ruin and annihilation, it is  
our sacred duty to help in every  
way, and by every means which <sup>put</sup> holds  
the ~~promise~~ ~~that~~ <sup>an</sup> ~~when~~ <sup>once</sup> of  
relief for them.



44-2  
Many have spoken this evening, and ~~nobody~~<sup>nddy</sup> spoke. We are grateful for these utterances of comradeship and encouragement.

For ~~many~~<sup>me</sup> there remains but one thing to say, and it comes out of the depths of the unshaken resoluteness and the invincible convictions of our long-suffering, often frustrated, but never defeated people of Israel; we are going ahead! We shall not be deterred! Our people move forward towards Palestine as an irresistible tide. Necessity is driving us. Desperate needs and homelessness are propelling us. Destiny is summoning us.

We know that there are powerful forces aligned against us, and as the hour of decision approaches they are mustering their maximum strength. On our side are justice, morality, law, and humanity. Against us are powers and potencies variously motivated in London, in Washington, and in the Near East. Some of those forces, operating against us in our own capital, have only recently been brought out into the open as the result of the resolutions which were introduced in Congress. They have been at work for a long time, and quite effectively, though not in the open.

We know that we have a major battle on hand, and we are strengthening ourselves in patience, resolution, and discipline for the hard fight ahead.

But this, too, we know: That the great heart of America is with us in our struggle to rebuild our national life and our historic home. The response which these resolutions evoked throughout the United States has been even more enthusiastic than we had been led to anticipate, although we have been aware right along of the traditional sympathy of the American people for our cause. From all parts of the country there poured into Washington during the past few weeks a veritable avalanche of communications--letters, telegrams, and petitions--from all groups and sections of our population, Jewish and non-Jewish--editors, ministers, governors of state, mayors of municipalities, leaders of business, industry, and labor. The editorial opinion of the press of our country has been remarkably warm in its endorsement of these resolutions. The best informed minds



in Washington know that if these resolutions were voted upon in Congress today, without the overhanging injunction of the military, they would be adopted overwhelmingly.

This is a fact which no temporary deferment of action on these resolutions should obscure. The inferences which must be drawn from it will not be ignored by public officials here or in London, or in the capitals of those Arab countries whose officials, as if at a given signal and with concerted and competitive zeal, registered such violent protests against the resolutions. ~~As one is able to judge,~~ <sup>be it remembered</sup> these protests represent the sole contribution which these countries have so far made towards the winning of the war . . .

We are profoundly grateful for this outpouring of sympathy and help on the part of the American people and of their chosen representatives in Congress. It is completely in keeping with the great tradition of our country, which heartily approved of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate a quarter of a century ago, <sup>and</sup> in the fashioning of which our government played an important role. This cooperative attitude of the American people will prove decisive, we are confident, in the final analysis.

We are going ahead! The deferment of action on the resolutions by the Foreign Affairs Committee we regard only as a temporary check on the strong desire of Congress to declare itself and to make its voice and the voice of the American people heard in favor of the abrogation of the White Paper and for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and their right to reconstitute there a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Our War Department has indicated objections to the passage of this resolution at this time. Civilians are at a great disadvantage in arguing with the military on questions of military necessity or expediency, although in a democracy, civilians must occasionally exercise that right. We had occasion to question the argument from military necessity <sup>when it</sup> ~~which~~ was employed more than a year ago against



the restitution of the rights of citizenship to the Jews of Algeria. The danger of an Arab uprising which might embarrass our military operations in North Africa was employed at that time to silence the demands for the abrogation of the infamous Vichy anti-Jewish decree. Under persistent public pressure, however, the rights of French citizenship were finally restored to the Jews and, all military intelligence notwithstanding, the Arab world remained remarkably placid and undisturbed about it.

Our position in the Mediterranean and in the Near East was far less secure a year ago than it is today. There are no Nazi or Fascist troops anywhere in North Africa or in the Near East. The Arabs, who ever since the beginning of the war have been unable to decide which side to favor, not knowing which side will win, now definitely are convinced that victory is on the side of the Allies. They understand full well where their political future lies. They will not flirt with the Axis any more. Why the old Arab appeasement argument should now be brought out again in an effort to forestall official criticism of the White Paper which has no basis in law or morality, is beyond our comprehension. We hope that the military authorities will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, to withdraw their objections so that the Congress of the United States may be given the opportunity to speak its mind on this tremendously important question, which is *after all* a political and not a military question.

