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National Conference for Palestine, address by AHS at dinner of
American Palestine Committee, Washington, D. C., 1944.

ADDRESS BY

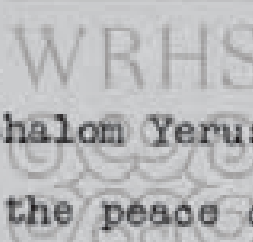

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AT THE DINNER OF AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE AT

HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C., THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1944

My dear friends, this has been indeed a deeply moving and greatly inspiring evening. This gathering itself, composed as it is of men of all faiths, and of all shades of political opinion, is indeed the triumphant symbol of that for which our country stands preeminently in the midst of the world, and that for which we are fighting today.

It is good that Palestine - it is good that Jerusalem - has summoned you all here in this common unity. I know of no way to tell you how deeply I, as one of the spokesmen of the Zionist movement feel at this time, than to repeat a phrase from our ancient and sacred literature:

Shà-shalóm   yishlayee ohavayich
"Shà-shalóm Yerushalaim, yishlayee, ohavayich."

"Seek ye the peace of Jerusalem; may all those who love Thee Jerusalem, prosper."

I wish to thank you, friends, who have come from all parts of the country here to help us in this great and desperately needed task in which we are engaged. I should like to thank the Vice President of the United States for the courtesy which he has shown us in coming here and in giving us his word of uplift and encouragement. And to all the Senators and the Congressmen and the government officials who are here, I should like to express my especial sense of gratitude, and the indebtedness of the Jewish people to the two men of the Senate of the United States, Senator Wagner and Senator Taft, and to the two men from the House of Representatives, to Congressman Wright and Congressman Compton, who introduced the Palestine Resolution in both Houses of Congress. We are an ancient people, of

long memory, and the names of these and the names of all others who have come to our aid in this critical day for Israel, when so many brutal forces are organized and determined to destroy us - I say the names of all these friends will long be cherished and remembered by a grateful and unforgetting people.

I should like to share with you, fellow Americans, the grave problem that confronts the Jewish people at this time and which is likely to confront them after the Allied Victory at the close of this war. The coming of peace will not automatically solve it. It existed in aggravated form even before the war. It is not a problem of a small and unimportant people. The Jews fortunately or unfortunately have never been an unimportant people. This problem cannot be brushed aside because of weightier or more urgent international problems. Our common foe against whom we are sending our sons into battle has made the Jews the central theme in all his vicious propaganda. The Jews everywhere in Europe were the first victims of his murderous campaigns. He has waged war against them for more than ten years. He has killed more than two million of them in the last few years. Our casualties have been higher in proportion than that of any other people. Hitler has vowed to annihilate all of European Jewry. The very enormity of this tragedy forces itself irresistibly upon the attention of the world. The problem simply cannot be ignored.

The early defeat of the Nazis may avert the horror of the total extermination of the Jews of Europe. But what of those who will survive? At the close of the war, European Jewry will find

itself spiritually shaken and physically undermined. They will find themselves in a world of great social, political and economical tension, and under pressures which will not be entirely lifted through the restoration of their rights of citizenship. It is difficult to foresee how many European Jews will survive this war or how many will remain in Europe or will wish to remain.

For those who remain, relief on a very large scale will be necessary for a considerable time. This holds true of course of all other peoples in war ravished Europe. But our experience in the reconstruction period which followed the last war, taught us that Jews in war-stricken countries have special and aggravated problems which make their lot far more desperate.

Responsible Allied statesmen, looking ahead to the pacification and stabilization of Europe must be thinking now not only in terms of postwar relief and rehabilitation, but also, and far more fundamentally, in terms of establishing such political conditions and such international guarantees as will protect the Jewish minority as well as all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last war, almost to the very day when the second war began. A charter of individual human rights and liberties must be proclaimed and enforced by international action which will protect every human being in his right to live and earn a livelihood in the land of his birth or adoption, subject to no restriction or cancellation by any government whatsoever.

But a realistic appraisal of what is likely to prevail in Europe for a considerable period after the war cannot fail to give

the Jewish people and its leaders the gravest concern. The struggle for existence in postwar 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 those 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 postwar 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. But this ancient and historic land of the Jewish people is now in danger of being permanently closed against further Jewish immigration by the British White Paper which comes into force at the end of this month.

On November 2, 1917, Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued the following declaration in the name of the British Government:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries."

President Wilson saw the draft of this declaration before it was issued, and approved it. In March, 1919, at the close of the war, he wrote that "the Allied nations, with fullest concurrence of our Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." In 1920, the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers meeting at San Remo unanimously approved of the Balfour Declaration and in July, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously ratified the Mandate for Palestine, which was given to Great Britain. This mandate charged the Mandatory Government with the obligation to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine and the close settlement of Jews upon the

land to insure the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The same year, the Congress of the United States by unanimous action, passed a resolution which declared that "the United States favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

What was implied in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate is clearly stated by Mr. Lloyd George who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of its issuance. 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 civilization 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 colonization; 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 emergency 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."

An eminent member of the House of Lords recently declared that if today the White Paper were brought before Parliament, it would not have the ghost of a chance of being approved. Every responsible statesman here and abroad knows that the policy of the White Paper is both morally and legally indefensible.

It is a complete repudiation of obligations which the Mandatory Government voluntarily assumed under international sanction to facilitate -- not to curb -- Jewish immigration into Palestine in order to build up the Jewish National Home. It was these obligations which alone justified the granting of the Mandate to Great Britain. The White Paper introduces iniquitous discriminatory racial legislation against Jews -- and of all places, in the Jewish National Home! Immigration and land purchase restrictions are, under the terms of the White Paper, imposed not on Arabs or any other people, but exclusively on Jews.

A reluctant Parliament, in the tragic appeasement era, was maneuvered into affirming these policies, but the moral sense of England never approved of them. That moral sense spoke eloquently through men of the type of Winston Churchill, who branded the White Paper as a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration.

If the White Paper, a unilateral British declaration which never received the approval of those 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 known dignity and 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 had decreed total extermination -- systematic, ruthless annihilation -- in gas chambers, by machine guns, in human slaughter-pens. Some who managed to escape, and after months of wandering finally reached the shores of Palestine -- the shores of the Jewish national home -- were turned away. They were refused admission. They had no certificates. The last door of hope was shut to them. Many tried to enter illegally. Hundreds of them were apprehended, sent to concentration camps, and later forcibly evacuated to the Island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean where they are rotting to this day. Many perished in Haifa Bay; 760 souls perished in the Black Sea on the ill-fated STRUMA because permission to enter Palestine was refused to them. But for this infamous White Paper they might have been saved. Had the doors of Palestine been wide open these last

years of Nazi terror and had the Mandatory Government fully cooperated in the task, tens of thousands of additional refugees might have been saved from Hitler's mass execution.

In March of this year, the pitifully restricted immigration schedule permitted under the White Paper will come to an end. Only the 30,000 unused visas -- unused, principally because of the administrative difficulties put in the way by Palestine officials -- remain. Thereafter, no more Jews will be permitted into Palestine except on Arab sufferance and consent.

Will the conscience of the world permit even the doors of the Jewish National Home to be closed against these helpless Jewish refugees who turn to it now and will turn to it after the war as to their last door of hope and rescue? Is this act of injustice and inhumanity to usher in the new world order for which we are fighting?

A few days ago, Winston Churchill, addressing the House of Commons, uttered these 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 now would 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 as one great civilian army the entire Jewish Homeland to provide food and ammunition, vital supplies and services to our fighting forces?

The Jews of Palestine, and the world, wish the Arab lands and peoples all success in their national and economic development. The Jews of Palestine, and of the rest of the world, stand ready to cooperate with them in the development of that vast world of theirs which is still so sadly undeveloped and underpopulated.

The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine will, we believe, be a great boon to the entire Near East and to all the Arab peoples. Jews are bringing scientific skill, technical knowledge, and material resources to that part of the world. Palestine is destined to become the hub of a great and rapid economic expansion of the entire Near East. The prosperity of Palestine will stimulate the prosperity of all adjacent Arab countries.

The Jews are truly pro-Arab -- perhaps the only truly pro-Arab people in the world, for we realize that the future prosperity of the Jewish National Home is bound up with the prosperity of the entire Arab world which enclaves it. But the progress and development of the Arabs need not be achieved at the sacrifice of the Jewish

National Home which at best occupies a fraction of a fraction of the lands open to Arab growth and development. To Israel, however, Palestine is thrice previous and indispensable for its national life and survival. In it are the roots both of its past and of its future.

The proposed re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will not wrong the Arabs. May I be permitted to quote the words of the Right Honorable Alfred Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the British Admiralty, spoken here in Washington in the Spring of 1940:

"In 1914 there was hardly any territory which the Arabs could call their own. They were almost throughout the Near East subject to Turkish suzerainty. Since 1914, they have acquired vast tracts of territory where they are independent; the whole of Arabia; Transjordan, which was taken away from the original conception of Palestine; Syria, where again they exercise semi-independent rights. No nation in the world has so little ground for complaining of what the Germans call lack of 'lebensraum' as the Arab race. They have vast spaces in which to expand. They have been among the greatest beneficiaries of the World War, and now they are subject to no particular evils."

Realizing that the Arabs would have their national aspirations satisfied after the war by the establishment of a number of Arab national states, and that these states would have land areas so large that it would take them centuries to develop them, and realizing also that the Jews stood in desperate need of a place of

refuge, for their people, the Allies reserved "the tiny notch" of Palestine, as Balfour called it -- just 10,000 square miles -- for the Jewish people. The Arab lands cover more than a million square miles and they are underpopulated and largely undeveloped.

It was rather ironical to read the other day the complaint of the President of the Iraq Chamber of Senators to the effect that Palestine is already over-populated and that it is only by dispossessing Arabs that room can be made for Jews. The gentleman we respectfully suggest should concern himself with underpopulated and impoverished Iraq rather than with Palestine where the steady increase in population has brought prosperity to the country, both to Jews and Arabs, and made the Palestine Arab the envy of all the Arabs in the Near East. Ten years ago, and fifteen years ago, wise heads declared that there was no room in Palestine for a single additional settler. Hundreds of thousands have settled there since that time, and the Arab population, far from being dispossessed has steadily increased in size as well as improved in standards of living.

Resolutions were recently introduced in the Congress of the United States asking "that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and there shall be full opportunity for colonization so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

It is clear to everyone in Washington that were the Congress of the United States to speak today on the pending Palestine resolution, it would approve it overwhelmingly. Every well-informed newspaperman in Washington knows it. It is also clear to all observers that this sentiment in Congress correctly reflects the wishes of the American people. Leaders in every walk of life and in

every community in the United States, as well as the press of our country, have availed themselves of the occasion of the introduction of the resolution to express themselves in hearty endorsement of the Jewish National Home.

That is a fact which no temporary deferment of action on the resolution can obscure. The inferences to be drawn from it will not be ignored by government officials here or in London, or in the capitols of those Arab countries whose officials, as if at a given signal and with competitive zeal, registered violent protests against the resolution. As far as one is able to judge, these protests represent the sole contribution which these countries have so far made toward the winning of the war! ...

We are profoundly grateful for the outpouring of sympathy and helpfulness on the part of the American people and their chosen representatives in Congress. It is completely in keeping with the great tradition of the American people which heartily approved of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate a quarter of a century ago, and whose government had a hand in the fashioning of both important documents. This understanding and cooperative attitude of the American people will prove decisive in the final analysis.

We have been informed that our War Department has indicated objections to the passage of this resolution at this time. The reasons for these objections are not, I suppose cannot, be revealed. Civilians are at a great disadvantage in arguing with the military on questions of military necessity or expediency, even when these have strong political implications, although in a democracy, civilians must occasionally exercise that right.

We had occasion to question the argument from military necessity 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 Vichy anti-Jewish decree. Under persistent public pressure, however, the rights of French citizenship were finally restored to the Jews, and the military intelligence notwithstanding, the Arab world remained remarkably placid 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, are now definitely 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 to forestall official criticism of the White Paper which British statesmen themselves have characterized as an inexcusable breach of faith, is beyond our comprehension. We hope that the military authorities will soon find it possible, consistent with the realities of the situation, as seen by the War Department from a purely military and not political point of view, to withdraw its objections so that the Congress of the United States may be given the opportunity to speak its mind on this tremendously important question.

The White Paper comes into force at the end of this month. This accounts for the nationwide 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, the answer must be given that vital political decisions affecting many countries are even now being made, and Palestine and the Near East are quite definitely within the field where political activities looking toward ultimate arrangements are being vigorously prosecuted. Again the White Paper was announced as the British policy for Palestine before the World 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 unsurmountable difficulties in the way of fulfilling the clear intent and purpose of the mandate as they discovered 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 now be done in order to make the position of the Jewish people more secure in the world tomorrow, 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 appears to be business as usual, with empires -- as with oil concessionaires!

A panic propaganda has been set in motion to convince the world that the enforcement of the White Paper is imperative for the peace of the Holy Land. The word is spread that Palestine is a cauldron of unrest, on the verge of civil war, and that this might greatly embarrass the Allied forces who are in the Near East. Washington has been flooded with this sort of propaganda. For military reasons it is argued the White Paper must be kept in force! We are confident, also, that there will be no trouble in Palestine if the Palestine Administration does not want it. (Applause)

We are happy that not everyone was taken in by this organized propaganda whose source it is not difficult to trace. We are delighted that in the midst of all these wild provocative rumors and loud protests from meddling politicians in foreign governments, the great President of the United States took time out to declare that, "The American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President 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."

This we believe is the true heart of America speaking and the conscience of the world.

Surely the Jewish people are no less deserving than other peoples whose national independence and freedom have been guaranteed by the United Nations. They have been the worst victims of Nazi

brutality, and their casualties have been proportionately the heaviest. The Jewish people desperately needs Palestine for its homeless millions now and after the war, and for its national security, dignity, and normalcy. Jews have shown a remarkable capacity for pioneering, for labor and sacrifice. They have built worthily and well in Palestine. They have made Palestine their own again by their heroic labor, by their blood and sweat. Nearly all that is hopeful, promising, and progressive in that country today, the Jews have created.

What has been called the noblest enterprise of our time must not now be cruelly sapped and undermined. (Vigorous and prolonged applause.)



1/ Deeply moving - ~~shattering~~ ^{shattering} ~~symbol~~ ^{symbol}.
to help us - an ancient people of long
- come to our aid -

2/ Share with you - problem - also after
Pera - automatically - Existed before -
Not of a small - unimportant -
Brushed aside - Hitler - control them
First victims : 1939 - 3 M.
Very enormous of Tragedy - forces

3/ Defeat & Nazis - very ancient
But what , the who survive !
At close , war - Em. Jewry - sp. shaken
In a word & twice -

A realistic appraisal - present concern
Better struggle for existence - Econ. Hierarchy
Nationalized - anti - Econ. Class
Jews compelled - New Horses

4/ No opportunity for mass I can participate
Travelers - new colonial possibilities

5/- Pal. is needed -

- But 2 word was invested
- Nat Home - Isuranted
- 2/3 - It is prepared major share - Jews want them
- wish to go thru - Fair-minded
- In danger - closed - White Paper
- Morally, legally indefensible
- G.B. undertake to "act to"
not to curb
- that obligation justified warlike
- Discriminatory racial laws against Jews

6) Had the doors remained open
will encourage, would

7) What Jews ask is change

Not to exploit - Arabs - Friends -

Not exploit - Future prosperity

Nat. Aspiration - continue to develop

"the tiny notch" P - 10.000 kg. an
Periphery - Nat. House
8) Sentiment of Am. people - Congress
Mar. 9 -
Oct. 15 -
(How long?)

