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181

Box
67

Folder
678

Zionist Organization of America, 1945.

ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AT 48TH ANNUAL
CONVENTION OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA,
HELD IN ATLANTIC CITY, NOVEMBER 18, 1945

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Since we met last, the second world war has come to an end and we have been able to take stock of the enormity of the Jewish disaster in Europe. We are now counting the pitiful gleanings left over after the harvest of death.

Our six million dead are a tragic commentary on the state of Christian morality and the responsiveness of Christian conscience in these days of general moral breakdown and blackout. For many of these slain might have been saved if the democratic nations, especially the United States and Great Britain, had not come to regard the persecution of a minority group as exclusively the domestic affair of the persecuted nation and if they had found room within their extensive borders and had given these doomed human beings at least that same temporary refuge which they gave to enemy war prisoners. The contribution of our own country in the face of this greatest single human holocaust in modern history ^{consisted} ~~consisted~~ in sending representatives to a do-nothing conference on refugees, in belatedly appointing a Committee on Refugees of its own whose accomplishments were insignificant, in sending away from ^{its} ~~our~~ shores a shipload of helpless human beings to find their ultimate doom in the gas chambers of Oswiecm, ^{and} in setting up on the eve of the national elections an American concentration camp for a thousand refugees at Oswego.

Many of these six million innocent victims might have been saved if Great Britain had opened the doors of the Jewish National Home to them and if our own Government, during the five years of war and of the systematic extermination of our people, had pressed Great Britain

in the name of America's moral and legal commitments in the matter ~~in~~ of Palestine to open those doors. Instead of which, our government exerted itself to defeat a Congressional resolution directed to this end and to allay the fears, and to send lend-lease to our dear and beloved friend, Ibn Saud.

We were slaughtered by our enemies. We were betrayed by our friends.

There was nothing which we could do at the end of the war for these, our dear dead. We could not even tend their graves. There are no graves. Such as are found are nameless ones. The ~~adoration~~^{adoration} of our martyrdom is now with God and their remembrance is enshrined forever in the heart of a suffering and a remembering people.

So we turned our attention quickly to the remaining survivors. Surely these would now be saved. The war is over. The military exigencies no longer exist. We were greatly encouraged in our high hopes when the new Labor Government came into office in Great Britain, representing a party which had so often in the past given hearty endorsement to the entire Zionist program, and among whose leaders ~~now~~ in the Cabinet were some of the strongest exponents of our cause. Surely now we could expect quick and resolute action. Our hopes were reinforced when President Truman, on the strength of the excellent study and report of the displaced Jews of Europe made by Dean Harrison, requested Prime Minister Attlee to permit 100,000 Jews, principally from the concentration camps of Europe, to go immediately to Palestine.

But ~~what~~ we had underestimated British imperial cynicism and the callousness of the British Colonial Office. President Truman's request was rejected. We had also overestimated the determination of President Truman. Against his own better judgment he permitted himself to be persuaded to accept from Great Britain the shabby substitute of ~~another~~^{an}

investigation commission -- that hoary and all-true transparent device for delay and circumvention.

On August 31st President Truman wrote to the Prime Minister that "the main solution appears to be in the quick evacuation of as many possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not long be delayed." But he, nevertheless, accepted at face value the representations made to him by the British Government that conditions in Palestine were such that his request could not be granted. He was convinced that "the situation faced by the displaced Jews during the coming winter allows no delay in this matter. And yet he acceded to the delaying device of a Committee of Inquiry, whose findings certainly cannot be made before the end of winter with all the attendant human suffering and possible death.

Why did President Truman yield? Why does our Government in the matter of Palestine always yield, at the expense of the Jews, now to Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British? President Truman went to Potsdam and there discussed with the British the subject of the Jewish Commonwealth ~~xxx~~ to which his party and his predecessors stood squarely committed not to speak of other commitments. Upon his return, President Truman informed the press that he presented at Potsdam our Government's point of view as favoring a Jewish State, but that he had no intention of sending 500,000 American soldiers to establish or to maintain it. Why did the President accept this preposterous propaganda canard of the British? MacArthur does not require that number of troops to police the entire Japanese empire!

Was the President's request for 100,000 certificates just, reasonable, necessary? If so, why did he not insist upon it with all the prestige and authority of his office? Has the American Government no way at all of insisting on what is right? At this very moment Great

Britain is requesting vital help and concessions from our own country.

Why must our Government always accept the skillfully improvised and deftly adjustable British propaganda which is aimed exclusively at maintaining at all costs her imperial interest in the Middle East? Before the war, Washington accepted the thesis that Jewish rights in Palestine must not be implemented for fear of driving the Arabs into the arms of Mussolini and Hitler. During the war Washington was persuaded that the illegal restrictions upon Jewish immigration which were costing tens of thousands of Jewish lives should not be relaxed, lest we endanger our military lines of communication in North Africa and the Mediterranean. Since the close of the war Washington had been accepting the latest British propaganda line that the curtailment of Jewish rights in Palestine must be continued indefinitely, lest we drive the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet Union!

It now appears that British propaganda has hit upon another cunning and effective propaganda line. It revealed itself boldly in Mr. Bevin's speech the other day. I am sure we shall soon hear its echoes in Washington. The Zionists are trying to set up a racial state in Palestine. A racial state is very unpopular in the world today! It smacks of Nazi race obsessions. It would be a crushing blow to Zionist aspirations if this odious label could be tagged on them, since the term Jewish which they employ in speaking of a Jewish State also refers to the Jewish race. It was always understood that the ~~Max~~ Zionists were seeking to re-establish the Jewish National Home in accordance with the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Mr. Bevin now exposes them as conspired ^{my} to set up a racial state from which, presumably, peoples of other races will be excluded or denied equal rights of citizenship. The entire problem is racial, declares Mr. Bevin. Zionism is inciting racial antagonisms. Even the Jews in Europe are overemphasizing their racial position. They should assimilate. "All

nations are frightened of racial developments within their states and the Jews, therefore, present a very difficult problem, indeed." What Mr. Bevin ~~has~~ uttered in a rather confused ~~and~~ blustering manner concerning race and assimilation is intended not to read mankind a much needed lesson in racial tolerance and Christian brotherhood, a preaching role which the British Foreign Office now ~~is~~ busily engaged in killing Javanese in Sarabaya, might well forego for the moment, ^{but} to prepare the Jews of Palestine for the denial of statehood and for the role of ~~any~~ permanent minority in an Arab-dominated Palestine, ^{the} Jews of Palestine are not even to constitute a national minority. They are to assimilate in a Palestine state.

