

### Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel	Box	Folder
181	67	687

Nothing to lose but our illusions, 1945.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org American Jewish Archives 3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220 (513) 487-3000 AmericanJewishArchives.org Address Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the Testimonial Dinner in his honor, Wednesday, March 21st, 1945, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, New York City

This great ourpouring of men and women is not a personal tribute to me. I interpret it rather as a strong and eager reaffirmation of faith in the basic ideals of our Movement and in men who remain loyal to them and in methods which you believe are likely to lead to success. You are resolved that the choicest vine which our people planted shall not bring forth wild grapes and that the little foxes shall not be allowed to spoil the vineyard.

What our people have sought to establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that Zionism was created to achieve. It is that which Herzl and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution of the disspore problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer the other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unanticipated and unprepared for reality. All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of our disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem custom-tailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable home, our fatherland". All that has happened to the Jewish people in the last 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

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It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech,

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even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

It is hot helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision <u>now</u>: It is quite self-evident and elementary that a transitional period will be required and a Jewish majority before the full apparatus of a free and democratic Jewish State can be brought into operation. But all such reasonable exposition of self-evident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our adversaries who seize upon it as proof that Zionist leaders themselves favor delay and do not really expect a Jewish Commonwealth and may be satisfied with much less. These leaders are roundly praised for their statesmanlike forbearance, patience and tact, and from underneath this elegant cloak of praise often dart the deedly repier thrusts at the heart of our movement. That is how we have been imposed upon time and again!!!

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Falestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration <u>now</u>, then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

It is not for us <u>at this time</u> to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees - if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish state. The Arabs are not decieved by such a maneuver. The world is not moved to greater exertions in our behalf when we speak of saving refugees instead of building a Jewish State. The world was not greatly moved by our desperate pleas in behalf of our millions of doomed fellow-Jews now lying dead in their nameless graves, many of whom might have been saved. The great democracies heard the tortured cry of a dying people. They wagged their heads in sympathy and then proceeded to speak in the barren legalism of constricted hearts of their inability to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations and of their own inviolate immigration laws.

Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demends. Let it be remembered, too, that it was the <u>national</u> rather than the philanthropic appeal - the political necessity for normalizing the status of world Jewry once and for all by the establishment of a national home - which captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the Belfour Declaration and Mandete. Let it also be remembered that the classic text of Zionism is a book called "The Jewish State". In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: "We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineredicable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own - a national centre, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever."

Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism: Our undying sin will be, if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State. No one spoke of partition or bi-nationalism when there were only fifty-five thousand Jews in Palestine in 1917. Why should one speak of it today when there are over six hundred thousand Jews and the ratio of Jew to Arab is far greater than it was then? Neither the Declaration nor the Mandate contemplated the creation of an Arab State in Palestine or of an Arab National Home. Such Arab states were contemplated and have in fact been established by the Allied Nations elsewhere in the Near East. It was the clear intention, and the Royal Commission Report of 1937 confirms it, to convert the Jewish National Home into

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a Jewish State as soon as the conditions for a Jewish State actually existed. Such conditions would undoubtedly be in existence today if it were not for the legelly and morally unjustifiable policy of the MacDonald White Paper which arbitrarily restricted Jewish immigration during recent years when hundreds of thousands of our people were clamoring for admission into Palestine, and when many of them were forced to the indignity of smuggling themselves into their own national homeland as thieves in the night, and boatloads of them perished miserably within sight of the Land of Israel, having been denied the right to land on its shores.

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We would be a majority in Falestine today were it not for the interference of the Mandatory power. The creation of a Jewish State would by now be a matter of course. Therefore we must now ask that the primary and original purpose of the Mandate be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration. Moreover, the country should at once be placed under a special administration, on which the Jewish people shall have preponderant representation corresponding to its overwhelming stake in the country, to insure its economic development and the rapid absorption of new settlers, and the establishment of the Jewish State. This is the only kind of "transitional period" which can lead to a Jewish State. The Jewish Agency must be vested forthwith with governmental powers to plan and to set up the appropriate apparatus for mass immigration which must follow immediately after the war. Appropriate policies, economic, fiscal, industrial, agrarian, must be studied and devised. The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is thus a severe blow to all this essential preliminary planning and organization and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war, and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it.

