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Miscellaneous Palestine statements, 1944.

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American Jews, particularly those who advocate establishment of Palestine as a Jewish national home with eventual status of an independent nation, are aroused and deeply resentful of the apparent indifference of the Government of the United States toward the execution of American pledges and commitments.

Zionist Jews constitute more than 90% of the population of the Jews of the United States. They live, for the most part, in the urban communities of New England, the Middle Atlantic and the Middle Western states.

Because these people had such faith in President Roosevelt's frequent declarations pledging himself to do all in his power to establish Jewish statehood, they supported him in 1936, 1940 and 1944 with the fervor of a religious crusade. All of us who came in contact with the election campaign in New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, Boston, Cleveland, Chicago, and other large centers of Jewish population can testify to this fact.

In the last election, Mr. Roosevelt promised the Jews in writing that, if reelected, he would help to bring about the realization of the free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. He added he was "convinced that the American people give their support to this aim". The plank in the Democratic platform to which President Roosevelt gave his strong endorsement declared:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

It should be stated here that, when Roosevelt's message was read by Senator Wagner to the Zionist convention in Atlantic City two weeks before the election, thousands of Jewish men and women from all parts of the nation, all of them people of influence in their respective communities, actually stood and cried for joy. To them, Roosevelt's words meant the end of their long campaign to establish Palestine as the one place on this earth where the weary Jew of Europe, sick in mind and body, hungry and discouraged, might find a place to live again as a free man.

A few days earlier, Governor Dewey in New York issued a forthright statement in which he pledged himself, as President, to use his best efforts to have "this Government work together with Great Britain to achieve this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind."

But the Jews, in their great devotion to Mr. Roosevelt, completely ignored the pledges of the Republican party and its candidate, and they went to the polls as triumphant crusaders in behalf of Mr. Roosevelt. Of this there can be no doubt whatsoever. The records show that in heavily congested Jewish voting districts in Brooklyn, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, Mr. Dewey did not receive a single vote, and everywhere throughout the nation, where the Jewish vote was heavy, President Roosevelt's majority literally was overwhelming.

Almost immediately after the election, the Jewish people were horrified to discover that for all practical purposes, Mr. Roosevelt did not mean what he said. To the contrary, to the great amazement of the Jews and the chagrin of so many of his Gentile friends and political associates, he appeared in the role of an opponent of Zionism.

Members of the Congress, especially the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, know intimately how far the President went in November and December of 1944 in his efforts to prevent passage of the Wagner resolution. Not only did the then Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, tell the Committee on several occasions how strongly the President opposed passage of the resolution, but the President himself wrote Senator Wagner a vigorous memorandum in opposition.

The President's opposition blocked a favorable report in the Senate Committee and unquestionably prevented passage of the resolution by the Senate, the majority of House members having pledged themselves to its passage.

Despite the President's attitude, however, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, by straight-out party vote, reported favorably an identical resolution which was

scheduled for passage in the House with Majority Leader McCormack and Minority Leader Martin favoring such action. But again, Mr. Roosevelt interfered. Secretary of State Stettinius personally informed Chairman Sabath of the House Rules Committee that the President opposed the resolution and so it was defeated.

This revelation created great consternation and surprise among the Jews. They could not understand how a man who had so ardently championed their cause throughout many years and who had made to them such an all out pledge two weeks before the election could, two weeks after the election, so completely reverse himself.

But the Jews, two months later, received another sad revelation from Mr. Roosevelt. After his trip to Yalta where, before his departure, the President had informed some of his friends that he planned to confer with Churchill for the purpose of opening the borders of Palestine to unlimited Jewish immigration, the President went to the Suez Canal where he conferred with King Ibn Saud of Saudi-Arabia. In this conference, Mr. Roosevelt promised Ibn Saud that he would take no action relative to Palestine without the approval of the Arabs.

Asking Ibn Saud's advice and consent concerning Palestine was comparable, for example, to asking Governor Dewey's advice and consent as to whether Mr. Roosevelt should be elected President.

The answer, of course, was NO.

Needless to say, the declarations to Ibn Saud shook the faith of the Jewish people. Actually, it reminded them of the biblical adage of "Do not put your faith in princes."

Jews throughout the nation felt that the great President Roosevelt whom they literally worshipped had let them down.

Not only did the President say anti-Zionist words to Ibn Saud, but he confirmed his promises by writing a letter, which letter, to the subsequent great embarrassment of many of us, was made public first by Ibn Saud after the President's untimely death.

Prior to his departure for Yalta, the President told Rabbi Wise and others that "the White Paper is dead". This "White Paper" is the infamous British document which closed Palestine to Jewish immigration in the hour of the Jews' greatest need for this asylum. During all of the years of the war, when unquestionably hundreds of thousands of the more than six million Jews who were slaughtered by Hitler throughout Germany and occupied European countries might have escaped to Palestine, the British White Paper acted as a preventive.

Imposition, incidentally, of the White Paper was a flagrant violation of the provisions of the 1924 convention between Britain and the United States relative to Palestine. But never did our State Department raise its voice in protest. President Roosevelt, on one occasion, asserted for publication that he had not given his approval to the White Paper but there is no record of a formal protest either by the President or the State Department against its continuation.

The Allied victory in Europe has not ameliorated Jewish suffering. In Poland, despite the efforts of the Soviet and the Polish Governments, an active campaign, with the objective of killing off every surviving Jew, is afoot. Tragically, this campaign is making headway. In all of the Balkan countries, in Germany still, even in democratic France, vehement campaigns against the Jews continue.

Where their lives are not actually threatened, economic and social pressure continues. The Jews can not reestablish themselves in Europe, and the only chance to rehabilitate their lives is in Palestine.

American Jews who are dedicated to help their unfortunate co-religionists view, with increasing alarm and grief, the obstacles which are being thrown in the path of Palestine by the American and British Governments. Contrary to the wishes of the Congress, as made clear on many occasions and recently just before last Christmas through the almost unanimous passage in both houses of the Wagner resolution, the State Department and its Near East Division is actively opposing achievement of Zionist aspirations.

The Near East Division is notorious in its opposition to everything pertaining to Jewish Palestine, so much so that American Jews feel, and with justification, that these influential employees of the American Government are actively engaged in sabotaging the entire project. Following passage in 1944 by the Republican and Democratic National Conventions, of platform planks endorsing Palestine, Near East Division attaches in Cairo were quoted in the newspapers as telling Arab officials throughout the Middle East that the action of these endorsements was purely political, for vote-getting purposes, and did not represent the views of the American Government.

Following passage by the Congress of the Wagner resolution, Middle Eastern newspapers printed a Cairo dispatch to the effect that in January of this year, according to an announcement by the Arab League, the American ambassador in Cairo advised officials of the Arab League that the Congressional Resolution was adopted against the wishes of this Government and does not obligate this Government. This report was called to the attention of the State Department, but it has never made a denial. This, if true, is an unprecedented procedure whereby employees of the Executive Department in foreign countries go out of their way to disavow an action of the Congress taken after long and serious debate. It should be noted here that the Arab League is not a Government but a propaganda organization engaged in a high pressure campaign to prevent the development of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

Unfortunately, the Near East Division has been consistent in its parrot-like echoes of the views of the British Colonial Office and those wealthy Arab land owners and politicians who, for purely selfish reasons, object to the attainment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Throughout the years, the Near East Division has upheld the hands of those British Colonial Office officials who have made such a mess of British Colonial administration throughout

the Near East, the Middle East, and the Far East. This Division went so far as to send an "off the record" emissary to Congress when the Wagner resolution was pending to predict all sorts of dire disaster if this resolution was passed. It is appreciated that placing responsibility on the Near East Division for disregarding the frequently announced attitude of the Congress may seem like blaming a group of subordinates for responsibility which in the final analysis belongs to the higher-ups. But actually, those of us who have joined in this analysis realize that the complexities of our Government, and even of the State Department, are so great that the President on the one hand and the Secretary of State on the other must of necessity rely upon the recommendations of those in the lower echelons. During the war years and since the conclusion of hostilities with Germany and Japan, the deceased Mr. Roosevelt and the incumbent Mr. Truman have been unable to give all of the attention to this problem which they otherwise would have done. Under the circumstances, therefore, we have felt it necessary to direct attention to the activities of the Near East Division, which activities we do not believe would have been condoned by the Executive had either Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Truman known of them.

Actually, at this moment the Department of State has one of its leading anti-Zionist attaches of the Middle East Division, George Wadsworth, assigned to the Joint Committee of Inquiry now in the Middle East. Instead of acting as a protocol and procedural attache of the Committee, Wadsworth is reliably reported to be extremely active in promoting the Arab case. He is described by reliable informants as consistently advising the Committee against the Jews for the Arabs and establishing the so-called Russian bogey. Certainly, the boring-from-within activities of Mr. Wadsworth are not conducive to the fair and impartial inquiry which was contemplated by the President when he gave his consent to the appointment of such a committee.

In connection with the Joint Committee of Inquiry, it is well to observe here that this investigation is not proceeding, according to reliable reports and newspaper information, along the lines conceived by the President.

For one thing, the entire British membership seems prejudiced against the Jewish case and in indicating their determination to not only sustain the views of the British Foreign and Colonial Offices, but also to make the American Government, through its members of the Committee, a party to the British policy. Actually, the hearings of the Committee in Europe would be a travesty on fair and impartial investigation were not the implications so tragic.

It is unfortunate that in the composition of the Committee, since the British members were handpicked in order that they would reflect the British view, that American Zionist leaders were not consulted so that the American members at least would have been acquainted with the fundamental issues involved and with the attitudes of this Government and the American people.

Several things have occurred since the investigation began to clearly indicate that our American members have come under the influence of the British as well as of the anti-Zionist members of the Near East Division of the State Department.

Judge Hutcheson, the American Chairman of the Committee, for example, is reported to have declared in London while the hearings were in progress that "insofar as election platforms, Congressional Resolutions, and all that kind of stuff are concerned", he feels free to disregard such commitments. In other words, then, the American Chairman of the Committee feels, as do some of the anti-Zionist attaches of the State Department, that the Congress counts for nothing in formulating the policy of the Government of the United States.

Another member of the Committee, former Ambassador Phillips, asserted in London that "the trouble is that the American public is terribly ignorant about Palestine; and that difficulty cannot be overcome because the newspapers are owned by Jews."

This is not only an utterly false statement--because Jewish newspaper ownership in the United States is negligible, even though Jews happen to be owners of the influential New York Times, the Washington Post, and the Philadelphia Record--but the statement indicates that Ambassador Phillips has fallen a victim to the kind of anti-Semitic harangues which are being so widely circulated in this country. Actually,

insofar as the New York Times and the Washington Post are concerned, their owners have never been identified with the Zionist cause, and in the case of the Times, many Jews regard Mr. Sulzberger as a more harmful opponent of Jewish Palestine than the entire Arab League put together.

Further indication of the Committee's attitude was the deletion from the record of the sensational testimony of Jamal Husseini, leader of the Palestine Arab Party, who, in Jerusalem, defended the affiliation of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem with the Germans during the war and defended the indifference of the Arab States to the triumph of the Allied cause. This man, regarded as the second most active opponent of the Zionist and Allied cause throughout the entire Middle East, has just been permitted to return to Palestine after a long detention throughout the war because of his pro-Nazi activities. As a result of protests from the United States, the Committee tried to justify this deletion on the ridiculous grounds that the stenographers did not understand the English accent of the witness.

Under the circumstances, it is quite obvious that the Jews of the United States do not expect anything constructive to come from the Committee's report. Every indication at the moment is that the majority report will be a white-wash for the British Colonial Office and that the United States, because of British strategy, will be made a party to the repressive, illegal, inhuman and stupid policy that the British Colonial Office has followed in relation to Palestine.

At a time when the Government of Great Britain is giving India its freedom; when the United States has been dangerously close to a breaking off of diplomatic relations with Russia, to put it mildly, because of the presence of Russian troops in Iran in violation of an agreement with the late President Roosevelt; at a time when this Government has set itself up as the champion of the rights of all peoples everywhere, the United States Government, willingly or unwillingly, there is

every reason to believe, may be made a party to a perpetration of the infamous British policy.

It can be stated with as near certainty as any political forecast can be made, that if this Committee brings forth a report such as is now indicated, and the United States Government is placed in a position of endorsing this report, the political repercussions among the Jewish voters in New York City, in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, in Boston, in Ohio, Illinois, in fact, everywhere where there is a large Jewish vote, will be far reaching.

Jews, already heartbroken because of what they regard as President Roosevelt's betrayal of his solemn promises, will feel that they can no longer look for sympathy or understanding from the Democrats. Already, and with justification, we Democrats, because of the contradiction of the Congressional view by prejudiced young men in the State Department, are being accused of giving the Jews "lip service".

Certainly the United States did nothing to prevent the implementation of the horrible British White Paper, and although we are helping to feed and house Jewish refugees in Europe, as well as other displaced persons of all nationalities and religions, the United States Government has failed to utilize its full influence to break down British policy in Palestine and to force open the gates of Palestine, which are now illegally closed and which, if opened, would so greatly relieve the problem of displaced persons. But the failure of the State Department to show the slightest interest in forcing a solemn agreement between the United States and Britain in reference to Jewish immigration into Palestine is not the only way wherein the State Department has failed.

The President, of course, is aware that Secretary of State Byrnes told Senator Wagner and others that he could see no objection to the recent introduction and passage by the Congress of the Wagner Resolution, but when this Resolution was considered by the Senate Committee, the State Department, just as it had done the year before, again sought to block its passage.

Transjordan

In flagrant violation of the provisions of the Palestine Mandate of 1922 and of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, the British Government has recently announced its intention to separate Transjordan from Western Palestine. This act also represented a brazen violation of the United Nations Charter, inasmuch as it substituted a unilateral action of putting in force a quasi-independent puppet government in a territory which was under an international mandate and which should, therefore, have been transferred to United Nations trusteeship. This act also made a mockery of the Anglo-American agreement of November 13, 1945, by which a joint review of the Palestine problem was to have taken place, inasmuch as three-fourths of the territory comprised in the Palestine Mandate were thereby withdrawn from consideration in the process of this joint review. Urgent representations were made in this matter to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of State, and, orally, to appropriate officials of the State Department. No reply at all was received to the written communications to the President and the Secretary of State, whereas the oral representations were answered to the effect that there was not sufficient reason for protesting the British action.

This matter deserves special consideration. Our Government professes to have an interest in the upholding of treaties, in the prevention of the setting-up of puppet regimes, and in the prevention of unilateral infringement of the status quo. All three principles involved were violated in this instance far more brazenly than in any other case which has occurred since the end of hostilities, and yet this Government remained entirely passive.

Mufti -- Incitement to Violence

Despite the notorious acts of Hadj Amin El Husseini, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, in inciting Moslems to rise against the Allies and to make common cause with the Axis in broadcasting enemy propaganda from enemy radio stations, in organizing military forces in Yugoslavia and Iraq to fight on the side of the Axis, and in participating in the organization of Jewish mass extermination in Europe, no steps have been taken by the American Government, through its representatives on the War Crimes Commission in London or through the prosecuting staff of Justice Jackson to ensure his indictment and prosecution as a war criminal.

This man now is living comfortably in Paris and from that haven is reported to be active in the direction of the present anti-Jewish campaign in the Middle East. At the moment, other Arab leaders are endeavoring to have him returned to Jerusalem so that he can be more active in the direction of the anti-Jewish campaign.

Disorders in Tripoli

While justly perturbed about disorders and danger to life in various parts of the globe, officials of the State Department have not considered it necessary to undertake any steps in connection with the pogroms which took place in the Italian colonies in North Africa last November, a territory which is being administered by a British military administration on behalf of the United Nations. Though the circumstances of these disorders indicate that they could not have taken place on so large a scale without the passive connivance of the British authorities, nothing was done in order to represent to the British Government the inadmissibility of such a policy. In private discussions, State Department officials explained that they believe that British authorities in that case were guilty of nothing more than "gross incompetence", but no step was taken in order to ensure that these grossly incompetent officials should be disciplined.

Jamal El Husseini

Soon after the events in Tripoli, the British Government permitted the return to Palestine, with full freedom of political activity, of Jamal El Husseini, a cousin of the ex-Mufti and his most active supporter in organizing anti-Jewish riots and Axis propaganda. It was well known to the appropriate officials in the State Department that local British authorities were actively instrumental in getting various elements of the Palestine Arab population to accept Jamal's leadership. It was represented to the State Department that such action on the part of the British cannot fail to impress the Arabs of Palestine with British backing of Arab extremists with their well known terrorist inclinations. It was represented to them that the disorders in Tripoli arose from a similar act of British authorities who permitted well known anti-Jewish agitators from abroad to come to Tripoli, and that the British attitude toward Jamal must be taken as a clear encouragement to Arab extremists in Palestine to indulge in similar disorders. Nothing was done by officials of this Government to represent this point of view to the British authorities. This is the same man who recently defended in his testimony at Jerusalem the sympathy of the Arabs for the Axis, and whose testimony the Commission has so kindly deleted from the permanent record.

The Boycott

Soon after the coming into force of the United Nations Charter, with its provisions against international economic aggression, the Arab States, recently admitted to the United Nations, proclaimed an economic boycott of the Jewish population of Palestine. Though our Government professes to defend the Charter and is said to be particularly devoted to the principle of free international trade, nothing was done by this Government to raise the question of the inadmissibility of such a boycott by the Governments of a few countries against part of the population of another country, either in direct diplomatic negotiations with the Arab countries concerned or before the appropriate agencies of the United Nations.

Shortly after he became President, President Truman, with a magnificent appreciation of the great tragedy which has befallen the Jews of Europe, personally recommended to the British Government that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine. This splendid gesture greatly aroused Jewish hopes and it seemed for awhile as if the great influence of the American Government had at long last been utilized to do something constructive to relieve Jewish misery. Unfortunately, however, the President did not insist that the British Government either acquiesce in his recommendations or that the British Government immediately repeal the White Paper restrictions so that immigration could take its normal course.

In the existing political situation as between the United States and Great Britain, it seems to us that would have required very little real insistence on the part of our Government to get the British Government to agree to the President's request. No attempts to insist on this request however were made. In this, as in other matters, we agree to Britain's wishes but we do not insist on furthering our own wishes. As a matter of fact all of our relations with Britain, re Palestine, appear to be a one way street.

The British counter request to agree to a Joint Committee of Inquiry could easily have been made a renewed basis for obtaining British agreement to the admission of 100,000 Jews. This was not done. On the contrary, the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry were such as to prejudice to a large extent Jewish interests and rights, since these terms omitted any reference to the vested rights of the Jews in Palestine under international law. It was also tolerated without protest that, simultaneously with the appointment of the Committee, the British Secretary of State made a statement in which he prejudged the inquiry by setting out British opposition to the Jewish claims.

It is a well known fact, made public by London sources, that the United States Government requested that the formal announcement regarding the appointment of the Joint Committee be postponed until after the New York elections of last November. This in itself shows that our Government was aware that the appointment of the Committee was a gesture of delay, largely directed against the Jewish

interests and realized that it would be appreciated as such by the Jewish population of this country. In this connection, it has also been pointed out that the previous gesture of this Administration, the request for admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, was made and published shortly before the November elections, and that as soon as the elections were over, the Administration agreed on a procedure which did not include the admission of these refugees. In the circumstances, a large number of political observers in this country as well as many responsible Jewish leaders have come to the conclusion that the recommendation to admit 100,000 Jews was never meant by this Administration to be followed through, but was only made as a gesture on the eve of elections.