Mr. Bevin had looked through all the papers on the subject, he states, and he found that "we never undertook to establish a Jewish State, but we did undertake to establish a Jewish Home." I do not know what papers Mr. Bevin read. He certainly could not have read the Balfour Declaration, ~~xxx~~ for that paper speaks not of a Jewish Home, but of a Jewish National Home. The key word, the undeletable, ^{the inalienable word} is National. Palestine was to become, as it once was, not the home of a certain number of Jews, ~~but~~ ^{namely} carefully restricted to ensure that they will forever ~~be~~ a minority, but the National Home of the Jewish people. Mr. Bevin certainly could not have read the Palestine Mandate, nor the report of the British Government's ~~Stannex~~ own Royal Commission, which stated that the primary objective of the Mandate was the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

What papers did Mr. Bevin read? Did he read what the great British statesmen said about the Jewish Commonwealth and the Jewish State at the time when the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate ~~was~~ were issued? Or did he read what the members of his own party and his own party platform declared year after year? Mr. Bevin has

clearly been reading the wrong kind of papers.

Zionism is a national movement, not a racial movement. It aims to rebuild the ancestral home of Israel into a democratic state in which all men, regardless of race or creed, will enjoy full and equal rights of citizenship. Our movement has declared its position on this subject clearly and officially time and again. We are not interested in a racial state or a theocratic state. Only in a state wherein the Jews will constitute a majority of the population so as to enjoy that measure of security which Jews as a minority everywhere do not possess.

The British Labor Party, Mr. Bevin's own party, understands this thoroughly. Last year at its annual conference, it adopted a ~~xxx~~ plank on Palestine which reads: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to ~~xxxxxxx~~ letting the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority." Mr. Bevin is determined that this should not be. To avert such a dreadful eventuality, his government has even ~~xxxx~~ refused the request for the admission of 100,000 Jews, which certainly would not have made the Jews of Palestine ~~xxxx~~ a majority of the population.

He recognizes that there is a problem of displaced Jews in Europe, although he seems to be less disturbed and moved about their plight than about the present ~~plight~~ plight of the Germans and the Nazis for whom he has copious tears to shed. The displaced Jews of Europe ~~xxxx~~ should be taken care of in some manner. They should be helped to emigrate, if they desire, but Palestine can be counted on to make only a small contribution to the solution of ~~xxxxxx~~ this problem. "It does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the whole problem." This, of course, is the total acceptance of the Arab position. Jewish refugees have no special claim on Palestine. It is not a Jewish National Home. They should be helped to emigrate elsewhere.

But Zionism is not a refugee movement. It is not a product of the second world war, nor of the first. It is the product of our millennial national homelessness since our Dispersion, and its sole correct solution.

Were there no present displaced Jews in Europe and were there free opportunities for Jewish immigration in other ~~xxxx~~ parts of the world at this time, Zionism would still be an imperative necessity. There were many opportunities for immigration in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th when our movement was organized and developed.

All the centuries of Dispersion and the recurrent incidents of persecution and exploration have persuaded the Jewish people that in order to normalize its position in the world and to gain a measure of security, it needs a country ~~fixing~~ of its own. During the first world war and shortly thereafter, the nations of the world recognized the soundness and justice of this position. The results were the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Their aim was to give or to restore to the Jewish people ^a ~~the~~ country of their own and to put an end to their national homelessness. The present Bevin animadversions, fortunately a not yet ^{fixed} ~~focused~~ policy, ignore all this. They would re-
^{cast} ~~cognize~~ the Jewish problem as a temporary refuge ~~one~~, ~~xx~~ and Palestine as one of a number of places to which the presently displaced Jews of Europe might emigrate. This is why he is so bitter and impatient with Zionism. This is why he talks with such vehemence of assimilation. And that is why he has so sharply ^{approved restricted} ~~defined~~ the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry. It is not to study the problem of Jewish national homelessness and the international commitments which were made to solve it through the establishment of a Jewish State, ^{if} ~~which~~ is limited in its inquiry solely to an ~~examination~~ of the position of the Jews in the countries of ~~xxxx~~ Europe where they had been the victims of Nazi and

Fascist persecution, ~~but~~ to estimate how many of them wish to, or have to, emigrate to Palestine or other countries outside of Europe, and to study the conditions in Palestine as they ~~appear~~ bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration.

Mr. Bevin is hoping to have ^{this} ~~his~~ new interpretation of his, aiming at the liquidation of the Jewish National Home, accepted by certain sections of Jewry other than the Zionists. When Great Britain decided to issue the Balfour Declaration, it addressed itself to the President of the Zionist Organization of Great Britain. It knew then the correct address ^{to which one should address himself} when one wishes to contact the Jewish people. The Zionist address is still the correct one. There is no other. Mr. Bevin may succeed in finding a few Quislings here and there and their paper organizations who may collaborate with him, but the Jewish people will spurn and reject these Quislings, ^{people be they Quislings or Renegades} as all other self-respecting and freedom-loving peoples have done. This latest application of the well-known manouver of power politics to divide, confuse, rule or ruin will not work.

And in this connection we should like to inform our own Government of the correct address to which to address inquiries in which the Jews of America and the Jews of the world are involved, There are ^{available} authorized spokesmen of American Jewry. They are not to be found, however, among the few rich Jews who attach themselves to political parties and governments, but who possess absolutely no mandate to speak for organized American Jewry. Nor are the few Jews who chance to be in government service or next door to government officials in high places ~~xx~~ our chosen and authorized spokesmen. They have no right to speak for or to represent the Jews of America. Frequently they abuse their position by misrepresenting them. We have had poor luck with Jews close to government throughout our history. There was one rare ex-

ception and it was so rare that we made a yomtov of it -- the yomtov of Purim.

There are large democratically organized Jewish bodies in the United States which have ^{earned} ~~carried~~ the confidence and which represent the wishes of large sections of American Jewry. During the war these organizations formed themselves into an overall American Jewish Conference to voice collective judgment of American Jewry at problems created for our people by the war. It is therefore passing strange and not a little disturbing that in such a matter of deep concern to American Jewry and to world Jewry is the appointment of the Joint Committee of Inquiry to investigate the plight of the displaced Jews of Europe and their resettlement in Palestine and elsewhere, ^{our} ~~our~~ Government did not deem it advisable even to consult with the American Jewish Conference, ^{or with the American Zionist Emergency Council} which represents all the organized Zionist bodies in this country, whose membership runs up into the hundreds of thousands and which ^{has} ~~have~~ for many years been concerning ^{themselves} ~~themselves~~ itself with this very problem, the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine and the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

~~xxxxxxx~~ Why must authorized Jewish leaders be kept in the dark on matters which directly concern their people? Why must they be forced into the position of ~~xxxx~~ criticizing ^{then} government action after they are announced, when they might have been helpful in avoiding mistakes before action was taken?