9) Surely of people no less deservy
Worst victims -
Desperately need P.
Piracy - rights - when
made Pop. their own -

10) Worst enterprise of our time
destroyed -

1/ Realism

- ① Brighten up - dark Ages - (5/2 am)
highlight the Renaissance - exciting centuries
Sc. - Art. Exploration - Enlightenment -
Illustration period - ferment
Germany - 20th C. 'advised'
- ② Just another 'minority' problem - Fals/
Uniqu! Un. why when! Humboldt -
no - when! Transferring / problem
- ③ Treat vs just as another Ad. group -
- ④ nat. Humboldtians is the problem!
a people without status - long -
Pena Conference -
not even at Blythe Conference

- 2/ To be sure we are 'political' - unavoidable
nothing wrong with either - chance & type
Power & nat. not discredited
Logically sufficient each & other
- 3/ Self-Hate - Fear - Do not know how to grow

Am. people - not shell-shocked -

Luck - Guts - impair their Am.

loyalties - affected -

4/ We cannot take counsel 7 from!

Mumukshu - Hertz -

Zimmer - Sound & Just - Inevitable

5/ 6/ for



The Voice of Christian America



PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE
WASHINGTON, D. C. MARCH 9, 1944

The National Conference on Palestine

Sponsored by

THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

In cooperation with

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

FREE WORLD ASSOCIATION

UNION FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

UNITARIAN FELLOWSHIP FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE

UNITED CHRISTIAN COUNCIL FOR DEMOCRACY

THURSDAY, MARCH 9, 1944

STATLER HOTEL

WASHINGTON, D. C.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE

MORNING SESSION

Call to Order: Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Chairman

Announcements: Dr. Carl Hermann Voss, Executive Secretary,
Christian Council on Palestine

Invocation: The Rev. Edgar M. Wahberg, Grace Community Church,
Denver, Colorado

"America's Responsibility": Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Chairman,
Christian Council on Palestine

"The Christian Heritage": Hon. Norman M. Littell, Assistant At-
torney General of the United States

"Palestine as Refuge": Hon. George E. Outland, Congressman from
California

Appointment: Resolutions Committee

"Absorptive Capacity of Palestine": Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk,
Assistant Chief, Soil Conservation Service, United
States Department of Agriculture

Discussion

Announcements

LUNCHEON SESSION

Grace: Dr. Clyde A. Lynch, President, Lebanon Valley College

Introductory Remarks: Hon. Olin D. Johnston, Governor of South
Carolina

"Palestine in the Present Crisis": Mr. William B. Ziff, author of
The Rape of Palestine and *The Coming Battle
for Germany*

Discussion

President Roosevelt's Statement

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman's Remarks: Professor S. Ralph Harlow, Professor of Religion, Smith College

Prayer: Father Philip K. Sayegh, Syrian Roman Catholic Church, Shenandoah, Pennsylvania

"The Arabs and the Jews": Professor William Foxwell Albright, Chairman, Department of Oriental Studies, Johns Hopkins University

"Palestine and Peace": Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Director, School of Overseas Administration, Harvard University

Discussion

Report of Committee on Resolutions: Dr. Carl Hermann Voss

Appointment: Planning Committee

DINNER

Toastmaster: Dr. Daniel L. Marsh

National Anthem: Miss Theresa Shefferman

Invocation: The Rev. Dr. Frederick Brown Harris, Foundry Methodist Church, Washington, D. C.

"Reaffirming America's Stand": Hon. Robert F. Wagner, Senator from New York

"Fourteen Points on Palestine": Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, President of Boston University

"Our Good Faith Is at Stake": Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Editor of the *"Christian Herald,"* President of the World's Christian Endeavor Union

"The Common Sense Solution": Hon. Robert A. Taft, Senator from Ohio

"Palestine and Democracy": Hon. Paul V. McNutt, Chairman of the War Manpower Commission

Report of Resolutions Committee: The Rev. Richard Evans, Member, Executive, Christian Council on Palestine

Announcement: Planning Committee

"The Deliverance of the Remnant": Hon. Henry A. Wallace, Vice-President of the United States

"The True Heart of America": Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Co-Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council

Adjournment

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**This volume contains the major portions of the addresses delivered at the National Conference on Palestine, as recorded by the stenotypist of the Conference.*

America's Responsibility

I AM VERY HAPPY for the opportunity of presiding at the opening session of this meeting and of greeting the many people who have responded to our invitation and come here from so many different parts of the country.

I want to read a telegram that has just been sent to me as Chairman of this meeting, by someone who we hoped would be here but who was unable to come:

For the past quarter of a century the Jewish people of Europe have looked upon the Balfour Declaration as a covenant of hope. We must insure by every means at our disposal that the opportunity remains which will enable an equitable program to be developed. The doors of Palestine must be kept open for the present.

Wendell Willkie

Friends, we are met here to exercise the privilege of American citizens to stress the responsibility of America for Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people.

I received a letter the other day in which my attention was called to the writer's belief that the Palestine question was exclusively a British question in which we must not interfere. I want, in answer to that, to call your attention to facts which indicate that America is a partner in the Palestine Mandate and that its responsibility reaches very far.

The Balfour Declaration was published on November 2, 1917. In 1920 our government declared that the participation of the United States in the war entitled it to be consulted as to the terms of the Palestine Mandate. The British government agreed. Consultations were held and finally, in 1924, a Convention was arranged between the United Kingdom and the United States of America, respecting the rights of the governments of the

two countries and their respective nationals in Palestine.

That Convention contains two highly important articles. The first is Article XV of the Palestine Mandate, which document it quotes in entirety:

The Mandatory shall see that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants on the ground of race, religion or language.

The second is Article VII of the Convention itself reading:

Nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States.

A Convention of this kind cannot be superseded by the terms of the Palestine White Paper of March 1939 which denies Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31, 1944.

IN EXPRESSING THIS OPINION I represent not only my own point of view but the mature judgment of a committee of more than one thousand clergymen, drawn from every part of the United States. We range ourselves on the side of a large majority of the British people in confidently following Winston Churchill who in 1939 denounced the Chamberlain-MacDonald White Paper on Palestine as a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration, even as the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was shortly afterwards to do.

We urge our President and the Secretary of State to use all appropriate measures with the British Foreign Office to secure the withdrawal of the White Paper at the earliest possible date.

We here urge the passage of the Resolutions now before Congress which call for the withdrawal of the White Paper. We thoroughly appreciate the

responsibility of our military and naval leaders and we know that the war must be prosecuted until our enemies are completely defeated, but we are also equally determined that this time we shall not lose the peace after we have won the war.

The world has never seen anything that exceeds in cruelty the fact that those European Jews who have not been killed are outcasts with no place to go. The gates of all the democracies, with very few exceptions, have been tight shut against them. We know what the sentiment of our own democratic Government is in regard to opening our gates to any very large immigration.

Our Department of State has said that we have received something like 550,000 refugees within the last ten years. Within that period we could have received 1,500,000, according to the quota system, while of those 550,000 that did come in, only about 200,000 were Jews. Over against that, Palestine received more refugees than all the rest of the world put together—over 300,000 during the last decade.

Now when victory is in sight, are we going to go into the era of peace, saying that because of political necessity we must repudiate our pledge to the Jewish people? If we do, I see very little hope for any democratic gains at all.

Suppose we do have to have a pipeline 1200 miles long across Saudi Arabia in order to win this war and the next. Is it not just like a cat chasing its tail? We make a war in order to protect democratic principles and then we deny all the democratic principles that we have set up, and break all our pledges in order to prepare for the next war.

This is not what we believe in as Americans. We believe that there is something greater even than oil at stake here. We feel that if our own government will say the word, there is not a single issue involved in the Palestine question at the present time that cannot be solved by diplomatic means, to the best interests not only of the Jews, but of the Arab and of the Christian world as well.

HONORABLE NORMAN M. LITTELL



The Christian Heritage

I BRING YOU this morning the greetings of the National Committee Against Nazi Extermination and Persecution of the Jews, of which Mr. Justice Murphy of the Supreme Court is the Chairman, Mr. Wendell Willkie, Vice Chairman, and I, Secretary. The Committee sends you its commendation for your achievements and your concentration upon one of the world's gravest problems, grave in the light of our accumulated standards of humanity and Christianity.

Our Committee has endeavored and will further endeavor to express, as many of you here have so splendidly done in the past, the sentiment of Amer-

ican citizens of non-Jewish descent, who recognize their grave responsibility to a minority confronted with the possibilities and the actualities of persecution at home, and with ever graver abuses abroad where one of the greatest tragedies in all human history has been enacted at the expense of the Jewish race. Let us clearly recognize our responsibility as American citizens, unless we wish to turn our backs on the most sacred heritage of the Christian epoch. Sometimes we have had to ask ourselves in recent years: Are we really living in what historians call the Christian Epoch? Let us affirm that we are, not only by words but by action.

Palestine as Refuge

IN HIS EXECUTIVE ORDER NO. 9417, President Roosevelt stated that "it is the policy of this Government to take all measures within its power to rescue the victims of enemy oppression who are in imminent danger of death, and otherwise to afford such victims all possible relief and assistance consistent with the successful prosecution of the war." The purpose of my talk is to show what Palestine, and particularly its Jewish community of over half a million, can contribute towards the rescue and relief of endangered Jews in Europe.

The first great advantage of Palestine for any program intended to rescue the Jews of Europe is its proximity to, and its excellent communications with, those centers from which endangered Jews may be expected to be evacuated. There are, as we are so painfully aware, a greatly reduced number of Jews still surviving in Europe. It is believed that there remain very few more than 20,000 to 40,000 in hiding in Germany, Belgium, and Holland. About 100,000 remain in France, living under conditions of increasing peril. The children among them are now being sought out by Gestapo bands for deportation. Unless the United Nations can prevail on Germany to release these hunted beings, their only hope of rescue consists in escaping to the two neutral countries of Switzerland and Spain, where thousands of others have already found shelter. It will be the purpose of the War Refugee Board to assist that escape. With respect to Switzerland, we in the United States shall cooperate in maintaining the refugees, and thus strengthen the Swiss Government in its policy of admitting them. With regard to Spain, the rescue program has begun to evacuate refugees already assembled there, making room for new refugees. The stateless Jews among them are being sent to Palestine. The first batch of

some seven hundred from Spain and Portugal recently arrived on the Portuguese boat Nyassa, which was specially chartered for that purpose.

For the rest, the centers from which Jews must be rescued lie in the eastern and southeastern part of Europe; and their most natural outlet of escape is down the Danube Valley through Turkey, or across the Aegean. It is, of course, impossible to know how many of these the War Refugee Board will succeed in saving. Potentially these can be a very large number, for the surviving Jews of Bulgaria, Greece, and Transnistria alone may be expected to be at least 100,000 in number. If the War Refugee Board is successful in its purpose and brings about in addition the evacuation of Jews from Rumania and Hungary, the total may reach very considerable proportions.

Can Palestine accommodate such numbers? Providentially, we are able to say that the answer is decidedly, Yes.

IT IS PECULIARLY FITTING that Palestine Jewry should today be in a position to offer safety to persecuted Jews in Europe. It was in order to solve the millennial problems of Jewish homelessness that the nations of the world determined to reestablish a National Home for the Jews in their ancient country, Palestine. By joint resolution of Congress in 1922, our own country affirmed its deep interest in a project which promised to repair so ancient a wrong and alleviate so perennial a source of misfortune. For this purpose—the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home—Palestine was assigned on mandate to Great Britain, as part of a general post-war settlement designed to preserve peace and establish justice; and our own country again affirmed its abiding interest in the purpose

of the Palestine Mandate by a treaty entered into with Great Britain in 1924.

The purpose of the Palestine Mandate is still far from achieved. Viewing the terrible desolation of the Jewish community in Europe, its untold dead, and the frightful condition of those still surviving, we must all again experience the pangs of having done too little, and that too late. Yet the Jewish community in Palestine under international mandate and by the devoted efforts of Jews the world over, has already contributed substantial aid and relief to an astounding proportion of the Jewish refugees who were forced to flee from Europe. In the over-all aggregate of Jews admitted from Hitler-dominated Europe, little Palestine still stands ahead of our own country. In the past decade, we have admitted close to 200,000 Jews from countries "now dominated" by the enemy, while Palestine has given refuge to over 500,000.

In any program of rescue, Palestine would offer the great advantage of a country which is accustomed to harboring large numbers of immigrants. Sheltering refugees, distributing them among the settled population or setting up special tent-camps or barracks, organizing their work and their leisure productively, are all procedures with which Jewish Palestine is thoroughly familiar. Palestine Jewry has developed outstanding skill in this field. Its success in caring for child refugees, 10,000 of whom have been brought from areas of persecution, has been especially praised.

It has been estimated that the normal economic expansion of Palestine would permit of an organized and regular absorption of 100,000 immigrants annually after the war. During the war itself certain branches of production, particularly Jewish agriculture, have suffered from a shortage of hands. There would thus be immediate opportunities of useful employment for at least thousands of rescued Jews. Moreover, Palestine has already shown that its Jewish civil population as well as its organized agencies are capable of meeting emergency situations; and if our rescue effort should succeed in wresting from the Nazis a number greater than

that which could be economically absorbed in the country at a given time, the local population would receive and care for these rescued persons themselves.

IN SPITE OF THE IMPRESSIVE TOTAL of lives saved by absorption into Palestine, the Jewish community is far from satisfied that it has done all it could or should have done to rescue the Jews of Europe. Repeatedly since the beginning of the Hitler regime the community has put forward the suggestion that it be allowed to harbor large contingents of refugees. Since the war began, it has been driven by its concern over the fate of European Jewry to undertake by its own efforts to rescue as many as possible. For this purpose it made use of a long-established organization which originally had been devoted to quite another purpose. This organization, called Hechalutz (*The Pioneer*), was engaged in training young men and women for immigration to Palestine, where they hoped to contribute their labor and devotion to the cause of building the National Home. In order to supervise this training, the Jews in Palestine regularly sent to all European countries scores of men and women, who in turn trained leaders from among their young charges in Europe itself. This whole organism, binding Palestine closely with the European Jews, was forced underground by the Nazi deluge; but its members continued their work of upholding the spirit of resistance among European Jews to the very end. They continued, too, to organize the escape of small groups from the worst areas of Nazi oppression and extermination. To aid them in this work Palestine deputed additional men and women who found their way into Europe.

WHAT, THEN, do we have in Palestine? We have a community geographically very close to those who are most in need of refuge; a community which has a record and a tradition of absorbing refugees; a community with a tested technique and adequate facilities for receiving and settling refugees, so that the whole burden of this task need

not fall upon special agencies set up by the United Nations; a community which is so deeply interested in the project that there can be no doubt of its willingness to receive as many refugees as we can send them; but much more than that—a community which has already established the avenues and posted the agents indispensable to the work of rescuing those whom we wish to save.