Directives on Policy

At no time under the present or former Administration did the White House issue directives to the State Department instructing it that the American policy in Palestine was in line with the public pronouncements made in 1944 and on previous occasions by the Presidents of the United States, with Congressional Resolutions and statements by majorities of the members of Congress, with the prevailing view held by the American public, as reflected by the national platforms of the two parties in 1944, and with the letter and spirit of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924. In the circumstances, the State Department considered itself entitled to disregard all these pronouncements and repeatedly made this clear in instructions sent to American representatives abroad. This situation resulted in a morally indefensible duplicity under which the American public was led to believe that American policy favors the establishment of a Jewish Palestine, while a contrary policy was pursued by the Executive agencies of the Government.

Another result of this policy was that British and Arab opposition to a Jewish Palestine, instead of being moved to adopt a conciliatory attitude, found itself encouraged by their knowledge of the attitude of the Executive agencies of the United States Government.

At no time did the Administration afford Zionist leaders and active Zionist sympathizers at the Capital the opportunity of consultation regarding the real or pretended objections to a Jewish Palestine. Even while pretending, by a series of public pronouncements, to be friendly disposed toward our efforts, the Administration always put us before established facts, without even making it possible for us to submit our views regarding any intended steps of this Government and to rebut objections -- a courtesy which the Administration usually affords to groups and movements with which it is in fundamental sympathy.

The foregoing exposition of Jewish grievances shows that American Jews who obviously are greatly moved and concerned over the horrible fate which has befallen their co-religionists and in tens of thousands of cases, their relatives in Europe, are emotionally disturbed by the apparent do-nothing policy of the American Government during the tragic years which followed Hitler's advent to power in Germany. Certainly had a similar group of any other faith experienced such a tragedy, the American Government would not have remained passive.

During the years of Hitler, this Government became callous to the awful story, and for reasons which still are unfathomable to the average American of good will, we permitted Britain to keep the doors of Palestine closed to the unfortunate Jew.

While Britain has the chief responsibility because it is the Mandatory Power, we of the United States, because of our special treaty with Great Britain pertaining to the Palestinian Mandate are not without responsibility.

The Jews throughout the war, as in World War I and throughout their history in the United States, showed themselves to be loyal, patriotic, generous Americans. They gave of their lives and of their treasure to help the joint cause. They were Americans to the core. Politically, no people, collectively or individually, were more devoted, because of their dedication to the principles of human liberties and the ideals which are so fundamental to democratic doctrines as formulated by Jefferson and exemplified by Wilson and Roosevelt, than were the Jews.

It can be stated as an absolute fact that the Jews are not going to cease their efforts to obtain Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth.

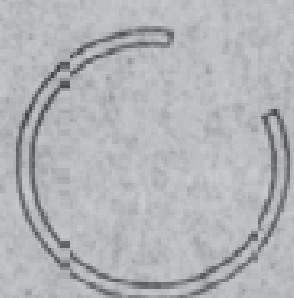
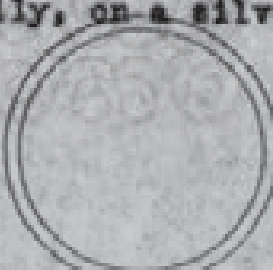
It can be stated that the love for Palestine and the desire to establish there a place where the less fortunate Jews of other countries can go to live in peace and security and as self-respecting people will continue as long as a single Jew continues in this world.

Jews everywhere are concerned over this situation. They see our Government utilizing its full resources and diplomatic pressure in far away Iran, in Korea, throughout the entire Middle East, except Palestine -- in fact everywhere in the world. Only in Palestine, has our Government been jockeyed into a position where we are opposing the legitimate aspirations of a deserving people.

American Jews are politically-minded, too. They will not forever be content with lip service. Already in Jewish communities everywhere Jews are expressing their indignation over the treatment they have received from the Democratic Party. The accusation of double-cross is not being lightly employed.

Unless, and speedily, American Jews are given cause to change their opinions, it is very likely that the Jewish vote, which is a balance of power in New York, in Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Delaware, and in many other states, will be diverted to our Republican opponents. If this comes to pass at a time when the Democratic Party is being made the victim of the grievances of all those who are disappointed in one way or another because of the war and the economic restrictions and restraints which accompanied the war, the consequences to the Democratic Party as such will be far-reaching, not only in the Congressional and Senatorial elections next fall, but in the Presidential election two years hence. It is, therefore, strongly urged, first, that the United States Government take factual cognizance of the way in which the wishes of the Congress have been disregarded and take steps to impress upon Britain that the restrictive immigration

policy against Jews, including continuation of the White Paper, must be abandoned; second, that in view of the fact that the United States and Britain have consented and begin their assistance to the establishment of free and independent countries throughout the entire Middle East, that the pledges to the Jews, regarding an opportunity to establish a democratic Jewish Commonwealth, be kept, just as were the pledges to the Arabs; and, finally, that the President and the State Department make certain immediately that the United States is not a party to any report from the Anglo-American Committee which will be inconsistent with the above policies or otherwise hostile to attainment of Jewish objectives in Palestine. Aside from all humanitarian reasons and objectives of decency and human rights, there is involved in this also a question of whether the great Jewish vote wants to be deliberately thrown to the Republican Party. Finally, it can be said that unless this Administration promptly gives American Jews reason to believe that Democratic pledges were more than lip service, this Jewish vote will be handed to the Republicans, literally, on a silver platter.



Can. Report

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1944-45

PARADOX IN ZIONISM

Peace officially reigns in American Zionism following the recent public controversy which resulted in the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, representing the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrahi and Labor Zionists. Reports of continuing dissension in Zionist ranks suggest, however, that the conflict has deep-seated roots which keep it from fading into the oblivion some of its protagonists would desire.

On its surface, the disagreement centers about a single issue, namely, Dr. Silver's alleged contravention of the authority of the Emergency Council, particularly with respect to securing the passage in both Houses of Congress of the Palestine Resolution, which calls for the abolition of the White Paper and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth.

When the resolution was deferred for the second time within the year, Dr. Stephen S. Wise (the other co-chairman of the Emergency Council), Dr. Israel Goldstein (president of the ZOA) and other Council members charged Dr. Silver with having disregarded a Council directive not to press for passage of the resolution without a "green light" from the State Department and the President. The resolution's failure and the consequent setback to Zionist aspirations they blamed largely on Dr. Silver's "breach of discipline."

Dr. Silver denied this accusation in a detailed statement. Furthermore he countercharged, naming specific instances, that Dr. Wise, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Goldstein and other leaders had sabotaged his activities on behalf of the resolution.

The issue was threshed out in the Emergency Council in a lengthy session at which both sides presented their evidence. A motion to censure Dr. Silver for his "breach of discipline" was defeated, presumably exonerating him of the charge. The subsequent action of the Emergency Council, however, was to accept his resignation and, in a general reorganization, to elect Dr. Wise solo chairman.

Observers have noted a lack of consistency in this picture. That, at a time of crisis for the Zionist future, when unity is imperative, the policymakers should risk the scandal of a publicly disclosed breach in Zionist councils in order to bring about the removal of a brilliant and energetic leader who had succeeded as none before him in mobilizing American public opinion behind the Zionist program, and on a pretext so flimsy that the Emergency Council itself by a majority vote refused to endorse it -- this does not make sense. An explanation must be sought at deeper levels.

A clue appears in the Emergency Council's declaration that the controversy "does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers." "Procedure" and "methods of implementation" are key words here, observers say. The Wise group, it is stated, postulates the good will of the President as the indispensable prerequisite to the success of the Zionist cause. The President, they say, will have a major voice in determining the

shape of the post-war world and consequently the future of Palestine. The President has given his pledge of aid to Zionists, and they must trust him and not embarrass him by ill-timed pressure, etc.

The unofficial charge against Silver, observers maintain, is that he does not have the good will of President Roosevelt and for that reason it was deemed inadvisable to retain him as national leader. Dr. Wise, say his adherents, does have the President's ear. To quote Dr. Goldstein's statement to his constituents of the ZOAs: "The one redeeming circumstance of this entire unfortunate situation is that Dr. Wise....remains a friendly contact with the President and the State Department."

On his part, Dr. Silver denies that he is "persona non grata" at the White House. In this respect the matter remains in the realms of pure assertion, since no material evidence has been quoted by either side.

Looking objectively at the "Presidential good will" theory, some commentators have observed that it involves a fundamental misunderstanding of the democratic process. In seeking the support of public opinion throughout the country and in the halls of Congress, the Emergency Council, they say, followed the normal American pattern, in which the people's will is expressed through the legislators and relayed to the executive for implementation. This pattern was reversed by Dr. Wise, who, while the Senate Committee was debating the Palestine Resolution, is said to have despatched a telegram to Secretary of State Stettinius stating that he and many of his associates did not wish action to be taken contrary to the recommenda-

tion of the President and the State Department. Thus, as a result of a basic confusion in their thinking, the fruits of a long and earnest campaign for American popular support were thrown away -- by Zionist leaders!

The "President's good will at all costs" theory, it is said, involves a further contradiction. President Roosevelt's objections to the passage of the Palestine Resolution at this time were a breach of his promises as made in the Democratic election platform and in his own public statement of October 15, 1944. By sending the telegram, Dr. Wise and his associates not only condoned the breaking of the presidential pledge, but obviated any necessity for the President's making explanations to the Zionists whom he had let down and to the public at large.

The inadvisability of building the strategy of a political movement on the favor and friendship of one individual is proved, some commentators add, by the examples of General de Gaulle, who achieved recognition despite an alleged personal dislike on the part of the President, and conversely, of Henry Wallace, whose closeness to the President did not bring him the Vice-Presidential candidacy. This reliance on one man is particularly hazardous when he gives signs of not being completely convinced of the merits of your case; and the President, from many indications, is not wholly won over to the Zionist point of view.

"We are all maximal Zionists," stated Dr. Wise, denying, as did the Emergency Council in its declaration, that the controversy had resulted from a difference over fundamental Zionist

policy or over the issues of maximal or minimal Zionism. In the opinion of many, maximal Zionism implies not only the support of maximal demands--abolition of the White Paper, unlimited Jewish immigration and the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish commonwealth -- but also a vigorous and belligerent policy in pursuance of these ends. It has been asked whether maximal Zionists would have acted as did a group of members of the Emergency Council who, in deference to the President's wishes, went to Washington to inform the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that they no longer wanted the Palestine Resolution passed. It is questioned whether the maximal Zionist conception of an all-out effort is uncritical dependence on the good will of one individual. It also seems strange to some that these maximal Zionists found it necessary to purge the leadership of its strongest, most outspoken and most conspicuously maximalist fighter.

Some observers prefer to accept the statement of Dr. Silver in his resignation that he would continue to advocate a policy "in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place" as indicating that the rift in the American Zionist movement actually concerns a disagreement over the fundamental issues of a minimalist and a maximalist approach to Zionism. They consider that Dr. Silver's opponents, while paying lip service to the more militant program, in reality will content themselves with what the benevolence of the powers that be may decide to hand out to them.

at present writing, Senator Robert Taft in the Senate and Congressman Emanuel Celler in the House of Representatives have independently announced their intention of reintroducing the Palestine Resolution in this session of Congress. Official Zionist circles, the news despatches say, have not yet indicated whether they will press for action unless the State Department withdraws its opposition. Thus the present leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council has maneuvered itself into the paradoxical position of leaving its allies to fight Zionist battles alone and unsupported, while Zionist officialdom, mute and non-committal, sits blankly on the sidelines.

DA:BR
1/29/45



11/1/44

White Paper

42EC 1943-44
corrected

The White Paper will not stand. It hasn't a leg to stand on. It has no basis in law or morality. Its friends in the British Colonial Office have succeeded in having its formal abrogation postponed on the ground that there are still some twenty thousand immigration certificates available under the old quota, and that in fact the doors of Palestine are still open to Jewish refugees. This argument will, of course, disappear as soon as these certificates are exhausted.

The Jewish people rejects, however, this technical subterfuge. It is unworthy of the tragic seriousness of the crisis confronting what remains of our martyred people in Europe, or of the exalted ideals for which this war is being fought.

The White Paper will not stand. Unfortunately the widespread propaganda on the part of British officials and agents everywhere, and some collaborators in this country, to defend and perpetuate it, will only tend to make its revocation so much more difficult and contentious. Those who are inciting and organizing Arab opposition in the Near East to the Jewish National Home, whose establishment was legally sanctioned by the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago, will be held accountable at the bar of history.

There is room in the Near East for Arab and Jew, and for thirty million more people than do at present inhabit that sparsely populated and largely undeveloped world of over one million square miles. The Jewish people has asked for the right to rebuild its national life in that small corner of the Near East which for centuries had been the historic home of Israel wherein it produced its great civilization and which has continued to this day to be the home of its national aspirations. The world acknowledged that right after the last war. In these twelve thousand square miles where the Jewish people has already scored such remarkable achievements in reclamation and rehabilitation it now asks the right to continue its work of upbuilding without any hostile interference.

Without such interference the Jews of Palestine will in the next few generations stimulate the agricultural and industrial revival of the entire Near East, to the advantage of all the Arab peoples living there.

Is it fair, in this the blackest hour in Jewish history, to leave the myriads of our tortured brothers in Europe with the completely crushing thought that the last door of hope, of escape and refuge for them which was in Palestine has been permanently shut? Does the stability of the British Empire depend upon the retention of the White Paper? Does the future development and progress of the Arab peoples in the Near East depend upon it? Certainly not! But the life of hundreds of thousands of our people most assuredly depends upon its revocation, as does the normalizing of Jewish life everywhere, and the restoration of Israel to the status of a nation among the nations of the world.

The President of the United States has recently declared that our government has never approved of the White Paper of 1939. His declaration greatly heartened our people all over the world. Since then, certain statements made by him with reference to the military situation, and the objection which our military authorities raised to Congressional action at this time on the Palestine Resolution have somewhat beclouded in the minds of many people the clear meaning and intent of his declaration.

Where does our government stand? Is Palestine on the agenda of the Stettinius mission in London? If so, what attitude are our representatives taking? Are they fully reflecting the views of the President of the United States who is opposed to the White Paper and who declared that 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?

American citizens everywhere are calling for clarity in our foreign policy. Here is one area where clarity is most desperately needed.

34 States and Washington, D.C. and Canada

172 Communities

508 Delegates

508

Arizona - Tucson
R. Joseph Shumaker

✓ ALABAMA

Birmingham

✓ CALIF.

Hollywood

Los Angeles

Oakland

San Francisco

✓ CONN.

Bridgeport

Hartford

Meriden

New Britain

New Haven

South Norwalk

E. Norwalk

Norwalk

Stamford

Waterbury

DELAWARE

Wilmington

✓ FLORIDA

Miami

✓ ILLINOIS

Chicago

Quincy

Rock Island

Waukegan

✓ INDIANA

South Bend

Terre Haute

✓ IOWA

Davenport

Des Moines

KANSAS

Kansas City

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Lexington

Louisville

✓ MAINE

Bangor

Portland

✓ MARYLAND

Baltimore

Chevy Chase

Cumberland

Ellicott City

Greenbelt

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Boston

Brookline

Cambridge

Chelsea

Dorchester

Fall River

Lawrence

Leominster

Lowell

Malden

New Bedford

Newton

North Adams

Pittsfield

Roxbury

Springfield

Winthrop

Worcester

✓ MICHIGAN

Detroit

Flint

Grand Rapids

Muskegon

✓ MINNESOTA

Duluth

Eveleth

Minneapolis

St. Paul

MISSOURI

St. Louis

✓ NEW JERSEY

Asbury Park

Bergen County

Bridgeton

Burlington

Caldwell

Camden

Englewood

N.J. (Cont'd)

Hackensack

Hillside

Irgington

Jersey City

Lakewood

Newark

New Brunswick

Orange

Paterson

Perth Amboy

Pinebrook

Plainfield

South River

Teaneck

Toms River

Trenton

Verona

Vineland

Woodbridge

✓ NEW HAMPSHIRE

Claremont

Nashua

✓ NEW YORK

Albany

Cortland

Forest Hills

Glens Falls

Kingston

Mt. Vernon

Newburgh

Niagara Falls

Poughkeepsie

Rochester

Schenectady

Spring Valley

Sunnyside

Utica

Yonkers

GREATER NEW YORK

✓ NORTH CAROLINA

Asheville

Durham

Gastonia

✓ NORTH DAKOTA

Fargo

✓ OHIO

Canton

Cincinnati

Cleveland

Columbus

Dayton

Lorain

Warren

Youngstown

OKLAHOMA

Tulsa

✓ OREGON

Portland

✓ PENNSYLVANIA

Allentown

Beaver

Bethlehem

Brownsville

Cannonsburg

Chester

Clairton

Easton

Harriburg

Kane

Kingston

Kittanning

Lebanon

Lancaster

New Bethlehem

New Kensington

Philadelphia

Pittsburgh

Reading

Scranton

Uniontown

Warren

Washington

Wilkes Barre

Westchester

✓ RHODE ISLAND

Pawtucket

Providence

Woonsocket

✓ S.D. CAROLINA

Charleston

✓ TENNESSEE

Chattanooga

Nashville

✓ TEXAS

Beaumont

Dallas

Houston

San Antonio

✓ VERMONT

Rutland

✓ VIRGINIA

Newport News

Norfolk

Richmond

✓ WASHINGTON

Seattle

✓ WEST VIRGINIA

Bluefield

Charleston

Clarksburg

Huntington

Wheeling

Martinsburg

✓ WISCONSIN

Kenosha

Madison

Milwaukee

CANADA

Toronto

Individual Right and the Demands of the State:
The Attitude of Classical Judaism

The relation of the individual to the State is one of the crucial questions of our time. We have witnessed the rise of totalitarian policies, Fascist and Communist alike, which deny the existence of individual rights. The human being is regarded as no more than a limb and instrument of the State. But we do not have to go to foreign countries to find matter for anxiety. War conditions impose many new limitations on our freedom--but long before the war, we could discern the increasing trend toward government control over industry, health, education, and so on. Some of the results of this trend may be beneficent; the trend itself may be inevitable. The collectivism of Federal control may be preferable to the collectivism of giant corporations. But the danger to individual liberty as we have known it exists just the same. It is therefore desirable that we should try to understand the extent of individual rights vis a vis the State in this age.

But it does not fall to me to attempt such a delimitation. If I may utter a mild complaint, I am a victim of what is called in Hollywood "type-casting." On inadequate evidence, I am classified as the scholarly sort; and when it honors me by inviting me to read a paper, this Conference calls on me only for historical background. It would be pleasant some time to come forward and express an opinion about contemporary issues--but this for me remains, alas, but a wistful dream.

But the task assigned to me today is a formidable, and at first thought, an impossible one. It is to present classic Jewish thought on the subject of the relation between the individual and the state. Now classic Jewish thought did not know either of these concepts in the modern sense. Now, then, one asks, can one seriously discuss the classic Jewish opinion about them?

The fact is that the word state does not have a single, generally accepted meaning. It is used loosely in a variety of ways. (See George Sabine, art/State in Enc. SS). But into this somewhat

vague complex many elements have entered: Greek and Roman political experience; medieval feudalism and scholasticism; the speculation of Hobbes, and Rousseau, the idealism of Plato and Hegel; and the emotional colorings of nineteenth century nationalism. (The list is not complete). All of these elements are totally alien to the Bible and Talmud; most of them even to medieval Jewish thought. It is sufficient to consider how inadequately the Hebrew word medinah (or malchut) expresses the implications of the word state.