The White Paper comes into force at the end of this month. This accounts for the nation-wide protests and for the introduction of the resolution in Congress at this time. The timing was not of our choosing. To those who say that the Jewish people should wait for the end of the war before they raise the question of the abrogation of the White Paper, with its clear implication of liquidating the Jewish National Home, the answer must be given that vital political decisions affecting many countries are even now being made, and that Palestine and the Near East are quite definitely within the field where political activities looking towards ultimate arrangements are being vigorously prosecuted today. Again, the White Paper was announced as the British policy for Palestine before the war; it



is not a product of the war, and the return of peace will not automatically abrogate it. It is clear that unless there is a revision of attitude and a change of heart, the Colonial Office of Great Britain will be able to discover after the war as many avowedly insurmountable difficulties in the way of fulfilling the clear intent and purpose of the Mandate as they were quick to discover before the war. We had hoped that the war, with its generous outpouring of human idealism, would bring about such a new attitude. We had hoped that in view of the terrible tragedies which had overtaken our people during the war, there would come about a full realization that everything should be done in order to make the position of the Jewish people more secure in the world, and that, in order to avert such recurrent tragedies in the future, generous measures would immediately be taken to insure the full rehabilitation of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. Unfortunately, nothing of the sort has happened. It is business as usual with empires--as with oil concessionaires!

What is it that the Jews of the world are asking for today with reference to Palestine? Is it anything new? Are we making any new demands? Are we making *any* unreasonable demands? Are we placing any new interpretation on those internationally accepted documents which define Jewish rights in Palestine, and on the basis of which Jews have poured their ~~substance~~ <sup>substance</sup> and their unmeasured devotions into that country during the past twenty-five years? Let the man who was the Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, Lloyd George, give the answer.

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 17, 1930, and referring to the words in the preamble of the Mandate: "Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country," he declared:

"The reason why I think that those words are important and control the whole of the policy is this: It means that the idea was not to establish a Jewish colony in Palestine. The idea was not to give opportunities for colonisation and settlement by Jews in Palestine;



the dominant idea was that there should be a national home for the Jews in Palestine, a recognition of the special position of the Jewish people in the country whose name they have made immortal, and the conferring upon them of special rights and interests in that country. It was an opportunity for recreating a Hebrew culture which has already rendered such eternal service to mankind, so that the contributions of the Jews to civilisation should no longer be sporadic and individual, but once more that it should be the contribution of a people dwelling in a home of their own. That is not colonisation; that is not settlement; that is a national home. That is what this country accepted at a critical moment in its fate for reasons which had to do with that crisis, and its successful emergence out of it. That is why the Allies accepted and endorsed it, and it is a pledge of honour by some of the greatest nations on earth, including the British Empire, which we are called upon to honour."

Mr. Lloyd George calls upon his country to honor a solemn pledge, to keep a sacred covenant made with a friendly people. We have kept our pledge. We have been faithful to the covenant. We undertook to rebuild the country, to reclaim its wastes, for the blessing of all and the hurt of none. The testimony of the world is loud in affirming that we have done so in a remarkable and a magnificent manner. Our pioneers came to a land wasting away, to a country in utter decline. They came to a soil sterile and barren, and invested measureless effort to undo the mischief of the centuries. By their own efforts, neither asking nor receiving favors, they revived an old and impoverished land. They came not to exploit a backward people or <sup>to</sup> drain wealth from the cheap labor of a colonial people. They invested themselves <sup>in their bodies and souls</sup> into the country and fructified it by their tears and blood and sweat. It was to them, as it was to their ancestors, ~~a holy land~~. <sup>a holy land</sup> And as ~~such~~ they resolved to bequeath it unto their descendants. In Palestine the tragedy of a people given over to centuries of



persecution, hate, and exile met up with the tragedy of a <sup>land</sup> ~~country~~ given over to centuries of plunder, exploitation, and neglect. The result has been ~~their~~ <sup>an</sup> ineffable blessing both to the people and to the land. <sup>They lost everything to each other.</sup>

Israel has honored its pledge. We call upon Great Britain, even as its great statesman called upon it, to honor its pledge.