We are engaged in a struggle which is so fierce and so fraught with significance for the fate of those values which are essential to our future as civilized human beings, that we often feel that we should not give any attention to anything beyond the fight itself. There are times, nevertheless, when one senses that in this great global battle there are other forces arrayed than merely the power and

the might, the ingenuity and the skill of the antagonists; that it is a battle between the impulses toward good and toward evil active within every society engaged in the war. We realize that in the post-war world we shall all be called upon to account for our sins, both of commission and omission, during our generation and, indeed, for a much longer historic past. My topic has been the availability of Palestine for the rescue of endangered Jews, and I have tried to keep myself strictly within the confines of the question. Yet, one cannot but feel its relation to that other great historic task which we once before undertook, and which we must at this moment reaffirm — that of enabling this people to resume a normal process of living in a land of its own.

DR. WALTER C. LOWDERMILK



Absorptive Capacity of Palestine

IN 1938-39 I WAS ASKED to make a survey to see what we could find out in the Old World that would be of benefit to our conservation program in the United States. In the course of this study I traveled approximately eighteen thousand miles in the lands dominated or occupied primarily by the Arab peoples of the Near East, from North Africa through Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, and Mesopotamia. What I found was a general decline in all that region—the evidence of ruins of great cities in the midst of poverty-stricken and wasted lands, under-used lands, misused lands, underpopulated lands.

I am going to discuss just three areas this morning: the first is Mesopotamia, which according to archaeologists once supported a population of thirty million people. At the present time there are fewer than four million people there. As we

stood amid the ruins of ancient Babylon in the midst of salty desolation, the only living thing we saw was a wolf loping along to his lair in the ruins of one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, where air-conditioning was in use 2600 years ago.

We found the beautiful broad expanse of the country lifeless, with the old irrigation canals all silted up. But the waters of the Tigris and the Euphrates still flow as they did in times past, for there has been no adverse change in climate. By the construction of up-to-date irrigation systems it is possible to irrigate a much greater area than in ancient times. According to a great British engineer, Willcocks, Mesopotamia can support some fifty millions of people, at least ten times its present population.

When I was invited to be present at the opening

of Kut Barrage on the Tigris River to irrigate some 500,000 acres, I commended the Minister of Agriculture, a California-trained Iraqi, for this wonderful project and suggested that others of the same type should be initiated since there was so much more land to be irrigated. He said, "No, we do not have nearly enough farmers to make use of the water that can be had from this diversion." At the present time Iraq is one of the greatest potential irrigation projects of the world; underpopulated, ready for great population and great development which would restore prosperity in a measure equal to, and even greater than, it had in the past.

In northern Syria, too, we found evidences of decline, evidences of wasting of the soil, which to a conservationist is a tragic thing. Great Christian churches were built here, great cathedrals, all in ruins now. In the Christian Republic of Lebanon one of my tasks was to find out the location of the Biblical Cedars of Lebanon, the boundaries of that forest and what had become of it. We found remnants of the forest. But inside the Tripoli grove were great "wolf trees" in the terms of the forester, which had grown up separately in the open, and around them, dense trees with straight stems which could make us understand why Solomon wanted these cedars of Lebanon for the construction of his Temple. The reason for the growth of these trees was the fact that they were surrounded by the wall of a little church built some three hundred years ago. This wall had kept out goats that eat everything into the ground. This is proof that the barren slopes may once again be covered by great cedars if only misuse of land and the destruction and overrunning of the country by the goats of the nomads are prevented.

WHEN WE CAME FROM LEBANON into Palestine for a four months study of the Holy Land, we found a general state of decline, a breakdown of the type of agriculture which in times past had been developed to a point of high refinement in the conservation of soil and water. All those measures had

broken down as a result of the invasion of the land in the seventh century by hordes out of the desert with their herds. Nomadic Arabs dispersed the population, destroyed great numbers and gradually overran the terraced slopes with their herds, breaking down the terraces. Erosion began to work and the soil was washed off into the valleys to form malarial marshes. Where there had once been many populous villages, there are now very few.

In the midst of this decline, misuse and underpopulation we found something new under the sun in about three hundred Jewish agricultural villages scientifically restoring these damaged lands to a high state of productivity. In these villages I found a love of the land that we in this country need if we are to save our own soil from destruction. The Jewish settlers are pioneering as did our pioneers in America, but they face difficulties greater than those which confronted the early Americans. They enter upon a land that has been badly damaged, badly used. In marshy and malarial lowlands they have to dig drainage ditches so as to remove the dangers of malaria. On slopes that were apparently washed bare of soil, they have stubbornly planted shade trees and fruit trees. The trees flourish, for they take root in the soil-filled crevices and fissures of Palestine's limestone rock. Hundreds of thousands, millions of trees have been planted in Palestine on barren rocky hills, demonstrating how these high lands can be restored.

These agricultural colonies were a great inspiration to me. Occupying only 6 per cent of the total area of Palestine and about 14 per cent of the cultivated land, they are great experimental plots, demonstration areas that show what can be done in the land of Palestine, but more than that, in the whole Near East. Palestine may become a demonstration of how the lands of the Near East may be brought back to prosperity, and that I think is one of the most significant things in this entire Jewish resettlement movement.

FURTHERMORE THE REGION of the Jordan Valley offers an opportunity for the construction of one of the most striking and unique power and irrigation projects in the world. I propose the name Jordan Valley Authority, patterned on the Tennessee Valley Authority of the United States, to include all of the drainage of the Jordan River and the maritime slope of Palestine.

You will notice that the Dead Sea lies in a trough 1300 feet below sea level. As I flew over Palestine it occurred to me that the waters of the Mediterranean could be drawn in to produce a great power project, using the Dead Sea as a huge evaporation pan. It would first be necessary to take out the sweet waters of the Jordan and its tributaries and use them for irrigation. This is quite a simple engineering problem. Then the Mediterranean Sea waters would be conducted into the Dead Sea through a canal and tunnel. Hydroelectric power plants, taking advantage of the great difference in levels involved, would be built on the way, and together with additional amounts of power generated by other developments in connection with irrigation, could yield electrical energy equivalent to one-fifth that generated by Boulder Dam and sufficient to make this section of the world a great industrial area.

Now, this Jordan Valley Authority project, cannot be carried out without bringing in manpower. The best source of that manpower is certainly the refugee Jews of Europe, who have already demonstrated not only a capacity for sacrificial devotion to the land, but technical ability, and the adaptation of social organization to the needs of the land. They have proved their ability to execute this project and thereby to set an example for the whole Near East in the restoration of wasted and unused lands. They would be demonstrating to the world the working of the principles of conservation, so necessary for the solution of age-old problems confronting us.

HOW MUCH ROOM for refugee newcomers will there be in Palestine when it is developed by the

Jordan Valley Authority? The term economic absorption has been used to set an upper limit for immigration into Palestine. What precisely is economic absorption? The answer to this question takes us back to the basic structure of a civilized society. The carrying capacity of the earth for a human population is in the final reckoning as simple as the carrying capacity of the range for cattle; it is measured by the production of food. But in the case of human populations, transportation and exchange of food make it possible to concentrate people in cities beyond the food production of local areas; likewise, people may be concentrated within a country beyond its food production capacity if that country has goods and services which other countries are willing to accept for their food export. Thus Britain, the first country to be industrialized, now supports 40,000,000 people — four times as many as at the beginning of the nineteenth century — though it grows only half the food required by this increased population.

The upper limit of the economic absorptive capacity of a geographic area depends on many factors. Among these are (1) the inherent fertility of the land base, (2) easy access to adequate raw materials, (3) suitable means for developing power, (4) access to nearby and safe food supplies, (5) the genius and skills of the people themselves. In the case of Palestine, what — on the basis of the still incomplete data at our command — are the answers to these five questions?

First, as to the inherent fertility of the land base, the geologic structure, geographic setting and climate of this small corner of the Near East have combined to make it unusually productive. In climate, natural vegetation and physiographic features, Palestine is very like California, except for Palestine's added advantages of great limestone springs and better soils. The Holy Land was beautifully farmed and conserved for more than a thousand years, then for the last thousand years was allowed to fall into misuse and ruin. Soils washed from eroding slopes had choked stream channels across the coastal plain, causing malaria-infested

marshes to form. Grazing of sandy lands into the ground along the coast released sand dunes that moved inland. But when intelligent measures of conservation, sand dune fixation, drainage of swamps, restoration of terraces and replanting of rocky hills, are carried out, surprising and gratifying results take place, as Jewish efforts during the last sixty years have proved.

The second factor in setting economic absorptive capacity is as we have said, access to ample raw materials. Over and above the vast supply of minerals in the Dead Sea, Palestine can easily import necessary materials because of its strategic location on the sea lanes and rail lines connecting three continents. The cheap power necessary for modern industry will be provided by the Jordan Valley Authority, while access to nearby food supplies supplementary to Palestine's own, can be supplied by Iraq which is only a few hundred miles away

and which can once again become the granary of the Middle East. That Jewish settlers have the genius and skill to make the most of the unique features and resources of Palestine has been clearly proved by their previous accomplishments in the redemption of the Promised Land.

It is clear on the whole that full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least four million Jewish refugees from Europe, in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Trans-Jordan. The plan for a Jordan Valley Authority is feasible and practicable; it is the answer to the longings and prayers of a homeless people through the centuries; it is the solution to one of the most trying and serious problems of war and post-war refugees confronting the United Nations.

WILLIAM B. ZIFF



THE ISSUES concerned in the Palestine problem are grave. They do not represent some trivial question as between a few hundred thousand Jews determined to colonize, and perhaps double that number of Arabs determined to prevent them from colonizing.

The question is one that strikes deep at the future of the world. It is one of the fundamental issues which will determine what kind of world we are to inhabit, whether it is to be a world of compassion, freedom and decency in which universal ethics are to prevail; or whether the entire globe is to become a dark, treacherous jungle in which the only law will be brute force, and the only worship, the cult of expediency.

This is not a war for physical possession alone. It is a war of eternally opposed philosophies. It is the classic struggle between Christ and anti-Christ, between Baal and the Lord God whose name Israel brought to the Nations.

It is the Jews who have been used as a point of attack not only against free civilization but against the very core of Christian belief. It is on this theme that the German Fuehrer has attempted to mobilize the dark passions, hatreds and fears by which he hopes the Western nations will ultimately collapse. In their quest the Germans have made the Jewish people the victims of the most unscrupulous, poisonous and successful propaganda the world has ever seen. No one has remained untouched by it.

It has extended into the farthest reaches of the world, like an invisible miasma which has already seeped deep into the soul of humanity and from whose evil effects Western civilization may never recover.

The entire Palestine situation is tarred with the brush of this calculated propaganda. Hitler has made it the test case of Christian ethics, of Western civilization against the German Moloch. He has long broadcast to the Mohammedans that he is the lineal descendant of the Prophet, and that he has been appointed by God to rescue the Moslem world from the curse of Christian domination. Night and day his radio blares out many such fantasies.

The Nazis have proclaimed that the curse of creation is not only Jews, but Jewish thought. The epitome of Jewish thought is the Bible. Hence it is not only Jews that Hitler has sworn to exterminate, but that great system of universal ethics which originated with the race in Palestine.

I KNOW by long study the factual elements as well as the moral considerations which relate to the case of the Jews in Palestine. I know that these are incontestable, that if ever legal or moral principle speaks for human right anywhere, these speak for the right of the outcast Jew to return to his original homeland to recreate a life of dignity and honor.

There are many coldly practical questions which exist, as you know—not only questions of equity and humanity, but questions of international policy, of military expediency, of economics, and—of oil. I shall return to these shortly in an effort to explain them, and the purely material base on which they rest. As it happens, the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine coincides exactly with the needs of our own great country, both in wartime and in the difficult periods which will follow afterwards. But before I do so, I should like to say that an all-out worship of the purely material is the worship of a god with clay feet. Pure hard-headed realism is immensely valuable, but it is not on this alone that the world of moral courage and long-range vision rests.

The magnificent character of Western civilization has been built on still other qualities. It has arisen from the Christians who were willing to suffer in the catacombs of Rome; from the fierce unyielding moral power of men and women willing to allow themselves to be burned at the stake for the sake of those things they believed to be true; on the willingness of young men whose lives are just opening up, to yield themselves on bloody battlefields for the sake of an ideal.

The contrary course of pure expediency leads us directly to the appeasement of Hitler, to the sacrifice of the little Czech state, and to the selling of oil and steel scrap to the monsters of Tokyo, with which to murder our unarmed friends on the Chinese mainland. It is the philosophy of might-makes-right, and it means an acceptance finally of the creed that man has no inherent rights or dignity, and that the only criterion of worth in this world is success.

AS A RESULT of the current phase of Nazi brutality almost three million Jews, men, women and children have been wantonly butchered under conditions of savagery and lust scarcely equalled anywhere in the long, sad history of man's faithlessness and inhumanity to his own kind.

One is compelled to stand aghast, not only at the brutishness which created these acts, but at the indifference and apathy of the Western world which lifted no hand to save these people. They were not allowed to escape from a Europe which was to become a charnel-house for them. They were hermetically sealed in with the full desperate knowledge that their death sentence had been written. These three million lie in nameless graves together, poets, dreamers, businessmen, scientists, grimy-handed workers, housewives and little children. Many were said to have been buried even before they died. Eye witnesses have stated that the very earth in these mass graves shook with the last convulsive breathing of these tragically broken people.

The stark measure of this crime and the irrep-

arable loss it has cost humanity can never be plumbed, but even more terrible has been the silence of the West, coming at a moment when humanity itself is on trial, and when all the resources of compassion, understanding, and social wisdom Western man possesses will be urgently needed to keep our institutions alive. If this silence is a symbol of that inner demoralization for which Hitler has prayed, it represents a subtle alteration of standards which should well make the West tremble.

From the viewpoint of practicality we are told many things: that nothing can be done for these people; that as far as Palestine is concerned, it is over-populated already; that the Mohammedans are dead set against the proposition, and grave hurt to our military cause would result if the Jews were allowed to reconstitute their lives in the Holy Land.

It has been argued that if God has promised this land to the Jews, at least the political leaders of the world have never done so; that the Arabs are pledged to resist it to the last, and that such a course represents a fundamental injustice to the Arab people.

Not the least of the questions recently brought up as an argument against Jewish resettlement in the Holy Land, has been that of the oil pipeline. This proposed pipeline is in the territory of the Arab king, Ibn Saud, where no Christian may set foot except under penalty of death. You are told that since the Jews are weak and the oil is in Ibn Saud's territory, if Ibn Saud dislikes the presence of Jews in neighboring Palestine it would be more expedient for us to condemn the Jews to their European slaughterhouses and forget the question altogether.

Judas sold his soul for thirty pieces of silver. It appears to me that we are asked to sell ours for a pipeline in Arabia.

The pipeline can be disposed of briefly. There are two sides to that question. From the view of many able men it is a highly questionable operation. When completed it still will be 4,500 miles away from our shores, forcing our ships through gate-

ways held by foreign powers. From the military view, unless we control all of these gateways, the oil will be inaccessible to us. If it is in the hands of our friends, we will have access to it anyway; in peacetime it can be purchased like other commodities on the open market.