The conception of individual rights which the state must respect is even more recent. Its most magnificent expression is in the stately words of the Declaration of Independence; but their magnificence must not blind us to the fact that they express the philosophy of a certain period. They stem from the conception, suggested by Hobbes, more clearly formulated by Locke, and popularized by Rousseau that society is based on a contract into which individuals, originally free and independent, entered for their mutual advantage. Of such notions, again, the classic thinkers of ancient Judaism were ~~exceedingly~~ entirely innocent. The modern Hebrew word for right, zechut, originally had entirely different connotations.

It is obvious, then, that we can only proceed by way of rough analogy--by considering those Jewish doctrines that have some resemblance to, or constitute a moral equivalent for, the modern concepts of the state and individual rights. But perhaps our inquiry may do more. The belief in the rights of man has been under violent attack. The attack on the belief--by the intellectual exponents of totalitarianism--has been no less savage than the attack on the rights themselves by the strong arm boys. Nor has this attack been entirely ineffective, whatever we may think about the motives that have inspired it. The notion of the social contract, the theoretical basis of the belief in the rights of man, has long since been discarded. And it is not altogether easy to defend the

concept of innate and inalienable rights on a purely empirical basis. Natural science knows nothing of the truths which Jefferson and his ~~conferences~~ ^{conference} held to be self-evident. It may therefore be, that in the teachings of Judaism which are analogous to, but by no means identical with this belief, we may find a firmer basis for the protection of the individual against the state than the thought of the Enlightenment could provide.

Every student of the Hebrew Bible knows that it has been and remains a primary source for the faith in liberty and in human dignity. Though it does not contain such terms as civil liberty or constitutional state, yet its pages clearly reflect a burning conviction that a government may not in its own interest run roughshod over the security or the conscience of its subjects. You have already recalled Samuel's criticism of the institution of monarchy, the limitations imposed on slavery, the repeated incidents in which kings were defied--not only by great prophets like Nathan and Elijah, but even by a plain man such as Naboth.

On closer examination, there are two elements that appear to enter into this freedom loving, democratic spirit. One is the external factor, which Dr. Silver expounded so clearly before this Conference in his splendid lecture "The Democratic Impulse in Jewish History." The people of Israel were desert-dwellers in the first stage of their history. Under desert conditions, society is simple, and the authority of rulers is limited. Even after Israel became a settled people, even after events forced them to establish a central government under the rule of a king, the desert attitudes survived. The monarchy was not very popular, and at times was bitterly resented. It was not an age-old institution, but a comparatively recent innovation. The king was not a divine being, as in Egypt or Persia--his ancestry was not different from that of his subjects. The relatively simple state of civili-

zation and culture in pre-Exilic times resulted in a governmental structure far less elaborate and in an administration far less efficient in regimenting and controlling the lives of the masses than obtained in some of the great empires. So in a sense we may say that in ancient Israel, the individual retained a considerable measure of liberty and the government exercised a limited measure of control--not because of a political philosophy that prescribed such a situation--but because the rulers were unable to establish absolute sway, and the people would not have tolerated an attempt to do so.

But no sociological or economic explanation can adequately account for the development of Jewish religious and ethical thought--a fact, by the way, which Dr. Silver clearly recognizes in the address just mentioned. For other peoples have lived the nomadic life and afterwards adopted a settled existence--but only Israel produced an Amos. After all the historical factors are recognized, and given their due weight, the chief thing in Israel's spiritual development is still not accounted for. To my mind, revelation is as good a name as any to call it.

For Israel had a belief in a God different from other gods, holy and good, and moreover a God who had revealed His will to man. This God was not the ancestor of the king, nor did the ruler in any way share His divinity. God created the ruler in precisely the same way that He created every one else. And God's will--the Torah--whether conceived as a written scroll or as the living word in the mouth of the prophet--God's will was just as binding on the king as on his lowliest subject. The belief gradually developed that David and his descendants had been chosen to rule for ever--but along with this went the insistence that the individual king had the right to rule only as long as he was faithful to God's law. Once he forsook the Torah, his Davidic ancestry availed him nothing.

Now this is the only way in which the monarchy can be regard-

ed as limited or constitutional . Samuel tells the people all of the inconvenient burdens of taxation and enforced service that a king will impose on them--but it is not suggested that such demands, however unpleasant, are an abuse of royal power. It is even said that the demand of the people for a king was disloyalty on their part to God, but no question is raised that the king, once enthroned, has the right to rule and rule vigorously. Rehoboam's refusal to lower the taxes is represented as an error of judgment, not an invasion of civil rights--and there is a clear suggestion that the whole rebellion against him was a punishment of Solomon's idolatry, not of his own tyranny.

No, in the performance of his royal tasks, the king may make unlimited claims on his servants--or so it seems. What he may not do is disobey the Torah. And the Torah is an extraordinary law. It sets high standards of justice and humanity. It makes no class distinction, and protects the interest of the poor and weak. It forbids murder, robbery, and immorality in all forms, by rich and poor alike. This is perfectly clear in the stories of David and Uriah--where David is guilty of adultery and murder--and of Ahab and Naboth --where Ahab is likewise responsible for murder. It is true that in the latter case Ahab appears to be unable to proceed legally when Naboth refuses to sell his patrimony. This is all the more surprising because the right of eminent domain is generally recognized in ancient as in modern law, and is specifically mentioned in the Mishnah. It is interesting also to note that there are no Rabbinical comments on Naboth's refusal to sell his vineyard: evidently they could find no legal justification for his attitude. It is idle to speculate about this ancient episode; but one wonders whether Ahab did not have the authority to insist that Naboth sell his property, and whether the murder of Naboth was not as much a retaliation for his insult to the king as a means of getting his vineyard.

These episodes bring us to another significant matter: the freedom with which the prophets denounce the kings. Is not this an extraordinary example of free speech? Yes, but the ancients would not have recognized it as such. Nathan, Elijah, Amos spoke as they did, not because they felt they had a right to express their opinions, but because they were bearers of the word of God. And their outspoken words were tolerated--insofar as they were tolerated--either because the king believed them to be God's messengers or else because as prophets, ravers (meshugga ish haruah) they were specially privileged. There is no reason to suppose that Jeremiah would have wanted for the "false prophets" that same opportunity of expression he sought for himself. He was speaking in the name of God--they were liars. But it is obvious that--aside from the possible verdict of posterity--it is interior conviction that makes the prophet. No doubt the false prophets were just as sincere as Jeremiah in their belief that God spoke through them. Thus in effect, though not in intent, we have here a vindication of freedom ^{of} ~~and~~ conscience.

A third factor to be noted is the developing consciousness of the importance and value of the individual, especially in religious terms. Originally, as we know, the concept of communal solidarity prevailed. Not alone was the welfare of the individual bound up with that of the group--but the sins of a single individual brought guilt upon the entire group and hence upon every other individual. It was a kind of moral totalitarianism. Early religion is almost entirely a group phenomenon. It is perhaps with Jeremiah that the individual becomes for the first time a complete religious entity. With Ezekiel, the concept of individual moral responsibility is carried to the extreme. Hence the increasing influence in Jewish thought of the belief in the value of the individual human life--the view later on formulated so nobly by the Rabbis that "to save a single human life is equivalent to saving the universe", and that every man is obligated to say "for

my sake was the world created." It is the view already implied in the first chapter of Genesis, and given concrete application by the command to treat the foreigner with the same justice and kindness accorded the native.

But this increasing emphasis on the value of the human life is not set in any kind of contrast to the power of the state. That human life is precious is a principle of God's law. Rulers must recognize it; but the principle imposes its obligations on all the rest of us, too.

In short, the Bible does not think in terms of governmental powers limited by the rights of the individual. It thinks rather in terms of a state or monarch absolute except insofar as God's law defines his duties; of subjects who owe unlimited obedience to their masters except when they are ordered to disobey the divine law which governs masters and subjects alike. Yet it is not hard to see that these concepts could harmonize and at times seem to fuse with the social philosophy of the 18th century.

With the destruction of the kingdom of Judah,^a Jewish state in the ordinary sense of the term ceased to exist. The brief period of independence under the Maccabees provides nothing for our enlightenment. The right of the Maccabean rulers, both to religious and to political leadership, was soon called into question; Alexander Jannai was bitterly hated; and the civil war between his sons led the leaders of the people to request Roman intervention. The later Jewish sources are hostile to the Maccabean dynasty, and do not reveal anything of note in this connection regarding the rights either of rulers or ruled.

Indeed, from the days of the Second Temple till the dawn of modern times, the Jewish people had to reckon with two governmental authorities--their own community organization and its leaders, and the Gentile government under which they lived. Not infrequently, the officers of the Jewish community derived their authority largely from the non-Jewish rulers. Such was the case with the patriarch in

Palestine, the exilarch in Babylon, and the Nagid in Egypt, as well as certain chief Rabbis in Europe. And this fact may explain the resentment that was often directed against the holders of these offices. Certainly this was the case at times among the scholars, who believed in the leadership of the intellect and resented it when their inferiors in learning received posts of dignity and power.

What was the attitude of the Jews to the nations whose subjects they became? By and large, it was a question of how they were treated. Where rulers were just and humane, the Jews were generally loyal and law abiding. Where injustice and cruelty were practiced by the ruling nation, the Jews seldom had scruples about disobedience and rebellion. "Pray for the welfare of the government" said R. Jannai, "but for the fear thereof men would swallow each other alive." But this plea that the government does at least prevent anarchy indicates that it is no more than a necessary evil. That we have a moral or religious duty to the state is not suggested. The Zealots who refused to call any being Lord except God were perhaps not as different from other Jews as one might suppose. They were more extreme and more consistent: they refused to give even the outward evidence of submission, which the more cautious deemed wise, and the more quietistic held to be even a religious obligation because relief could come only by depending on God's help. No party in Judaism (I doubt if even the Sadducees are to be excepted) felt that Rome had any legitimate claim on their loyalty or obedience. The Roman tyranny was a punishment from God: the only point at issue was how to serve God in such a way as to merit relief from this punishment.

The Babylonian Talmud is the only early source that contains the principle din d' Malchuso dino--the law of the land is the law. This was an aphorism of Samuel, who was on terms of particular friendliness with the Persian court, and was seeking to promote good will. While presenting the case of his people as effectively as he could to

the Persian authorities, he sought also to allay violent nationalism and Messianism among the Jews. It is extremely enlightening, however, to note the context in which Samuel's statement appears. A Tannaitic (therefore Palestinian) statement declares it permissible to deceive tax-collectors and publicans. To this is objected that Samuel taught: *Dino d'malchuso dino*. A solution is found in the decision that Samuel's rule applies only to legitimate agents of the government: but tax collectors who are self-appointed, or who--even if properly accredited--set ~~not~~ limit to the amount of their exactions, are nothing but thieves--and anything we do to evade their gouging is permissible.

All this proves nothing about the disloyalty of Jews to the state. In many countries of ancient and medieval times, the Jews were treated, not as subjects but as conquered victims, and they thought of themselves as such. To those who abused them they owed no fealty. Where, however, the Jews were given decent treatment--even though they were not granted all the rights of citizenship--they were loyal to their rulers and to their lands, even though they might not have a highly elaborated theory of their duty to the state. Gratitude for kindness, the desire for peace, and self-interest alike dictated such fidelity. Under such circumstances, the question of the rights due them as individuals was hardly raised. They were glad to get such privileges as they could by appeal to the good nature of rulers, let alone to their cupidity.

And now, what can we say about the relation between the individual and the Jewish communal organizations and officials, who constituted something like a state? It should be born in mind that the Jewish community organization was typically a local affair. In the Orient and the Iberian peninsula, indeed, officials achieved authority over the Jews of an entire nation--the exilarch in the east, the Nagid in Egypt, and certain chief Rabbis in Portugal. But this authority was established largely by the power of the Gentile

government, not by free consent of the governed. As a result, there was considerable resentment against these officials, flaming at times into bitter conflict. But the opposition was largely of a personal character, evoked by the arrogance or incapacity of the rulers. Insofar as it had a theoretical basis, it was an expression of the conviction that authority in Israel resides in the Torah, and therefore should be wielded by the scholars who alone are competent to expound the Torah. Even so, such arguments were used rather to limit the arbitrary exercise of power by the Exilarch, for example, but not to challenge the basis of his authority.

The Ashkenazic Jews, however, resisted with much success the attempts of French and German rulers to set up Chief Rabbis whose responsibility was to coordinate the collection of taxes, and similar duties. The Assembly of the Four Lands was in general acceptable to the Jews because of its broad representative character. It is nevertheless an exceptional phenomenon; and it too was built upon the foundation of local communal government.

The forms of community organization were extremely various; but as a rule they were in some way or another based on the principle of representation, and at times they were quite democratic in spirit. But in practice, leading citizens played a large part in directing community affairs. Sometimes this phrase "leading citizens" meant the wealthy; sometimes it meant the learned.

Despite all these variations in form, extent, and character of community organization, the relation between individual and community remained much the same. Theoretically, the powers of the community were almost unlimited, and the rights of the individual not clearly defined. Two instances will suffice. Sumptuary legislation was frequently enacted by community leaders; and though it may not have been effectively enforced--as indeed has been the

universal experience of mankind--the right of the legislators to invade the private concerns of individuals was never directly challenged. Moreover, many communities restricted the right of Jews from other localities to settle among them--the so-called Herem HaYishub--a procedure that could only be justified on the ground that the welfare of the community transcends individual interest.

But the individual was protected to a considerable degree. It was the Torah that ruled in the communities, and the application and interpretation of the Law were for the most part in the hands of men of learning and integrity. While many of the Takkanot of the Middle Ages went far beyond earlier legal precedents, and while emergency conditions might serve as an excuse for any departure, no matter how radical, from Talmudic norms, it cannot be denied that most of the later legal developments were in the spirit of justice and humanity that pervades our whole tradition.

Moreover, the psychological factor could not be overlooked. The Jews of each community were not awed by their rulers, even though they might perforce submit to them. Criticism was never stifled, and that impatience with authority that existed even in the days of anointed kings, was even more evident when lay or Rabbinic leaders sought to behave with arrogance, not to say tyranny.

In Ashkenazic Jewry, there was an extraordinary institution which helped to safeguard the rights of the individual. It was the custom that a person with a grievance might interrupt the reading of the Torah on Sabbath morning, to bring his trouble forcibly before the entire community, and enlist public opinion in his behalf. It should be borne in mind that this institution is a device rather than a right. What we call the right of petition, that is to say, the right to justice--is the very fabric of the Torah itself. The procedure we are describing was a means of insuring that right, but not in itself a new right.

To sum up, traditional Judaism does not concern itself with the conflicting claims and interests of the individual and the state, as political entities. It does not know the state as a mystic and eternal being, any more than it knows the joint stock corporation as a legal person. It knows only kings, exilarchs, rabbis, judges, parnasim, and the like. The danger of deifying the state, because it is something invisible and intangible, and the idolatry involved in this deification is not evident, was thus escaped. There was little danger that the Jews would make an idol out of any human being. The *Keneset Israel* remains a theological concept, and is never identified with any political authority.

Nor does traditional Judaism invest the individual as a political being with "rights." In areas where the Torah is not at issue, the constituted rulers have almost unlimited power. But these areas are not large, except perhaps in moments of crisis. Over the individuals who rule, and over those who have no authority, the Torah extends its sway. Upon all it imposes the law of justice and righteousness, of mercy and of brotherhood. And it guarantees these blessings for all men, because all are the children of God. Though Judaism does not talk about the rights of the individual, it has much to say about the value of the individual. The key word here is haviv--dear, meaning dear to God. Because every individual is dear to God, no one dare harm him, wrong him, or grieve him.

The practical consequences of this doctrine are much the same as the practical consequences of the "Rights of Man." But the theoretical differences are worth lingering over. For the theories of the Enlightenment, based on an appeal to "reason", grounded in an inadequate knowledge of history and an elementary sociology, are too readily challenged. The mild liberal is at a loss when challenged bluntly by those who from the days of the Sophists to those of the totalitarian

apologists proclaim that might is right. No naturalistic approach, no appeal to rationalism can check the passionate will to power. Only a passionate faith in the living God who made all men in His image can meet this destructive force. It is no accident, I dare to think, that the grandest document of the Enlightenment was produced in America, where the influence of the Hebrew Bible was continuously felt, where positive religious conviction flowed insensibly into the stream of abstract deism to give it warmth and color. It is no accident that this grandest document in proclaiming the rights of man, made no reference to the theory of the social contract, but declared that these rights were bestowed on us by our Creator. This is sound Jewish teaching, and it may yet save the world.



Palestine

Without being unduly optimistic, one is justified in believing that deliverance is on the horizon. Even though it is as yet no bigger than a man's hand, the promise of it is unmistakable. The long war will end before very long in victory. Hard fighting is still to be faced, and the costliest battles, at least as far as our country is concerned, are still to be fought. But the Great Infamy is doomed! On the steppes of Russia and on the sands of Africa it is bleeding to death. The Nazi-Fascist gangsters know themselves to be beaten. They no longer boast of conquering the world or of establishing their reign for a thousand years. They now must goad their people on to continued resistance by the fear of being conquered and being subjected to the same treatment as they subjected the peoples whom they conquered. The invincible Wehrmacht can now win great victories only against helpless civilian populations. But mass murdering Jews will not save the Nazis. These infamies only add to the already heavy score against them which will have to be settled when the day of retribution arrives.

There is dawn on the horizon! Our faith in civilization is being revived after many weary, bitter years of doubt bordering on despair. Tomorrow will not, of course, be the perfect day for mankind. Tomorrow will witness not the consummation but the approximation of our hearts' desires. For a quarter of a century mankind has been descending into the valley of death. At the close of the war it will begin the slow ascent to the higher plateaus, to the hills, where there is life and light and bracing winds and open vistas. New and great efforts will be made to reconstruct our world on juster and surer foundations of freedom and cooperation.

The United Nations have begun very seriously to plan for the post-war world. Planning for tomorrow has now become a definite, a major task of all governments. In fact, broad and weighty decisions of political and economic moment are even now being made.

Our people will emerge from the Second World War spiritually shaken, physically ravaged and seriously depleted in numbers and resources. Many old centers of Jewish life and many cultural and religious institutions will have been destroyed. The Jews who will be left in Central and Eastern Europe after the war will find themselves in a world of great social and economic tension, under pressures which will not be entirely lifted by the restoration of their rights of citizenship. Jewry will be confronted with masses of uprooted and untransplanted Jews — a floating population, as it were, of human misery.

Two major tasks will face responsible Jewish leadership in the years immediately following the war. Broken lives in the broken centers of war-ravaged Europe will have to be rebuilt. While European Jewry will probably never again recover the position of primary importance which it occupied in Jewish life before the war, it is unrealistic to assume that all Jews will evacuate European countries after the war. It is difficult to say how many European Jews will survive the war, or how many will be able to remain, or will care to remain there. But surely there will be enough left to necessitate large-scale and uninterrupted aid to them over a considerable period of time. Whatever

aid the United Nations will be able to give to the war-stricken peoples of Europe will have to be supplemented by us as far as Jews will be concerned. Our experience in the reconstruction period following the last war taught us that Jews in war-stricken countries have special and peculiar problems which can only be met by the supplementary aid of fellow Jews.

Responsible statesmanship must insist at the peace conferences that such political conditions be established and such international machinery be set up as will protect the Jewish minority and all other minorities against a recurrence of those discriminatory activities which prevailed after the last war almost to the day when the Second World War began. A charter of human liberties must be proclaimed, and implemented by international action, by whatever global or regional international councils will be created after the war, which will protect every human being in his right to life and to earn a livelihood in the land of his birth or adoption, subject to no restriction or cancellation by any government whatsoever.