The call for "a decision now" which we made last year and which now seems to be muted, was thus dictated by sound judgment and practical intelligence. It was not due to the impatience of impractical poditical extremists. To postpone the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab opposition, now rapidly organizing, to consolidate itself still further, and to defeat all efforts at intelligent planning for a difficult post-war

#### reconstruction.

We may not succeed in our objectives. "I am not bound to succeed", declared Abraham Lincoln, "but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be free". Curs is the duty to live up to what light we have, to the guidance of our history and the great lessons of our experience and to give to the statesmen of the world our best judgment as to how our problem, which is also a world problem, can best be solved, to the hurt of none and the blessing of all.

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It is not our duty to propose partial solutions. The statesmen of the world may prefer partial solutions in the hope of insuring peace. This, you will recall, was the Munich complex. Lack of vision and courage may again postpone the just and definitive decision. This will undoubtedly acerbate the political conditions in Palestine and in the Near East. But this is beyond our control. What is within our control is the resolve to make known our cause to the world, and to demand justice at the bar of history. We must ask nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We must accept nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We have no right to renounce our historic and religious hope which has fed and sustained the spirit of our people through all these long and reary centuries. No Jewish leeder has been given or will be given the mandate to make such a renunciation. The messianic hope of Israel cannot be bartered away for an immigration quota, desperately as refugee Jews need the haven of Palestine and desperately as we want them to go there. It has been rumored that the Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they, Mosle and Christian Arabs, shall remain in the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such generosity is in violent contrast to their customary intransigeance. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not

whether we have 600,000 Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If with a million Jews we still remain a minority, our primary objective is not obtained. There is no national Jewish State. There is no internationally recognized Jewish nation. We remain as we have through all these two thousand years, minority everywhere, and our universal minority status has been at the root of our universal insecurity. Minority

rights, even under international guarantees, are of little value, as the experience of our people in Eastern Europe, between the two world wars, amply demonstrated. We are different from all other minorities in the world. Each of the other minority groups has a fatherland somewhere where the main body of its people lives in its own home. The Jewish minorities have no homeland anywhere. Thus when minorites are hard-pressed, arrangements can be made for their transference back to their original homes. Transference of a Jewish minority can only mean consignment to exile, or to extermination camps. The founders of our movement, time and again warned, as did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine". Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish state made possible in a democratic world by the achievement of a Jewish majority. British and American statesmen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was and this was the interpretation put on it (the Declaration) that a Jewish State would be established as soon as the Jews had responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three tofour million Jews".

The very essence of the millenial hope of our people would be denied and rejected by any formula which would make unattainable a Jewish State in Palestine. It would also be a disastrous the peace conference at the conclusion of this war, far from consummating, would actually be nullifying the political gains which the Jewish people achieved at the close of the last war. What may be contemplated, if these or similar rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper -- a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement.

figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states: "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." This is the lethal dose of the White Paper

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and a revision of the quota figure upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not its antidote. The MacDonald White Paper was a product of that disastrous Munich era when the rights of other smaller nations were also sacrificed and other solemn international commitments were scrapped. Munich led to the Second World War. It has been the high hope of all that a victory of the United Nations will undo the mischief of Munich and will rectify the wrongs which were there and since perpetrated. What was ruthlessly taken away will be rightfully restored. Will this principle of reparation and restoration be applied to all peoples, except the Jews? Are the promises to the Jewish people alone to be ignored and dishonored? Is our loyalty alone to go unrequited, our sacrifices unrewarded and our dead forgotten?

One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conferences which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-States a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home. Was the Jewish people consulted about the Syria or Saudi-Arabia? Were these states originally responsible for bringing the Jewish National Home into existence? Have they been asked to contribute a farthing to it, or to defend it? Have these Arab states fought so valiently in this war that they have earned the right to determine the political destiny of a people which did fully assume its war responsibilities and did fight valiantly in defense of its national homeland and the ideals of the democratic world? Not a single Arab state gave active support to the Allied cause: Some actually played treasonable roles during the war and others flirted with the Axis.

Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent? The Mandate recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine - a fact strangely enough already recognized in Elblical times - but it remained for the Allied leaders to recognize the historic connection of Ibn Saud with Palestine! It was MacDonald, you will recall, when he planned repudiation, in 1939, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neighboring Arab countries to weight the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convoked the ill-fated Round Table Conference between Jews and Arabs in 1939.

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This Conference eventuated in the notorious White Paper of May 1939 which was a complete surrender to Arab demands and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the Jewish people. This occurred on the eve of the war, under pressure presumably of the approaching world crisis when British imperial interests needed the good will and coopera-

tion of the Arab world - a cooperation, by the way, which was never forthcoming. But

this is 1945! We are on the eve of an Allied victory. The need for appeasement no longer exists. Nevertheless the Arab states are again brought into the picture, and one is forced to ask with real apprehension whether another White Paper is not in the making. It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home, It is the same Ibn Saud, who, two years ago declared "I know of nothing that justifies the Jewish claim in Palestine .. I am not afraid of the Jews or of the possibility of their ever having a state or power either in the land of the Arabs or elsewhere. This is in accordance with what God has revealed unto us through the mouth of His Prophet in His Holy Book. Thus I hold the demands of the Jews upon this land in error ... If the Jews are impelled to seek a place to live, Europe and America are larger and more fertile than Palestine". Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding/positon to the Jewish National Home and thistime to the president of the U.S. and the Frime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn while so much had been staked, has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic Saud upon leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem? Valuable years and precious human lives have already been lost in this sad and futile endeavor. The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies of the world, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all

peoples will share.

A new world is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world

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orgenization a step further. All the mations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago <u>pro forma</u>, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arebia and Guat@mala. But sreal is not to be theres: The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy - they will <u>not</u> be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seeminely as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this ahred of comfort will not be taken away.

The road ahead is hard. The odds are egainst us. The odds were always against us. They were strongly against the Maccabees, egainst our ancestors at the Red Sea striking out for freedom, against the scattered and struggling Jewish communities fighting for survival in the dark ages. The odds were against the first Jewish pioneers who broke ground for the first Jewish colony and against those who first drained the malarial marshes and swamps of the Emek. But they all had the courage of their dreams and therein lay their invincible strength.

Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unremitting effort directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It

is the vague objective which leads to the uncertain course. The difficulty arises

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when there are basic and frequently unconscious differences as to objectives which, to the outsider, appear as a conflict only of strategy or of personalities. But, if you penetrate all the circles of rationalization, you come at last upon the timid soul, and the heart that lacks faith. Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, they buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddently becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only zealots and extremists keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it....

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue - Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power. Theirssympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working under terrific. pressure. From all sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these nonenful groups are working against our movement. Political leaders, engrossed in many tasks, sometimes accept for the solution of what they regard as minor issues, formulas which appear expedient, and compromises which only aggravate the situation. Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future". In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "Personally my heart is full of sympathy Reals with Zionism. This sympathy has existed in me for a long time .... I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain. I firmly believe that it will be a blessing also to all the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race and religion."

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Nevertheless this same Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the White Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which emong other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found <u>in</u> Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill vigorously denounced the MacDonald White Paper of May 1939. He called it "a breach, a violation of the pledge, the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration, the end of the vision, of the here, of the dream." And yet, a year later, when he became Prime Minister, in 1940, he permitted that policy to stand, and it stands to this day, a policy which has **rankst** resulted in incalculable tragedies to myriads of our people in Europe who might have found a haven of refuge in Palestine during these years of slaughter and annihilation.

We do not judge. We do not point to any moral contradictions. But surely these repeated instances of profession lagging behind performance, should caution us against exclusive reliance upon the good intentions of one or two great men. however unquestionably sincere their intentions are.

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year, and as recently as last Friday, has expressed himself in clear and forthright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently solicited, the government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mendatory power. Mr. Roosevelt declared himself publicy in favor of a free end democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States, where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for it overwhelmingly. Since then, months have elapsed, the Yalte Conference has been held, but nothing has been forthcoming from this Administration to compensate for this deferred action, or even to explain it.