WHAT are the simple human facts relative to the situation of the Jews in Europe? Even were they to escape, there is no place for them to go. The sole exception to this pattern is Palestine. Here there is a thriving Jewish civilization. Here they would come not as outcasts and strangers, but as citizens. Here they would find in the warm smiles of their own compatriots a hearty welcome home.

There is now a Congressional Committee which will attempt to rescue some of the Jews remaining in Europe from the coldblooded murder they will face if they are unable to escape. If the doors of Palestine were opened to these Jews they would not require so much help even from our own good Congress. Many thousands could escape under their own power and through the assistance of friendly local populations.

This was proved by the single case of Sweden, which suddenly opened up its doors to the Jews of Denmark, when the Nazis began to round them up to send them to the murder chambers of Poland. Of eleven thousand Danish Jews, nine thousand actually escaped to Sweden. They rowed in boats; they swam, they got there in one way or another.

But the case of Sweden stands alone in Europe.

The effort at Jewish resettlement in Palestine had been gathering strength for many decades previous to World War I; during this conflict a public commitment was made by the Allies that among their objectives would be the reestablishment of the ancient Jewish community in Palestine. This was put in the form of a declaration signed by Lord Balfour on November 2nd, 1917, which stated that:

His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object.

All the Powers endorsed this project. Our own President Wilson wrote that "the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of the Jewish Commonwealth."

In May 1918, a desert conference was held at Aqaba between the Emir Feisal, recognized leader of the Arab people, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, the Zionist leader. A solemn treaty was drawn up and signed in January 1919 which provided for (and I quote again), "the closest possible collaboration" in the development of the Arab state and the coming Jewish Commonwealth. The Arabs wished the Jews "a hearty welcome home."

When the Mandate was made out in favor of the Jewish people by the nations, Hussein's son, Feisal, later to become King of Iraq, wrote a cordial letter congratulating the Zionists on their triumph.

Since then both the English and Arabs have suffered a serious case of amnesia in reference to the events which have transpired.

During these years Palestine has been in the hands of an administration which is intrinsically anti-Zionist and is determined to prevent the Jews from going there. Despite the solemn obligations assumed by the Mandatory, Palestine is the only country outside of German Europe which possesses an official anti-Jewish policy.

The reason for this is not hard to find. In addition to a certain amount of native anti-Semitism in the Bureaus of Whitehall and Westminster, there exist the words of Lawrence' warning that if the Zionists' plan were successful it would involve inevitably "the raising of the present Arab population to their own material level. It might well prove a source of technical supply rendering them independent of industrial Europe, and in that case a new confederation might become a formidable element of world power."

As a result, immigrants of all kinds are welcome in the Holy Land except for Jews whose entry is rigidly restricted. Except in certain minor areas, they may not purchase or own land because they

are Jews. The result is that though the Jewish population is over one-third of the total, Jews own less than five per cent of the land.

The eastern part of the country is called Transjordan. Here Jews may not settle at all, though it is an integral part of Palestine administered by Great Britain under the Mandate and contributions to its budget have been made from Palestine revenues paid largely by Jewish taxpayers. It was the first of the countries of the world to become *Judenrein*, or completely free of Jews.

Under the White Paper now in force, only 29,000 more Jews may be allowed to enter Palestine.

The White Paper is illegal. It was denounced by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as an unilateral abrogation of a sacred obligation.

At that time Winston Churchill told the House of Commons that he felt shamed by the White Paper. He said, "I could not stand by and see solemn engagements into which Britain has entered before the world, set aside for reasons of administrative convenience. I should feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself by silence or inaction, to what I must regard as an act of repudiation."

ONE REASON long given for this policy was that the country was overcrowded.

Seven years ago I stood on the hills of Judea near Jerusalem and gazed with hushed wonder at the blue mist enveloping the still darker blue of the mountains of Moab. The country was stark naked, empty of trees, inhabitants and verdure. The soil of its once carefully terraced mountains had been washed down by torrential rains. The great oaks which once covered these hills were gone, and the people whose gay laughter once rang from the mountain vineyards in the densely settled villages of the valleys, had disappeared.

I stood there devoured by this awful silence. I thought of the entire southern part of Palestine which I had just traversed to get to Jerusalem, where in half a day's journey a donkey tied to a

wayside post was an event. I thought of Trans-jordan with its terrible depressing emptiness.

In all of this great area, with the exception of a few small enclaves, there was one common characteristic, the terrifying stillness, unbroken by the cry of children, or by the warm voices of settled inhabitants.

This was the land which once flowed with milk and honey, which had bustled with people, and on which the Lord Jehovah had bestowed his grace. Josephus tells us that west of the Jordan alone there were twelve million people. When Jesus preached in Galilee, there lived in that tiny province more than twice the number of people who now inhabit all of Palestine.

In my imagination as I gazed on this depressing scene, I peopled this country once again with stalwart Hebrews, with strong men, bronzed by the sun, and hardened by labor in the rich brown earth. I saw their womenfolk, as simple and strong, standing beside them, women fit to be the mothers of a new race of Maccabees, women who could bear an incorruptible Jeremiah, or give the world a new lyrical David, or towering Isaiah.

I had seen exactly such a peasantry in the little Jewish colonies to the north and east, a vigorous, gifted and graceful race who, except for the modern clothes they wore, might have stepped forth from the very pages of the Bible itself.

It was as if there had been a great curse on this naked, barren country which was just now being lifted as its sons returned to it from afar.

THE Arabs have benefited greatly by the immigration of the Jews to Palestine. It has raised their standards wherever the two races have been in contact, and were it not for the interference of Western adventurers and administrators, they would live in harmony together.

The question, however, is out of their hands and obeys a higher law. Neither is it in the hands of the Arab politicians. With them, without them, or against them, a reconstituted Jewish Palestine will be established and will take its place in the community of nations. It will be the permanent ally of the English-speaking countries in this section of the globe. It will be our ally, too, in the eternal war of vigilance which must always be waged against the dark forces of oppression, of tyranny, and of totalitarian evil.

It is the natural guardian of the Holy Places, which should once again become the inalienable property of the Christian Church. This little state may yet become the symbol of that love-of truth and freedom which alone can redeem humanity.

Unless we are to have a world of monstrous infamy in which expediency and brutal power politics are to determine the course of events, we have no choice in the matter. Our choice has been made for us: we must rescue these people; we must fulfill the pledged word of the Nations to which our country is a party, and if Biblical prophecy is to be believed, fulfill the final determination of an almighty Providence.

President Roosevelt's Statement

In the course of the discussion following Mr. Ziff's address at the Luncheon Session, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson made this announcement: "I have here the following story just received over the United Press Wire:

'Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise were authorized by the President of the United States to state that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President 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'."

The entire assembly then arose and applauded vigorously.



PROFESSOR S. RALPH HARLOW

Oil or Brotherhood?

WE HAVE BEEN THINKING about the problem of how the world is going to be governed after this conflict. Is it to be a world in which democracy, the rights of people, are going to be the influence back of whatever treaties may be made in the future? Is oil or is blood, is brotherhood or big business going to dominate the making of these future treaties?

In 1939 when Dr. Lowdermilk was in Palestine, my wife and I were there. We had been in the Near East, we lived there for twelve years. I saw Palestine when it was a country that by no means

flowed with milk and honey, but with disease, with poverty, with ignorance and darkness. And then I saw the magical transformation.

In the spring of 1939 my wife and I traveled on three ships in the Mediterranean loaded with Jewish refugees. That summer we lived for eight weeks in England, in a home with Jewish refugees, and so perhaps this problem is closer to our hearts.

I believe that we need to use both our heads and our hearts, and that is what this Conference is attempting to do in sympathy for people who are crying for justice and for a home.

The Arabs and the Jews

MR. CHAIRMAN, ladies and gentlemen, I consider it a very good omen for our afternoon's session that it was introduced with the Lord's Prayer in literary Arabic, recited by Father Sayegh.

After my first few months in Palestine in 1920, I found myself oscillating rather rapidly between the Jews and the Arabs. One week I would be pro-Arab; next week I would be pro-Jewish; and I am happy to claim that I did not, like a certain gifted newspaper woman of my acquaintance, become anti-Semitic after oscillating in both directions. In other words, I found myself sympathetic to both the Jews and the Arabs.

The Arabs have a great past. Let no one forget that for centuries when Europe was plunged in the darkness of Medieval times—and they were dark indeed from many points of view—Moslem scholars carried the torch of civilization. Let no one forget that a very large proportion of the terminology which we use in mathematics, astronomy, and in many other domains of the arts and sciences is Arabic. The Arabs never have been American Indians nor Congo Negroes. It is, however, true that most of them are very poor and illiterate, that a high proportion of the Arabs in the Near and Middle East are still nomads or semi-nomads, and that most of the remaining Arabs live in some form of patriarchal or paternal organization which gives little chance for the individual to develop, unless he leaves the country. Arab civilization has stagnated for some five hundred years; for over five centuries there has not been a single scientist, philosopher or writer of international distinction. Things are changing now, and I am sure they will change fast.

But, as Dr. Lowdermilk has told you, the Near and Middle East are very sparsely peopled. Moreover, after centuries of living in this state of stag-

nation, the Arabs are reluctant to change their ways. It takes a tremendous effort to change from one economy, from one habit of thinking and doing to another, and no people likes to be abruptly jolted out of its familiar ways. So we must not be surprised that the Arabs react most violently against attempts at westernization and against the intrusion of western ideas.

And I will also remind you of what Mr. Ziff said, unfortunately with a great deal of truth, that much anti-Jewish and anti-Zionist agitation has arisen because of the intrusion of imperialistic European politics into the Near Eastern scene. When I first went out to Palestine, the most important anti-Zionist propaganda was carried on by journals published in Beirut and supported by the French Government. In the same way, at that time anti-French propaganda in Palestine and Syria was directed from the headquarters of the British General Staff in Cairo, and the Arabic newspaper chiefly devoted to it was supported by British funds. These facts I remember very distinctly; I knew some of the persons involved and I knew where they got their money. It was a great mistake. The French, by opposing the British, cut their own throats; the British, by opposing the French, cut theirs. Then came the Italians, and lastly the Germans, all vying with one another to stir up hostility to the Jews.

In all honesty, however, one must confess that some of this hostility was created by extremists among the Jews who declared that all Arabs should be deported from Palestine and settled bodily in Iraq or elsewhere. This, I think, would be to the lasting detriment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, quite aside from the terrible effect it would have upon the Arabs of surrounding countries.

I will remind you also that there are about 200,000,000 Moslems in the world, and that about 50,000,000 of them speak Arabic, in regions reaching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf, and from the mountains of Southern Armenia to far south in Eastern Africa. The Palestine question is thus part of a much greater one. But I do not think that the Palestine question would have assumed any importance in Arab countries if it had not been for these artificial irritants from outside and for the lack of wisdom on the part of some Jewish propagandists—not as a rule, I hasten to add, of the official Zionist Organization, which has generally been discreet and restrained.

MY OWN APPROACH to the problem is conditioned, as you will see, by the fact that I am acutely aware of the minority problem. I was born a member of a very small minority, in a majority composed of people 99 per cent of whom considered my little group as the offspring of Satan—in short I was the son of a Protestant missionary in South America. Today I am the proud father of four promising sons, the husband of a brilliant wife, all of whom are staunch Catholics, members of a large minority in this overwhelmingly anti-Catholic country. During my fifteen years in Palestine, I came up against the minority question every day.

I want to approach the problem of the relationship between Jews and Arabs in the Near East from the standpoint of the minority question. We must remember that even if Jewish Palestine becomes an autonomous political unit, the Jews would still be a minority in the Arab East. If I thought there were any danger whatever that Palestinian Arabs would be deported against their will and settled in other countries, I would at once become a violent anti-Zionist. The fact that I consider myself a Zionist, is I hope sufficient refutation of any charge that I am opposed to the Jewish development of Palestine. I am opposed, however, to any unnatural, undemocratic, and anti-Semitic as well as anti-Jewish solution to the problem by any such drastic cutting of the Gordian knot as the attempt

to eliminate the Arabs. The Jews need the Arabs and the Arabs need the Jews. I want to remind you that, no matter what kind of a commonwealth or state is established for the Jews in Palestine, they will remain a minority in the surrounding Arab ocean.

Every land in the Near East has its minorities, practically all of them being Christian, although there are also minorities of Moslem sectarians, such as the Shiites and the Nossairis and Druses. There are a good many of these minorities which are called Moslem by non-Moslems, but which are considered in some respects by Moslems themselves as worse than Christians or Jews. This, by the way, is a universal human characteristic: we often hate the people closest to us worse than anyone else, precisely because of irritating minor differences.

I will remind you that in Egypt there are a million Christian Copts living on a powder keg. In Syria there is a small Christian commonwealth, though its boundaries were so drawn that it also contains a Moslem minority which is almost as large as the Christian majority; in Syria as a whole the Christians of Lebanon form a minority. Older Syrian Christians, as well as some of the younger ones know how perilous their situation is.

THOUGH ISLAM AROSE from Judaism and Christianity and carried on many of the best features of both, yet it has certain aspects which are not favorable to the continued existence of minority groups in its midst. Of course we Christians have no right to criticize the Moslem too severely. The fact remains that both Catholic and Protestant Christians have given up almost entirely the idea of "exterminating"—that is banishing—heretics or putting them to death; but the Moslems still maintain the principle of the Jihad or holy war in all its rigor, and that is why almost any threatened massacre of Christians is hailed with approval by a shockingly high proportion of Moslem religious leaders. I can assure you of this from personal knowledge, having been on good terms with many

Moslem leaders during my fifteen years in the Near East.

The Turks set the example by extermination, either, literally, by banishing, or in the customary sense, by mass massacre, of the Christians of Anatolia, both Greeks and Armenians. What Turkey has lost by thus eliminating its best and most energetic elements, measured by their adaptability to modern civilization as well as by their specialized training and industry, can scarcely be computed. It is already clear that Turkey will never recover from her elimination of minorities. She cannot recover from this loss any better than Spain got over the elimination of her Jewish, Moorish, and Protestant minorities, or than Germany is going to get over the elimination of her Jewish and other minorities. No nation can crush minorities without placing the future prosperity of the majority in the most acute jeopardy.

Since the Turks drove out or butchered all their Anatolian minorities they have been quietly engaged in eliminating almost all of the Armenian minority in Istanbul. Meanwhile the Iraqi followed their example, and scarcely had Great Britain handed over political domination of the country to its inhabitants than the latter proceeded to try to eliminate the Assyrian Christians by wholesale massacre. In recent years the potential menace in the Near East has become far worse, because on the old principle of the Jihad there has been superimposed a new and deadly doctrine which arose in the most advanced Protestant Christian nation of the world, Protestant Germany. It was Protestant Germany which has taught the world how to destroy minorities by mass massacre, using gas and steam chambers and all the paraphernalia of modern science, including medical science, I regret to say. Germany has been a very successful teacher, and I am sorry to say that the Arabs have been good learners; too many of the Arab leaders now advocate the same methods. They say: we must eliminate all our minorities, Christians and Jews alike, just as the Turks did in Anatolia, as the Iraqians started to do in Iraq, and as the Germans

have subsequently done efficiently in what was formerly a Christian country.