The second task which will confront Jewish leadership is the rapid upbuilding of Palestine. There will be very large numbers of Jews who will have to emigrate from Europe after this war, and there will be no places for them to go. It is idle to expect that even well-disposed governments will consent to the admission of large numbers of impoverished Jewish immigrants into their countries. Their own populations will be faced with serious problems of employment

and of reconstruction as their countries pass from a war to a peacetime economy. Surely no one in his right senses will suggest at this time new colonial adventures like Crimea, Biro-Bidjan or Santo Domingo to meet the great immigration pressures after the war. It is too late in the day to indulge in what Sacher has so aptly called "ramblings in the iridescent nothingness of Outopia." Palestine has been readied by decades of Jewish labor and initiative for just such an emergency in Jewish life. Unless Jewish leadership, regardless of shades of opinion, concentrates its attention and focuses whatever power our people still possesses upon securing this one possible refuge for our homeless ones, we will lose out even here. If the White Paper remains in force, Palestine must be written off as a place for large-scale immigration for our people. When the last of the 29,000 visas still available for distribution under the terms of the White Paper is issued it will mean the end of Jewish immigration into Palestine. Thereafter it will be the Arabs of Palestine who will determine whether more Jews will be permitted to enter. The Arabs in Palestine are opposed not only to a Jewish State, but also to Jewish immigration. Those who believe that by abandoning the Balfour Declaration or the Zionist program, the Arabs of Palestine might be induced to welcome Jews into that country, are uninformed and naive. Similarly those Jews who believe that the neighboring Arab and Moslem lands -- Syria, Transjordan, Iraq and Saudi-Arabia -- will welcome Jews, for whom Christian lands could find no haven, and that a new diaspora can readily be created there, are

beguiling themselves with wishful thinking. Those who are convinced that there will be great masses of Jews for whom a new home will have to be found after the war and who are seriously concerned with this problem, whether they be Zionist or non-Zionist, must understand that, things being what they are, it will either be Palestine, or nothing at all. In Palestine we have an internationally established and recognized -- and unique -- status -- that of a people in its National Homeland. This is the plain meaning of the Balfour Declaration, the Palestine Mandate and the endorsement which was given to both by the nations of the world and by our own country.

The historical claim of the Jewish people in Palestine has been recognized. The existence of a Jewish people has been recognized. Its right to rebuild its national home in Palestine has been recognized.

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 civilisation should no longer be sporadic and individual, but once more that it should be the contribution of a people dwelling in a home of their own. That is not colonisation; that is not settlement; that is a national home. That is what this country accepted at a critical moment in its fate for reasons which had to do with that crisis, and its successful emergence out of it. That is why the Allies accepted and endorsed it, and it is a pledge of honour by some of the greatest nations on earth, including the British Empire, which we are called upon to honour."

Jews have, in the period between the two wars, invested life, energy, substance, blood and tears in the upbuilding of that national homeland. As a result, it was possible when the emergency arose to rescue a half million Jews from the hells of Europe. What remains now to do is to see that this work of upbuilding and salvation is continued uninterruptedly, and that illegal and morally unjustifiable obstacles such as the White Paper are removed from the path of Jewish progress in Palestine.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration, and the Mandatory Government, in pursuance of this fact and in recognition of "the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and the mandate "to reconstitute their national home" there had undertaken by solemn pledges, "to facilitate Jewish immigration" into that country and to "close settlement by Jews on that land."

Palestine

The Jewish people is in danger of coming out of this war the most ravaged of peoples and the last healed and restored.

The stark tragedy of our ravage has been abundantly told. It is tragic, ghastly, unredeemed. To rehearse it again is only to flagellate one's self and to gash our souls again and again. But what of the healing? What is beyond the rim of blood and tears? Frankly, to some of us, nothing. We are being comforted at the moment with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms and victory will bring the healing of our people.

I am afraid that we are again sacrificing cool, albeit, bitter reasoning and logic, to hopeful beguiling romancing in the void. We are again turning away from history to dreams and to Apocalypses which some of us amazingly enough choose to call realism and statesmanship.

The last World War made the world safe for democracy and granted the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe not only the rights of citizenship, but even minority rights. But it brought also in its wake the most thorough-going, brutal and annihilationist anti-Semitism that our people has ever experienced.

Have we forgotten the story? Dare we forget it? And now again, in the second World War, many Jews are hoping to achieve through another Allied victory what an Allied Victory failed to give them after the last war, what a whole century of enlightenment, liberalism and progress failed to give them, peace and security.

They again confuse formal political equality with immunity from economic and social pressures. The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, which is the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking.

There is a tragic fact which seems to escape so many students of anti-Semitism. The story of Jewish emancipation in Europe from the day after the French Revolution to the day before the Nazi Revolution is the story of political positions captured

in the face of stubborn and sullen opposition which left our emancipated minority in each country encamped within an unbeaten and unreconciled opposition. At the slightest provocation, and as soon as things got out of order, the opposition returned to the attack and inflicted grievous wounds.

And in our day, stirred by the political and economic struggles which have torn nations apart, this never-failing, never-reconciled opposition swept over the Jewish political and economic positions in Europe and completely demolished them. There is a stout block cord which connects the era of Fichte in Germany with its cry of "Jude Verrecke." And so for the rest of Europe.

The Damascus Affair of 1840 links up with the widespread reaction after the Revolution of 1848; the Mortara Affair of Italy; the Christian Socialist Movement in the era of Bismarck; the Tisza-Ezlar Affair in Hungary; the revival of blood accusations in Bohemia; the pogroms in the 80's in Russia; La France Juive and the Dreyfus Affair in France; the pogroms of 1903; the Ukrainian blood baths after the last war and the human slaughter houses of Poland in this war.

This, my friends, is our persistent problem.

What we are confronted with today is the frightful aggravation of a situation which has continuously darkened the pages of our history since the beginning of our dispersion.

Now, what is the solution of this persistent emergency in Jewish life? There is but one solution for national homelessness, which is the source, I repeat, of our millennial tragedy. There is but one solution for national homelessness. That is a national home, not new immigration opportunities to other countries for fleeing refugees, nor new colonization schemes in other parts of the world, many of which were so hopefully attempted in the last few decades, down to our very own day, and with such little success.

The only solution is to normalize the political status of the Jewish people in the world by giving it a national basis in its national and historic home.

The world finally came to acknowledge the validity of this solution. In 1917 Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration. This Declaration was not intended to be an immigrant aid scheme, an effort to open up a new avenue for Jewish immigration. Shortly before its issuance, and for many years prior thereto, Jews in very large numbers were finding opportunities for immigration in many parts of the world, especially in the Western Hemisphere.

The Balfour Declaration was a political national act designed to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people in its homeland.

Now, is this my interpretation or is that the interpretation of the Zionists only? Not at all. It was the universally-accepted interpretation of the statements of the world and of those who were responsible in the first place for the issuance of this Declaration. They were thinking in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish Commonwealth, or, as many of them called it, the Jewish state was to be the natural outgrowth and evolution of the National Jewish Homeland.

Mr. Lloyd George was Prime Minister at the time the Declaration was issued. He spoke of a Jewish Commonwealth. President Wilson in 1919 stated:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

General Smuts, who had been a member of the Imperial War Cabinet when the Declaration was published, declared in 1919 that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish state rising there once more.

The great Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared -- and these are beautiful words --

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three million or four million Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and

would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

This what the Jewish people are asking for today. We are insisting on the faithful fulfillment of obligations internationally assumed towards our people and on the honoring of covenants made with us. We ask for nothing new.

No, my good friends, we are not concerned here with ideologies. The reconstitution of the Jewish people as a nation in its homeland is not a playful political conceit of ours, a sort of intellectual thing calculated to satisfy some national vanity of ours. It is the cry of despair of a people driven to the wall, fighting for its very life. It is the pressing urgency of instant and current suffering and of the besetting dangers and disabilities today and, I am afraid, tomorrow.

From the infested typhus-ridden Ghettos of Warsaw. From the death block of Nazi-occupied lands where myriads of our people are awaiting execution by the slow or the quick method, from a hundred concentration camps which befoul the map of Europe, from the pitiful ranks of our wandering hosts over the entire face of the earth, comes the cry: "Enough; there must be a final end to all this, a sure and certain end."

How long is the crucifixion of Israel to last? Time and again we have been stretched upon the rack for other peoples' sins. Time and again we have ^{been} made the whipping boy for blundering governments, the scapegoat for defeat in war, for misery and depressions, for conflict among classes.

How long is it to last, Are we forever to live a homeless people on the world's crumbs of sympathy, forever in need of defenders, forever doomed to thoughts of refugees and relief? Should not, I ask you fellow-Jews, ought not, the incalculable and unspeakable suffering of our people and the oceans of blood which we have shed in this war and in all the wars of the centuries, the myriad martyrs of our people, as well as the magnificent heroism and the vast sacrifices of our brave soldier sons who are today fighting on all the battle fronts of the world -- should not all this be compensated for finally and at long last

with re-establishment of a free Jewish commonwealth.

Is not this historic justice and is this world today not reaching out so desperately and so pathetically for a new world order of justice? Should we not be included in that world order of justice? Are we not deserving of it?

We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing. Do not beguile yourselves. Do not let anyone beguile you with the thought that the Arabs in Palestine or the colonial office, for that matter, which at the moment seems to be synonymous -- that the Arabs in Palestine will consent to large scale immigration into Palestine as soon as we give up our idea of a Jewish commonwealth. They are not that naive, they are opposed both to a Jewish commonwealth and to Jewish immigration.

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from small country and far more than most of the larger countries have done. It is because Palestine is the Jewish homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land of the mandatory government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a national home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land; in other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of

large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.



In this war, as so often in the past, Israel has been a symbol of freedom. Those who persecuted the Jews and sought their destruction, sought also the destruction of all free peoples, and of freedom itself. It is significant that the first act of the European peoples as soon as they are liberated from Nazi tyranny is to revoke and annul all anti-Jewish legislation which the race-mad and freedom-hating Nazis had forced upon them.

The Nazis sought the destruction of Israel, but they are themselves now being destroyed. This is the divine law of Israel's survival: "They that strive with thee shall be as nothing, and shall perish".

The Jewish people has suffered terribly in this war, and, in relation to their numbers, more than any other people in the world. In Poland alone more than two million Jewish men, women and children were foully and cruelly done to death by Nazi perverts. The horrible story of Majdanek where 800,000 civilians were liquidated "according to plan" in gas chambers and vast human crematoriums out-rivals even the unspeakable deeds of Ghengis Kahn. A million and a half Jews are fighting in the services of the United Nations and tens of thousands of them have been killed or wounded. But the Jewish people has survived and faces the future with unshaken faith in God, in humanity and in its own destiny.

The world should take to heart the lessons of these recent fearful years. Nazism began its triumphant march over Europe on a program of anti-Semitism. Every reactionary movement in the world uses anti-Semitism to gain power and to destroy democratic governments. Every Fascist-minded individual here or abroad is an open or covert anti-Semite, and every anti-Semite is by his very nature, a Fascist. Reactionaries, and we have plenty of them in America, who preen themselves on their super-nationalism and their counterfeit patriotism will, if given the chance, lead every country to disaster in the same way as the Nazis have led Germany to disaster, ruin and shame.

Prejudice can never be quarantined or isolated, nor can persecution and repression. It may start with the Jews, it does not stop there! Soon other religious groups and religion itself, and other minorities and peoples are swept into the widening orbit of unlawful aggression, intolerance and persecution. The Jews tried to caution the world against this cancer of intolerance which was spreading over Europe a decade ago. But the world assumed that it was a case of special pleading and ignored it. Since then millions among the United Nations have died on battlefields to destroy that very evil against which we warned.

The Jewish people today is thinking not of the past only, but of the future, of rebuilding and restoration, of healing of wounds and of working with all other peoples in the shaping of a world order of freedom, peace and justice in which all men of all races and of all creeds may live and work together for the common good of all.

We are turning a new page.



The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

PRESS RELEASE: October 6, 1945

Thirty-three outstanding spokesmen of progressive thought in the United States yesterday joined with Freda Kirchway, Editor of The Nation, in a cablegram to Prime Minister Clement Atlee of Great Britain, urging "the abrogation of the White Paper, the immediate opening of the doors of Palestine to one hundred thousand European Jews, and the creation of the necessary machinery to implement, in its fullest sense, the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland as pledged by the Balfour Declaration and guaranteed by international mandate."

In urging this action the signatories to the cablegram expressed the belief that it will have "the support and collaboration of freedom-loving peoples and governments everywhere. It will, moreover, restore the confidence of democratic peoples in the power of a Labor Government to face and resolve with justice the human and political problems produced by the war, however complicated."

The cablegram says that the reported decision of the British Cabinet in respect to the Palestine problem, which will on Monday be submitted to Parliament for discussion, is "not only a repudiation of the reiterated pledges of the Labor Party, but it indicates an inexplicable callousness toward one^{of} the most tragic problems created by Hitler and permitted by the inaction of the civilized world."

Signatories to the cablegram include: Louis Adamic, writer; Roger Baldwin, who is Director of Civil Liberties Union, James B. Carey, who is secretary of the CIO; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt who is Honorary President of the Women's Action Committee for Victory and Lasting Peace; Norman Corwin, author; Bartley C. Cram, who is Vice President of the National Lawyers' Guild, Jo Davidson, sculptor, who is Chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions; Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas; Dr. Frank P. Graham, who is President of the University of North Carolina;

John Gunther, correspondent and author; Gabriel Heatter, commentator, Stanley M. Isaacs, City Councilman; Lillian Hellman, playwright; Dr. Alvin Johnson, who is Director of the New School for Social Research; Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California; Judge Dorothy Kenyon; James Kerney, Jr., Editor of the Trenton Times; Dr. Harry Laidler, who is Director of the League for Industrial Democracy; Max Lerner, radio commentator and Editor of PM; John P. Lewis, Managing Editor of PM; Dr. Thomas Mann, Nobel Prize-Winner; Dr. Francis E. McMahon of the University of Chicago; Edgar A. Mowrer, foreign correspondent; Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, Professor, Union Theological Seminary; Culbert L. Olsen, former Governor of California; James G. Patton, who is President of The Farmers' Union; Judge Justice Wise Polier; Jacob S. Potofsky, who is Secretary-Treasurer of Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Prof. Frederick L. Schuman of Williams College; Dr. Guy Emery Shipler, Editor, The Churchman; J. Stern, Publisher, Philadelphia Record; Raymond Swing, commentator; J. Raymond Walsh, commentator, who is Chairman, New York State Committee of National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

The message in its full text declared:

"Progressive opinion in the United States warmly welcomed accession of Labor Government to power, looked to it to rectify the mistakes of predecessor governments, to point the way to the liberation of oppressed peoples, and to establish a basis for world security that was at once realistic, just and lasting.

"The reported decision of your Government with respect to the rescue of European Jewry and their rehabilitation in Palestine is shattering to these hopes. The solution proposed is not only a repudiation of the reiterated pledges of the Labor Party, but it indicates an inexplicable callousness toward one of the most tragic problems created by Hitler and permitted by the inaction of the civilized world.

"We appeal to you before Parliament convenes next week to reconsider your

decision and to produce a human solution of the Jewish problem. This means the abrogation of the illegal White Paper, the immediate opening of the doors of Palestine to one hundred thousand European Jews, and the creation of the necessary machinery to implement, in its fullest sense, the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland as pledged by the Balfour Declaration and guaranteed by international mandate.

"Such action by your Government will unquestionably have the support and collaboration of freedom-loving peoples and governments everywhere. It will, moreover, restore the confidence of democratic peoples in the power of a Labor Government to face and resolve with justice the human and political problems produced by the war, however complicated. If this problem, comparatively small, cannot be resolved by you in accord with justice and decency, what hope is there for the world of tomorrow. We appeal to you to act at once to fulfill your pledged word."

1) Partition Commission 1938.

Plan A . Basic J. Area (1500 sq. mi.) . Included W. + E. Galilee .

A Jerusalem enclave + a corridor to the sea. = Peel!

Plan B . - W. Galilee to go to Mandatory. Transfer of part of S. Coastal Plain to Arab State. (Favored by Arab members of Partition Comm.)

Plan C . - Cut down J. Area to a new token State.
Galilee (E. + W.) + Jer. Enclave + Hegeb to Mandatory.
Recommendation of Partition Commission.

2) Jewish Proposal to Partition Commission 1938

Peel + "an area for agr. development in the south."

A corridor joining the J. section, the new city of Jerusalem to the Coastal Plain. (Not the whole of Hegeb)

3) Jewish Proposals in March 1946 (to Anglo-Am. Com.), and in July 1946 (to Cabinet Com.) included the whole of Negev + Peel. (7000 Sq. mi.)

4) The Grady-Morrison (Harris) Proposals - approved by Gov. + Alternates, the Pres. Cabinet Com. in July 1946
Only Basic J. Area. Jerusalem Area + Hegeb to be retained by British. Balance to Arabs. (incl. West Galilee)

5) The Road Proposals of U.S. - Nov. 1946.

Basic J. Area + some area ^{Northern} ~~around~~ Beerseheba.
(the land originally proposed by the J. Agency in
1938 as an addition to area recommended by Peel.
Not whole of north. But excludes West. Galilee.

The Road Proposal also are not for outright Partition
but for provincial autonomy + "some considerable
period of transition". Suggests is continuation
of G. B. as trustee vested with authority over customs,
finance, railways, ports, telegraph such as was con-
templated in the Morrison-Grady plan of 1946.

The only diff. bet. Road Proposals & latest G.
Proposals is an addition of land area around
N. Beerseheba. Amount not specified. Total
Area of S. Gaza - N.W. Beerseheba is 1500 sq. mi.

NO CONFIDENTIALITY

5-23-47

David

I have read the press report that Mr. Ben Gurion declared at the meeting of the Jewish National Assembly in Jerusalem that the Jewish Agency will demand at the United Nations General Assembly a Jewish state in a part of Palestine where the Jews are now predominant and the negev, while leaving the rest of the country under the mandate.

As a member of the Executive I am unable to credit this statement inasmuch as the Executive of the Jewish Agency has never acted on any such proposal, nor has it any authority to do so. The case of the Jewish Agency was ~~presented~~ ^{authentic} ^{Thwell} presented by its representatives at the recent special session of the United Nations. There has been no change in policy since then. The same case ^{more fully documented} will be presented to the Committee of Inquiry ⁹⁰¹⁴ unless the Actions Committee prescribes a different course. Our movement has taken no official position favoring either partition or bi-nationalism. It would be regrettable to have the situation ~~made more difficult~~ ^{not by untimely} made more difficult by untimely and unauthorized pronouncements. If the Committee of Inquiry ~~of the United Nations~~ will propose such ^{or other} solutions, our movement will have full opportunity to consider them and decide.

THE PADLOCKED DOORS OF PALESTINE
MUST BE OPENED IMMEDIATELY.!!

On February 24, in Washington, D. C., a group of eminent non-Jews will meet to discuss a Jewish problem. They will meet to voice their determination that the Chamberlain White Paper, padlock on the doors of Palestine, must be struck off and the doors flung open to the Jews of Europe.

Why are these men and women thus determined? Why have two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate, more than one hundred members of the House of Representatives; why have governors, mayors, jurists; why have hundreds of clergymen, educators, writers, publishers, industrial and labor leaders, most of them non-Jews -- a handful out of nearly two thousand are listed below -- given their names and their efforts to the American Palestine Committee?