^{I speak as an individual but I feel that I voice the thought of many of you}
We cannot approve of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry. We regard it, as it has come to be regarded generally by the American public, as a disastrous substitute for action immediately imperative. It is clear from Mr. Bevin's ~~xxxxxxx~~ covering statements that his primary purpose was not to help the distressed Jews of Europe but to liquidate Zionist aspirations in Palestine. We cannot therefore be

bound by the findings of any such committee. The Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization will have to determine whether, in

view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it can in any way cooperate with it. *As for my side self, I shall urge upon my colleagues absolute non-cooperation.* Had there been any good faith and humanity

behind this proposal, it would have been preambled by the announcement that at least those tens of thousands of Jews *who are* in the most desperate circumstances in Europe, would be immediately enabled to go to Palestine, while the larger problem of the remaining million and more, as well as the permanent solution which is to be submitted to the United Nations, *was* being studied. To consign tens of thousands of men, women and children to needless suffering and possible death, while awaiting an ad interim recommendation of a Committee of Inquiry when their tragic plight is all too well established and a haven of refuge is readied to receive them, is something which should give the statesmen in the United States and Great Britain who fathered this scheme many a sleepless night.

There has been violent reaction to this latest attempt to prolong the ~~long~~ iniquities of the White Paper all over the Jewish world. In Palestine there has been rioting. These riots, according to the British, is the work of terrorists. Whoever opposes British imperialism, *of course* whether in Java, India or Palestine, is a terrorist. ~~Whoever~~ Similarly, whoever takes the British solemn pledges seriously and at their face value, must be regarded as an extremist. Of course we deplore riots. But we deplore even more governmental policies which incite the riots and we hold those who make and enforce such policies as primarily responsible for them.

A year ago at the Zionist Convention here in Atlantic City, I expressed my opinion ~~fixxx~~ to the assembled delegates that it was necessary from every point of view, -even from the purely philanthropic-rescue-refuge point of view -- to reassert in the clearest possible terms our

basic legal and historic rights to Palestine, Rights which were fully understood ~~and included~~ 25 years ago but which in the interim had been whittled down, legalistically twisted and distorted, and by the most violent dialectics reduced in such a way that were the present policy to remain in force, Palestine far from ever becoming a Jewish National Home would, in fact, become an Arab national home in which the Jews would ~~constitute~~ constitute a ~~small and~~ small and permanent minority, possessed of such minority group rights as ~~they~~ ^{Jews} possessed after the last war ~~where~~ ⁱⁿ some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and which proved such broken reeds to lean on.

I urge that we should not put our case primarily on a refugee or an asylum basis, and that on the eve of the great international adjustments and orientations which the second world war was destined to bring about and at the time when tremendous decisions would undoubtedly be made affecting the future of nations, large and small, it would be the height of folly to confine our demands to a matter ~~of~~ of immigration schedules and certificates and not to present our full case and our basic historical needs and rights to the Tribunal of America and world public opinion. I cautioned against the danger of refugeeism destroying Zionism. I expressed the conviction that large-scale Jewish immigration would never be permitted until the political status of Palestine is determined and our rights there reaffirmed.

What has transpired in recent weeks fully confirms this position which I and others ~~stood~~ ^{took}. It was strategically false and it still is to concentrate in our Zionist propaganda on the present plight of the Jews of Europe and on the need of finding a refuge for them in Palestine.

It also justifi~~es~~ the criticism which was made of the Agency's request last June for 100,000 certificates, instead of letting its case rest on the May Memorandum, ~~xxx~~ which it had presented to the British Government, wherein the fulfillment of the total Zionist program was called for in conformity with solemn international pledges. ~~xxxxxxx~~ The certificate Memorandum obscured and blacked out the political memorandum, as it was certain to do. ~~The plan by~~ ^{Even} ~~which~~ President Truman's request for 100,000 certificates has ~~also~~ backfired. Not only were these certificates not granted, but the attention of the world was focused not on the imperative need ~~xxx~~ to permit the Jewish people to carry on with the building of their National Home in Palestine, not even on the problem of ~~a~~ ^{the} million and a quarter Jews who remained in utter security in Europe, but solely on the problem of 100,000 Jews. The Joint Committee of Inquiry could never have been suggested within the framework of ~~such~~ ^{to} terms of reference if we had not made the saving of refugees our principal argument and objective. We tried to make it easier for ourselves; We ~~have~~ ^{did}, in fact, made it harder for ourselves.

There is no doubt but that we have suffered a serious setback. There have been others. We had placed high hopes on our own Government. These hopes have so far not materialized. At our ~~last~~ last Convention, President Roosevelt's pledge to work for the realization of the Jewish Commonwealth brought gladness to our hearts. Two months later President Roosevelt advised Congressional leaders not to ^{vote out} ~~approve~~ ~~of~~ the Palestine resolution. And some Zionist leaders collaborated in seeing that these resolutions were definitely shelved. You know the story. President Roosevelt's high hopes that he could serve our cause best by personally handling the matter with Ibn Saud ^{did not work out} ~~that~~ story, too, is now common knowledge. The greatest country on earth,

without whose financial aid, public and private, through oil royalties, to ~~the Arab chieftain's~~ ^{his} regime, could not last a year -- capitulated in five ~~months~~ ^{minutes} to the threats of Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud is at this moment pleading for advance royalties to keep ~~his~~ ^{of his country} tottering economic position from collapsing utterly. President Roosevelt found no ways of telling Ibn Saud that the affair of Palestine is none of his concern, that Great Britain and the United States, as well as fifty other nations, ~~have been~~ ^{are} committed to establish there ~~a~~ ^{the} Jewish Commonwealth; that the United States and Great Britain stand ready to help in the development of all the Arab lands and in helping their peoples, but that ~~it~~ ^{this} must not and will not be done at the expense of the Jewish people and a Jewish Palestine.

President Roosevelt in his correspondence with Ibn Saud unfortunately announced a new line which is to guide America's relations to Palestine. No decision will be taken without consulting the Arabs. ~~And he~~ did not even specify which Arabs, the Arabs of Palestine or ~~of~~ ^{all the} Arabs of the world. Secretary State Byrnes subsequently ~~in-~~ ^{proclaimed} ~~plemented~~ this line as the official line of our State Department and Mr. Byrnes quotes this ~~policy~~ ^{fact} in his statement. But the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate make no such provisos at all.

How tremendously helpful it would be today had the Palestine resolution been adopted! What a directive it would be to the American members of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry, or to our delegates at the future sessions of the United Nations Organization, when the question of Palestine will come up.

There is another Palestine resolution now pending in Congress. Its future is uncertain. It is deeply regrettable that the first active participation of our Government in a matter directly related to Palestine will now come through this Committee of ~~Investigation~~ ^{Investiga-} tion which we regard with utmost distrust and which fills us with

I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in at the Com. 7 meeting. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the fate of the deposed Jews of Europe, and surely the friendship of the United States cannot find their complete solution without the Soviet will and helpful cooperation, their closest and most powerful neighbor.

There is clearly much work mapped out for us for the days to come, more intensified, more expanded and more determined. It is clear that the permanent solution of the Palestine problem will be referred to the United Nations Organization. We must prepare the minds ~~xxxx~~ of the leaders of the ~~xxxx~~ ^{nations} needs of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly ~~presented~~ ^{understood} and our cause adequately supported. ~~xxx~~ There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. Our propaganda must now take on a global character.