I AM STRESSING these unpleasant facts so that none of us will feel that because he happens to be a Protestant or any other kind of Christian, his skirts are clean. Not one of us has clean skirts; yet the fact that we are all guilty before God and our fellowmen does not mean that we have the right to sit back and shut our eyes while the Christian and Jewish minorities of the Near East are handed over to the tender mercies of a fascistically disposed Moslem majority.

Please do not misunderstand. I hope ardently that the time will come when the Moslem world awakes and under Christian tutelage develops the Judeo-Christian element latent in Islam to the fullest extent, when we can really speak of a spiritual Islam. Meanwhile we must reckon with the facts. It is a world of hard reality in which we live, and until we recognize that we are our brother's keeper and that—whatever system of international or regional or other government is set up in the post-war world—we must protect otherwise unprotected minorities, we cannot stand before our fellows with clean consciences.

It is unfortunately true that there is now extensive and bitter hostility on the part of the Arabs toward the Jews. It is not inevitable that it should continue. I could point to many interruptions in the increasing Arab hostility of the last twenty-five years to the Jews. I could point to times when this changed situation was brought about by a complete diversion of target. In 1928 there were Moslem boycotts of Christians, during which Christians were killed and wounded in street fighting. There was a great deal of suffering on the part of the Christian minority during the years of rioting in Palestine from 1936 to 1939 when the Moslems organized formal rebellion against the British mandatory power. Being Arabs by language, to a certain extent by race, and to a considerable extent by culture, the Christians naturally sympathized in many ways with their fellow-Arabs and fellow-

easterners against these intruding Europeans—the Jews.

All the same, very few of these Christians are not in constant fear of what might happen if the Moslems were once to get the upper hand. I could spend the whole afternoon telling you stories from my personal experience to illustrate this constant fear, the fear which will never die, because the older men know it from experience and the younger men know it from hearsay, though they persistently deny its existence. In the case of many young idealists from the American University of Beirut, they deny it because they fondly hope that somehow or other we have reached a new stage where the Moslem will no longer persecute the Christian.

There have been many individual cases of warm friendship between Jews and Moslems. When ever an educated Moslem is ill, if possible he consults a Jewish specialist and goes to a Jewish hospital. Jewish Palestine has become one of the greatest medical centers of the world, to which people come from the ends of the Moslem world, from Afghanistan and the Sudan, from South Arabia and Turkey, in order to be cured by Jewish physicians, who carry on the wonderful tradition of the great Jewish doctors of the Middle Ages, when Jewish medicine led the world, as it leads the world again today. What the Jewish medical enterprise, Hadassah, has meant for the improvement of Jewish-Arabic relations is incalculable. What such activities as Halva'ah ve-Hissakhon, headed by my friend Mr. Emanuel Muhl meant for improvement of relations between Jews and Arabs is also incalculable. For the first time in history Arabs could go to a money-lender and get a modest loan on reasonable security with a low rate of interest. Of course the lending party was Jewish, not Arab, because the Arab money-lenders of Hebron, Damascus and Nablus have literally been sharks who have devoured the poor Arab peasants of Palestine.

I WANT to make a few more positive suggestions toward the solution of this question. We must constantly stress the fact that the Arabs need the

Jews and they need them terribly. In this world of ours we must all share a common economic and industrial background of interest or we will all go down together because we have first of all to eat. We must farm our land properly, according to the methods which Dr. Lowdermilk so ably presented; we must develop our industries and our natural resources, as Mr. Ziff emphasized. In short, we must build a European civilization in the backward regions of the earth. Unless the Arabs are Europeanized in these fundamental respects they will also go down to destruction. Now the Jews are ideally suited to become the teachers of the Arabs in future, as they are already today. Jewish engineers and agronomists, as well as many other technologists and scientists, are being called as advisers throughout the lands of the Near and Middle East; in future they will be called upon even more.

Jewish Palestine has been physically transformed. Having been there before the transformation began, having as an archaeologist traversed all sections of the country and seen how desolate they were, and having come back to them years afterward in my constant travels, I know what miracles have been accomplished, and that the same miracles can be accomplished elsewhere in the Near East.

In no case have the Arabs been driven from their homes. Of course, some poor tenant farmers and some half-Bedouin have been forced out by Jewish purchase of the lands on which they were temporarily settled, but in no case were they worse off after their removal. Their previous state was incomparably wretched, and most of them are very much better off. For many years now all Arabs who had to be removed by landlords from land sold to the Jews have been resettled elsewhere. The population of Arab Palestine has increased much more rapidly than the population of any other Arab land of the East; that increase is traceable mainly to Zionist activity. The Arabs are learning fast to improve their poultry and their breeds of cattle; they are learning to plant citrus fruits, as well as all sorts of other crops which were at first planted

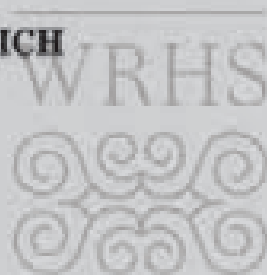
only by the Jews. The Arabs are a teachable people, though they may resist westernization for a long time under the influence of misguided leaders who do not want the country to develop unless they themselves can rule it as they please. Under the influence of these same leaders they were for years before the present World War engaged in a program of destroying forests and irrigation works, destroying as much as possible, because the Arab revolt was really directed against European progress as a whole, not only against Zionism and British domination.

The lands of Palestine now settled by Jews were settled by less than 10,000 to 15,000 Arabs before the Jews moved in. There are now nearly 600,000 Jews in Palestine settled in areas where there had been at most 10,000 to 15,000 Arabs! Jewish immigration has not deprived the Arabs of their rights

and privileges in a land where they have been settled for centuries.

It is true, as Mr. Ziff said, that some Arab tribes have been only settled for a generation or two, but other groups have been settled for more than a thousand years, and the lands of the Near East, including Palestine, have been Arab with few intermissions for over 1300 years. The Arabs undoubtedly have a prior right in Palestine but that does not give them a right to deny the Jews their right to come and settle the waste places. Do the Arab propagandists in this country, some of whom are among my personal friends—claim for themselves the right to come with their compatriots and settle in America and do they with the same breath deny the same right of migration into their own homeland to oppressed European Jews?

PROFESSOR CARL J. FRIEDRICH



Palestine and Peace

IN MY OPINION, based upon some study, the greatest difficulty and trouble in connection with the problem of Palestine have arisen from the fact that it has been considered in the astigmatic fashion of a local or parochial issue. It is almost exclusively and continuously discussed in terms of Palestine. I would like to direct your attention to the fact that this is as you will all agree, one world, and there are many situations of which Palestine is only one, which call for consideration not only in terms of the local situation, but in terms of the general situation to which that local situation is related.

Mr. Ziff made reference to the splendid speech that Mr. Winston Churchill made in the House of Commons in May 1939, in denouncing the White

Paper, the document which has properly been called the Near Eastern Munich Pact. It was not a pact, it was merely a statement of policy, but it was of the same spirit as the Munich Pact, it was born of appeasing the Fascists, and because of that, Mr. Winston Churchill denounced it. Not only Mr. Winston Churchill, but a good many other Britishers denounced it. In fact, if you will look through the list of people who are opposed to the White Paper you will find that that list contains a very large percentage of the names that have carried forward the British war effort since that time.

In other words, it was denounced by those people who knew what game was being played in the world in general, and in Palestine in particular, and it is

those people who I trust still know what game is being played.

I fully agree with the comments which Mr. Ziff made upon recent developments. I do not wish to recall the same items because our time is limited, but the matter has to be considered in terms of overall American policy. Politics is a very harsh matter. It is easy to rise and moralize on political issues. I sympathize 100 per cent with the moral and legal arguments drawn from the fact that the Balfour Declaration made certain commitments, that the Mandate made certain commitments, that the American Congress made certain commitments in 1922, that the American Government made certain other commitments in 1924. I am perfectly willing to recognize all these facts, and yet if it were true that these commitments represented errors of judgment, if it were true that they represented an erroneous policy, a false approach, a dead alley, you could not turn the wheel of history back, and no moralizing would be able to eliminate the hard facts. But what I wish to tell you, as the result of my studies, is that far from the last twenty-five years or twenty years proving any such contentions, the policy that was enunciated in the Balfour Declaration and in the Mandate and in the Congressional Resolution of 1922, is infinitely more necessary today than it was at the time at which it was enunciated. That is the vital factor in 1944.

WHY DO I SAY THAT? Certainly not upon the record that was accumulated under the Mandate. There can be no question that the administration of the Mandate in Palestine was a fizzle; it was a flop, or any other monosyllable that you wish to apply from the rich armory of American terms. It is perfectly clear that for any flop or failure in politics, the first responsibility rests with those who were in control. The people who were in control of that situation, between 1922 and 1939, were the British Colonial Office; therefore one clear conclusion to be drawn from the experience is that control of the British Colonial Office over Palestine must be removed. They have proven that they are incapable of ad-

ministering that territory. That is the real conclusion to draw, and not that there is no hope for establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

But what seems to me more important is the present and future need.

Since 1939, the persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has, as every one of us knows, taken extreme forms. It existed before that, and presumably it will to some extent persist after the defeat of the Nazis. We might just as well recognize the ugly facts of the situation. In any case, I do not believe that it is reasonable or practicable for Christian people to expect the Jews either to wish to stay in, or wish to return to, those places in which they have suffered the persecution inflicted upon them in Germany, in Poland, in Hungary, in Rumania and in various other territories that have fallen under Fascist domination. There may be some, I would not deny it. In the first place there are always fools in the world; in the second place there are people who would estimate the situation differently; but I think we are perfectly fair in guessing that a very considerable number of these people wish to remove from the places in which they have been so extremely badly treated.

Where can they remove to?

You will hear from people who are opposed to the Jewish National Home in Palestine, some of them Jews, that they can go to many other places, but if you will study the record of international conferences that have been dedicated to the question of determining where they can in fact go to any appreciable extent, you will know that there are no such places. Consequently we might just as well recognize as a condition of the postwar situation that while there will be a certain number of Jewish people coming to the United States, to the Latin American countries, to certain countries in Asia, they will be few in number, compared to the number who are seeking a home and who are in my opinion not only entitled to the assistance of the United States in finding that home but who are in our own long-run self-interest people for whom a home must be found. It isn't purely a moral issue,



Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, chairman of Christian Council on Palestine, opening the National Conference on Palestine on March 9, 1944 in Washington, D. C.



Senator Robert F. Wagner addressing the dinner of the American Palestine Committee. At his left sit Vice-President Wallace, Dr. Silver, Senator Taft, Dr. Posing.



Honorable Paul V. McNutt, chairman, War Manpower Commission, addressing the dinner.



Guests at the dinner of the American Palestine Committee, held at the Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C. on the evening of March 9.



Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, president of Boston University, presiding over the dinner.

and the reason I say that is because of my conception of American foreign policy.

NOW YOU KNOW that American foreign policy is a very controversial subject. The other day when I testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House and alluded to this particular phase of the subject, one of the Congressmen said, "I wish the Doctor could tell us what the foreign policy of the United States is." Well, the "doctor" did not oblige. It is perfectly true that foreign policy is to some extent a *Fata Morgana*, something that you forever chase and never find, but every country must develop certain policies and must develop certain over-all considerations by which to guide its specific decisions. It is my conception and I dare say that of a good many people in this hall that the over-all consideration of American foreign policy is the establishment and the maintenance of peace, of lasting peace, of just and durable peace.

On the monument of General Sherman here in Washington there appears a very famous saying of this Civil War general, a very humane man who has been much abused as the result of the unfortunate connotations of Sherman's March. On that monument you can read that free men can fight a war only to establish a better peace. We are now fighting this war, gentlemen; we are fighting it to establish a better peace.

How did we get into this war? A long story, but one thing is perfectly clear upon the record, and that is that this war began for certain when Hitler and his Nazis declared war upon the Jews in Germany and throughout Europe, and it was one of the disasters of this country's history that it was not recognized as such, that we turned away, and we said: "This is none of our affair, this is an internal concern of Germany; we have no reason to intervene." And people who felt like intervening, such as myself, were dubbed "interventionists." Probably some of you know that I have always declined the honor of being called an interventionist, and requested that I be called a belligerent, because

I decided that even in 1934 the time had come to stand up and fight for our position.

The only reason for recalling these unhappy facts is that they are vitally related to this subject. The maladjustments surrounding the position of the Jewish people in Europe were one of the most vital features in the total context that led down the path to this war.

Personally I am convinced that if we had realized in 1934 that this was one world, we could have prevented the war that we now have on our hands. When I used to say in 1934 that we should stand up against the Nazis people would always spring forward and say: "Would that not mean war?" And to their great surprise (because they knew me to be a near-pacifist, a peace-loving man), I would reply: "Yes, it would mean war." Then as a follow-up to their startled expressions I would say, "It would mean a war, but it would mean a little war, instead of a big one." In my opinion the hardest thing to realize about foreign policy is that you do not completely control the situations which you have to handle. Therefore you cannot find a riskless foreign policy; you can only weigh the risks and determine upon which foreign policy is the least risky. It was my contention at that time, and it will forever be, that we chose the path of an extremely risky foreign policy instead of a relatively less risky foreign policy.

IT SEEMS TO ME that after victory is won one of the most burning problems will be the Jewish problem in Europe. It is an essential feature of pacification. It ranks with the elimination of the Nazi Party; it ranks with the elimination of the German militarists as an essential condition of a lasting and just peace.

And as I have indicated before, there is only one solution, as far as I can see, and that is a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It is a risky policy. The Arabs are opposed to it, no doubt. But only with a firm determination to take this small risk can we escape the much greater risks that lie in a failure to solve the Jewish problem in Europe.

Let me in this connection, comment with high approval upon the statements that the previous speaker — Professor Albright — has made. Like himself I have no sympathy of course with people who wish to move the Arabs out of Palestine, but whatever some crazy extremist may sometimes have said, that has never been an issue of practical policy, it is purely a red herring that has been dragged across the trail for the purpose of confusing people. As a matter of fact, as you probably know, the Arab population of Palestine almost doubled between 1919 and 1939, and presumably the Arab population of Palestine will continue to increase at a very rapid rate if the Jews continue to develop Palestine.

Now in that connection you run into the old and famous argument of "absorptive capacity." Fortunately, the American Palestine Committee has distributed an extremely able analysis in the pamphlet called "The Facts About Palestine." It will forever, I hope, rout from your minds the arguments in terms of Absorptive Capacity. They are purely an escape. If in the past we had approached the future of the United States in terms such as are involved in the policy that is based on a timid estimate of absorptive capacity, we would never have gotten where we are. In 1800 no one would have estimated the absorptive capacity of the United States as what it actually turned out to be, and I am quite convinced that nobody today estimates the absorptive capacity of the United States as what it may eventually turn out to be.

Human creativeness has tremendous potentialities.

In 1919 the absorptive capacity of Palestine was estimated at only a fraction of what Palestine has since absorbed, and I think twenty-five years from now if we pursue a policy of firmness in support of those principles of international cooperation that in my opinion must underlie an American foreign policy, it will turn out that such estimates as Dr. Lowdermilk has made of the absorptive capacity of Palestine will, if anything, have been left behind by actual developments.