Because no other course is possible. Because, by standards

(more)

of justice, of reason, of law -- leaving aside the law of humanity -- the White Paper which would bar immigration of Jews into Palestine after March of this year is indefensible.

? These men and women are determined that after Victory the Jews of Europe -- those who still live -- must not, shall not be freed from their ten-year nightmare only to be escorted into a fruitless day dream!

Whoever proposes that the several millions deported and disenfranchised Jews can be returned to their former homes, can be assured equal rights and equal opportunities to resume their jobs, professions, enterprises -- speaks without realism (or mercy.)

? Nowhere can Hitler's First Victims find a home -- in the decent democratic sense of that word -- except in Palestine.

For when the United Nations, after Victory, begin to unscramble the scattered populations of Europe, they will be faced with the task of resettling Jews in communities that still smoulder with years of Nazi-fanned anti-Semitism.

The problem of the Jews in Europe has been (perpetually) chronic, is now dangerously acute. Only Palestine, only the Jewish Commonwealth with freely flowing immigration can solve it.

The padlocked door of Palestine must be opened to Hitler's most viciously hounded victims -- so that they may find freedom to pursue happiness (in at least one place on this globe!)

The Chamberlain White Paper was born of the era of appeasement, (thrown as a sop to Fascist-infected Arab leadership.)

? It flouted the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It skirted the Palestine Mandate of 1920 which was approved in a joint resolution of our Congress in 1922. It ignored the ratification by treaty between Great Britain and the United States in 1924.

(more)

It blinked the support given the mandate by three Presidents of the United States and by Winston Churchill. It may yet serve to turn Victory into another debacle of race hatred and put the quietus upon Jewish life in Europe forever.

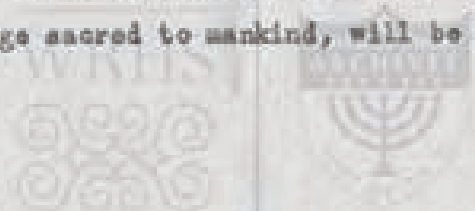
Like Tantalus, the dispossessed Jews of Europe strain toward the lush fruits of the Homeland. Endowed with the earth's riches, its soil made fertile by the labors of the 600,000 Jews already settled there, Palestine can absorb 750,000 newcomers at once, and ultimately five to six million -- without displacing a single Arab occupant. The evidence of science is conclusive that a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine can be self-sufficient, can even enhance the world's trade.

The American Palestine Committee was formed in 1941 for the purpose of winning the support of Christian America for the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Delegates of its nation-wide membership will meet on February 24 to raise their voices against the cruel and archaic blockade of the White Paper.

Let the doors of Palestine be flung wide open!

In this most tragic hour for the Jewish people of Europe, of whom millions of innocent men, women and children have been brutally massacred by the Nazis, we favor the taking of immediate and effective measures to rescue those who still survive, and in accordance with the traditional American policy we call for the opening of the doors of Palestine to the free entry of Jews into that country and for the granting to them of full opportunity for colonization and settlement so that Palestine may be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth, in which all its inhabitants shall enjoy religious, cultural and civic equality, and in which the holy places, a heritage sacred to mankind, will be fully safeguarded.



The Sections on Palestine in the "Outline of Tentative Report and Recommendations Prepared by the Intelligence Section in Accordance with Instructions for the President (Wilson) and the Plenipotentiaries, January 21, 1919."

It is recommended:

- 1) That there be established a separate state of Palestine.
- 2) That this state be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations.
- 3) That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.
- 4) That the holy places and religious rights of all creeds in Palestine be placed under the protection of the League of Nations and its mandatory.

DISCUSSION

- 1) It is recommended that there be established a separate state of Palestine.

The separation of the Palestinian area from Syria finds justification in the religious experience of mankind. The Jewish and Christian churches were born in Palestine, and Jerusalem was for long years at different periods, the capital of each. And while the relation of the Mohammedans to Palestine is not so intimate, from the beginning they have regarded Jerusalem as a holy place. Only by establishing Palestine as a separate state can justice be done to these great facts.

As drawn upon the map, the new state would control its own source of water power and irrigation, on Mount Hermon in the east to the Jordan; a feature of great importance since the success of the new state would depend upon the possibilities of agricultural development.

2) It is recommended that this state be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations.

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Palestine would obviously need wise and firm guidance. Its population is without political experience, is racially composite, and could easily become distracted by fanaticism and bitter religious differences.

The success of Great Britain in dealing with similar situations, her relations to Egypt, and her administrative achievements, since General Allenby, freed Palestine from the Turk, all indicate her as the logical mandatory.

3) It is recommended that the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.

"It is right that Palestine should become a Jewish state, if the Jews, being given the full opportunity, make it such. It was the cradle and home of their vital race, which has made large spiritual contributions to mankind, and is the only land in which they can hope to find a

home of their own; they being in this last respect unique among significant peoples."

At present, however, the Jews form barely a sixth of the total population of 700,000 in Palestine, and whether they are to form a majority, or even a plurality, of the population in the future state remains uncertain. Palestine, in short, is far from being a Jewish country now. England, as mandatory, can be relied on to give the Jews the privileged position they should have without sacrificing the rights of non-Jews.

4) It is recommended that the holy places and religious rights of all creeds in Palestine be placed under the protection of the League of Nations and its mandatory.

The basis for this recommendation is self-evident. ()

() Miller, My Diary, IV, 265 f.; copied in T. Felsberg's Some Problems of the Palestine Mandate, L'Idem, W. & G. Foyle (1938) pp. 28 - 30., and in M. Larsson's On the Mandate, Tel Aviv, 1937, OO. 8 - 10.

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- 2) That this state be placed under Great Britain as a mandatory of the League of Nations.
- 3) That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.
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STATEMENT

A deep sense of our responsibility towards the Jewish people at this crucial moment prompts us to make a frank statement of our views regarding the political situation and of the conclusions we have reached.

(1) The wide-spread interest which has been aroused among the Jewish public by the San Francisco Conference should not obscure the fact that its actions are of relatively minor importance so far as the future of Palestine is concerned. Nor should such minor successes as we may achieve there blind us to the bitter realities of the general political situation. Without disparaging the sincere efforts of our representatives at San Francisco to improve the language of the trusteeship provisions, it must be borne in mind that the Palestine Mandate is not being automatically transferred to the jurisdiction of the new World Organization and will not be transferred except with the consent of the present Mandatory Power, and on such terms and conditions as it will stipulate. The center of gravity remains in London and Washington and, to a lesser degree, in Moscow. The trusteeship provisions adopted at San Francisco may, in fact, never be applied to Palestine and its fate will be settled by the Big Three.

(2) From the information available to the general public and such additional information as we possess, it is clear that the political situation affecting Zionist hopes has deteriorated appallingly in recent months. Neither the discussions of the Big Three at Malta and the conversations which followed in Egypt, nor later developments have brought any clarification regarding the future of Palestine. On the contrary, much has transpired to cause the gravest concern. The formation of the Arab League with its pronounced anti-Zionist character; the encouragement given to the Arab States to declare war on the Axis in order to be represented at San Francisco; the declaration by Lord Devonshire denying the Jewish Agency's request for certificates; the negative attitude of important British statesmen and of our own State Department -- these and other indications too numerous to mention, all point in the same direction. Having lost five millions of our brothers in Europe, we face the imminent danger of the betrayal of the rights and aspirations of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine. We are deeply convinced that this is not an alarmist view but a sober and honest appraisal of the situation.

(3) As American Zionists we are more immediately concerned with the attitude of our own government. From the information at our disposal, we must regretfully affirm the fact that the government of the United States in its Near Eastern policy has been following a course diametrically opposed to the Jewish interests in Palestine and seriously jeopardizing the Zionist position. American diplomatic representatives in the Near East have on occasion and in some respects outdone British representatives in their hostility to the Zionist cause. American oil interests and missionary interests outweigh the vital interests of the Jewish people struggling for national rebirth.

(4) Though we have been drifting steadily towards a political catastrophe, our political leadership in this country, as represented in the American Zionist Emergency Council, has not taken the full measure of the situation nor adopted adequate measures to meet it. There has been excessive reliance upon the private and public assurances of individual statesmen and a continuing failure to pursue more vigorous and militant policies. No attempt has been made to reintroduce the Palestine Resolution in Congress. There has been no forthright denunciation of the anti-Zionist trends prevailing in the State Department. There has been no adequate attempt to force a showdown on our government's actual policy through the concentrated pressure of public opinion. The splendid organization which was built up last year and which worked so effectively has not been utilized to its full capacity. Zionists and friends of Zionism throughout the country have become increasingly confused and dispirited.

(5) Our conscience and sense of responsibility do not permit us to continue to acquiesce in this situation. It is our profound conviction that unless Zionist policy and Zionist effort take a new turn we face a most serious defeat. This is perhaps the most critical period in Zionist history. It calls for a renewal of faith, for dynamic and courageous leadership, for a great political offensive. We must act boldly: we have little to lose. Personal diplomacy has been given a fair trial both here and in London. It has failed.

(6) With all due respect to the present leadership of the Zionist Emergency Council, it is our painful duty to say that we can no longer follow that leadership with a sense of complete confidence. Six crucial months have passed since the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policies were challenged. We did not acquiesce in his removal from leadership and we declined to accept office in the reorganization which followed. Repeatedly we urged that steps be taken to reestablish Zionist unity and recall Dr. Silver to active leadership, but our proposals were rejected. We have now reached the point where we must declare that we can no longer bear responsibility for the work and policies of the Zionist Emergency Council as constituted. The plight of our people is too desperate, the danger to our cause too imminent for us to be guided by considerations of politeness or personal prestige. All such considerations must give way to the crying and pressing need of our movement for decisive and effective action in its hour of greatest peril.

REFUGEES, PALESTINE, AND BRITAIN

Despite the fact that the British are the only people who have actually devoted government revenues to support refugees from Axis-ridden countries, Britain is being made the scapegoat, in some quarters, for the difficulties of the refugee problem. The attacks made on British policy suggest that, in some instances, they are motivated as much by political ends as by concerns for the plight of the Jews and others suffering under Axis domination.

One repeated criticism is that 200,000 Palestinians and stateless Jews could be mobilized against the Axis if only Britain would create a Jewish Army. The fact is that Palestinian Jews are free to volunteer for the Jewish battalions of the Palestine Regiment, other military services, and various armed forces. No Jew who is fit and wants to serve is prevented.

They not only can, but do. Out of a total Jewish population in Palestine of about one-half million, 30,000 are in the various armed forces, according to figures for March of this year. This is 6% - equivalent to an enlistment of 8 million in the United States. There is some scope, but not a great deal, for further recruitment; but if great numbers were taken away from Palestinian industry and agriculture, which are fully mobilized for the war effort, and put into the armed forces, it would wreck the remarkable contribution they are now making to winning the war. The things they are producing would have to be produced elsewhere, and taken to Palestine and the Middle East in ships.

But, it is argued, Britain is keeping down the Jewish population of Palestine by the policy, laid down in the 1939 White Paper, that only 75,000 Jews may immigrate into Palestine, after which no more would be admitted "without Arab acquiescence."

Palestine is not a British colony, but a mandated territory. Britain is bound by the terms of the mandate which obligate her to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine "while insuring that the rights of other sections of the population are not prejudiced." Between 1922 and 1938, the Jewish population of Palestine rose from 83,790 to 399,808. As a proportion of the whole population, it was an increase from 11% to 39%. The decision to set a limit to Jewish immigration was arrived at because, in the opinion of the British Government, unlimited immigration could only be carried out by force. This decision was arrived at only after the most serious deliberation, following the Arab outbreaks of 1936-9.

This policy was put forward in peace-time. Having given evidence that they will stand by their policy, Britain has not had to cope with any Arab opposition (except for Iraq) during the crucial war years when Allied armies were fighting from Morocco to Burma.

It is argued further that this restriction of immigration prevents the Jews from being rescued from Nazi Europe. Most of the nearly 300,000 Jews who have moved into Palestine since 1933 went as refugees. About 38,000 permanent Jewish immigrants have been admitted since the war, as well as 4,000 war refugees on a temporary basis, of whom 1,600 are Jewish. Under the White Paper limitations, 29,000 Jewish immigrants can still be admitted before March, 1944. It is not the limitation upon immigration that stands in the way, but the difficulty of getting even these 29,000 out of Axis-controlled countries. Britain has herself taken the lead in attempting to rescue

Jews from the Nazis. Despite arduous negotiations with the Bulgarian government, through a neutral power, she has not even been able to get a few thousand Jewish children out of Bulgaria; with a few hundred adults to accompany them, due to Axis obstruction. Even this small number has been a matter of most difficult and complicated negotiation. It is grossly untrue to suggest, as has been done in a number of whole-page advertisements in newspapers attempting to make Britain the scapegoat, that millions of Jews would be handed over by the Axis to the United Nations if only Britain did not stand in the way.

Every decent person in Great Britain is as deeply horrified at the Nazi persecution of the Jews as are the decent people of other Allied nations. The British Government is a democratically-elected government, fully representative of the popular will. It is not important that those who are attacking the British Government's policy are showing lack of appreciation of the great efforts and sacrifices that the British people have made on behalf of the refugees, both Jewish and Gentile, but it is important that their use of full-page newspaper advertisements and mass meetings might result in transforming the anger over the plight of the Jews into anger not against the Nazis, who are the real criminals, but against the British people and their government, who have done as much as anybody to succour the refugees. There are no mass meetings demanding that Russia, Turkey, or even the United States, should open their doors to refugees.

Many statements in these advertisements are grotesque distortions of fact, and do not, to say the least, make any attempt to face the real difficulties in an honest effort to find a possible solution. If they ever succeed in persuading the people of the United Nations that Britain is responsible for the plight of the Jews, it will be a great victory indeed for the Germans on the psychological front. The only way to rescue victims of the Nazis, except the very few who can be got out, is to get on with winning the war. The way to do this is to cease attempting to cause dissension among the Allies. Hitler knows this.

* * * *

SECRET

CCPT

19th October, 1942.

Dear Mr. Shertok,

You will remember that on the 18th May, 1941, 23 men recruited by you set out from Haifa on the "Sea Lion" under the command of Major Sir Anthony Palmer, to undertake a project of importance to the war effort in connection with the Syrian campaign.

After careful enquiry, and prolonged investigations, I now regret to inform you that all these men are missing, and that no reasonable hope of their survival can be entertained.

I would be grateful if you would communicate this fact to the next of kin of the men concerned.

I wish to express my deep appreciation of the audacious and gallant spirit which prompted these men to undertake this dangerous mission on behalf of the British military authorities. Please convey to their next of kin our sense of deep appreciation and regret.

Yours sincerely,

Mr. H. Shertok,
Jerusalem.

who? / The following is an extract from a report date-lined Geneva, March, 1944, prepared by a group of representatives of private international organizations in Geneva, on post-war refugee problems, and circulated here by the American Christian Committee for Refugees, 139 Center Street, New York.

The Jews have the right to claim that the four "freedoms" of the Atlantic Charter should be applied to them and that they should be allowed the full rights of citizenship and the material necessities of life. In this respect the demands of Jews of all trends of thought coincide with those of all civilized nations. But it cannot be denied that the rights of citizenship alone do not provide a full solution to the Jewish question. This is clearly proved by the history of European Jews and by the events of the past ten years.

In a number of European countries, especially in Central and Eastern Europe, antisemitism is to some extent endemic. But even in the "free" countries of Western Europe and America there are often antisemitic tendencies by which the immigration policy of the respective countries is affected.

On the other hand, a certain amount of freedom to emigrate is claimed by the Jews owing to the fact that they have repeatedly been obliged to emigrate in the course of centuries whenever political or economic conditions in their countries of residence became intolerable, or when latent opposition turned into open persecution.

Zionists look upon a Jewish Palestine as the solution of the problem, seeing that final settlement there would put an end to migration. They hope, moreover, that a Jewish Palestine will give them the opportunity of renewing their own national religious culture, and that the return to their own soil will produce the physical regeneration of their people. Their ultimate aim is national independence in their own land. The Zionist standpoint is not shared by all Jews. Nevertheless, as developments among American Jews show, the majority now agree in demanding that they should be given the opportunity of reconstructing their national home in Palestine by means of immigration and colonization. They draw attention to their achievements in Palestine, which prove that they are capable of colonizing and developing the country. As a matter of fact, the Jewish population has increased from 50,000 to 530,000 from 1922 to 1943 and during the last years Palestine has contributed the largest share towards the solution of the Jewish Refugee Problem. Moreover the Jews do not only look upon immigration to Palestine from the point of view of the solution of the Refugee Problem, but as a privilege to which they have a right and that has been promised to them by international agreements since the Balfour Declaration and the acceptance of the Palestine Mandate by the British Government.

The above is a short summary of the Jewish standpoint and of Jewish demands. In this survey we do not purpose to discuss the Jewish Question as a whole, though it is necessary in dealing with the Refugee Problem to consider Jewish opinion and the solution they consider desirable. The success

of any practical attempt at finding the desired solution must depend largely on the given opportunities for emigration, further migration, and final settlement.

In view of the wishes expressed by the Jews, and also of the potential factors, three methods can be suggested for the treatment of the Jewish question, the advantages and disadvantages of each of which must be carefully balanced, and which may all be applied at the same time.

- (a) A National Home for the Jewish People in Palestine.
- (b) Jews remain in the different States as individuals and subjects.
- (c) Migration from countries where severe pressure is exercised to countries where there is less pressure.

It should be remembered that most of the Jews still living in Europe are to be found in Hungary, Rumania, Poland, and Bulgaria, the very countries in which anti-Semitic pressure has for long been so strong as to entail considerable emigration. This would be sure to continue even though equal civil rights should be granted as prescribed by the Allied Nations. The Jewish people cannot forget what they have suffered in those countries. The same is the case to a still greater extent with refugees from Germany and Austria who do not wish to return.

In order to find a solution of the acute Refugee Problem as well as of the latent problem of potential Jewish emigration from Eastern Europe, a combination of the three methods mentioned above should be attempted. Even those who are of opinion that it is best for Jews to remain where they are, are at present faced with the urgent problem of the dire distress of Jewish refugees, - distress that cannot be alleviated by a return to the country of origin, - as well as with the permanent phenomenon of inevitable emigration of at least part of the European Jews. The Jewish Refugee and Migration Problem can only be successfully dealt with under two conditions: (1) The Jewish demand for the right to settle down in Palestine must be taken into account, - the volume and the speed with which immigration could be carried out being a political question not to be decided on here. (2) The restrictions on immigration into Western countries must be rendered less prohibitive so that some at least of the Jewish Refugees and potential Jewish Emigrants from Central and Eastern Europe may find reception there. At the same time attempts must be made to provide facilities for Jews to remain in their countries of origin by abolishing all discriminatory legislation and anti-Semitic restriction.

In making the above suggestion we largely agree with the Refugee Program put forward by the High Commissioner for Refugees, Sir Herbert Morrison, who recommends the following methods:

- (a) Voluntary, not compulsory repatriation of individuals.
- (b) Absorption in the present countries of refuge. This would depend largely on conditions on the labor market. Wherever possible, naturalization should be urgently recommended.

- (c) Immigration into other countries by infiltration. To this end the restrictions now in force should be loosened and a more liberal policy be pursued by the different states.
- (d) Immigration into other countries by means of mass colonization. Sir Herbert Emerson is very sceptical with regard to this suggestion, excepting Palestine which he hopes will admit a considerable number of Jewish immigrants, providing that corresponding political and economic conditions are created.