The Arab League is intensifying its activities and is opening offices in many centers. It enjoys the advantage of Arab legations in the principal capitals of the world. The Arab League enjoys the blessing of the British Foreign Office. Mr. Bevin states that the Arabs are meeting him very well and he thanks them for it. Why shouldn't they? He has become their chief protagonist. They are even glad to help him along by staging riots in Cairo, Alexandria and Tripoli, and by killing Jews in order to persuade the world that he is right about Zionism. Collaboration can go no further! Perhaps the crowning symbol of this collaboration will be the triumphant return of the war criminal and Axis propagandist, the Mufti of Jerusalem -- for which the British Intelligence Chief in Cairo, General Clayton, reportedly, has already requested.

Foreign mission groups in the United States have also become active in behalf of the Arabs. This organized propaganda by the missionary bodies is ~~xxx~~ influenced by the forces of the University of Beirut. The recent statement issued by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on the Palestine ^{question} not only ~~possesses~~ ^{possession} a Jewish State in Palestine but also essentially supports keeping the

doors of Palestine closed to the Jews. The role of oil interests of America in working behind the scenes against us has been discussed time and again in the public press. We have powerful enemies — but we have a just cause and an inescapable necessity.

Our propaganda should be directed ~~at~~ more than it has been in the past to the non-Jewish world. If our Government is to assume the responsibility of a more definite role in the Near East and in Palestine, it will need the backing of an enlightened public opinion. The work of the American Christian Palestine Committee and of the Christian Council On Palestine should be largely expanded. American academic circles should be more intensively cultivated, as well as American commercial and industrial organizations.

Above all, our Government should be encouraged ^{to take an independent} ~~an~~ intelligent and friendly attitude towards our movement, which is in complete consonance with American interests in the Near East, with the American legal commitments, and with the oft-expressed favorable opinion of the American people. As we approach the final hour of decision, we can no longer be satisfied with promises which are never translated into action and with vague and nebulous expressions of good will towards us.

It will be a long hard pull. Battle days are ahead of us. If we maintain morale, if we use good judgment, if we make maximum sacrifices for our cause in time and labor and substance, if we ^{remain} are unafraid, we shall ~~be victorious~~ by the grace of God, win through to victory.

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The Zionist Road Ahead

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Jewish Spectator Dec. 1945

SINCE WE met last, the second world war has come to an end and we have been able to take stock of the enormity of the Jewish disaster in Europe. We are now counting the pitiful gleanings left over after the harvest of death.

Our six million dead are a tragic commentary on the state of Christian morality and the responsiveness of Christian conscience in these days of general moral breakdown and blackout. For many of these slain might have been saved . . . The contribution of our own country in the face of this greatest single human holocaust in modern history consisted in sending representatives to a do-nothing conference on refugees, in belatedly appointing a Committee for Refugees of its own whose accomplishments were insignificant, in sending away from its shores a shipload of helpless human beings to find their ultimate doom in the gas chambers of Osciencim and in setting up on the eve of a national election an American concentration camp for a thousand refugees at Oswego.

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the war for these, our dear dead. We could not even tend their graves. There are no graves. Such as are found are nameless ones. The portion of our martyrs is now with God and their remembrance is enshrined forever in the heart of a suffering and a remembering people.

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tine for the denial of statehood and for the role of a permanent minority in an Arab-dominated Palestine. The Jews of Palestine are not even to constitute a national minority. They are to assimilate in a Palestine state.

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What "papers" did Mr. Bevin read? Did he read what the great British statesmen said about the Jewish Commonwealth and the Jewish State at the time when the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were issued? Or did he read what the members of his own party and his own party platform declared year after year? Mr. Bevin has clearly been reading the wrong kind of papers.

ZIONISM IS a national movement, not a racial movement. It aims to rebuild the ancestral home of Israel into a democratic state in which all men, regardless of race or creed, will enjoy full and equal rights of citizenship. Only in a state wherein the Jews will constitute a majority of the population will they enjoy that measure of security which Jews as a minority everywhere do not possess.

The British Labor Party understands this thoroughly. Last year at its annual conference, it adopted a plank on Palestine which reads: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to letting the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority." Mr. Bevin is determined that this should not be. To avert such a dreadful eventuality, his government has even refused the request for the admission of 100,000 Jews, which certainly would not have made the Jews of Palestine a majority of the population.

He recognizes that there is a problem of displaced Jews in Europe, although he seems to be less disturbed and moved about their plight than about the present plight of the Germans and the nazis for whom he has copious tears to shed. The displaced Jews of Europe should be taken care of in some manner. They should be helped to emigrate, if they desire, but Palestine can be counted on to make only a small contribution to the solution of this problem. "It does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the whole problem." This, of course, is the total acceptance of the Arab position. Jewish refugees have no special claim on Palestine. It is not a Jewish National Home. They should be helped to emigrate elsewhere.

But Zionism is not a refugee movement. It is not a product of the second world war, nor of the first. It is the product of our millennial national homelessness since our dispersion, and its sole correct solution.

Were there at present no displaced Jews in Europe and were there free opportunities for Jewish immigration in other parts of the world at this time, Zionism would still be an imperative necessity. There were many opportunities for immigration in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th when our movement was organized and developed.

All the centuries of Dispersion and the recurrent incidents of persecution and exploration have persuaded the Jewish people that in order to normalize its position in the world and to gain a measure of security, it needs a country of its own. During the first world war and shortly thereafter, the nations of the world recognized the soundness and justice of this position. The results were the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Their aim was to give or to restore to the Jewish people a country of their own and to put an end to their national homelessness. The present Bevin animadversions, fortunately a not yet fixed policy, ignore all this. They would recast the Jewish problem as a temporary refugee problem and Palestine as one of a number of places to which the presently displaced Jews of Europe might emigrate. This is why he is so bitter and impatient with Zionism.

Mr. Bevin is hoping to have this new interpretation of his aiming at the liquidation of the Jewish National Home, accepted by certain sections of Jewry other than the Zionists. When Great Britain decided to issue the Balfour Declaration, it addressed itself to the President of the Zionist Organization of Great Britain. It knew then the correct address to which one should address himself when one wishes to contact the Jewish people. The Zionist address is still the correct one. There is no other. Mr. Bevin may succeed in finding a few Quislings here and there and their paper organizations who may collaborate with him, but the Jewish people will spurn and reject these people, be they known as Quislings or Rosenwalds, as all other self-respecting and freedom-loving peoples have done. This latest application of the well-known maneuver of power politics to divide, confuse, rule or ruin will not work.

And in this connection we should like to inform our own Government of the correct address to which to address inquiries in which the Jews of America and the Jews of the world are involved. There are available authorized spokesmen of American Jewry. They are not to be found, however, among the few rich Jews who attach themselves to political parties and governments, but who possess absolutely no mandate to speak for organized American Jewry. Nor are the few Jews who chance to be in government service or next door to government officials in high places our chosen and authorized spokesmen. They have no right to speak for or to represent the Jews of America. Frequently they abuse their position by misrepresenting them. We have had poor luck with Jews close to government throughout our history. There was one rare exception and it was so rare that we made a yomtov of it—Purim.