ONE REASON for this is, of course, that the Jewish people as a whole, not only as a race but as a religious fellowship, have a deep attachment to Palestine which induces them to make extreme sacrifices for the upbuilding of Palestine which they are not prepared to make for other territories. We as Christian non-Jews and realistic Americans must take that fact into account, that this is the place that the Jews of the world are prepared to develop, and not the jungles of Brazil, or of the Dutch East Indies, or the highlands of Tibet. If they were, I would be standing here to argue for Tibet, but the fact of the matter is that their religious faith—and such faith has forever been the basis of profound and lasting sacrifice on the part of human beings—is attached to this Holy Land and not to some other colonial territory. That is definitive, as far as I am concerned. It is one of these stubborn little facts that William James talks about which you have to take into account if you want to deal intelligently with human beings.

Beyond that, there also lies the question of how to organize the control of this contested territory. If we do the things that are indicated in the Congressional Resolution, do away with the White Paper, facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine, facilitate land purchase in Palestine, facilitate economic development in Palestine, if we do these things, what kind of governmental setup is called for?

I believe, and here, of course, my strong internationalist inclinations come into play—I believe that it cannot be done under other than international auspices. The Christian Council on Palestine to which I myself am attached, has taken that position, and rightly. As I said at the outset, we cannot return Palestine to the good graces of Great Britain's Colonial Office, and since fortunately this country does not boast of a Colonial Office we need not turn it over to the Colonial administrators of this country. We need, therefore, an international organization.

You know the great complexities involved in the problems of international organization. It would

be a wild goose chase for me at this point, practically at the close of my address, to attempt to sketch a blue-print of the required international organization. I have arrived at the point today where I feel that much more important than arguments about just what kind of an international organization will be required, is a strenuous effort to carry home to the American people that we need some kind of international organization. Whatever international organization proves feasible is the international organization which we should build.

Palestine, as I said before, is not the only problem. There are a number of other problems in the world that call for international rather than local or imperial settlements, and the only way in which we can cope with these troubled areas in the world

where cultures clash, where nations fight with each other, is the development of an effective international organization. I have pretty nearly come to the conclusion that only the leadership of this country will bring that international organization about. I am pretty much convinced that if this country does not provide the leadership for international organization things will fall apart. There are plenty of forces pulling in the opposite direction. Therefore I would like to close with a statement from the Old Testament, from one of the great Jewish prophets: "How beautiful upon the mountains the feet of him that publisheth peace."

This I would like to see as the motto of the American people in the years ahead.

HONORABLE ROBERT F. WAGNER

WHEN THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE WAS formed not quite three years ago, we were joined by a great American who contributed unreservedly of his sympathy and support. I speak of my late and distinguished colleague, Senator Charles L. McNary, of Oregon, who was taken from us just a fortnight ago. He was vitally concerned with the tragedy of the Jewish people as he was with every issue which challenged American principles of democracy and liberty. He readily accepted the co-chairmanship of this committee. "I am glad," he wrote me in 1940, "to associate myself with the American Palestine Committee in lending moral support to the historic effort for the restoration of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. There are few undertakings in the world today that are so completely in accord with the dictates of justice and necessity."



Reaffirming America's Stand



The cause for which we speak here tonight has lost one of its ardent crusaders. Senator McNary joined me in issuing the call for this meeting. Were he alive, he would ask us to redouble our efforts. America has lost a lover of humanity and justice. I propose that we rise in tribute to his memory.

THIS IS THE ANNUAL DINNER of the American Palestine Committee. It is the concluding event in an all day Conference on Palestine sponsored by our Committee in cooperation with seven other organizations.

The American Palestine Committee was created in 1941 to give expression to the interest, sympathy and moral support of the American people for the Jewish National Home in Palestine. It has been our function to disseminate the facts with regard to the

progress of that home and to second all proper measures that may be taken to assist it.

This is an undertaking which increasingly engages America's attention. It is an undertaking which must continue to engage our attention not alone because we have a humanitarian regard for the misfortunes which befall our fellow men, but because we have come to understand the interdependence of peoples. We know that the permanence of the peace we fight to win is conditioned on a recognition of the integrity of all the world's peoples and their right to security.

Insecurity and recurrent persecution have been the lot of the Jewish people for twenty centuries. In the rebirth of the democratic spirit which followed the sacrifices and agony of the first World War, it seemed that this long period of suffering was at last drawing to a close. In 1917, recognizing the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, the British government issued the Balfour Declaration, promising the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. In 1922, the Congress of the United States identified itself with Jewish aspirations in Palestine, when it unanimously adopted a joint resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. The nations of the world joined in hailing that objective. Fifty-two nations ratified the Mandate under which Great Britain was entrusted with the obligation to implement the promise.

The Jewish people are justly proud of their heroic achievement in Palestine. Within a quarter of a century, the Jewish population in Palestine rose to close to 600,000; almost three hundred colonies were established, more than half a billion dollars was invested, a land derelict and neglected was transformed into a thriving modern economy.

BUT, while the physical development of Palestine was carried forward in one of the most remarkable colonization efforts of our time, the Jewish National Home was beset by political obstacles, in the compromises and capitulations of the last two

decades. There was a general retreat from the high purposes and ideals which motivated men in 1917 and 1918. In the resulting disintegration, there was a deflection from the announced purpose of the Jewish restoration in Palestine. There were reinterpretations of the Balfour Declaration. Restrictions imposed by administrators who did not understand or sympathize with their responsibility impeded Jewish settlement and colonization. There was a series of White Papers which represented a yielding to convenience at the expense of principle.

Compromise with principle bore evil fruit in the 1930's. The civilized world was shocked when political anti-Semitism became a grim reality in Nazi Germany. But few were far-sighted enough to realize then that anti-Semitism was more than an attack on the Jew. It was a major weapon in the Nazi strategy of destroying democracy's internal defenses.

Even as Hitler conquered Czechoslovakia without firing a shot by internally disrupting the country and by simultaneously alienating its professed friends and protectors, so Hitler agents threatened a disastrous blow at Jewish Palestine—an outpost vital to democracy—by inciting the Arabs against the Jews and the British. And in 1939 Chamberlain yielded to terrorism in Palestine. In violation of the trusteeship imposed by the Palestine Mandate and in breach of the Balfour promise of 1917, he issued the White Paper of 1939.

The White Paper was Palestine's Munich. It was conceived with the same disregard for equity and it was written in the same spirit of appeasement to aggression. Under its terms, Jews are denied permission to buy land in a large part of their homeland, Jews are to be denied entry into their own country, solely on the ground that they are Jews. Under its program, Jews are to be frozen into a permanent one-third minority of the population in what is proposed to be eventually an Arab state.

If there is strong feeling on this question among the Jews of Palestine and Jews everywhere in the world, it is understandable. Since the beginning of the war, Jewish Palestine has supported the United

Nations to the limit of its resources. It has been an arsenal and a granary for Allied troops, a strategic point on our supply line. Close to 30,000 Palestinian Jews have enlisted in the British army. They helped turn Rommel back at El Alemein. They have been in every engagement in the Middle East. They are today in the vanguard of the British forces in Italy. They have left their wounded and dead on every battle field.

BUT RESENTMENT is not confined to Palestine. It is shared by freedom-loving men everywhere who look to protagonists of freedom to take a stand on this issue. That is why we have a right and an obligation to make our position clear. That is why we hold this Conference in Washington today. That is why, within the last month, I had the honor in association with Senator Taft of Ohio, to introduce into the Senate a resolution calling for the opening of Palestine's doors to Jewish immigration and the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth.

We introduced this resolution at this time because there is a need for a reaffirmation of our stand of 1922. The argument for this declaration is a thousand times more cogent than it was in 1922; the overwhelming tragedy of the Jewish

people of Europe pleads for it; the great colonization effort of the past twenty-five years vindicates it; the threatened repudiation inherent in the White Paper demands it.

The final victory will be an empty victory if it is measured solely by military criteria. We shall not win the peace if we define victory merely as a preponderance over the enemy in terms of area annexed, cities smashed, armies destroyed and captured. This is no mere war of destruction. This is a war of reconstruction for security, for a lasting peace, for a progressive order in which the rights of people and communities of people will be secured and guaranteed.

The Jewish people have long been denied these rights. Europe today is a vast graveyard for their dead. They have a right to ask us that they be counted in the ranks of tomorrow's society of free nations. The Munich Pact, which sealed the death warrant of countless thousands of the Jewish people, has been torn up. The Monster — Hitler — who engineered this pact is being beaten into submission. But the White Paper of 1939 remains in force. It, too, must be torn to bits in order that the hopes of the Jewish people and of humanity may have a new birth of freedom.

DR. DANIEL L. MARSH

Fourteen Points on Palestine

MR. CHAIRMAN, fellow guests, good friends all, it is a rather impressive thing to note the most pronounced leadership of the Christian Church and of the Jewish faith coming together at this banquet in one common interest for the Jewish people.

I regard it as the function of the toastmaster chiefly to try to create the atmosphere in which

the greater stars at the head table can shine with their proper luminosity. In an attempt to create that atmosphere, let me make a few simple observations. The first is on the value of discussion. There are many persons who are lukewarm, indifferent, or opposed to the thing that brings us together. There are various reasons why they are

opposed, indifferent or lukewarm, and one of them is that they simply don't know. One of the best ways to secure enlightenment is to have open, frank discussion, the very breath of life to democracy.

Then there is another thing: when we get into war, there is great apprehension lest we say or do something that may in some way impede the progress of the war. That apprehension is of course most laudable, but it is a terrible mistake for anyone to stretch his interpretation of patriotism so as to stop other persons from thinking and from saying what they think. Our Army is doing a perfectly amazing piece of work, all honor and all power and all support to it. But in a democracy the government is the servant of the people, and not their master. And in a democracy it is always terribly perilous for the Army to make encroachments upon the preserves of the civil or political government. I speak calmly, without any rancor or passion, but I read the other morning with very great apprehension the statement that the Army had asked the United States Senate to withdraw the resolution that had been introduced, rebuking the British Government for its White Paper and reaffirming our faith in Palestine as a national homeland for the Jews. I think that this is dangerous. We must not surrender diplomacy and political mastery to the Army though we must continue to give the Army our last ounce of support for the magnificent work it is doing.

AND NOW I would like to have you climb with me to an eminence where our stars can shine with their greatest brightness. We can climb to this eminence on fourteen very simple and easily mounted steps. I am saying things that you know, that are already in your minds and in your hearts, but you will welcome, I am sure, my taking these thoughts that lie in your minds in a more or less vaporous condition, and precipitating them, as it were, into a rain of phrases that will help to clear the atmosphere.

These are the fourteen steps:

First: Palestine has never wholly belonged to any one people.

Second: In pre-Biblical times it was over-run by primitive nomad tribes.

Third: Because of its strategic geographical location, it was the battlefield of ancient nations that contended for supremacy, Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome.

Fourth: The history of the Jewish people is indissolubly bound up with Palestine: the divine urgency of the patriarchs; the sojourn in Egypt and the invasion of Palestine by a new nation, shaped and molded by Moses, and led in conquest by Joshua; the struggle for a foothold; the centralizing and civilizing power of religion; the expanding strength of the nation; then the bickerings and jealousies, and rival ambitions of the people.

Fifth: The people were conquered by foreign nations and taken into captivity, only to return to Palestine with the sure instinct of a bird of flight.

Sixth: The sorrows of Roman conquest and the sorrows that came because the nation fell into a period where it had blind leaders of the blind, were followed by the dispersion of the Jews unto the ends of the earth.

Seventh: Palestine became a Roman colony; was overrun by Moslems; was the goal of that strange visionary movement that we call the Crusades; was conquered by the Turks—a sad, a depressing history.

Eighth: This step brings us to the period of the First World War. Due to the conditions that then prevailed, the Jewish hope for settlement in Palestine under favorable auspices was given great impetus by the pledge of the Balfour Declaration, which put Britain on record as favoring "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

Ninth: This step was a natural and easy one. Unfortunate and dispossessed Jews were given financial encouragement to establish colonies, under superb leadership, in Palestine. The Jewish population was increased manifold. Immigration proj-

ects were carried through. Modern agricultural methods were introduced. Industries were opened up. Education and public health, culture and sanitation, were but symbols of the amazing work done by the Jews in Palestine.

Tenth: The Arabs objected. They saw that there would soon be a preponderance of Jewish population, and they saw the properties going into Jewish hands. The Arabs were not banished. In fact the Arab population has increased during this same period.

Eleventh: I am assured by friends of the Arabs that they are a very wonderful people. They try to follow three simple rules, namely: to share what you have to eat with the stranger in need; to keep your pledged word; and to tell the truth about the places you visit.

Twelfth: Because of the exigencies of the War, the British Government has seen fit to issue what it calls a "White Paper", which reduces Jewish immigration into Palestine to the vanishing point, places rigorous restrictions on land purchase by Jews, and ultimately establishes an independent Palestinian state in which the Jews are to constitute not more than one-third of the population.

Thirteenth: I like those rules that are said to guide the Arab's life, particularly that one which

requires a person to keep his pledged word. If this is true of a person, it should be true of a government also. Britain's "White Paper" is a direct scrapping of her pledged word in the Balfour Declaration.

Fourteenth: I favor fulfillment of the promises made and implied in the Balfour Declaration. That means that I am in favor of letting the oppressed and dispossessed Jewish people establish homes in Palestine. I favor letting the Jewish people—rich and cultured as well as poor and oppressed—do everything possible for the highest development of the resources of Palestine. I favor letting the Jews regard Palestine as their national home, always, however, under covenants entered into by the League of Nations or its successor which will guarantee that there shall be no religious persecution of any kind in Palestine, and that the historical sites dear and sacred to the Christian's heart shall be kept inviolate. I favor letting the Arabs who desire to remain in Palestine, remain there. At the same time, I would favor international assistance in helping such Arabs as do not wish to remain in Palestine to be favorably relocated in other parts of the vast and undeveloped domain now committed to the Arabs.

Palestine is a little land, big with meaning.

REV. DR. DANIEL A. POLING

Our Good Faith Is at Stake

PRESIDENT MARSH, Senator Wagner, fellow-Americans, I speak tonight as a Christian. I offer a confession of sin, which is both personal and vicarious, and I will declare my faith.

A distinguished American educator has said in effect that it is the responsibility of majority groups, whatever the issue and wherever raised, to see to it that minorities have their rights. Indeed,

it is more than responsibility. It is life and very existence—for the majority groups. Minorities can and do survive persecution, but responsible majorities cannot! The Jew after centuries of travail imposed upon him by those who overwhelmed him in numbers and physical strength remains today the most baffling human phenomenon of history. Only a spiritual answer is adequate for the questions

raised by the fact of his survival. On the other hand, the powerful majorities that tortured the Jew have steadily weakened and disappeared, while the governments that made him their victim have been overthrown. What he himself could not accomplish in his own defense, a destiny that must be divine has steadily achieved for him.