We were asked to wait a little longer. Congress was energetically pressed not to pass

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the Falestine Resolution. Zionist leaders rushed pell mell to Washington to collaborate

with the State Department in its effort to keep the Congress of the U. S. from expressing itself in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth. We waited. The result - Ibn Saud said "No". The entire Palestine subject has been postponed to the end of the war and there is no Palestine Resolution.

When we mention these facts, it is not that we are hostile to Mr. Churchill or to President Roosevelt. These men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions.....

Political exigencies frequently deflect the clear purposes even of our best friends and we must do our utmost to reinforce their good will and intent so that they will not yield to pressures at our expense. Their political strategy pursued in our tehalf may also be misteken, as the case of Tbn Saud, upon whom both Roosevelt and Churchill placed such high hopes, amply demonstrates.

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized public opinion. In political life today great political issues which affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomness or eloquence exercised by an individual, or on the basis of a quid pro quo for political support given by an individual during a political campaign. Personal intercession of this sort is an anachronism in the world today. It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up - its ministers and educators, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legisla its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our government and to our Chief Executive. Let the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Gebinet! Let us rally all men of good will everywhere

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in the world who would like to see justice done, and ancient wrong righted and a present day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has chosen for great decisions. Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by this awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britian, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot whole-heartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people:::

We believe that the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness is imperative for the sake of the peace of the world. Any historic people which will be denied a minimum of national security and independence after the war will endanger the success of the international order which will be set up. In the delicately-poised international order of tomorrow, the Jewish people must not remain a people without status and without a national home. Against its own will and without any deliberate action on its part, it will become a focus of political tension, conflict and distress which may endanger the peace of the whole Middle East.

We, too, posses inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not yielded on these rights for two thousand years, although the world chose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own selvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient end hongrable people.

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## Press Release:

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## American Zionist Policy Committee

55 WEST 42nd STREET . NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

#### FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER DEMANDS ACTION NOW ON JEWISH STATE

(NOTE: A PAMPHLET CONTAINING THE FULL TEXT OF DR. SILVER'S ADDRESS WILL BE AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK)

New York -- Declaring that "refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism,"

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, called for a decision now on a Jewish State and demanded "that the primary and original purpose of the Palestine Mandate be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration."

Speaking before an audience of 1600 Zionists, including standees, who had gathered to honor him at a Testimonial Dinner in the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on Wednesday evening, March 21st, Dr. Silver said:

"It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out. It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision <u>now</u>!...

"It is not for us at this time to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees - if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish State...Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands....

"It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State....The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is a severe blow to all the essential preliminary planning and organization, and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it... What may be a contemplated, if...rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper - a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement... "One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conferences which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-State a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home...Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent?...It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home...Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding opposition to the Jewish National Home and this time to the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn Saud approach upon which so much had been staked has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem? ....

"Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, the buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-Ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only "zealots" and "extremists" keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it...

"It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue - Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt. They are great and good men and are well intentioned towards us...It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen..... These two men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions... Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by the awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot wholeheartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have mothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people!"

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# By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

(Excerpts from the inspired address delivered last Wednesday by Dr. Silver at the testimonial dinner at the Commodore in New York. The views expressed are the author's. We invite our reader's comments.)

HAT our people have sought to establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that Pinsker and Hess and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution of the diaspora problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer the other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unanticipated and unprepared for reality.

All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of our disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem custom-tailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable hcme, our fatherland". All that has happened to the Jewish people in the last 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Palestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration new, then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands. Let it be remembered, too, that it was the national rather than the philanthropic appeal-the political necesit. sity for normalizing the status of world Jewry once and for all by the establishment of a national homewhich captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the

Jewish State." In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: "We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own—a national centre, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever."