WE CANNOT approve of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry. We regard it, as it has come to be regarded generally by the American public, as a disastrous substitute for action immediately imperative. It is clear from Mr. Bevin's covering statements that his primary purpose was not to help the distressed Jews of Europe but to liquidate Zionist aspirations in Palestine. We cannot therefore be bound by the finding of any such committee. The Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization will have to determine whether, in view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it can in any way cooperate with it. Had there been any good faith and humanity behind this proposal, it would have been preambled by the announcement that at least those tens of thousands of Jews who are in the most desperate circumstances in Europe, would be immediately enabled to go to Palestine, while the larger problem of the remaining million and more, as well as the permanent solution which is to be submitted to the United Nations were being studied. To consign tens of thousands of men, women and children to needless suffering and possible death, while awaiting an ad interim recommendation of a Committee of Inquiry when their tragic plight is all too well established and a haven of refuge is ready to receive them, is something which should give the statesmen in the United States and Great Britain who fathered this scheme many a sleepless night.

There has been violent reaction to this latest attempt to prolong the iniquities of the White Paper all over the Jewish world. In Palestine there has been rioting. These riots, according to the British, is the work of terrorists. Whoever opposes British imperialism, whether in Java, India or Palestine, is of course a terrorist. Similarly, whoever takes the British solemn pledges seriously and at their face value, must be regarded as an extremist. Of course we deplore riots. But we deplore even more governmental policies which incite to riots and we hold those who make and enforce such policies as primarily responsible for them.

I URGE THAT we should not put our case primarily on a refugee or an asylum basis, and that on the eve of the great international adjustments and orientations which the second world war was destined to bring about and at the time when tremendous decisions would undoubtedly be made affecting the future of nations, large and small, it would be the height of folly to confine our demands to a matter of immigration schedules and certificates and not to present our full case and our basic historical needs and rights to the tribunal of American and world public opinion. I cautioned against the danger of refugeeism destroying Zionism. I expressed the conviction that large-scale Jewish immigration would never be permitted until the political status of Palestine is determined and our rights there reaffirmed.

What has transpired in recent weeks fully confirms this position which I and others took. It was strategically false and it still is to concentrate in our Zionist propaganda on the present plight of the Jews of Europe and on the need of finding a refuge for them in Palestine.

(Continued on page 27)

THE ZIONIST ROAD AHEAD

(Continued from page 6)

It also justifies the criticism which was made of the Agency's request last June for 100,000 certificates, instead of letting its case rest on the May Memorandum, which it had presented to the British Government, wherein the fulfillment of the total Zionist program was called for in conformity with solemn international pledges. The certificate memorandum obscured and blocked out the political memorandum, as it was certain to do. Even President Truman's request for 100,000 certificates has backfired. Not only were these certificates not granted, but the attention of the world was focused not on the imperative need to permit the Jewish people to carry on with the building of their National Home in Palestine, not even on the problem of the million and a quarter Jews who remain in utter insecurity in Europe, but solely on the problem of 100,000 Jews. The Joint Committee of Inquiry could never have been suggested within the framework of its terms of reference if we had not made the saving of refugees our principal argument and objective. We tried to make it easier for ourselves; we have, in fact, made it harder for ourselves.

There is no doubt but that we have suffered a serious setback. There have been others. We had placed high hopes on our own Government. These hopes have so far not materialized. At our last Convention, President Roosevelt's pledge to work for the realization of the Jewish Commonwealth brought gladness to our hearts. Two months later President Roosevelt advised Congressional leaders not to vote out the Palestine resolution. And some Zionist leaders collaborated in seeing that these resolutions were definitely shelved. President Roosevelt's high hopes that he could serve our cause best by personally handling the matter with Ibn Saud did not materialize. The greatest country on earth, without whose financial aid, public and private, through oil royalties, his regime could not last a year—capitulated in five minutes to the threats of Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud is at this moment pleading for advance royalties to keep the tottering economic position of his country from collapsing utterly. President Roosevelt found no way of telling Ibn Saud that the affair of Palestine is none of his concern, that Great Britain and the United States, as well as fifty other nations, are committed to establish there the Jewish Commonwealth; that the United States and Great Britain stand ready to help in the development of all the Arab lands and in helping their peoples, but that this must and will not be done at the expense of the Jewish people and a Jewish Palestine.

President Roosevelt in his correspondence with Ibn Saud unfortunately announced a new line which is to guide America's relations to Palestine. No decision will be taken without consulting the Arabs. He did not even specify which Arabs, the Arabs of Palestine or of all the Arabs of the world. Secretary of State Byrnes subsequently proclaimed this line as the official line of our State Department and Mr. Byrnes quotes this fact in his statement. But the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate make no such provisions at all.

How tremendously helpful it would be today had the Palestine resolution been adopted! What a directive it

would be to the American members of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry, or to our delegates at the future sessions of the United Nations Organization, when the question of Palestine will come up!

There is another Palestine resolution now pending in Congress. Its future is uncertain. It is deeply regrettable that the first active participation of our Government in a matter directly related to Palestine will now come through this Committee of Investigation which we regard with utmost distrust and which fills us with apprehension.

THERE IS clearly much work mapped out for us for the days to come, more intensified, more expanded and more determined. It is clear that the permanent solution of the Palestine problem will be referred to the United Nations Organization. We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in on the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the goodwill and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character.

The Arab League is intensifying its activities and is opening offices in many centers. It enjoys the advantage of Arab legations in the principal capitals of the world. The Arab League enjoys the blessing of the British Foreign Office. Mr. Bevin states that the Arabs are meeting him very well and he thanks them for it. Why shouldn't they? He has become their chief protagonist. They are even glad to help him along by staging riots in Cairo, Alexandria and Tripoli, and by killing Jews in order to persuade the world that he is right about Zionism. Collaboration can go no further! Perhaps the crowning symbol of this collaboration will be the triumphant return of that war criminal and Axis propagandist, the Mufti to Jerusalem — for which the British Intelligence Chief in Cairo, General Clayton, reportedly, has already requested.

Foreign mission groups in the United States have also become active in behalf of the Arabs. This organized propaganda by the missionary bodies is influenced by the forces of the University of Beirut. The recent statement issued by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on the Palestine Question not only opposes a Jewish State in Palestine but also essentially supports keeping the doors of Palestine closed to the Jews. The role of oil interests of America in working behind the scenes against us has been discussed time and again in the public press. We have powerful enemies—but we have a just cause and an inescapable necessity.

It will be a long hard pull. Battle days are ahead of us. If we maintain morale, if we use good judgment, if we make maximum sacrifices for our cause in time and labor and substance, if we remain unafraid, we shall, by the grace of God, win through to victory.