My faith is the majority faith of this great free land. And speaking as a Christian, I rise to say that while Israel can and will again survive injustice and persecution, the Christian majority, under whatever guise, cannot practice persecution, nor consent to it; cannot allow the injustice, nor condone it; nor be silent in the presence of those twentieth century totalitarian horrors and survive. By the sublime tests of the Sermon on the Mount the Christian must be Christian if he would continue to be. For him there is no alternative. The Jew may still die a thousand deaths and live on to raise new civilizations and cultures above the graves of those who slew him. That is his destiny. But for me, the genius of my salvation is comprehended in what Jesus named the last and great commandment: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, with all thy strength and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself."

WHAT THEN ARE THE PARTICULARS of majority responsibility with regard to the Jew? One may state them tonight only in their briefest outline. And directly I shall refer only to Palestine.

Jewish tradition, both religious and national, has known but one Promised Land. And every effort made to find another has failed. That search goes on, but I believe it will continue to fail. Nor do I believe that for the majority the problem of the Jew will ever approach solution until permanently he has the open door of return to the land of his ancestors, which is the seat of his faith and eternal hope. Until then there will be no rest for his wandering feet and no peace for those who keep him on the march. Perhaps the Jew, more than any other ethnic group, for his continued existence must maintain his unique spiritual character. With

that "must" is forever identified the promise and the prospect of the land that in another time "flowed with milk and honey."

Nor let it be forgotten by the majority that after the first World War the Balfour Declaration gave form and body to an age-old dream, and that fifty-two nations endorsed that Declaration. Among these nations is the United States of America. And I affirm tonight that never more than an infinitesimal minority of America's Christian majority has disapproved this action of the United States of America. The Balfour Declaration is a fact of history. The good faith, not of the Jew, but of the Gentile, is at stake; not of Israel, but of Britain and of the United States and of every other signatory power.

EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT was Arab support of the Balfour Declaration when original and final negotiations on behalf of the Arabs with the Jews were entrusted to His Royal Highness, Emir Feisal. His approach was cordial and statesman-like. He commanded great ability and deep understanding. His views and the engagements to which he committed those whom he so ably represented are historically recorded. He anticipated a natural and complete union of Arab states under the British acting as trustee. Matters of his father's rule, his own sovereignty in Syria, and that of his brother in Trans-Jordan or in Iraq were all cleared. At no time was there even the suggestion that the return of the Jew to Palestine and the full development of Palestine as a Jewish state would be regarded as hostile to Arab interests.

The Agreement he and Dr. Weizmann signed on January 3, 1919, contains such unequivocal statements as the following: "The Arab State and Palestine and all their relations and understandings shall be controlled by the most cordial goodwill and understanding, and to this end Arab and Jewish duly accredited agents shall be established and maintained in the respective territories." Again, "All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a

large scale." And yet again, "The Mohammedan holy places shall be under Mohammedan control." The official declarations were such as these, and within these principles accepting in good faith the Balfour Declaration and the adherence to that declaration of fifty-two sovereign states, the Jew went forward to again make the "desert blossom as the rose."

AFTER TWENTY YEARS of intensive Jewish development the population had grown from 650,000 to nearly 1,500,000. Palestine with its area of 10,000 square miles approximates in size Belgium, also Holland and Sicily. Belgium and Holland have each a population of over 3,000,000; Sicily which is mountainous, 4,000,000, and Palestine has in the past been populated by as many as 4,000,000. Under the intensive development of the Jew which I have seen, and at which I have marvelled, I believe that this former population total may be reached and as the result of industrialization, even surpassed.

In his book just now published, "Palestine, Land of Promise," the famous American soil conservationist, Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, reaches the conclusion that the unique combination of natural features and resources of the Jordan Valley makes possible a reclamation project capable of supporting at least 4,000,000 refugees in addition to the nearly 2,000,000 Jews and Arabs in greater Palestine. Whether or not we support Dr. Lowdermilk's specific suggestions, I find his book a convincing statement for a Jewish national home in Palestine and a constructive program that makes sense. Beyond this his plan could become a large scale model for the reclaiming of other neglected lands.

Mr. Winston Churchill has said that the White Paper is a "breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration," and that the Jew as a minority in Palestine under foreign rule would be "the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream." While that would be tragedy for the Jew, it is irretrievable disaster at last for the majority. Nor let it be argued

that a Jewish minority opposed to what the world knows as Zionism, invalidates the claims of the Jewish majority and excuses the rest of us from further support of those claims. We Christians have our own pledges and our own conscience.

At the same time the Jewish majority has fully regarded its own minority, for Zionism is specific in supporting the national rights of Jews who retain their residence and citizenship in other lands. Some of my closest friends, indeed my most intimate personal friends among Jews, are not Zionists. And if their citizenship status were to be affected by Zionism I would speak out at once. But these rights are not affected, save only as I believe eventually Zionism would enrich and strengthen them. Nor is there the slightest suggestion that as between sovereign states there would be a dual citizenship.

FELLOW-AMERICANS, almost exactly one year ago a cargo transport steamed steadily in the ice-berg infested waters of the North Atlantic. The men slept well that night. They were nearing port. The dock was ninety miles away. Fifteen minutes after 1 o'clock a torpedo struck amidship, silenced the engines, and scores were killed beneath the decks. Until recently the losses on the Dorchester were the heaviest for any sinking in two wars. Out of 904 personnel 676 were lost. It is said that there were four chaplains on the Dorchester, four chaplains of three faiths. When they came to the deck, they quieted panic; at the last they took off their life belts and pushed the belts on enlisted men. When last seen they were standing on the bow. As the bow came up high and slid under, they were not seen again—a Catholic, a Jew, and two Protestants—men who had learned the fine art of living together, and having learned that art, in death were not divided, and being lost in action, were found of God.

Men and women of three faiths, that is symbolic for us now, not only for war, but for peace, and in that fellow-Americans, is the destiny of America.

I FEEL that I am no expert on the Palestine problem. I have always been sympathetic with the Zionist movement; I certainly have never made a study of it, and I was considerably surprised and complimented when I was asked by my very good constituent and friend Dr. Silver, to join in the introduction of the resolution which is now pending in the United States Senate.

I did feel a sense of responsibility which led me to read all that I could find on the question of Palestine, on the history of the British Mandate, on the present circumstances of the Jewish people. I was complimented and pleased to be able to join with my colleague, Senator Bob Wagner of New York, particularly so because he and I, while we are the closest friends, have had some difficulty in agreeing on a good many domestic policies.

We introduced the resolution designed to affirm the support of the United States government for the policy of establishing in Palestine a Jewish National Home. It was not intended as a rebuke, as suggested by Dr. Marsh, to the British government, it was rather an attempt to urge upon them the wisdom of receding from the policy of the White Paper, and affirming again the policy of a Jewish National Home. That resolution has been delayed and held up by military objection. Naturally all of us are concerned with meeting the desires of those who lead the armies of the United States. The American people today have one great purpose above every other purpose: that is the winning of the war by a victory so decisive that no nation in the future can again even hope to conquer its neighbors, to conquer the world. For the accomplishment of that purpose we have devoted all of our efforts for two years, and we can only offer admiration for those departments and those men who have created

The Common Sense Solution

the greatest army and the greatest navy which the world has ever seen.

But because the winning of the war is our main purpose there is no reason to neglect the other problems which press upon us, even today, and will become of first importance the very moment that the war comes to an end. For that reason, for instance, Congress, I think has felt very strongly that we should not sacrifice any more individual liberty here in the United States than is really necessary for the conduct of the war, and should not eliminate the freedom for which we are fighting over the seas on every continent and on every ocean of the world.

I think it is peculiarly important at the present time to begin to formulate in specific terms the different elements of foreign policy which are so necessary if the final purposes of this war are to be accomplished. So I feel very strongly that we are wholly justified in considering the Jewish problem now, and taking every step which can possibly be taken without interfering with the progress of the war.

THE JEWISH PEOPLE were the first victims of the aggression of Hitler. Their cause is the same cause as that of many enslaved people in the occupied countries of Europe. There is little use in talking of bringing freedom to these people if they are dead before that freedom comes. Nothing in modern history can equal the barbarity with which the Jews have been treated in the Axis countries, but there are four million of them still alive, and with reasonable effort many of these may be assisted out of the Axis countries, providing there is some place to put them when they do come out. That is the problem which your Committee is primarily and vitally interested in.

When the war ends, there will be some countries in which it would probably be unfortunate to leave any Jews, some countries in which the minority problem may be so difficult that it should be eliminated. In other countries it may be essential to move out some portion of the Jewish population rather than attempt to restore to them the real property and the rights of which they have been forcibly deprived.

We certainly desire to create a post-war world in which there will be as little friction as possible, and in which millions of people do not begin under a hopeless handicap. On the other hand, we face the difficulty that most nations do not desire immigration because of the severity of their own economic problems and their sense of the difficulty of those problems, or in some cases their unwillingness to create a minority problem which might not otherwise exist.

The solution which your Committee recommends and which this resolution endorses may be called the Palestine solution. I quite realize that it is not a perfect plan, because no such plan exists, but I have come to think that it is the best plan for the present, certainly, and one which is practical and can be carried out. It is true that the general region in which Palestine is situated is preponderantly Arab, but there is no single Arab nation, there are four or five Arab states in the near neighborhood, each of them independent, and each of them enjoying a certain national unity, and history. The small region of Palestine is somewhat differently situated. It has always been a revered center for the Christian religion and the Jewish religion as well as the Mohammedan religion. It has been fought over for centuries. It is more than likely that it will remain for a long time the subject of international control. If that is the fact, there seems no logical reason for stopping the immigration of Jews to that country any more than we stopped the immigration of the Arabs or of Christians for that matter.

There is only one reason I can see why immigration should be prohibited and that would be the

development of economic limitations and the danger of creating a state which could not support itself. The evidence shows that Palestine can support a very considerable number of additional immigrants. Certainly those who oppose the Palestine solution have the burden of bringing forward some other solution. I have yet to see any one who is able to propose a better solution to take care of the Jewish problem and ensure the maintenance of Jews to whom the whole world owes a debt of gratitude. I should hope that we might later find some undeveloped region of the earth into which Jewish immigration could be encouraged or the Jewish state or colonial state possibly established, but any such development would take many years before it could be practical, whereas the Palestine solution can meet all immediate demands.

WHEN WE COME to the modern history of Palestine, it is certainly clear that those who wish to stop immigration must combat the established policy and the solemn pledges of Great Britain, of the United States and of the League of Nations, for the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. The term "National Home" for the Jewish people is perhaps lacking in clarity, but certainly it clearly implies that Jewish people who desire to come to that home shall not be excluded by law.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 pledged the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. This pledge was carried into the Mandate of the League of Nations for Palestine, which Mandate was accepted by the government of Great Britain. It imposed upon the Mandatory Power the burden of placing the country under such political administration and economic conditions as would secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It further imposed on the Mandatory Power the duty to facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, and of encouraging close settlement by Jews on the land.

Not long afterward, in June 1922, the Congress of the United States adopted a resolution favoring

the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. It seems clear to me that the White Paper of May 1939 and the stopping of immigration, not on the ground of economic saturation but because of the fear of antagonizing Arab states, is a repudiation of those obligations. I feel all the more certain of my position, which is perhaps newly formed, because it was that taken by Winston Churchill on May 22, 1939, in opposing the adoption of the White Paper.

It is now stated in some high quarters that the opening of Palestine to immigration, and even the consideration of the present resolution by Congress will interfere with the progress of the war, presumably by antagonizing the Arab peoples. But now, from still higher authority it appears that the antagonizing of the Arab peoples is either of no importance, or in the opinion of one who has flown to Casablanca and Cairo, will not be aroused by this resolution or its consideration. We must therefore ask the military authorities just what the other

military considerations are. I do not know enough about the military conditions of North Africa to either affirm or deny the claim of the Secretary of War. I would not have joined in introducing the resolution if it had not seemed to me that the war had gone beyond North Africa, and that there could be no military effect. I cannot think of any time in which Arab opposition, if it exists at all, would be less dangerous than when the Allies have great armies in the field constantly advancing and closing in on the Axis powers.

If Arab opposition is to bar the claim now, simply because of political considerations, it seems to me that those political considerations will never be less than they are now. I should like to hear the exact information on which the military conclusions are based. I believe very strongly, therefore, that now is the time. The resolution we have introduced is not only an act of justice to an oppressed people, but it is the common sense solution of the first of our great postwar problems.

HONORABLE PAUL V. McNUTT



Palestine and Democracy

I AM PROUD to recall that as governor of my state, I was the first executive to declare a Palestine Day, to coincide with the first National Conference for Palestine held here in Washington. I have faith in the future of Palestine because I have faith in democracy. And, to me, Palestine is a very real symbol of the democracy for which we are fighting.

Throughout the past quarter century we have watched with growing admiration the patience, energy and sacrifice which Jewish pioneers have brought to the task of rebuilding their ancient homeland. We have seen a struggling colony grow into a community of more than half a million

people, bending the resources of modern science to their staunch belief in their own destiny.

After this war the shattered nations of Europe can well turn to Palestine for courage and inspiration in the task which will lie before them. The same energy, the same sacrifice and patience in the face of obstacles, will be needed to rebuild their homelands. But even more, we can all look to Palestine for that appreciation of human dignity and freedom which is the heritage of the Jew—the deep understanding of the cultural, spiritual and human values which are indispensable to a free people.

This we are resolved: the world of tomorrow

shall be a world where fear and oppression can no longer cast their shadows—and where all peoples shall be free to develop their own destinies. For over a decade we have seen racial hatred—religious intolerance—harnessed to the chariot of destruc-

tion. Our task must be to see that these hatreds—this intolerance—are blotted out forever from the face of the earth, and that men of all races, all creeds, may live and work together for the common good.

HONORABLE HENRY A. WALLACE

The Deliverance of the Remnant

IT DOES MY HEART GOOD, ladies and gentlemen, to see represented here tonight so many fine men from the legislative branch of the Government, both Democrats and Republicans, and from both branches of labor. Truly this is a cross-section of American opinion—Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish.

I wish to speak of debts here tonight, debts which we all owe to that which has come out of the past to us from the Jewish people. The spiritual debt is first of all. And then I wish to speak about a more practical matter, a debt in terms of winning this war. My mind runs to a name familiar to you all, Chaim Weizmann, who when he came over to this country and saw us on the point of making some very serious mistakes with regard to our rubber program, felt that oil could not do the job by itself fast enough and brought in alcohol to do it. Because he came to me at that time and I made the connections for him, I know of my own personal experience that he made it possible for us to avoid a very, very serious mistake in terms of the war effort.

Truly, it is most interesting to observe the way in which men of the highest scientific attainment who have been chased out of Germany have made it possible for us in ways I cannot discuss tonight, to use their scientific attainments to make the United States safe against certain things happen-

ing from Germany. Our hats should be off to these men who have meant so much to us in the war effort. We owe them a great debt of gratitude.

THE FOUR FREEDOMS mean more to the Jewish people than anyone else. They began fighting for these freedoms three thousand years ago, and have never stopped since. No people have suffered so continuously in order to obtain freedom of religion and freedom of expression as the Jews; no people have longed so passionately for freedom from fear and freedom from want. In their age-long search for freedom and toleration they have sought a haven among every people. Among the democratic peoples fighting the Axis they have found more nearly that to which their souls aspired than at any time since the prophets first raised their voices for social justice.