Unfortunately the fear of breaching the Jewish Question and the Palestine Problem as well as the dread of mass movements of Jews from Central and Eastern Europe to the Western countries and overseas, have made it difficult to come to a clear understanding of the Jewish Refugee Problem and have complicated the tackling of the question. As a matter of fact the number of Jewish refugees prepared for emigration and even of potential Jewish refugees is much lower than is generally accepted. The number of Jewish refugees is, in round figures: Switzerland 32,000; Shanghai 20,000; Spain, Sweden, North Africa and Italy, several thousands each; Portugal only a few hundred. The position of refugees in England is not quite clear. They have been granted temporary protection with a view to passing on elsewhere, most of them having now found work in connection with war conditions. We may, on the whole, conclude that the number of Jewish refugees, strictly speaking, who are obliged or who wish to emigrate from European countries immediately after the war can be estimated as being some tens of thousands instead of hundreds of thousands or even millions as was believed to be the case.

What, then, is the volume of potential Jewish emigrants from Europe likely to be? In the last edition of "Foreign Policy Reports" Winfried N. Hodeck, an American expert on refugee questions discusses this problem and comes to the conclusion that at least 2,000,000 of the Jews residing in Europe before the war will be dependant on assistance from the Allied Nations in post-war times. He believes that homes will have to be found in other parts of the world for these two millions and strongly recommends settlement in Palestine and elsewhere for a large number of Jews. This expert opinion is also based on the high estimate of the number of real Jewish refugees or potential Jewish emigrants.

The sum total of Jews in Continental Europe, - with the exception of Soviet Russia which need not be considered here, - will, in all probability, not amount to more than 1½ million or at most 1,700,000 after the war. Of these, 800,000 Jews live within the present boundaries of Hungary, 270,000 in Roumania, 60,000 (in miserable conditions) in Transnistria, and about a half a million to 700,000 in other continental European States, assuming that the number of Jews still living in Germany, the occupied countries and Poland number some 440,000 (which may indeed prove to be too high an estimate). It is estimated that 200,000 of this number are in Poland (chiefly in hiding or in work camps), 50,000 in Germany, Austria and Jugoslavia (chiefly in work camps and partly in hiding), 40,000 in Theresienstadt, and 150,000 (partly free, partly in hiding, partly in camps) in France, Belgium, Holland, etc. There are, at present 40,000 Jews in Switzerland (including refugees), 40,000 in Italy (many of whom have recently fled or been deported), about 15,000 in Sweden (including refugees), 40,000 in Bulgaria, and a few thousand each in various other European countries.

At least 4 million, possibly even 5 million Jews, have been killed, either directly or indirectly, by National Socialism in Germany, Poland, Russia or the countries occupied by Germany. The majority of Jews after the war, i.e. about 1,100,000 will therefore be found in Roumania and Hungary. How many of them will wish to emigrate cannot as yet be foreseen, but it is a recognized fact that the tendency to emigrate was not strong among the 500,000 Hungarian Jews living within the former boundaries of Hungary and that assimilation has taken place to a very large extent. It may happen that the wish to emigrate from Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria and other countries in Central and Eastern Europe may grow in consequence of the war. It may, on the other hand, happen that the wish for and the possibility of emigration may have diminished as a direct consequence of political events in these countries.

But even if practically all the Jews of Continental Europe - $1\frac{1}{2}$ million - would have to be regarded as potential candidates for emigration, experience has taught that only part of them will actually emigrate, partly on account of obstacles put in the way of emigration in some countries, and partly because, even in anti-Semitic countries like Roumania and Poland, only a certain number of Jews could definitely make up their minds to emigrate, economic ties to their native land being very strong. If the new World Order provides even a minimum of social and economic security for Jews in all countries, - and this is demanded by Jews of every category, including Zionists -, emigration, more especially to Palestine, will certainly be considered desirable by a large number of Jews, particularly Jewish youth. But even in this case there is not likely to be as great an exodus as has sometimes been expected.

Even though it is perfectly true, as Sir Herbert Emerson supposes, that not only the Jews who are now removed from their country of origin, but also many others in Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, and other countries, will wish to emigrate, it can only be a question of a few hundreds of thousands, and even they will emigrate gradually, while the candidates for immediate emigration will only number some tens of thousands. There is in reality no reason to fear the danger which the High Commissioner has in mind when he says: "There is a school of thought which contemplates an exodus which may run into millions ... If a solution is to be found of the refugee problem, it is absolutely essential that not only should a stampede of this character not take place, but that the centrifugal movement should be actively discouraged and kept within the smallest practical volume." Sir Herbert Emerson considers it important that the governments of Continental European countries should be advised to give Jews the rights of citizenship in order to enable them to remain there. On the other hand, he realizes that a certain amount of "centrifugal movement" cannot be avoided. Stateless Jews or those who are unable or unwilling to return, must be given opportunities for emigration, Palestine being the most suitable country of settlement for large numbers of emigrants.

We agree with this program in its essential points, even though we do not share Sir Herbert Emerson's fears. Jewish emigration from Europe in the course of the next few years is likely to be far less considerable than has been suggested in most of the reports on this subject, or than is seemingly believed by the High Commissioner, the different governments, or even the leading Jewish organizations in London and New York.

1247-44

SUGGESTED LETTER FOR DR. SILVER TO A FRIEND IN MISSOURI

This form may also be used in other states.

Dear Mr. _____:

I have been asked on many occasions by my friends and fellow Zionists concerning our political attitude toward individual candidates in the coming campaign. My questions have been directed for the most part concerning our attitude towards candidates for the Senate and the House of Representatives. I fully appreciate the reasons prompting these questions. I am aware of the feeling of all of us that at no time in the past has the political future of our beloved cause been as critical as now.

It is quite obvious that in the past the hundreds of thousands of American voters of Jewish ancestry have voted as Democrats or as Republicans according to their predilections and according to the individual approbation of the candidates. At no time in my memory, despite claims of politicians to the contrary, has there ever been such a thing as a Jewish vote. It is true that in our large cities the majority of the Jewish vote may have supported one candidate or another, or one party or another, but this is also true in our states. For example, in New England the traditional majority vote has been Republican, while in the South the overwhelming vote has been Democratic. There has been no such thing, therefore, as a Jewish vote cast for Jewish causes. This failure on our part to exercise our potential political strength has on the whole, I feel, been disastrous to us politically. We have failed to make ourselves felt and, therefore, on the whole, we have been disregarded and we have received lip service.

The time has now come, in my opinion, when all of us who are dedicated to the practical upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland must give more than money, emotions, and idealistic conversation. We must give, in my opinion, what other groups of American citizens give to attain political objectives which are dear to

their hearts and minds. In other words, we must give votes too.

I am sure that any study of American political and economic history, since earliest times, and particularly since the turn of the century, will show that those groups of voters who had the courage to go to the ballot box and vote for the candidates and causes in which they were interested, succeeded in attaining their political objectives. Unhappily, since the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration back in 1917, we, as American Jews sincerely devoted to the fulfillment of the magnificent promise of that great historic agreement between the victorious Allied Nations of World War One, failed to follow through and take advantage of our political opportunity. We attained from the Governments of Great Britain and the United States, and subsequently from their Allies, the promise of a new day for our unfortunate brethren in Europe. We failed to follow through. Instead of pressing our advantage, we resumed the giving of dollars and emotions. We did not give what counts in our American body politic — political service. Our contribution was lip service, and lip service is what we have gotten in return, as the years since 1917 have so unfortunately demonstrated.

The time has come, therefore, when all of us, if we are to see our aspirations transformed into a practical reality, for us to stand up and be counted.

It is obvious that our aspirations will not be attained unless we have a friendly Government in Washington. Happily, since Mr. Woodrow Wilson's time every President of the United States has been a friend of our cause, and there is no reason to believe that the next President of the United States, whomever he may be, will not be equally friendly. Specifically, President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey have each, on numerous occasions, expressed themselves highly favorable to our cause. It is necessary, therefore, that we have the equally cordial support of the Congress. The great majority of the members of the Senate and the House of Representatives are friendly to us. They have not had an opportunity, however, since 1922 to vote on any legislation pertaining to Palestine. But they may have such an opportunity in a short

short time. Under the circumstances it is essential, as well as highly desirable, that we have as many genuine friends in the Congress as possible because it goes without saying that in a Government such as ours, when there is an overwhelming sentiment in the Congress for a cause, the attitude of the Executive Department is impressed and influenced. We should have, therefore, as many friends in the Congress as possible, and as a matter of common political judgment and elementary politics we should retain, or at least help to retain, by our votes those officials who have been friendly to our cause in the past.

We should do this, not only as a matter of simple justice and as a practical exemplification of the theory of helping our friends because they help us, but also because in the Congress the seniority system prevails and the members thereof acquire position and prestige because of long service. The veteran members are far more influential in every way than the newcomers.

This brings me now to the case of Senator Bennet: Champ Clark of Missouri, who is seeking re-election. I know Senator Clark personally and I have conferred with him on several occasions in behalf of our cause. Senator Clark is, and has been, a long and devoted friend of the upbuilding of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. In addition, I might add, Senator Clark, since his earliest days at the University of Missouri when he was then an undergraduate student, has been a zealous champion of the rights of our people. He has been an active opponent of all anti-Semitic movements. He, for example, I am told by Jewish friends, took a vigorous part in denouncing the Klu Klux Klan in those days when that ugly movement was seeking to dominate the American political scene. In the Congress of the United States, during the past few months Senator Clark was one of our most devoted friends in the Senate. Back in January when we were discussing with our friends what later became known as the Wagner-Taft Resolution, Senator Clark graciously offered to sponsor the Resolution in the Senate on behalf of the Democrats. We had, however,

committed ourselves to Senator Wagner of New York who was then, as he is now, the Chairman of the American Palestine Committee, our affiliate organization of Christians who are devoted to our cause. Senator Clark, however, was our ardent supporter in the Foreign Relations Committee and on the floor of the Senate. He did all that he could for our cause and none of us will forget the magnificent speech he delivered in the Senate on March 28th when he boldly challenged the failure of the American State Department for protesting against the violation of the Mandate for Palestine by the British Government. Senator Clark contended, as do all of us, that the United States Government, because of its treaty with Great Britain, has an equal voice with Great Britain in the enforcement of the Mandate. In that oration, Senator Clark told the Senate:

"Because Palestine might have saved the lives of tens of thousands of persecuted Jews during the past 5 years had they been permitted to go there, and were not permitted to go there because of the operation of this iniquitous white paper, we of this Nation are in effect a party to this crime, and for this I hang my head in shame."

I hope you have read Senator Clark's speech on that occasion, just as I hope every Jew in Missouri has read it. It was to my way of thinking one of the finest things said in behalf of our cause in the United States Senate in many years.

We will have great need of Senator Clark's devotion in the future, just as we will have need of the support of all of our friends. Under the circumstances, therefore, I feel that it is highly incumbent on all of us to see to it that officials like Senator Clark who have proved their devotion to us should be rewarded by our cordial support. If we fail to support our friends, how can we expect them to support us? These are my views and I hope they are in accord with yours.

With my kindest personal regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

LRS:shr

6/20/44



THE ATTACHED LETTER SENT TO THE FOLLOWING NAMES:

SEN. Carl Olson

Luther A. Johnson

John Lee

Joseph L. Pfeifer

Pete Jarman

W.O. Burgin

Wirt Courtney

Thomas B. Gordon

Howard J. McMurray

Will Rogers Jr.

J. William Fairbairn

Mike Mansfield

Charles A. Eaton

Edith Marie Rogers

Robert A. Chipfield

John E. Verry

Foster Stearns

Earl E. Smith

Bertel J. Johnson

Francis P. Bolton

James W. Underworth

Charles L. Gerlach

Andrew C. Schiffler

DRAFT OF STATEMENT

Numerous inquiries have been received by the American Zionist Emergency Council concerning the recent newspaper advertisements signed by Ben Hecht for the so-called "Palestine Resistance Fund." A propaganda campaign is now under way to represent the wholly irresponsible statements appearing in such advertisements as the views of the Zionists of America. Large sections of the British press, in particular, have seized upon Mr. Hecht's latest effort in order to mislead British public opinion into believing that American Zionists generally subscribe to these hysterical outbursts.

Speaking for the entire American Zionist movement, we condemn both the malicious attempts of British propagandists to besmirch the Zionists of America, and the ravings of the few self-anointed Jewish "saviors", who are continually adding grist to the British propaganda mill.

The so-called "Palestine Resistance Fund" which sponsored Mr. Hecht's vicarious adventure in heroics, is only one of a series of mushroom organizations fostered in this country by Peter Bergson, self-styled "Hebrew ambassador", and his few associates. These organizations include the American League for a Free Palestine, National Committee for Hebrew Liberation, American Friends of Jewish Palestine, Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe, and other affiliated interlocking groups, all of whose grandiose claims have been repudiated and exposed by the responsible spokesmen for Jewish Palestine and for Jewish resistance in Palestine.

The Vaad Leumi, the elected representative body of the Jews of Palestine, recently declared:

"We have learned with amazement that an organization styling itself the 'Hebrew Committee for National Liberation,' which operates in the United States of America under the aegis of the so-called 'Bergson group,' has been parading as a representative organization of the Jewish community

of Palestine. This committee consists of persons who are self-appointed and who represent no one except themselves.

"It is wholly outside the organized Jewish community, whose leadership and discipline it rejects. Vaad Leumi wishes to make it unequivocally clear that it in no way is connected with or responsible for activities of this 'committee' or its sponsors, whose impudent claim to represent Palestine Jewry is utterly unfounded.

"We are issuing this statement in order to insure that the Jewish and non-Jewish public in the United States of America will be no further deceived by grandiloquent claims put forward by or on behalf of this 'committee,' whose resounding title is calculated to mislead people who are not fully acquainted with the true facts of the situation in Palestine."

A similar position was taken by the World Zionist Congress which met last December in Basle. The organized Zionists of America fully endorse this stand and declare further that the Bergson committees' highly-publicized attempts to portray themselves as the American representatives of Jewish resistance in Palestine are wholly false.

We are confident that American public opinion will not be misled either by the activities of a few opportunistic men, or by the current efforts to ascribe these activities to the Zionists of America.

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Revised!
Please substitute for p 4 in the Report.

5. We deplore the undemocratic and dictatorial methods pursued by some labor leaders who have achieved tyrannical control over their unions. We call upon all labor unions to clean house, by removing such individuals from positions of influence and power, by avoiding jurisdictional and inter-union strikes, by refraining from slow-down policies and by admitting to membership all qualified persons without reference to race or creed.

6. We renew our demand upon Congress to pass legislation which will make lynching a federal offense.

7. We urge the President and the State Department to strengthen the foundations of the United Nations and to avoid any action which might be interpreted as by-passing or ignoring it.

8. We recognize the inherent differences in philosophy and practice between the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We nonetheless believe that it is quite possible for both systems to exist side by side peacefully. We, therefore, deplore the efforts of those who appear to be intent upon stirring up strife between the two countries.

9. We applaud the action of Congress in refusing to be influenced by a spiteful campaign of malice, hatred and vilification and endorsing the nomination of Mr. David E. Lilienthal as chairman of the Atomic Commission and Mr. Gordon Clapp as chairman of T.W.A.

10. We view with alarm the general increase in prices which followed the termination of O.P.A. and has already brought much suffering and hardship into millions of American homes. If the President's plan for a reduction in prices is not heeded or the general level of wages not materially increased, we favor the reconstitution of price controls along the lines of the O.P.A.

11. We strongly urge the Congress of the United States to pass legislation extending rent control until such time as the present crisis is over. To this end, we offer full cooperation to the National Fair Rent Committee, of which the Hon. F. H. LaGuardia is chairman.

12. We strongly urge the passage by Congress of the "Emergency Temporary Displaced Persons Admission Act", H. R. 2910, also known as the Stratton Bill, which provides for the immigration into the United States of 100,000 displaced persons of all faiths over the next four year period.

13. We believe that H.R. 3342, known as the "United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1947", will tend to promote mutual understanding between the United States and other countries and strongly urge its passage.

14. We heartily endorse the I.R.O., urge its immediate ratification by the United States and the appropriation of the funds designated as our government's share.

15. We hail with pride the dignified, restrained and statesmanlike presentation made by the president of our Conference, Abba Hillel Silver, before the Political and Security meeting of the United Nations on the Palestine question. We call upon Great Britain, even while the Committee of Inquiry is at work, to grant permission for 100,000 displaced Jews to enter Palestine immediately and to withdraw the illegal and iniquitous White Paper of 1939.

I have read the press report that Mr. Ben Gurion declared at the meeting of the Jewish National Assembly in Jerusalem that the Jewish Agency will demand at the United Nations General Assembly a Jewish state in a part of Palestine where the Jews are now predominant and the negro, while leaving the rest of the country under the mandate.

As a member of the Executive I am unable to credit this statement inasmuch as the Executive of the Jewish Agency has never acted on any such proposal, nor has it any authority to do so. The case of the Jewish Agency was fully presented by its representatives at the recent special sessions of the United Nations. There has been no change in policy since then. The same case will be presented to the Committee of Inquiry unless the Actions Committee prescribes a different course. Our movement has taken no official position favoring either partition or bi-nationalism. It would be regrettable to have the situation made more difficult by unctious and unauthorized pronouncements. If the Committee of Inquiry of the United Nations will propose such solutions, our movement will have full opportunity to consider them and decide.

Apr 12, 1943
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The Foreign Affairs Committee reluctantly and only after prolonged and rather acrimonious debate deferred action on the Palestine Resolution until next Wednesday. The Majority of the Committee felt that there was no reason why the Senate should be prevented from declaring itself in sympathy for the Jewish Commonwealth which you yourself recently endorsed in your letter to me which was made public at the Zionist Convention.

The Committee has asked that Secretary Stettinius appear next Wednesday and state the reason for his reported objection. I am afraid that his intervention against the resolution, coming so soon after the party platform declaration and your own declaration may create a very bad impression not only among the Jewish people but among non-Jews as well, and will do the cause which you and I favor serious hurt.

Involved also, Mr. President, is the good faith of the Democratic Party, the good faith of the President of the United States and to a less extent my own good faith.

It was said in the Committee that the Department is not acting on its own initiative but that it is taking orders. Unhappily-- and this is most distressing-- it was and it is being suggested that the Jewish people are being double-crossed.

In view of the action heretofore taken by the House Foreign Affairs Committee which has favorably reported a similar resolution to the House, and in view of the fact also that nearly 400 Senators and Representatives are directly quoted in a House document as favoring this legislation it will be most

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unfortunate, in my opinion, if this legislation is defeated in the Senate on the basis of alleged opposition by you.

I hope, therefore, Mr. President that you will take immediate steps to advise Senator Connally that you have no objection to the legislation but, as a matter of fact, you favor it as you indicated in your splendid communication to the Zionist Convention at Atlantic City on October 15th. May I suggest also that you advise Mr. Stettinius so that there will be no misunderstanding whatsoever of your attitude.

Sincerely yours,

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(This story is being dictated from memory. It should be rewritten and polished by Mr. Frank before it is issued. A copy of this original draft should go to Mr. Israeli and Mr. Shapiro immediately. The release is for the Anglo-Jewish and our own people only.)