FROM THE ADDRESS DELIVERED BY DR. SILVER AT THE ZOA
CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY ON NOVEMBER 18, 1945

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We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the goodwill and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character.

"We Were Slaughtered by Our Enemies; We Were Betrayed by Our Friends."

Dr. Silver's Stirring Analysis of The Present Political Situation

Complete text of Dr. Silver's address to the delegates of the 48th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America.

SINCE we met last, the Second World War has come to an end and we have been able to take stock of the enormity of the Jewish disaster in Europe. We are now counting the pitiful gleanings left over after the harvest of death.

Over six million dead are a tragic commentary on the state of Christian morality and the responsiveness of Christian conscience in these days of general moral breakdown and black-out. For many of these slain might have been saved if the democratic nations, especially the United States and Great Britain, had not come to regard the persecution of a minority group as exclusively the domestic affair of the persecuting nation and if they had found room within their extensive borders and had given that doomed human beings at least that same temporary refuge which they gave to enemy war prisoners. The contribution of our own country in the face of this greatest single human holocaust in modern history consisted in sending representatives to a do-nothing conference on refugees, in belatedly appointing a Committee on Refugees of its own whose accomplishments were insignificant, in sending away from its shores a shipload of helpless human beings to find their ultimate doom in the gas chambers of Oswiecim and in setting up on the eve of a national election an American concentration camp for a thousand refugees at Oswego.

Zionism Betrayed

Many of these six million victims might have been saved if Great Britain had opened the doors of the Jewish National Home to them and if our own Government, during the five years of war and of the systematic extermination of our people, had pressed Great Britain in the name of America's moral and legal commitments in the matter of Palestine to open those doors. Instead of which, our Government exerted itself to defeat a Congressional resolution directed to this end and to allay the fears, and to send lend-lease to our dear and beloved friend, Ibn Saud.

We were slaughtered by our enemies. We were betrayed by our friends.

There was nothing which we could do at the end of the war for these, our dear dead. We could not even tend their graves. The portion of our martyrs is now with God and their remembrance is enshrined forever in the heart of a suffering and a remembering people.

Shabby Substitute Offered

So we turned our attention quickly to the remaining survivors. Surely these would now be saved. The war is over. The military exigencies no longer exist. We were greatly encouraged in our high hopes when the new Labor Government came into office in Great Britain, representing a party which had so often in the past given hearty endorsement to the entire Zionist program, and among whose leaders in the Cabinet were some of the strongest exponents of our cause. Surely now we could expect quick and resolute action. Our hopes were reinforced when President Truman, on the strength of the excellent study and report of the displaced Jews of Europe made by Dean Harrison, requested Prime Minister Attlee to permit 100,000 Jews, principally from the concentration camps of Europe, to go immediately to Palestine.

But we had underestimated British imperial cynicism and the callousness of the British Colonial Office. President Truman's request was rejected. We had also overestimated the determination of President Truman. Against his own better judgment he permitted himself to be persuaded to accept from Great Britain the shabby substitute of an investigation commission — that hoary and all-too-transparent device for delay and circumvention.

United States Yields

On August 31st President Truman wrote to the Prime Minister that "the main solution appears to be in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not long be delayed." But he, nevertheless, accepted at face value the representations made to him by the British Government that conditions in Palestine were such that his request could not be granted. He was convinced that "the situation faced by displaced Jews during the coming winter allows no delay in this matter." And yet he acceded to the delaying device of a Committee of Inquiry, whose findings certainly cannot be made before the end of winter with all the attendant human suffering and possible death.

Why did President Truman yield? Why does our Government in the matter of Palestine always yield, at the expense of the Jews, now to Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British? President Truman went to Potsdam and there discussed with the British the subject of the Jewish Commonwealth to which his party and his predecessor stood squarely committed, not to speak of other commitments. Upon his return, President Truman informed the press that he presented at Potsdam our Government's point of view as favoring a Jewish State, but that he had no intention of sending 500,000 American soldiers to establish or to maintain it. Why did the President accept this preposterous propaganda canard of the British? MacArthur does not require that number of troops to police the entire Japanese empire!

Misled by British Propaganda

Was the President's request for 100,000 certificates just, reasonable, necessary? If so, why did he not insist upon it with all the prestige and authority of his office? Has the American Government no way at all of insisting on what is right? At this very moment Great Britain is requesting vital help and concessions from our own country.

Why must our Government always accept the skillfully improvised and deftly adjustable British propaganda which is aimed exclusively at maintaining at all costs her imperial interests in the Middle East? Before the war, Washington accepted the thesis that Jewish rights in Palestine must not be implemented for fear of driving the Arabs into the arms of Mussolini and Hitler. During the war Washington was persuaded that the illegal restrictions upon Jewish immigration which were costing tens of thousands of Jewish lives should not be relaxed, lest we endanger our military lines of communication in North Africa and the Mediterranean. Since the close of the war Washington had been accepting the latest British propaganda line that the curtailment of Jewish rights in Palestine must be continued indefinitely, lest we drive the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet Union!

Vicious Misrepresentation

It now appears that British propaganda has hit upon another cunning and effective propaganda line. It revealed itself boldly in Mr. Bevin's speech the other day. I am sure we

shall soon hear its echoes in Washington. The Zionists are trying to set up a racial state in Palestine. A racial state is very unpopular in the world today. It smacks of Nazi race obsessions. It would be a crushing blow to Zionist aspirations if this odious label could be tagged on them, since the term Jewish which they employ in speaking of a Jewish State also refers to the Jewish race. It was always understood that the Zionists were seeking to re-establish the Jewish National Home in accordance with the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. Mr. Bevin now exposes them as conspiring to set up a racial state from which, presumably, peoples of other races will be excluded or denied equal rights of citizenship. The entire problem is racial, declares Mr. Bevin. Zionism is inciting racial antagonisms. Even the Jews in Europe are over-emphasizing their racial position. They should assimilate. "All nations are frightened of racial developments within their states and the Jews, therefore, present a very difficult problem, indeed." What Mr. Bevin uttered in a rather confused and blustering manner concerning race and assimilation is intended not to read mankind a much-needed lesson in racial tolerance and Christian brotherhood, a preaching role which the British Foreign Office, now busily engaged in killing Javanese in Sarabaya, might well forego for the moment, but to prepare the Jews of Palestine for the denial of statehood and for the role of a permanent minority in an Arab-dominated Palestine. The Jews of Palestine are not even to constitute a national minority. They are to assimilate in a Palestine state.