A few days ago the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Winston Churchill, addressing the House of Commons, uttered these true words:

" . . . The sanest and safest course for us to follow is to judge all parties and factions dispassionately by the test of their readiness and ability to fight the Germans and thus lighten the burden of Allied troops . . .

"Our feelings here and elsewhere follow the principle of keeping good faith with those who have kept good faith with us and of striving without prejudice or regard for political affections to aid those who strike for freedom against the Nazi rule and inflict the greatest injury upon the enemy."

Who in the Near East has kept faith with the United Nations in this war? The Iraqi who in England's darkest hour attempted a miserable pro-Nazi putsch? The Egyptians who watched with undisturbed hearts Rommel's approach to Alexandria, whose Prime Minister had to be removed from office and confined by the British because of his trafficking with the enemy and whose Chief of Staff had likewise to be arrested? The Syrians, whose land was a hot-bed of Axis intrigue and espionage all through the period of the Vichy regime? Or the Palestine Arabs whose chief spokesman is even now in the entourage of Hitler in Berlin? Did these Arab peoples, so persistently wooed and appeased, keep faith with the nations who were fighting for the Atlantic Charter--that very charter which they would now invoke in an effort to defeat the legitimate national aspirations of the one people in the Near East which did keep faith--the Jews of Palestine who sent their sons by the thousands as volunteers to fight and die on the side



of the Allies and who mobilized the entire Jewish Homeland to provide food and ammunition, vital supplies and services to our fighting forces?

If the White Paper, a unilateral British declaration which never received the approval of these nations, including our own, which consented to the granting of the Mandate over Palestine to Great Britain, was found odious and unjustifiable when it was issued in 1939 before the Second World War and before the appalling disasters swept over the Jewish communities of Europe, bringing wreck and ruin to millions of our people, how utterly insupportable and insufferable is it today!

The last five years have been the blackest in Jewish history. They climaxed five other years which the Nazi regime ushered in, during which one Jewish community after another in central and eastern Europe was broken and myriads of Jews were driven into exile from countries where they had no dignity, honor, and where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries. Myriads of them crowded the highways of the world in quest of refuge and sanctuary and finding most doors barred against them. But a worse fate awaited those who could not escape in time. For them, Hitler has decreed total extermination--systematic, ruthless annihilation--in gas chambers, by machine guns, in human slaughter pens. The Jewish communities of Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Holland, Belgium, Italy, not to speak of Germany and Austria, have either been decimated or completely exterminated. Today, the last great Jewish community of Europe, that of Hungary, <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ on the way to the slaughter pen--900,000 men, women, and children. Perhaps some of them will escape. Perhaps some will escape from Roumania before the henchman with his bloody ax overtakes them. Whither will they go? Where will they find refuge and sanctuary? Where will the myriads of uprooted Jews, that floating population of human misery, go to after this war? Surely, a realistic appraisal of what is likely to prevail in Europe after the war cannot fail to give not only Jewish leaders but the statesmen of the world grounds for gravest concern.



The struggle for existence in post-war Europe will be harsh and bitter. Famine, poverty, and misery will stalk over the face of that war-riven continent. There will be ruined economies, worthless currencies, social collapse, and possible revolutions in many defeated countries--just as after the last war. The youth of half of Europe which has been indoctrinated with the racial and nationalistic mythologies of Nazi and Fascist dictatorship will be unfit for a democratic way of life which they have been taught to hate and despise--and they will be virulent Jew-haters. Jews will again be eyed sullenly as unwelcome economic competitors by millions of job-hungry and career-hungry men. ~~Economic hostility will once again be rationalized into the well known and quite serviceable anti-Semitic thesis.~~

No doubt the Jews of Europe following an Allied victory will be restored to their political rights and citizenship. But they possessed these rights after the last war--even minority rights in some of the countries of central and eastern Europe. Nevertheless, anti-Semitism was never so rampant and so violent as after the last war.

Abstract rights will, of course, be restored, but active anti-Semitism, unfortunately, is likely to continue. Jews by the tens of thousands will be compelled to seek new homes. New homes will not be available.