Washington, D. C. -- A number of the most prominent Senators today rose on the floor of the U.S. Senate to demand the immediate fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges of a Jewish Palestine. Participating in this demonstration of American support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine were Senator Robert A. Taft, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ (Ohio-Rep.), Senator Owen Brewster (Maine-Rep.), Senator Joseph P. Guffey (Pa., Dem.), Senator H. Alexander Smith (N.Y., Rep.), Senator Homer Ferguson (Mich., Rep.), Senator Leverett Saltonstall (Mass., Rep.), Senator Edwin C. Johnson (Cal., Dem.), Senator Brian McMahon (Conn., Dem.), Senator Alben W. Barkley (Ky., Dem.) and Senator James E. Murray (Mont., Dem.).

Senator Robert A. Taft began the discussion early in the morning session of the Senate and declared: "A year ago the Senior Senator from New York and I introduced a resolution calling on our government to take up with the British Government the solution of the Palestine problem. We asked that the British be requested to carry out the Balfour Declaration, to repudiate the White Paper of 1939, to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration, and to resume the policy leading to an independent commonwealth with a majority of Jewish citizens. The Administration then opposed the passage of such a resolution and promised to take quiet steps to accomplish its purpose. Such steps, if taken, however, proved a complete failure.

"I wish to express my strong approval, and I think that of a majority of the Senators, of President Truman's action in suggesting to the British Prime Minister that 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine be issued to the homeless Jews of Europe. If the British Government follows this suggestion of the President, it will provide relief for many of those Jews who survived the horrible persecution and torture of the Nazis. May I add, too, that it would be some atonement for what we have failed to do during the war. For during the war, we did little more than

express a polite sympathy for the Jews in Germany and in the occupied countries... I think we should realize, however, that President Truman's request, even if acted upon by the British Government, will not solve the problem. It is still a belated emergency measure. The problem of the surviving Jews of Europe will not be solved by 100,000 immigration certificates. There are, perhaps, 3,000,000 Jews left in Central and Eastern Europe. They face a terrible aftermath of war and a continent still imbued with bitter Jewish hatred. Palestine is still closed to them...now is the time to carry out our obligations. If they are not carried out in this post-war settlement, they probably never will be carried out.

"Thus far we have received no indication that the new government of Great Britain is determined to alter British policies in Palestine. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the British Labor Party is officially committed to a Zionist solution of the Palestine problem, it is reported that the Labor Government intends to continue, with slight modification, the policy of excluding further Jewish immigration into Palestine. I believe we should continue to exercise our influence, as President Truman has begun to do, towards securing from Great Britain a pledge to carry out the Balfour Declaration. We are in constant touch with Great Britain. They are asking us for assistance and support in various matters where their vital interests are at stake. It seems to me that we have the right, and in view of the historical position of both nations, the duty, to insist that Great Britain do justice to the long-suffering Jewish people and that Palestine be opened to them without any reserve or restrictions," Senator Taft said.

Senators Owen Brewster, Joseph F. Guffey, H. Alexander Smith, Homer Ferguson and Leverett Saltonstall interrupted Senator Taft's remarks at various points to state their endorsement of views he was expressing. Senator Brewster reported that during his recent visit to Dachau concentration camp, one month after its occupation by the allies, "more than 10,000 people were still herded there, and we all saw 60 bodies stacked like cordwood. This was the treatment accorded to unfortunates who died a month after our occupation...certainly the care which had been provided for

then is at variance with the Christian character which we would contemplate would be provided." Senator Brewster then urged the immediate admission into Palestine of 100,000 displaced European Jews, saying that this would not only open up a vista of hope for the homeless Jews of Europe, but would relieve the United States of the responsibility of their care inasmuch as they are offered home and hospitality in Palestine. Senator Brewster also said "that we should go much further than this in redeeming our solemn pledge."

After Senator Brewster had concluded his remarks, Senator Taft received permission to include in the Congressional Record the text of the Harrison Report, as well as President Truman's letter to General Eisenhower.

Recalling that when the Palestine resolution had been pending before the Foreign Relations Committee, action had been postponed at the request of the military authorities "because the British said it raised a very troublesome problem for them in the Far East," Senator Guffey declared: "Now that the war is over, I hope that we can take some action that will bring relief to the long-suffering Jews of Europe."

Senators Smith, Ferguson and Saltonstall made equally strong statements in support of Senator Taft's remarks.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson ~~stated~~ then addressed the Senate for approximately ten minutes. He declared: "Britain, which has made the Jew a political football since the promulgation of the Balfour Declaration, is determined to pursue this policy to the bitter end...it is time for the Senate and for the United States Government to face realities in Palestine. The determination to establish in Palestine a homeland for the Jews in which Jews would eventually have nationhood status in common with other peoples, was a joint policy of the United States and the British Government during World War I...an equitable and just resolve should not be abandoned now.

"How long are the American Government and the American people going to remain callous to the suffering of the homeless Jews of Europe? How long will the American people remain indifferent to the imperative need to set up the long contemplated Jewish State in Palestine? Patience has ceased to be a virtue. The time

is at hand to put an end to the survivors of suffering and persecution and enable the Jewish people to re-establish themselves in the independent and dignified status of ancient days.

"Surely, our people are in no mood to have President Truman's recommendations vetoed by the British. Surely, the Balfour Declaration is not a scrap of paper. Surely, Britain is not going to waltz on her solemn pledges," Senator Johnson exclaimed.

Senator Brian McMahon rose to address the Senate after Senator Johnson had concluded, but he was repeatedly interrupted by Senator Theodore Bilbo (Miss., Dem.). Senator McMahon declared that Senator Bilbo was making an effort to prevent further discussion of the matter. Senator Bilbo was ruled out of order, but the discussion in the Senate had been side-tracked to other channels.

The question of Palestine was therefore not raised again until later in the afternoon, when Senate Majority Leader Allan W. Barkley rose and delivered an impassioned plea for immediate action to rescue the Jewish survivors in Europe. Declaring that the Jewish Commonwealth is a hope cherished by the vast majority of the Jewish people all over the world, especially in the United States, Senator Barkley said that he hoped that the question of the Jewish Commonwealth will be given the consideration to which it is entitled at the Peace Conference.

Declaring that he is not unmindful of the "delicate international situation" with regard to Palestine, Senator Barkley asserted that the United States Government has made its position unmistakably clear on the White Paper and added that "as a friend of the great Jewish people who have contributed so much to world civilization, as a Senator, and from the standpoint of humanity and justice, the plight of the Jew cries out for the opening of Palestine's doors." Senator Barkley demanded that there be no further delay in the solution of this great human problem.

Senator McMahon then delivered a ten-minute address in which he charged that "the British have endeavored for the past twenty years, with one excuse after

another, to make Palestine a ghetto of the Arab world."

"This attitude of the British Government is a horrible commentary and a great shock to those of us who had always admired the British for their traditional belief in fair-play. It is anything but fair and it cannot help but lessen the prestige of the British in this country. I hope the British Government will appreciate the depth of American feeling on the subject of Palestine and take immediate steps, not only to comply with President Truman's great humanitarian objective, but also to carry out the historic pledges of our Government."

Senator James Murray made the last formal address in the Senate. After assailing both the Churchill and the Attlee governments of Great Britain for their failure to redeem Great Britain's pledges on Palestine, Senator Murray declared: "I am sorry to say that our own government is failing to carry out its policies. An overwhelming majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, of both political parties, the Administration, ^{so} publicly pledged to support the policy of a Jewish Commonwealth, and yet in practice, the executive agencies of our Government had not seem to be supporting this policy. It is reported that the President of the United States had asked ~~that~~ that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted to Palestine at once. This is indeed an elementary requirement of the Mandate...but this is only the first step. When shirking responsibility, our Government and the Government of Great Britain, who have made so many far-reaching decisions in the international field, in the interest of peace and humanity, must not shirk its responsibility either -- the long overdue responsibility of redeeming and carrying out a sacred obligation."

(Note to Gerald Frank: As you can undoubtedly see for yourself, this is very rough and is being dictated on the run in the lobby of the Senate corridor. Please doctor it.)

Sept. 1937

One is greatly impressed with the widening of the gap between Right and Left everywhere, between the conservative forces and liberals and radicals united for action in a Popular Front. One also gets the impression that the conservative elements throughout Europe will resort to any and all means to overthrow Popular Front Governments in their respective countries. They will foment civil war, destroy democracy and establish dictatorships in order to keep legitimate Popular Front governments from introducing social and economic reforms through parliamentary methods.

Spain, of course, is the tragic example of this at the present time, just as Germany and Italy were a few years ago. In Spain, however, the liberals and radicals have learned how to fight back whereas in Germany and Italy they were outplayed and outmaneuvered so that they did not even strike a blow in defense of their democratic governments.

It is very instructive to note that reactionary elements throughout the world are attempting to represent the present military uprising in Spain as the work of noble, patriotic Spaniards who heroically are trying to save their country from a bloody communist regime. The present Spanish government, of course, is neither communist nor even socialist. It was voted into power by the people of Spain in an election held under the auspices of the former Rightist government. A military junta supported by monarchists, by reactionary elements in the Church and by big financial interests outside of the country is now making a criminal onslaught on this legally and democratically constituted government.

No one can foretell the outcome of the struggle. But if the Fascist adventurers in Spain are defeated, it seems likely that their defeat will mark the beginning of a definite recession of Fascism in Europe.

Would-be Fascist adventurers in France are watching with great anxiety what is happening across the Pyrenees. I spent considerable time in France this summer. I saw the great demonstrations in Paris on July 14. France is not likely to go either communist or Fascist. The need for national defense in the face of the grave threat across the Rhine will keep France from rushing into either communism or Fascism, which in France, could be achieved only through the bloodiest kind of civil war.

One hears people say that Europe is rushing headlong into war. Others with equal conviction maintain that Europe will not have war in the near future. One guess is as good as another. In the furious political and economic game of chess which is now being played, one would be foolish to prophesy what the next move will be. This much is certain. Europe is arming as it has never armed before. The military machine is being tuned up. Military budgets are being increased at an appalling rate. Military alliances are being formed. Consultations between military staffs of allied powers are going on. In Russia and in Germany the term of military service has been lengthened. These conditions, you will recall, are identical with those which prevailed in Europe in the fateful months preceding the disaster of 1914.

Of course no government in Europe really wants war but many of them want those things which can only be had through war.

The best thing that the United States can do at the present time is to mind its own business and not attempt to play another messianic role. For Uncle Sam to call together the ruling heads of Europe to a general love feast, will result in nothing more than in having his pockets picked and finding himself on the way home without an important item in his customary accoutrement.

Setting our own house in order, giving our own people justice and

security and, by so doing, making them proud defenders of their democratic traditions, this is the greatest service which Americans can at the present time render a very troubled and harassed world.

The Jews of the world are putting up a mighty struggle to prevent the threatening stoppage of immigration into Palestine. Some of the near-sighted officials in the British Colonial Office favor such a policy in the hope of placating the Arab terrorists who have for nearly four months perpetrated unspeakable acts of violence and brutality in Palestine in an effort to force a reversal of policy on the part of the mandatory government and to stop the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland. It may well be that immigration into Palestine will be temporarily suspended pending the findings of the Royal Commission which is soon to go to Palestine to investigate. For the Jewish people this would be the loss of an important skirmish but not at all that of a major battle. Immigration into Palestine had been twice suspended in the past. Each suspension was followed by a remarkable increase in Jewish immigration, and an accelerated tempo of upbuilding. The Jews in Palestine and those abroad have shown a fine capacity for overcoming all the obstacles which in the last fifteen years have been placed in the way of the upbuilding of Palestine.

I was gratified to discover the very favorable attitude of the British public generally towards the Jewish work in Palestine. The debate in the House of Commons revealed a wise understanding and sympathy and the British press has been most friendly. But public opinion in England does not always control the actions of the government. It is therefore of utmost importance for us to be prepared to carry on our work regardless of any temporary setback which we might encounter.

Fundamentally, it is the repudiation of great ethical principles which has been responsible for the mounting political catastrophes of the last twenty years. You cannot do violence to the spirit - truth, justice and decency - any more than you can do violence to the body, without a breakdown sooner or later. The breakdown in the democratic life of Europe has now set in. The first affront to the spirit of mankind came with the peace treaties themselves. Dictated not by wisdom and compassion but by greed and vengeance, they were the dragons' teeth sown across the continent of Europe. The moral and salutary provisions in the treaties - collective security and the protection of minorities - might have pacified Europe if they had been faithfully lived up to. But they were disregarded almost from their very inception. Our own country whose spokesmen sponsored the idea, refused to join in any international organisation for peace whatsoever. This was a shock to the structure of the League from which it never recovered. The next shock came when Japan attacked China and the League was immobilized and rendered hopeless to act by the refusal of Great Britain and France, for reasons of their own, to permit the League to move against Japan. This was the beginning of the end of collective security in the world. Thereafter, the League increasingly became a mere stage setting for colossal futility.

Other unchecked acts of aggression soon followed - Italy in Ethiopia, Germany and Italy in Spain. The unilateral repudiation of treaties became the fashion in Europe. Having destroyed collective security, the European statesmen, sinking ever deeper into the morass which they themselves created, tried frantically to check Europe's headlong rush to destruction by regional pacts of mutual assistance, and by shameful and humiliating concessions to war-threatening dictators.

Proper adherence to the principle of the rights of minorities ^{which} would have helped to tranquillize Central and Eastern Europe but here again, there was contemptuous disregard for principles and covenants. The framers of the

peace treaties fully realized that the intermingling of nations in Central and Eastern Europe has been so great that, regardless of what political frontiers are established, some minorities would still have to live outside their original homeland. The principle of self-determination simply ^{could not} ~~cannot~~ be applied in every instance to satisfy every national group. It is quite impossible to ^{untangle} ~~unscramble~~ the ^{tangled} ~~centuries-old~~ ^{affairs of} ~~centuries-old~~ ~~empires~~. Thirty percent of Poland is made up of non-Polish populations. ~~Poland today is clamoring for the Polish population of Czechoslovakia.~~ ~~What about the four million Ruthenians in Poland, the one million Germans, the one million White Russians and the three million Jews. Is Poland prepared to apply the principle of self-determination to her minorities?~~ Ten million ~~out~~ of the nineteen millions which constitute the present population of Russia were annexed after the war. There are large minority groups in Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria as well as in Czechoslovakia. It was anticipated that these minorities, ~~unless protected by international action~~, would in some instances, be oppressed and that ^{in consequence} ~~irredentist~~ and revisionist movements would develop among them ~~thereby~~ endangering the peace of Europe. Therefore the peace treaties wrote into the fundamental law of each of the new states formed after the war, provisions for full rights of citizenship, absolute equality before the law, and cultural autonomy for all racial, religious and linguistic minorities. This was the ^{only logical} ~~best~~ and ethical solution ^{problem} ~~of the only possible solution~~. The League of Nations was entrusted with the responsibility of supervising these treaties. Only a League strong in authority and prestige could ~~have enforced~~ ^{enforce} this ~~system~~ ^{type} of minority protection. The break-up of the League ^{left} ~~placed~~ the problem of minorities in Europe in the same menacing status which existed prior to 1914, and which led to the World War.

Minorities are again becoming the pawns of ~~racial~~ imperial ambitions. Strong nations on the continent seeking expansion, ^{are} ~~intent~~ to disrupt ^{the} ~~the~~ states which lie across their paths ~~by agitating revisionism and by fomenting disloyalty among the minorities within their borders.~~

Hitler ^{is} ~~leads~~ ^{was} in this game. Hitler is not interested in the protection of German minorities as such. He has recently handed over to Italy the most oppressed and exploited minority in Europe - ~~that of~~ the Germans in southern Tyrol. He has most brutally destroyed a racial and religious minority in his own country. Hitler is interested solely in using German minorities in adjacent ^{other} lands to expand the boundaries of the Reich and to realize the old Germanic dream - ^{of an empire ever expanding toward the} ~~the imperial past to the~~ East.

It is sad to contemplate how blind and stupid diplomacy and predatory economic interests have shattered the dream of a new Europe, a new world organization based upon security and peace and a new system of justice for great and small alike. These ideals lie in ruins today not because the nations which championed them ^{at first} ~~also~~ ^{when} ~~the war~~ have been defeated in battle. These ideals have been betrayed by ^{the} ~~their~~ former friends, who, though undefeated in ^{war} ~~war~~, have suffered one major political defeat after another, because of ^{their} ~~the~~ betrayal ^{of} ~~of~~ their ideals.

Chamberlain at Berchtesgaden, Chamberlain at Coteux, is the tragic symbol of this betrayal and ~~the~~ spiritual collapse! So is Daladier! So is the impotent rage and indignation of the American people!

Chamberlain's talk about the need ⁱⁿ ~~for the~~ appeasement of Europe should not mislead ~~by~~ anyone. Ever since he launched his program for purchasing peace by sacrificing, not British interest, of course, but the interests of other peoples to dictators, Europe has known nothing but ~~renewed~~ periods of gravest crisis and the threat of ⁱⁿ ~~war~~ ^{war}. One wonders why Chamberlain did not offer a foot of British territory ^{to} ~~to~~ appease Hitler or the return of a single colony taken by Great Britain from Germany! ^{Then} ~~And~~ in their sudden enthusiasm for plebiscites and self-determination, ~~have~~ ^{seen to see} Mr. Chamberlain and his Tory friends forgotten India!

Appeasement is not peace! You cannot have ^{peace} ~~peace~~ by paying ransom to blackmailers. You simply encourage ^{greater and greater} ~~more and more demands and~~ exactions.

Peace can be built only upon justice and law, ^{after} international organization, ^{and} respect for treaty obligations and ^{upon} a readiness to fight ^{by means} in their defence, ^{but} ^{half}.

It is hard to maintain morale and faith in these hard times. Particularly for the Jewish people which has been subjected to such cruel ^{human misery} experiences in so many parts of the world in recent years. Let us remember, however, that the desperate plight in which our people finds itself today is only part of the desperate plight in which the whole world finds itself. It is not we, alone, who are suffering, singled out, as it were, for persecution, while the rest of the world is at peace. Far from it! In the East and in the West, there is war and the alarms of war, oppression and the threat of oppression, hate and the madness of hate. It is all part ^{and the result} of one picture. But the picture will change! An ancient people, we ^{should} ~~ought not~~, in this emergency, lose our historic perspective, or fail to take into account the mighty tides which move on undeviatingly beneath the swift and short eddies of passing human events. Mankind has never permanently submitted to tyranny, to absolutism of ruler or state. No one has ever succeeded in coordinating into rigid submission the crushing spirit of man. Our people knows how to draw strength from defeat. Thirty-five centuries have hardened us. Always we have been faced by superior forces and always we have triumphed over them. What is clearly indicated in these desperate times is increasing devotion to the great ideals of our religion, the disregard of which has plunged the world into chaos. *Courage, Faith and Work!*

1) The hearing before the Congressional Committee on Foreign Affairs will probably put American Zionist leaders in the position of committing themselves to a definite interpretation of the Baltimore Platform. The line taken by us at the hearing will be regarded as the official Zionist position, to which the Zionist Movement will stand committed. It is therefore of the utmost importance that the Zionist spokesmen should be in complete agreement in their interpretation of the Baltimore Platform and the official line.

2) The big question which will confront us is: a Jewish Commonwealth, when and how. The wording of the Baltimore Program leaves room for ambiguity. Nothing is said regarding the time when or the circumstances under which the Jewish Commonwealth is to be proclaimed or established. It is not, for instance, stated that the attainment of a Jewish majority is a condition precedent, though the Palestine resolution of the American Jewish Conference does make that point.