Disregard of the Record

Mr. Bevin had looked through all the papers on the subject, he states, and he found that "we never undertook to establish a Jewish State, but we did undertake to establish a Jewish Home." I do not know what papers Mr. Bevin read. He certainly could not have read the Balfour Declaration, for that paper speaks not of a Jewish Home, but of a Jewish National Home. The key word, the unalterable, the inalienable word is National. Palestine was to become, as it once was, not the home of a certain number of Jews, carefully restricted to ensure that they will forever remain a minority, but the National Home of the Jewish people. Mr. Bevin certainly could not have read the Palestine Mandate, nor the report of the British Government's own Royal Commission, which stated that the primary objective of the Mandate was the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

What papers did Mr. Bevin read? Did he read what the great British statesman said about the Jewish Commonwealth and the Jewish State at the time when the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were issued? Or did he read what the members of his own party and his own party platform declared year after year? Mr. Bevin has clearly been reading the wrong kind of papers.

True Position of Zionism

Zionism is a national movement, not a racial movement. It aims to rebuild the ancestral home of Israel into a democratic state in which all men, regardless of race or creed, will enjoy full and equal rights of citizenship. Our movement has declared its position on this subject clearly and officially time and again. We are not interested in a racial state or a theocratic state. Only in a state wherein the Jews will constitute a majority of the population so as to enjoy that measure of security which Jews as a minority everywhere do not possess.

The British Labor Party, Mr. Bevin's own party, understands this thoroughly. Last year at its annual conference, it adopted a plank on Palestine which reads: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish National Home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority." Mr. Bevin is determined that this should not be. To avert such a dreadful eventuality, his government has even refused the request for the admission of 100,000 Jews, which certainly would not have made the Jews of Palestine a majority of the population.

He recognizes that there is a problem of displaced Jews in Europe, although he seems to be less disturbed and moved about their plight than about the present plight of the Germans and the Nazis for whom he has copious tears to shed. The displaced Jews of Europe should be taken care of in some manner. They should be helped to emigrate, if they desire, but Palestine can be counted on to make only a small contribution to the solution of this problem. "It does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the whole problem." This, of course, is the total acceptance of the Arab position. Jewish refugees have no special claim on Palestine. It is not a Jewish National Home. They should be helped to emigrate elsewhere.

Zionism Not a Refugee Movement

But Zionism is not a refugee movement. It is not a product of the Second World War, nor of the First. It is the product of our millennial national homelessness since our Dispersion, and its sole correct solution.

Were there no present displaced Jews in Europe and were there free opportunities for Jewish immigration in other parts of the world at this time, Zionism would still be an imperative necessity. There were many opportunities for immigration in the last decades of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th when our movement was organized and developed.

All the centuries of dispersion and the recurrent incidents of persecution and exploitation have persuaded the Jewish people that in order to normalize its position in the world and to gain a measure of security, it needs a country of its own. During the First World War and shortly thereafter, the nations of the world recognized the soundness and justice of this position. The results were the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Their aim was to give or to restore to the Jewish people a country of their own and to put an end to their national homelessness. The present Bevin adventures, fortunately a not yet fixed policy, ignore all this. They would recast the Jewish problem as a temporary refugee one, and Palestine as one of a number of places to which the presently displaced Jews of Europe might emigrate. This is why he is so bitter and impatient with Zionism. This is why he talks with such vehemence of assimilation. And that is why he has so sharply restricted the terms of reference of the Committee of Inquiry. It is not to study the problem of Jewish national homelessness and the international commitments which were made to solve it through the establishment of a Jewish state; it is limited in its inquiry solely to an examination of the position of the Jews in the countries of Europe where they had been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, to estimate how many of them wish to, or have to, emigrate to Palestine or other countries outside of Europe, and to study

the conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration.

Aim to Create Disunity

Mr. Bevin is hoping to have this new interpretation of his, aiming at the liquidation of the Jewish National Home, accepted by certain sections of Jewry other than the Zionists. When Great Britain decided to issue the Balfour Declaration, it addressed itself to the President of the Zionist Organization of Great Britain. It knew then the correct address to which one should address himself when one wishes to contact the Jewish people. The Zionist address is still the correct one. There is no other. Mr. Bevin may succeed in finding a few Quislings here and there and their paper organizations who may collaborate with him, but the Jewish people will spurn and reject these people, be they known as Quislings or Rosenwalds, as all other self-respecting and freedom-loving peoples have done. This latest application of the well-known maneuver of power politics to divide, confuse, rule or ruin will not work.

Government Aware of Recognized Spokesman

And in this connection we should like to inform our own government of the correct address to which to address inquiries in which the Jews of America and the Jews of the world are involved. There are available authorized spokesmen of American Jewry. They are not to be found, however, among the few rich Jews who attach themselves to political parties and governments, but who possess absolutely no mandate to speak for organized American Jewry. Nor are the few Jews who chance to be in government service or next door to government officials in high places our chosen and authorized spokesmen. They have no right to speak for or to represent the Jews of America. Frequently they abuse their position by misrepresenting them. We have had poor luck with Jews close to government throughout our history. There was one rare exception and it was so rare that we made a yomtov of it — the yomtov of Purim.

There are large democratically organized Jewish bodies in the United States which have earned the confidence and which represent the wishes of large sections of American Jewry. During the war these organizations formed themselves into an over-all American Jewish Conference to voice collective judgment of American Jewry at problems created for our people by the war. It is therefore passing strange and not a little disturbing that in such a matter of deep concern to American Jewry and to world Jewry is the appointment of the Joint Committee of Inquiry to investigate the plight of the displaced Jews of Europe and their resettlement in Palestine and elsewhere, our government did not deem it advisable even to consult with the American Jewish Conference or with the American Zionist Emergency Council which represents all the organized Zionist bodies in this country whose membership runs up into the hundreds of thousands and which have for many years been concerning themselves with this very problem — the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine and the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

Jewish Leaders Kept in Dark

Why must authorized Jewish leaders be kept in the dark on matters which directly concern their people? Why must they be forced into the position of criticizing their government's actions after they are announced, when they might have been helpful in avoiding mistakes before action was taken?

We cannot approve of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry. We regard it, as it has come to be regarded generally by the American public, as a disastrous substitute for action immediately imperative. It is clear from Mr. Bevin's covering statements that his primary purpose was not to help the distressed Jews of Europe but to

liquidate Zionist aspirations in Palestine. We cannot, therefore, be bound by the finding of any such committee. The Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization will have to determine whether, in view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it can in any way cooperate with it.

Had there been any good faith and humanity behind this proposal it would have been precluded by the announcement that at least those tens of thousands of Jews who are in the most desperate circumstances in Europe, would be immediately enabled to go to Palestine, while the larger problem of the remaining million and more, as well as the permanent solution which is to be submitted to the United Nations were being studied. To consign tens of thousands of men, women and children to needless suffering and possible death, while awaiting an ad interim recommendation of a Committee of Inquiry when their tragic plight is all too well established and a haven of refuge is readily to receive them, is something which should give the statesmen in the United States and Great Britain who fathered this scheme a sleepless night.

Responsibility Rests on British

There has been violent reaction to this latest attempt to prolong the iniquities of the White Paper all over the Jewish world. In Palestine there has been rioting. These riots, according to the British, are the work of terrorists. Whoever opposes British imperialism, whether in Java, India or Palestine, is, of course, a terrorist. Similarly, whoever takes the British solemn pledges seriously and at their face value, must be regarded as an extremist.