Jews can never forget the appalling experience of their refugees in the last ten years--the story of their sad Odyssey in an inhospitable world. These experiences are not likely to be much different after this war. They may be even more difficult; for nations after the war will be in the grip of vast economic dislocations and they will be confronted with the task of helping their own people over the formidable transition period when their national economies will be passing from a wartime to a peacetime footing. They will not wish to complicate their lives with large influxes of impoverished immigrants.

There are no opportunities for mass immigration for Jews anywhere in the world today. There are not likely to be. We wish it were otherwise. Feeble trickles of immigration will be permitted into this or that country, but waves



will be fiercely resisted; and it is with waves of immigration, rather than with trickles, that we must concern ourselves.

It is unrealistic at this time to suggest that new colonial possibilities will be available to meet the great immigration pressure after this war. ~~It is~~ too late in the day to indulge in what has been characterized as "ramblings in the iridescent nothingness of 'Utopia'".

This consideration brings us to the subject of Palestine which is the purpose of this gathering. Palestine has been prepared and readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency. Jews have in the period between the two world wars invested life, energy, and substance in the upbuilding of their national home which was politically guaranteed to them by the terms of the Palestine Mandate, to which our own country subscribed along with more than fifty other nations. As a result of this extraordinary Jewish pioneering and upbuilding, the little country of Palestine was able to give refuge and sanctuary to more than half of all the driven and hunted Jewish refugees of Hitler's Europe. It is prepared to take on the main share of the burden of the solution of post-war Jewish immigration. The Jews of Palestine want them to come there. The Jews of Europe wish to go there. Fair-minded men everywhere believe that it is the proper country for them to go to.

It is against this appalling background of an actual as well as a potential tragedy of <sup>a</sup> people that has suffered more as a result of this war than any other people in the world that we see the British White Paper, and seeing it we are horrified.

And we ask, will the conscience of the English people, will the conscience of the world, permit even these last doors of hope to be closed against our suffering multitudes? Is this act of injustice and inhumanity to usher in the new world order for which we are fighting?



There are voices which say, no! Voices here and abroad. There was a voice recently heard in Washington, whose echoes reverberate <sup>d</sup> around the world. It was the voice of the President of the United States, who declared in clear and unmistakable terms, and in so doing, <sup>he</sup> I am sure, voiced the spirit of America and the conscience of the world, "The American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939." Further, "That when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish national home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy, and today more than ever in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

We are waiting to hear the clear voice of Mr. Winston Churchill respond to the clear voice of Mr. Roosevelt. ~~We look upon him as the heir of the great tradition of Arthur Balfour that is representative of the spirit of England, whose friendship for the Jewish people through generations has been constant and unfail-~~

~~ing.~~ Let him who ~~once~~ stood at Dunkirk strong and unafraid, and bid his people to the promised land, of a happier day spent with our people who once stood at the Red Sea, ~~and on their way to~~ <sup>waiting for</sup> the promised land, and <sup>today</sup> once again, stand at a Red Sea & stand, ~~and~~ waiting for their deliverance - say unto the children of Israel - ~~so~~ <sup>go</sup> forward! =



# Full text of Resolution:

-1-

"Eleven years ago the assault of the Nazi government upon the Jewish people was the initial step in the murderous war of aggression which Germany has since waged against all civilized mankind. Injustice to the Jew was the first manifestation of that universal injustice which the Nazis sought to impose upon the whole world.

"Today the Jews of Europe lie crushed under the Nazi heel. The fate of these victims of the deliberate and diabolical Nazi policy of extermination, has aroused the conscience of the free peoples of the world. It has brought forcibly to the attention of mankind the possibilities of Palestine as the one great haven of immediate refuge and of permanent rehabilitation. Yet it is at this very time that the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 bars Palestine to all further Jewish immigration, apart from some 25,000 refugees who, but for administrative restriction, would long since have been admitted.