On the continent of Europe, amongst the Axis nations, the Jew during the past four years has been treated more barbarously than during all the rest of recorded history put together. The millions who have been murdered and starved to death in Europe have relatives in every part of the world, and especially in America. Hitler taunts the United States with being a Jew-inspired nation. If he means that we are inspired by Jesus, the most famous of all the Jews, I am happy to admit the charge, and hope it is so. If he means that the three

per cent of the people of the United States who are Jewish run this country, then I say that Hitler is crazy. But the Jews of America know what is going on in the world; they have fought the intolerant Fascist gangsters ever since the time of Christ.

The vast Hitler program of recent years is really a continuation on a great scale of that which has gone on in a smaller way in a thousand ghettos through a thousand years. Small wonder that Jews were the first to recognize Hitlerism for what it really is: small wonder that they were among the first to try to awaken the democracies from their deep slumber; small wonder that they fear the triumph of Fascism in America, even though we smash German military power and hang Goebbels, Goering, Himmler and Hitler; small wonder that they look askance at the devious Fascist maneuvering of a small military clique in Argentina.

For their keen perception of the Fascist danger I say the Jews are deserving of the undying gratitude of all friends of democracy everywhere. Naturally they want that debt paid in terms of the welfare of those who have suffered most on the continent of Europe, the remnant which has suffered a worse captivity than that of Egypt or Babylon. Even as Hitler has surpassed in his barbarity the Nebuchadnezzar of old, so may the modern deliverer to an equal degree surpass in his wisdom, bravery and charity, Cyrus, Ezra and Nehemiah.

FAR BE IT FROM ME in any way to take from, or add to the splendid statement which Rabbi Wise and Rabbi Silver were authorized to make on behalf of

the President this afternoon. Far be it from me in any way to add to, or subtract from anything which Churchill may have said at any time to any of your leaders. It is not for me to go into any of those matters here tonight, but because of my close association in times past with Dr. Lowdermilk, I feel free to express this hope that the day will come when in a thoroughly practical manner (and Dr. Lowdermilk is a practical man) there will be established a Jordan Valley Authority which will bring power, which will bring irrigation, which will make the desert blossom in terms of the common man of both the Jewish and the Arab peoples. Because I believe the Jewish people have learned toleration through their long years of sad experience, I believe the Jewish people will be able to live with the Arabian peoples, to the benefit—the joint benefit—of both peoples, because if we do believe in the Holy Bible, they are brothers of long, long standing.

YES, YOU HAVE a unique contribution to make. You have, over the long years, evolved the very essence of what is democracy: with the help of some Greek thought and with the help of English and other contributions as well, you have evolved the very essence of it. Surely with what you have learned from your own travail and suffering, you can make the necessary accommodations in Palestine so that your efforts will be a blessing to all the peoples there—yours and all the rest.

You have deserved greatly for your tremendous efforts in the war in ways which cannot yet be revealed. You have deserved richly. May you get your deserts, and may you make what you get a blessing to all mankind.

Thank you, Mr. Dunn!

The True Heart of America

MY DEAR FRIENDS, this has been indeed a deeply moving and greatly inspiring evening. This gathering itself, composed as it is of men of all faiths and of all shades of political opinion, is indeed the triumphant symbol of that for which our country stands preeminently in the midst of the world, and that for which we are fighting today.

It is good that Palestine, it is good that Jerusalem has summoned you all here in this common unity. I know of no better way to tell you how deeply I, as one of the spokesmen of the Zionist movement, feel at this time, than to repeat a phrase from our ancient and sacred literature: "Seek ye the peace of Jerusalem; may all those who love thee, Jerusalem, prosper."

I wish to thank you friends who have come from all parts of the country to help us in this great and desperately needed task in which we are engaged. I should like to thank the Vice-President of the United States for the courtesy which he has shown us in coming here and in giving us his word of uplift and encouragement. And to all the Senators and the Congressmen and the government officials who are here, I should like to express my special sense of gratitude, and the indebtedness of the Jewish people to the two men of the Senate of the United States, Senator Wagner and Senator Taft, and to the two men from the House of Representatives, Congressman Wright and Congressman Compton, who introduced the Palestine Resolution in both Houses. We are an ancient people, of long memory, and the names of these and the names of all others who have come to our aid in this critical day for Israel when so many brutal forces are organized and determined to destroy us—I say the names of all these friends will long be cherished and remembered by a grateful and unforgetting people.

I should like to share with you, fellow Americans, the grave problem that confronts the Jewish people at this time and which is likely to confront them after the Allied victory at the close of this war. The coming of peace will not automatically solve it. It existed in aggravated form even before the war. It is not a problem of a small and unimportant people. The Jews fortunately or unfortunately have never been an unimportant people. This problem cannot be brushed aside because of weightier or more urgent international problems. Our common foe against whom we are sending our sons into battle has made the Jews the central theme in all his vicious propaganda. The Jews everywhere in Europe were the first victims of his murderous campaigns. He has waged war against them for more than ten years. He has killed more than two million of them in the last few years. The very enormity of this tragedy forces itself irresistibly upon the attention of the world.

The early defeat of the Nazis may avert the horror of the total extermination of the Jews of Europe. But what of those who will survive? At the close of the war, European Jewry will find itself spiritually shaken and physically undermined. They will find themselves in a world of great social, political and economic tension, and under pressures which will not be entirely lifted through the restoration of their rights to citizenship.

Responsible Allied statesmen, looking ahead to the pacification and stabilization of Europe must be thinking now not only in terms of postwar relief and rehabilitation, but also, and far more fundamentally, in terms of establishing such political conditions and such international guarantees as will protect the Jewish minority as well as all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last

Am. J. C. C.
Ch. Compton M.P.

war, almost to the very day when the second war began. But a realistic appraisal of what is likely to prevail in Europe for a considerable period after the war cannot fail to give the Jewish people and its leaders the gravest concern. The struggle for existence in postwar Europe will be harsh and bitter. Economic hostility will once again be rationalized into the well-known and quite serviceable anti-Semitic thesis. Jews by the tens of thousands will be compelled to seek new homes. New homes will not be available.

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 postwar 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. But this ancient and historic land of the Jewish people is now in danger of being permanently closed against further Jewish immigration by the British White Paper which ^{comes} into force at the end of March.

An eminent member of the House of Lords recently declared that if today the White Paper were brought before Parliament, it would not have the ghost of a chance of being approved. Every responsible statesman here and abroad knows that the policy of the White Paper is both morally and legally indefensible. It is a complete repudiation of the obligations which the Mandatory Government voluntarily assumed under international sanction to facilitate — not to curb — Jewish immigration into Palestine in order to build up the Jewish National Home. It was these obligations which alone justified the granting of the Mandate to Great Britain. The White Paper introduces iniquitous discriminatory racial legislation against Jews — and of all places, in the Jewish National Home! Immigration and land purchase restrictions are, under the terms of the White Paper, imposed not on Arabs or any other people, but exclusively on Jews.

If the White Paper, a unilateral British declaration that never received the approval of those 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! Had the doors of Palestine been wide open these last years of Nazi terror and had the Mandatory Government fully cooperated in the task, tens of thousands of additional refugees might have been saved from Hitler's mass execution. Will the conscience of the world permit the doors of the Jewish National Home to be closed against the helpless Jewish refugees who turn to it now and will turn to it after the war as to their last door of hope and rescue? Is this act of

PAGE(S) MISSING

injustice and inhumanity to usher in the new world order for which we are fighting?

THE JEWS OF PALESTINE, and the world, wish the Arab lands and peoples all success in their national and economic development. The Jews of Palestine, and of the rest of the world, stand ready to co-operate with them in the development of that vast world of theirs which is still so sadly undeveloped and underpopulated. The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine will, we believe, be a great boon to the entire Near East and to all the Arab peoples. Jews are bringing scientific skill, technical knowledge, and material resources to that part of the world. Palestine is destined to become the hub of a great and rapid economic expansion of the entire Near East. The prosperity of Palestine will stimulate the prosperity of all adjacent Arab countries.

The Jews are truly pro-Arab—perhaps the only truly pro-Arab people in the world, for we realize that the future prosperity of the Jewish National Home is bound up with the prosperity of the entire Arab world which enclaves it. But the progress and development of the Arabs need not be achieved at the sacrifice of the Jewish National Home which at best occupies a fraction of a fraction of the lands open to Arab growth and development. To Israel, however, Palestine is thrice precious and indispensable for its national life and survival. In it are the roots both of its past and of its future.

Realizing that the Arabs would have their national aspirations satisfied after the war by the establishment of a number of Arab national states, and that these states would have land areas so large that it would take them centuries to develop them, and realizing also that the Jews stood in desperate need of a place of refuge, for their people, the Allies reserved "the tiny notch" of Palestine, as Balfour called it — just 10,000 square miles — for the Jewish people. The Arab lands cover more than a million square miles and they are underpopulated and largely undeveloped.

It was rather ironical to read the other day the

complaint of the President of the Iraq Chamber of Senators to the effect that Palestine is already over-populated and that it is only by dispossessing Arabs that room can be made for Jews. The gentleman, we respectfully suggest, should concern himself with underpopulated and impoverished Iraq rather than with Palestine where the steady increase in population has brought prosperity to the country, both to Jews and Arabs, and made the Palestine Arab the envy of all the Arabs in the Near East. Ten years ago, and fifteen years ago, wise heads declared that there was no room in Palestine for a single additional settler. Hundreds of thousands have settled there since that time, and the Arab population, far from being dispossessed, has steadily increased in size as well as improved in standards of living.

IT IS CLEAR to everyone in Washington that were the Congress of the United States to speak today on the pending Palestine resolution, it would approve it overwhelmingly. Every well-informed newspaperman in Washington knows it. It is also clear to all observers that this sentiment in Congress correctly reflects the wishes of the American people. Leaders in every walk of life and in every community in the United States, as well as the press of our country, have availed themselves of the occasion of the introduction of the resolution to express themselves in hearty endorsement of the Jewish National Home.

We have been informed that our War Department has indicated objections to the passage of this resolution at this time. The reasons for these objections are not, and I suppose cannot, be revealed. Civilians are at a great disadvantage in arguing with the military on questions of military necessity or expediency, even when these have strong political implications, although in a democracy, civilians must occasionally exercise that right.

A panic propaganda has been set in motion to convince the world that the enforcement of the White Paper is imperative for the peace of the Holy Land. The word is spread that Palestine is a caul-

ish National Home was established. A policy of appeasement obstructed and limited the work and resulted in the 1939 Chamberlain-MacDonald White Paper on Palestine, which was aimed at the liquidation of the promise, the destruction of an age-old hope. Under that White Paper, Jewish immigration into Palestine was limited to 75,000 within a five year period, which terminates March 31, 1944; Jewish land purchases were drastically limited; and the Jewish population was congealed into a permanent one-third minority. After March 31, 1944, no new Jewish immigration beyond the 75,000 is to be permitted. The conscience of the civilized world cannot permit this last final blow against the Jewish people in its darkest hour.

THEREFORE, WE JOIN with a large majority of the British people in agreeing with Winston Churchill, who, in 1939, denounced the Palestine White Paper "as a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration."

WE ASSOCIATE OURSELVES also with the view of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, which declined to give approval or sanction to the White Paper on the ground that it was inconsistent with the terms of the Mandate.

WE CALL FOR THE ABROGATION of the 1939 White Paper on the grounds of justice, mercy and in the interests of our common humanity. We call for its abrogation also, because the White Paper is a breach of covenants in contravention of international law,

and a violation of the terms of the Mandate, as well as of the Anglo-American agreement of 1924, under which no change materially affecting the character of the Mandate could be made without the consent of the United States.

WHILE WE ARE COMPLETELY AWARE of the problems and responsibilities of our military and diplomatic leaders, we are firmly convinced that the technique of appeasement, which has failed to serve the cause of peace and democracy in other parts of the world, cannot provide the basis of an enduring and equitable solution of the Palestine problem. Here, as elsewhere, the decision must be based on justice rather than on expediency.

WE, THEREFORE, REAFFIRM our faith in the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration and ask for maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization and economic development.

WE REAFFIRM the traditional policy of our Government and ask for all effective measures to the end that Palestine may be reconstituted by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

WE URGE THE PASSAGE, at the earliest opportunity, by the Senate and the House, of the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions now under discussion in Committees, so that these objectives may be the more speedily achieved.

A SECOND RESOLUTION WAS ADOPTED AS FOLLOWS:

TO PROMOTE AND EFFECTUATE the purpose of this Conference the Chairman is authorized to appoint a Planning Committee of from seven to nine members to consult with the officers of the Ameri-

can Palestine Committee and of all the cooperating organizations with a view to the adoption of a common program of action to be recommended to all participants and constituents of the Conference.

The Planning Committee consists of Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Chairman, Professor Carl J. Friedrich, Hon. Norman Littell, Dr. David Henry, Mrs. Walter Ferguson, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Mr. J. M. Black.

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and

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE

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44-11

National Conference on Palestine

sponsored by

The American Palestine Committee

in cooperation with

American Federation of Labor
Christian Council on Palestine
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Free World Association
Union for Democratic Action
Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice
United Christian Council for Democracy



Thursday, March 9, 1944

STATLER HOTEL

Washington, D. C.

THE AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE is the vehicle for expressing the sympathy and good will of Christian America for the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

The Committee aims to disseminate correct information to the American Public on the progress of the Jewish National Home, and to support with its collective and individual influence, all proper measures that may be taken for its furtherance.

*From the Statement of Aims and Principles
of the American Palestine Committee*

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Thursday, March 9, 1944

STATLER HOTEL

Washington, D. C.

PROGRAM



OPENING SESSION

10:30 A. M.....*Congressional Room*

DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON, *Chairman*

Invocation.....THE REV. FREDERICK E. REISSIG, D. D.

The Jewish Need for Palestine...HON. NORMAN M. LITTELL

The Absorptive Capacity of Palestine

DR. WALTER CLAY LUDDERMILK

Discussion

Appointment of Committee on Resolutions



LUNCHEON

1:00 P. M.....*Federal Room*

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON, *Presiding*

Grace.....DR. GUY EMERY SHIPLER

Palestine in the Present Crisis.....MR. WILLIAM B. ZIFF

Discussion.....Lec by DR. ATKINSON

AFTERNOON SESSION

3:00 P. M.....*Federal Room*

PROF. S. RALPH HARLOW, *Chairman*

Prayer.....FATHER PHILIP K. SAYENGH

Arab-Jewish Relations... PROF. WILLIAM FOXWELL ALBRIGHT

The United States and the Jewish National Home

DR. CARL J. FRIEDRICH

Discussion

Report of Committee on Resolutions

DINNER

7:00 P. M.....*Presidential Room*

DR. DANIEL L. MARSH, *Chairman*

National Anthem.....MISS THERESA SHEFFERMAN

Invocation....THE REV. FREDERICK BROWN HARRIS, D. D.

SPEAKERS

HON. ROBERT F. WAGNER

DR. DANIEL A. POLING

HON. ROBERT A. TAFT

HON. PAUL V. McNUTT

HON. HENRY A. WALLACE

Vice-President of the United States

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