3) What is involved is the question whether our demand for a Jewish Commonwealth is to be interpreted as being simply an expression of the ultimate objective, the Endziel, and in the nature of a slogan, or whether it is a practical political demand to be implemented by concrete measures without delay. If the latter position is taken, we must be prepared to answer just what measures we would regard as constituting implementation of the demand for a Commonwealth.

4) Zionists have been in the habit of referring to a "period of transition", during which presumably Palestine would be administered under some form of trusteeship. This would seem to imply substantially ^a the return to the old Mandate or to a new Mandate similar in character. It may also imply an indefinite period of "transition", during which the forces which have operated in the past against the realization of Zionist aims will continue to operate in the future. The history of the past twenty years may thus

be repeated and we may then be heading for a new White Paper ten or fifteen years hence. If we take this line of a period of transition under a trusteeship, we will be asking in effect ^{for} a return of the status quo ante. The demand for a Jewish Commonwealth would thereby be relegated to the sphere of theory and pious hopes.

5) The only plank in the Biltmore Platform meriting a really radical departure is the demand for Jewish control of immigration and colonization. If we are not to ask for the proclamation of a Jewish Commonwealth in the immediate or near future, then the demand for control of immigration and colonization is the most important, from the practical point of view. It is incompatible not merely with the administrative practice of the Palestine Government, ^{hitherto} but with the Mandate itself and its underlying conceptions. It implies a division or separation of powers between two authorities: the Mandatory power or the Government of Palestine on the one hand, and the Jewish People or the Jewish Agency on the other. In the sphere of immigration and Colonization, the Jewish People and the Jewish Agency would be vested with certain Executive or Governmental powers. They would be free to make certain decisions, the validity of which the Government of Palestine could not challenge. On the contrary, the Government of Palestine would be legally required to implement these decisions or to facilitate their implementation. This clause of the Biltmore Program means precisely that, or it means nothing.

6) In the light of the foregoing analysis, it is submitted that the position to be taken should be along the following lines:

- (a) The demand for a Jewish Commonwealth is not to be regarded as a mere slogan or expression of hope for the future but as the objective to be achieved speedily, i. e., within the space of a few years. This despite the use of the word "ultimately" in the resolution pending before Congress;
- (b) This involves not a "normal" annual immigration of 40,000 or 50,000, or even 100,000, but a population transfer, i. e., the transfer of several hundred thousand Jews to Palestine in a

short period of time, two or three years, following the precedent of the transfer of Greeks from Asia Minor to their homeland.

- (c) This transfer of population implies international cooperation and assistance, such as was forthcoming in the case of the repatriation of the Greeks.
- (d) Such a population transfer is related to the absorptive capacity of Palestine, in the long range sense of the term. That is to say it is justifiable from the point of view of the ultimate economic possibilities of Palestine, and not of ~~with the~~ economic possibilities existing at the moment.
- (e) We should therefore not speak of a period of transition of indefinite duration but rather of a period of implementation to begin at once and to culminate in the establishment of a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth.
- (f) The demand for Jewish control of immigration and colonization may and should be interpreted in the sense that the Jewish Agency for Palestine shall be authorized to set up a Reconstruction & Development Authority, preferably in the form of a chartered company, which shall take over and exercise those functions of government relating not only to immigration but to economic development and reclamation in all their aspects, leaving to the Government of Palestine all its other functions, such as the administration of justice, the enforcement of law and order, the administration of the political system, etc.

7) The only alternative to the program outlined above consistent with the Biltmore Program would be the early proclamation of a Jewish Republic and the setting up of a provisional government preponderantly Jewish in its composition, despite the fact of an existing Arab majority. Personally I would not reject this idea out of hand as utterly fantastic, but the idea would require much analysis and exploration, for which there is now no time. My Zionists have been so firmly wedded to the application of "democratic principles" to the solution of the Palestine question that a discussion of this alternative would have only theoretical interest.

8) The phrase of the Biltmore Program "integrated in the structure of a democratic world" i.e., of course, susceptible of the interpretation favored by English and Canadian Zionists that the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine should become part of the British Commonwealth of Nations as a dominion. It would be wise to avoid either rejecting this possibility or committing ourselves definitely to it.

INTRODUCTION

The Philosopher grew in ancient Greece, the Prophet rose in ancient Judea, and the Caesar appeared in ancient Rome. These three central prototypes of occidental history represent three distinct ideals of life — the intellectual of Hellen, the ethical of Judea, and the activist of Rome. Each of these original exemplars embodies a definite approach and attitude to the world and concept of life.

The ancient Hellenes, assuming that man's mind can penetrate into the very essence of the world and of things, and that human thought reflects true reality, announced the true as the ultimate goal of life. The ancient Hebrew, assuming that man's mind, being limited by its very nature, cannot grasp ultimate reality, and seeing the world from the vantage point of man and not of nature, proclaimed the good as life's highest aim. The ancient Roman, disinterested in theoretical speculations and sensing desiring Will as the kindling point of man's life, declared the pragmatic, the act, to be the noblest aim of human existence.

These three/^{world}principles, the logos, the ethos, and the actio are the three main sources from which the occidental world draws its energy and inspiration. Intellectual Greece is the foundation of western science and philosophy, spiritual Judea the starting point of ethics and religion, and willful Rome the background of jurisprudence and statecraft. While in the historical development of the west all three forces are prominently manifested, in the cultural process only Hellen and Judea represent the axis about which the life of the spirit continues to revolve. Rome, personifying non-intellectual and non-spiritual values, necessarily was unable to shape the intellectual or spiritual destinies of the occident.

Throughout the centuries man was tormented by the questions: Is mind but a part of an all-embracing world reason and knowledge produced by the intellect true reality, furnishing absolute certainty, or is the human mind bounded and imprisoned by the five senses, able to produce only a pale, vague, and distorted knowledge of the world and its essence? If the first question is answered in the affirmative, as did the Hellenes since the days of Socrates, then human knowledge is the summa bona of life, error and sin but vulgar ignorance, and God's nature, properties, and attributes knowable. If, however, the second question is answered in the affirmative as did the Hebrews, then man's highest aspiration is the good, sin is not mere error but moral weakness, and the knowledge of God's essence beyond human understanding.

In these pages shall be established that Kant's claim to immortality rests upon his demonstration that man's mind, cannot possibly grasp the essence of things. Consequently, science has sharply known boundaries which delimit the sphere of man's knowledge. From this certainty that knowledge is only relative, it follows that not the true but the good must be man's ultimate aim. In these conclusions Kant recreated, independently, the world concept of ancient Judea rather than that of ancient Greece. In setting forth that the world had a beginning, that it was created in evolutionary stages, that matter preceded organic creation, that man is a citizen of two worlds, and that the crowning triumph of his career will be the establishment of perpetual peace, Kant reproduced the Biblical world picture. Although he is acknowledged to be the peak of western intellectualism, in his own intellectual conclusions he arrives at the certainty that the primacy of life is the good not the true, ethos not logos, spirit not reason, duty not cognition.

In analyzing cognition, its origin and structure, Kant proved that reason is applicable to the physical world only, and cannot be applied to what extends beyond the realm of nature. The existence of such a realm is also the central motive of the major historical religions, particularly Hinduism and Judaism. No matter on how many essentials they may differ, they agree upon the existence of a world lying hidden behind the world of the senses which is not affected by the laws governing the realm of matter. This non-physical, or as Kant calls it, noumenal world, is a purely spiritual expanse from which all realities emanate. From the assumption of the co-existence of these two worlds, the great religions, in consonance with classical philosophy, deduced that everything extended before our physical eye in infinite time and space is mere appearance, phenomenon, and not ultimate reality; and therefore, man's destiny is shaped by his relationship to the spiritual and not the physical domain. More than any other philosopher, Kant concerned himself primarily with man's spiritual destinies.

This interest developed out of his penetrating analysis of human reason. As he came to recognize its limitations he realized that if man selected the true as his supreme aim, he would be unable to lift himself from the depths of blind, brute nature and forever would remain its captive, despite his accumulated knowledge. Intellectualism alone will not advance man's cause. Intellectuality is not the antithesis to brutality. Man may be a living, walking, spouting encyclopedia and still remain an undomesticated brute. Most of the major crimes in history were not planned and executed by ignorant or unschooled men, but by persons of learning and experience. Caesar Borgia, Thomas Torquemada, Catherine de Medici, Maximilien Robespierre, Constantine Pobedonostsev, Paul Djordjinsky were

all intellectually trained persons. Yet their intellectuality did not restrain them from committing such appalling crimes against their fellow men that their authors' names have become synonymous with beastliness, brutality, and bloodthirstiness. Present day continental Europe with its organized systems of education, celebrated academics, and famous seats of learning has been unable to prevent the rise of such cruel and cynical dictators as Mussolini or Hitler. Innumerable instances could be quoted to demonstrate that while the services of the intellect are indispensable in man's struggle with nature, the theoretical mind, producing science, has failed as an agency in man's struggle with himself. It has failed as a character-forming force, or as a means of control over man's instincts and urges. It has contributed to man's physical comfort but not to his ethical salvation.

The principle of the primacy of the intellect not only has disappointed man ethically, but has led him astray metaphysically. If it were to be conceded that man's reason can grasp the essence of things instead of their relations only, that he can explore the non-physical world as readily as the physical, that he can know God and His attributes and can demonstrate the certainty of immortality, the result must be the development of systems of metaphysics which co-mingle the real with the unreal, creating false knowledge, confusing and deluding man's mind. When the medieval theologians described realistically the heart-rending sufferings of the damned in Hell, or portrayed graphically the sensational rewards of the saints in Paradise, or debated excitedly as to the number of angels who could dance on a needle's point without disturbing transcendental traffic, or analyzed critically the strategy of Satan, the lures of Lilith, or the bluster of Belial, they did so out of a conviction that man's reason is all-embracing and can penetrate every sphere of existence. To the medieval religiousists, God's existence

and function could be demonstrated by reason, and strange though it seems, these experts on the penology of Hell and the Nobel Prize in Heaven were thoroughgoing rationalists, inspired by Aristotle and guided by St. Thomas Aquinas. They were addicts of ratioetry, the cult of reason, whose full application led directly to the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition.

Rationalism, the ill-starred offspring of intellectualism, far from serving the interests of its progenitor, in the end, invariably crosses its plans. Throughout the Middle Ages, Christian Europe was dominated by a rigid rationalism, and the period of its rule coincides with the Dark Ages, whose most striking features were intellectual sterility, scientific ignorance, and religious fanaticism. The more medieval man surveyed and explored the transcendental vastnesses, the less concern he displayed in his own poor planet and in the needs, worries, and woes of his fellow man.

It was against this rationalism growing out of the principle of the primacy of the intellect as established in ancient Greece, that Kant raised his voice. Intellectualism, he warned, leads to arrogant rationalism, which in turn necessarily degenerates into doctrinarism, dogmatism, fanaticism, and sedition.

In replacing rationalism with criticism, and intellectualism with ethicism, Kant rendered a three-fold service to the fabric of western life. He evolved a theory of science, which to this very day remains as the foundation of the most advanced scientific principles, including that of relativity; a theory of knowledge culminating in a new grammar of reason; and a new ethics, continuing itself in jurisprudence, politics, and economics. In so doing, he recreated, singlehanded, the totality of man's truth which previously had been divided between the scientist who announced empiric truth;

the philosopher, theoretical truth; and the prophet, spiritual truth. Immanuel Kant is the only figure in western history who functioned as an inventive scientist, creative philosopher, and inspiring prophet. This treble accomplishment reveals him to be the central source of 19th and 20th century culture. Like a triangular beacon casting its rays in three directions, Kant's genius sheds life-giving light on the principal spheres of human creativeness -- science, philosophy, and ethics.



"The Englishman is not intelligent", General Mordacq quotes Clemenceau as saying, "he does not grasp things quickly. He realizes his danger only in the moment of extreme peril. History eternally repeats itself. We have not finished with Germany Any understanding with her is impossible, and England, whether she likes it or not, will be compelled to march with us at the moment of danger in order to defend herself. Despite the misunderstandings and the dissensions that may separate us now, England will be forced to come to France's side exactly as in 1914, at the moment of real danger. We must guard ourselves from rejoicing over anything that weakens England, for it weakens us too, on the day of peril."

"The present reign of terror and international lawlessness began a few years ago. It began through unjustified interference in the internal affairs of other nations or the invasion of alien territory in violation of treaties and has now reached a stage where the very foundations of civilization are seriously threatened....."

"The peace-loving nations must make a concerted effort in opposition to those violations of treaties and those ignorings of humane instincts which today are creating a state of international anarchy and instability from which there is no escape through mere isolation or neutrality....."

On January 6 President Roosevelt in his State of the Union Message to Congress said that he had just ordered the production of 60,000 planes, 45,000 tanks, 30,000 anti-aircraft guns, and 8,000,000 dreadnought tons of ships in 1942; and 135,000 planes, 75,000 tanks, 38,000 anti-aircraft guns, 10,000,000 tons of shipping, and similar increases in other implements of war in 1943 as part of the all-out victory program that will cost \$66,000,000,000 during the coming fiscal year.

"Democracy has disappeared in several other great nations, not because the people of those nations disliked democracy, but because they had grown tired of unemployment and insecurity, of seeing their children hungry while they sat helpless in the face of government confusion, government weakness through lack of leadership in government.... History proves that dictatorships do not grow out of strong and successful governments but out of weak and helpless ones. If by democratic methods people get a government strong enough to protect them from fear and starvation, there democracy grows; but if they do not, they grow impatient. Therefore, the only sure bulwark of continuing liberty is a government strong enough to protect the interests of the people and a people strong enough and well enough informed to maintain its sovereign control over its government.

.....If China had received Anglo-American support in time, China could have been transformed into a military force able to tie Japan down completely and to make her incapable of attacking in any other direction. Anglo-American aid for China in time would have prevented the Japanese conquest of the Southwestern Pacific. China can offer the anti-Japanese coalition a mass army on the Asiatic continent. For more than three years, from the beginning of 1939 to the spring of 1942, the Chinese Army showed not only great tenacity, but also tactical skill and amazing adaptability to all weapons of modern warfare. Well equipped and trained, the Chinese soldier would be superior to the Japanese soldier. China furthermore offers the anti-Japanese coalition a theater of war on the Asiatic continent, and it can tie down large Japanese land forces. It is interesting that the leading Japanese military writer, Tada Ishihara, who called for an attack on Great Britain years ago, regarded the military conquest of China by Japan as an impossibility.



4-11-41

Mankind owes much to its smaller peoples and perhaps most of all to Greece and Judea. Without the precious heritage of these two small nations, civilization would have been deprived of some of its noblest cultural and religious values. It is a grim reflection that World War II has dealt more hardly with these two peoples than perhaps with any other. So far as the Jews are concerned, the horrors visited on the Jewish people of Europe, of whom something like seventy-five per cent have been exterminated under circumstances of the utmost brutality, are without parallel in history. We owe it to the despairing survivors, including tens of thousands who are still, months after liberation, detained in camps under the most degrading and miserable conditions, to re-establish themselves among their own people in Palestine.

At the end of World War I, the victorious Allied powers resolved, in the words of President Wilson, that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth. In pursuance of that policy considerable number of Jews were enabled to establish themselves in their own land. They revived and rebuilt a country fallen into decay. But at the time of their greatest need when Jews were being sent in their hundreds of thousands into the concentration camps and the mass slaughter houses of the Nazis, the Jewish people was faced with the 1939 Palestine White Paper of the British Government and with a ban on further Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine. The one place to which these hopeless victims could claim to go as of right, their own homeland, was closed to them.

This was done by the Chamberlain Government in the name of expediency - in the hope that by the sacrifice of the Jews, Arab terrorists might be appeased.

Now I do not wish to say anything against the Arabs. Scattered over a million square miles of territory in the Middle East, they had for many centuries been under the corrupt and oppressive rule of the old Turkish Empire. As a result of the victory of the Allies in the last war, they have won their freedom. Independent Arab states exist today in Iraq, in Syria, in Lebanon, in Egypt, in Transjordan, and in Saudi Arabia. It is true that in nearly all of these countries the social and economic conditions are wretched in the extreme. While there is a very small class which enjoys wealth and political power, in the great mass the Arab world today is hopelessly backward, poverty stricken and illiterate. Thus the wealthiest and largest of the Arab countries, Egypt, has a population of 16 million of which 85 per cent are illiterate. Great numbers live on the border line of starvation. They are slowly pulling themselves up to better standards but it will take time, much effort on their part, and the support of the Western nations. We are told that we must not carry out the promise to the Jewish people to re-establish their national home in little Palestine, because there will be an explosion in the Middle East, because we will have a holy war on our hands, and great bloodshed. Almost every week now the secretary of the newly-formed Arab League, issues well-publicized threats and warnings in regard to the Palestine situation. But if we are to arrive at a proper decision it is essential that we analyze the position dispassionately and see what it really amounts to and whether we should allow these menacing words to deflect us

from a cause which we conceive to be just.

During the war the Arab world seethed with pro-Axis propaganda as long as the Axis seemed to be winning. In Iraq, an anti-British revolt organized by the Iraqi Prime Minister himself, with the aid of the Mufti of Jerusalem and with the support of German arms and money, took place at a most critical moment of the war. The Iraqi army sought to join hands with the Germans infiltrating Syria. What happened? Two battalions, and I ask you to observe this figure, less than two thousand British and Indian troops put an end to this putsch and placed at the head of the Iraq state a Prime Minister more amenable to British wishes. Is it conceivable that the State of Iraq will today, whatever happens in Palestine, risk such independence as it has by a declaration of war against Great Britain or ourselves? The idea is obviously preposterous.

In Egypt prior to El-Alamein, pro-Italian sentiment in very high quarters was well known. Early in 1942 (and I quote from the New York Times) "British tanks rumbled up to the Palace gates." The king was given the alternative to abdicate or to appoint a Prime Minister favorable to the Allied cause. A new Prime Minister was appointed and his predecessor was placed under house arrest ~~at~~ the end of the war. At about this time too, the Egyptian chief of staff was arrested while seeking to cross over to the enemy lines. Is it conceivable that Egypt, who did not lift a finger in her own defense even when the Axis was outside Alexandria will today seek the arbitrament of arms on the Palestine issue? I would remind you that neither Egypt nor Iraq nor Saudi Arabia, nor any of the other Arab countries have a navy, an air force, armored units or even the beginnings of a modern munitions industry. Before we indulge in a pusillanimous apprehension of these

Arab states whom we ourselves set up, let us at least know what it is that we are appraising. Even such nuisance value as the Arabs might have had during time of war, has today receded to vanishing point. It was with astonishment that I heard suggested in high quarters in this country recently, that we might have to send half a million men to maintain a Jewish Palestine. Surely, this is the sheerest nonsense.

In the present war, Jewish Palestine sent tens of thousands of soldiers into the Jewish units in the British Army, while from all the Arab States, ~~in single~~ ^{few} Arabs came forward to fight in behalf of the cause of democracy. But be that as it may, a squadron of fighter planes based on Palestine or on Cyprus could without difficulty put an end to an Arab invasion of Palestine. What is required is not the transportation and maintenance of a large army from this country or even from Britain. But let there be fixity of purpose, the determination made emphatically clear that force will, if necessary, be available to carry out that purpose; and then the use of that force will become unnecessary.

In many parts of Europe, settlements will have to be made which will subsist only because behind them stands the will and the force of the United Nations. Civilized humanity owes some reparation to the Jewish people. Europe has become for them a giant cemetery, a continent from which the majority of those who have survived, long desperately to escape. They look for a home and welcome among their own people in a land of their own. They are entitled to this small measure of justice.