"As the deadline of March 31, 1944 originally set by the White Paper approaches, we recall with grief and indignation the fate of hundreds of thousands of our fellow-Jews who were consigned to the concentration camps and death chambers of Hitler and who, but for the policy of that White Paper, might have been saved and given sanctuary in Palestine; of those who were drowned on the 'Struma' and the 'Patria' because they were denied refuge in the Jewish homeland; and of the 1,500 Jewish refugees who, having finally reached Palestine, were deported as 'illegal' immigrants to the tropical island of Mauritius where for the past three years they have been rotting away in detention camps.

"Conceived in that bankrupt period of statesmanship when it was sought to mollify enemies by sacrificing friends, the White Paper survives as an anachronistic relic of appeasement and injustice in international relations. It has been denounced by many of Great Britain's present leaders including Prime Minister Winston Churchill. We have faith in that better England which, under his inspired leadership saved civilization in its darkest hour. We have confidence in Mr. Churchill's loyal adherence to the principles of the Ealfour

(more)



- 2 -

Declaration so eloquently endorsed by him in many of his past utterances, and we now appeal to him as an understanding friend and champion of democracy to give early effect to his words of 1939 by bringing about the abrogation of the White Paper.

"We greet with satisfaction and gratitude the statement of our own President on March 9th, that the Government of the United States has never given its approval to the White Paper, and his assurance that 'when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy.'

"We trust that the President will use his good offices and the high authority of his position to the end that this full justice which he so earnestly desires may speedily be achieved.

"The Jewish people is deeply indebted to the Senators and Congressmen who have sponsored the Palestine Resolutions in both Houses of Congress as well as to all who have given generous support to these Resolutions. While action on the Resolutions has for the time being been deferred by reason of military considerations, it has been made expressly clear that the grounds for this deferment are without reference to the merits of the Resolutions. We therefore urge their passage at the earliest moment consistent with the exigencies of the war effort thereby serving to join the Legislative and Executive branches of our Government in the expression of a common policy designed to end the sufferings of the Jewish people and to restore it to a place of honor and dignity among the nations of the earth.

"In the name of humanity and of justice we demand the immediate abolition of the White Paper. We call for the unqualified fulfillment of the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and the opening wide of the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration and settlement, to the end that the

(more)



Jews may reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

"All men of good will, Christians and Jews alike, whose spiritual traditions spring from those sources which nourish everything which the Western World holds sacred and dear, unite in looking upon the restoration of Palestine to the Jewish people as a vital and indispensable element in the restoration of righteousness to humanity."

#58-3/21/44





44-2

# Rally for Palestine



## PROGRAM

DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

*Presiding*

NATIONAL ANTHEM — HATIKVAH

"OPEN YE THE GATES"

*Music — Sholem Secunda*

*Reader — Henry Shine*

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

MATTHEW WOLL

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

"COLLOQUY WITH THE LORD"

א דין תורה מיטן רבוננו-של-עולם

Moishe Oysher

FARBAND CHOIR

Leo Low, *Conductor*

HON. ALBEN W. BARKLEY

DOROTHY THOMPSON

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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*Sponsored by*

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN

*March 21, 1944*



# THE FUTURE OF A PEOPLE IS AT STAKE

HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS of uprooted and destitute European Jews—the first and foremost victims of the Nazi war on civilization—need a place in which to begin a new life.

For the most part, their native lands—Germany, Poland, Rumania, Hungary—seethe with systematically nurtured hatred for them and render the prospect of any future there as dark as the past.

There is no prospect for large-scale Jewish immigration into any country other than Palestine.

PALESTINE, the ancient and never forgotten homeland of the Jewish people, offers the one major haven for the misery-stricken, hate-pursued Jewish refugees. Over half a million Jews have settled and prospered in Palestine during the past twenty-five years. The land can shelter and give life to millions more—American experts say it can absorb anywhere from two to five million additional Jews.

GREAT BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, and the League of Nations have recognized Palestine as the National Home of the Jewish people. In 1922 the Congress of the United States adopted a Joint Resolution favoring "the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people," and in 1924, the terms of the Palestine Mandate were ratified in a treaty between Great Britain and the United States. Article One of this treaty provided that "nothing in the treaty shall be affected by any modifications which may later be made in the terms of the Mandate unless such modifications shall have first been assented to by the United States."

A WHITE PAPER, issued by the Chamberlain government in 1939 as part of its appeasement policy towards the Arabs will prohibit all new Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31. It also limits Jewish land settlement to a tiny area.