Of course, we deplore riots. But we deplore even more governmental policies which incite the riots and we hold those who make and enforce such policies as primarily responsible for them.

A year ago at the Zionist Convention here in Atlantic City, I expressed my opinion to the assembled delegates that it was necessary from every point of view, even from the purely philanthropic—rescue—refugee point of view—to reassess in the clearest possible terms our basic legal and historic rights to Palestine, rights which were fully understood 25 years ago but which in the interim had been whittled down, legalistically twisted and distorted, and by the most violent dialectics reduced in such a way that were the present policy to remain in force, Palestine, far from ever becoming a Jewish National Home, would, in fact, become an Arab national home in which the Jews would constitute a small and permanent minority, pos-

sessed of such minority group rights as Jews possessed after the last war in some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe and which proved such broken reeds to lean on.

I urged that we should not put our case primarily on a refugee or an asylum basis, and that on the eve of the great international adjustments and orientations which the Second World War was destined to bring about and at the time when tremendous decisions would undoubtedly be made affecting the future of nations, large and small, it would be the height of folly to confine our demands to a matter of immigration schedules and certificates and not to present our full case and our basic historical needs and rights to the Tribunal of America and world public opinion. I cautioned against the danger of refugeeism destroying Zionism. I expressed the conviction that large-scale Jewish immigration would never be permitted until the political status of Palestine is determined and our rights there reaffirmed.

No Emphasis on Present Plight

What has transpired in recent weeks fully confirms this position which I and others take. It was strategically false and it still is to concentrate in our Zionist propaganda on the present plight of the Jews of Europe and on the need of finding a refuge for them in Palestine.

It also justifies the criticism which was made of the Agency's request last June for 100,000 certificates, instead of letting its case rest on the May Memorandum, which it had presented to the British Government, wherein the fulfillment of the total Zionist program was called for in conformity with solemn international pledges. The certificate memorandum obscured and blocked out the political memorandum, as it was certain to do. Even President Truman's request for 100,000 certificates has backfired. Not only were these certificates not granted, but the attention of the world was focused not on the imperative need to permit the Jewish people to carry on with the building of their National Home in Palestine, not even on the problem of the million and a quarter Jews who remain in utter insecurity in Europe, but solely on the problem of 100,000 Jews. The Joint Committee of Inquiry could never have been suggested within the framework of its terms of reference if we had not made the saving of refugees our principal argument and objective. We tried to make it easier for ourselves; we had, in fact, made it harder for ourselves.

Have Suffered Setback

There is no doubt but that we have suffered a serious setback. There have been others. We had placed high hopes

on our own Government. These hopes have so far not materialized. At our last Convention, President Roosevelt pledged to work for the realization of the Jewish Commonwealth brought gladness to our hearts. Two months later President Roosevelt advised Congressional leaders not to vote out the Palestine resolution. And some Zionist leaders collaborated in seeing that these resolutions were definitely shelved. You know the story. President Roosevelt's high hopes that he could serve our cause best by personally handling the matter with Ibn Saud did not materialize. That story, too, is now common knowledge. The greatest country on earth, without whose financial aid, public and private, through oil royalties, to his regime, he could not last a year—capitulated in five minutes to the threats of Ibn Saud. Ibn Saud is at this moment pleading for advance royalties to keep the tottering economic position of his country from collapsing utterly. President Roosevelt found no way of telling Ibn Saud that the affair of Palestine is none of his concern, that Great Britain and the United States, as well as 50 other nations, are committed to establish there the Jewish Commonwealth; that the United States and Great Britain stand ready to help in the development of all the Arab lands and in helping their peoples, but that this must not and will not be done at the expense of the Jewish people and a Jewish Palestine.

New Line Followed

President Roosevelt, in his correspondence with Ibn Saud, unfortunately announced a new line which is to guide America's relations to Palestine. No decision will be taken without consulting the Arabs. He did not even specify which Arabs, the Arabs of Palestine or all the Arabs of the world. Secretary of State Byrnes subsequently proclaimed this line as the official line of our State Department and Mr. Byrnes quotes this fact in his statement. But the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate make no such provisos at all.

How tremendously helpful it would be today had the Palestine resolution been adopted! What a directive it would be to the American members of the proposed Joint Committee of Inquiry, or to our delegates at the future sessions of the United Nations Organization, when the question of Palestine will come up!

There is another Palestine resolution now pending in Congress. Its future is uncertain. It is deeply regrettable that the first active participation of our Government in a matter directly related to Palestine will now come through this Committee of In-

vestigation which we regard with utmost distrust and which fills us with apprehension.

Work To Be Done

There is clearly much work mapped out for us for the days to come, more intensified, more expanded and more determined. It is clear that the permanent solution of the Palestine problem will be referred to the United Nations Organization. We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in on the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the goodwill and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character.

Arab Propaganda Increasing

The Arab League is intensifying its activities and is opening offices in many centers. It enjoys the advantage of Arab legations in the principal capitals of the world. The Arab League enjoys the blessing of the British Foreign Office. Mr. Bevin states that the Arabs are meeting him very well and he thanks them for it. Why shouldn't they? He has become their chief protagonist. They are even glad to help him along by staging riots in Cairo, Alexandria and Tripoli, and by killing Jews in order to persuade the world that he is right about Zionism. Collaboration can go no further! Perhaps the crowning symbol of this collaboration will be the triumphant return of that war criminal and Axis propagandist, the Mufti, to Jerusalem—for which the British Intelligence Chief in Cairo, General Clayton, reportedly, has already requested.

Foreign mission groups in the United States have also become active in behalf of the Arabs. This organized propaganda by the missionary bodies is influenced by the forces of the University of Beirut. The recent statement issued by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America on the Palestine question not only opposes a Jewish State in Palestine but also essentially supports keeping the doors of Palestine closed to the Jews. The role of oil interests of America in working behind the scene against us has been discussed—but we have a just cause and an inescapable necessity.

Appeal to Non-Jewish World

Our propaganda should be directed more than it has been in the past to the non-Jewish world. If our Government is to assume the responsibility of a more definite role in the Near East and in Palestine, it will need the backing of an enlightened public opinion. The work of the American Christian Palestine Committee and of the Christian Council on Palestine should be largely expanded. American academic circles should be more intensively cultivated, as well as American commercial and industrial organizations.

Above all, our Government should be encouraged to take an independent and friendly attitude towards our movement, which is in complete consonance with American interests in the Near East, with the American legal commitments, and with the oft-expressed favorable opinion of the American people. As we approach the final hour of decision, we can no longer be satisfied with promises which are never translated into action and with vague and nebulous expressions of good will toward us.

It will be a long, hard pull. Battle days are ahead of us. If we maintain morale, if we use good judgment, if we make maximum sacrifices for our cause in time and labor and substance, if we remain unafraid, we shall, by the grace of God, win through to victory.