Contrary to its intention, the White Paper failed to win the Arabs to the cause of the United Nations.

In Iraq, at the most critical period of the war, the Prime Minister, Rashid Ali al-Gallani, headed an Axis-inspired revolt. Egypt, throughout, moved no finger in defense of her own soil. Syria and Arab Palestine seethed with pro-Axis sentiment as long as the Nazis were winning battles. Even today the Mufti of Jerusalem is conducting pro-Nazi propaganda from Berlin.

Ibn Saud and the minor princes of the Arab Peninsula have not contributed so much as a camel to the war effort for world freedom.

Need for continued appeasement or further appeasement no longer exists. On moral ground the Arabs have no claim upon the United Nations. They did less than nothing to make possible the victories in Syria, North Africa, and Ethiopia.

In each of these lands, on the other hand, lies scattered the dead of Jewish volunteer units from Palestine—units whose voluntary enlistments are equivalent in number to an enlistment of eight million in the United States.

If allowed to stand, the White Paper will freeze Palestinian Jewry as a permanent minority. It will mean the death warrant to the one major hope for a normal life, cherished by countless thousands of homeless Jews. It will inflict upon the post-war world a bitter and insoluble Jewish problem. It flouts the claims of justice, the demands of reason, and every appeal of the human heart.

The policy of the White Paper must be superseded by a policy faithful to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.

On March 9, 1944, President Roosevelt authorized Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to say that "*the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. President Roosevelt is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy, and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees.*"

Now pending in the Congress of the United States are the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions which urge the United States to "use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

**OUR GOVERNMENT MUST ACT**

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## THE TORTURED JEWS OF EUROPE LOOK TO AMERICA



# FIGHT FOR JUSTICE

The Arab countries of the Near East stretch over an area of 1,194,500 square miles. Palestine, with its 10,500 square miles, covers LESS THAN ONE PERCENT of this area.

Shall the little notch of Palestine, pledged by the nations of the world as a homeland for the Jewish people, with whom it is immemorally associated, be barred to them?

## PALESTINE AND THE ARAB WORLD

	Area in Square Miles	Population
PALESTINE	10,500	1,650,000*
SYRIA	58,000	3,600,000
IRAQ	116,000	2,860,000
SAUDI ARABIA	900,000	4,500,000
YEMEN	75,000	3,500,000
TRANSJORDAN	35,000	300,000
Total	1,194,500	16,410,000

\*(Includes 600,000 Jews.) All this territory was freed from Turkish rule during the last war.



## OPEN THE DOORS OF PALESTINE







# שפוך חמתך

... גיסט אויס אייער הייליגן צאָרן אויף די  
קעפּ פון די שונא־ציון, די אידישע נאָך מעהר ווי די נישט־אידישע,  
לאָזט הערען אייער שטים אין וואַשינגטאָן און אין לאַנדאָן

קומט אין די מאַסען

היינט אָווענט

אין

מעדיסאָן סקווער גארדען

מירען אָפּען 6:30

איינמאָל פּריי!

מען קען אײַך נישט גאראַנטירען קיין פלעצער אין גארדען אויב  
איהר קומט שפעט; ס'איז אָבער גאראַנטירט אז אייער שטים  
וועט דערגרייכען די נויטיגע ספּערען, צי איהר זײַט אינוועניג  
אָדער צי איהר דעמאָנסטרירט בײַ די לאָד-ספּיקערס דרויסן

מוזיקאַלישע פּראָגראַם:

רעדנער:

„עפענט די טויערען“

סענאטאָר ראָבערט פ. וואַגנער

פּאַרליעמאַנט: דאָמאָס

סענאטאָר אַלבען וו. באַרקלי

מוזיק: שלום סעקונדע

סענאטאָר ראָבערט א. טעפט

„א די־תורה מיטן רבנו של עולם“  
משה אוישער

מעטיו וואַל, לעיבאָר לידער

פאַר באַנד נאָר

דאָראַטי מאַמפּסאָן

לעז ליאָן, דיריגענט

דד. אבא הלל סילווער

דד. סטיפען ס. ווייז  
פּאַרליעמאַנט

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue, N. Y. C.