Balfour Declaration and Mandate. Let

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Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism! Our undying sin will be, if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and, if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

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tine today were it not for the interference of the Mandatory power. Th creation of a Jewish State would by now be a matter of course. Therefore we must now ask that the primary and original purpose of the Mandate to be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration. Moreover, the country should at once be placed under a special administration, on which the Jewish people shall have preponderant representation corresponding to its overwhelming stake in the country, to insure its economic development and the rapid absorption of new settlers, and the establishment of the Jewish State. This is the only kind of "transitional period" which can lead to a Jewish State. The Jewish Agency must be vested forthwith with governmental powers to plan and to set up the appropriate apparatus for mass immigration which must follow immediately after the war. Appropriate policies, economic, fiscal, industrial,

agrarian, must be studied and devised. The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is thus a severe blow to all this essential preliminary planning and organization and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war, and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb

Leading Zionist Analyzes the Political Scene and

Recommends a Program for Immediate Future.

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Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they, Moslem and Christian Arabs, shall remain in the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such generosity is in violent contrast to their customary intransigeance. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not whether we have 600,000 Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If with a million Jews we still remain a minority, our primary objective is not obtained. There is no national Jewish State. There is no internationally recognized Jewish nation. We remain as we have through all these two thousand years, minority everywhere, and our universal minority status has been at the root of our universal insecurity. Minority rights, even under international guarantees, are of little value, as the experience of our people in Eastern Europe, between the two world wars, amply demonstrated,

We are different from all other minorities in the world. Each of the other minority groups has a fatherland somewhere where the main body of its people lives in its own home. The Jewish minorities have no homeland anywhere. Thus when minorities are hard-pressed, arrangements can be made for their transference back to their original homes. Transference of a Jewish minority can only mean consignment to exile, or to extermination camps. The founders of our movement, time and again warned, as did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine". Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish state made possible in a democratic world by the achievement of a Jewish majority. British and American statemen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was and this was the interpretation put on it (the Declaration) that a Jewish State (Continued on page 15)

#### A JEWISH STATE

#### (Continued from page 7)

would be established as soon as the Jews had responded to the apportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews".

The real purpose of the MacDonald White Paper, you will recall, was not the restrictive figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states. "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." This is the lethal dose of the White Paper and a revision of the quota figure upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not its antidote.

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatamala. But Israel is not to be there !! The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands B. are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to-fight for the cause of freedom and democracythey will not be represented at San Francisco.

 It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue —Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power.

Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future". In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "Personally my heart is full of sympathy with Zion-This sympathy has existed in ism. me for a long time . . . I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain. I firmly believe that it will be a blessing also to all the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race and religion."

Nevertheless this same Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the White Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which among other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found in Palestine.

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year, and as recently as last Friday, has expressed himself in clear and forthright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently solicited, the government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mandatory power. Mr. Roosevelt has declared himself publicly in favor of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States. where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for for it overwhelmingly.

We, too, possess inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not yielded on these rights for two thousands years, although the world chose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own salvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient and honorable people. Address Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the Testimonial Dinner in his honor, Wednesday, March 21st, 1945, in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, New York City

This great outpouring of men and women is not a personal tribute to me. I interpret it rather as a stong and eager reaffirmation of faith in the basic ideals of our Movement and in men who remain loyal to them and in methods which you believe are likely to lead to success. You are resolved that the choicest vine which our people planted shall not bring forth wild grapes and that the little foxes shall not be allowed to spoil the vineyard.

What our people have sought to establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that Zionism was created to achieve. It is that which Herzl and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution of the diaspora problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer the other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unanticipated and unprepared for reality. All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of our disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem customtailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable home, our fatherland". All that has happened to the Jewish people in the last 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision <u>now!</u> It is quite self-evident and elementary that a transitional period will be required and a Jewish majority before the full apparatus of a free and democratic Jewish State can be brought into operation. But all such reasonable exposition of selfevident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our adversaries who seize upon it as proof that Zionist leaders themselves favor delay and do not really expect a Jewish Commonwealth and may be satisfied with much less. These leaders are roundly praised for their statesmanlike forbearance, patience and tact, and from underneath this elegant cloak of praise often dart the deadly rapier thrusts at the heart of our movement. That is how we have been imposed upon time and againtin

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Palestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration now, then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine. It is not for us at this time to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees - if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish state. The Arabs are not deceived by such a maneuver. The world is not moved to greater exertions in our behalf when we speak of saving refugees instead of building a Jewish State. The world was not greatly moved by our desperate pleas in behalf of our millions of doomed fellow-Jews now lying dead in their nameless graves, many of whom might have been saved. The great democracies heard the tortured cry of a dying people. They wagged their heads in sympathy and then proceeded to speak in the barren legalism of constricted hearts of their inability to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations and of their own inviolate immigration laws.

Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands. Let it be remembered, too, that it was the national rather than the philanthropic appeal - the political necessity for normalizing the status of world Jewry once and for all by the establishment of a national home - which captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the Balfour Declaration and Mandate. Let it also be remembered that the classic text of Zionism is a book called "The Jewish In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: "We have never built State". our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable national. striving of Jewry to have a home of its own - a national centre, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever."

Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism: Our undying sin will be, if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State. No one spoke of partition or bi-nationalism when there were only fifty-five thousand Jews in Palestine in 1917. Why should one speak of it today when there are over six hundred thousand Jews and the ratio of Jew to Arab is far greater than it was then? Neither the Declaration nor the Mandate contemplated the creation of an Arab State in Palestine or of an Arab National Home. Such Arab states were contemplated and have in fact been established by the Allied Nations elsewhere in the Near East. It was the clear intention, and the Royal Commission Report of 1937 confirms it, to convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State as soon as the conditions for a Jewish State actually existed. Such conditions would undoubtedly be in existence today if it were not for the legally and morally unjustifiable policy of the MacDonald White Paper which arbitrarily restricted Jewish immigration during recent years when hundreds of thousands of our people were clamoring for admission into Palestine, and when many of them were forced to the indignity of smuggling themselves into their own national homeland as thieves in the night, and boatloads of them perished miserably within sight of the land of Israel, having been denied the right to land on its shores.

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We would be a majority in Palestine today were it not for the interference of the Mandatory power. The creation of a Jewish State would by now be a matter of course. Therefore we must now ask that the primary and original purpose of the Mandate be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration. Moreover, the country should at once be placed under a special administration, on which the Jewish people shall have preponderant representation corresponding to its overwhelming stake in the country, to insure its economic development and the rapid Lasorption of new settlers, and the establishment of the Jewish State. This is the only kind of "transitional period" which can lead to a Jewish State. The Jewish Agency must be vested forthwith with governmental powers to plan and to set up the appropriate apparatus for mass immigration which must follow immediately after the war. Appropriate policies, economic, fiscal, industrial, agrarian, must be studied and devised. The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is thus a severe blow to all this essential preliminary planning and organization and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war, and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it.

The call for "a decision now" which we made last year and which now seems to be muted, was thus dictated by sound judgment and practical intelligence. It was not due to the impatience of impractical political extremists. To postpone the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab opposition, now rapidly organizing, to consolidate itself still further, and to defeat all efforts at intelligent planning for a difficult post-war reconstruction.

We may not succeed in our objectives. "I am not bound to succeed", declared Abraham Lincoln, "but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be free". Ours is the duty to live up to what light we have, to the guidance of our history and the great lessons of our experience and to give to the statesmen of the world our best judgment as to how our problem, which is also a world problem, can best be solved, to the hurt of none and the blessing of all.

It is not our duty to propose partial solutions. The statesmen of the world may prefer partial solutions in the hope of insuring peace. This, you will recall, was the Munich complex. Lack of vision and courage may again postpone the just and definitive decision. This will undoubtedly acerbate the political conditions in Palestine and in the Near East. But this is beyond our control. What is within our control is the resolve to make known our cause to the world, and to demand justice at the bar of history. We must ask nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We must accept nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We have no right to renounce our historic and religious hope which has fed and sustained the spirit of our people through all these long and weary centuries. No Jewish leader has been given or will be given the mandate to make such a renunciation. The messianic hope of Israel cannot be bartered away for an immigration quota, desperately as refugee Jews need the haven of Palestine and desperately as we want them to go there.

It has been rumored that the Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they, Moslem and Christian Arabs, shall remain in the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such generosity is in violent contrast to their customary intransigeance. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not whether we have 600,000 Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If with a million Jews we still remain a minority, our primary objective is not obtained. There is no national Jewish State. There is no internationally recognized Jewish nation. We remain as we have through all these two thousand years, minority everywhere, and our universal minority status has been at the root of our universal insecurity. Minority rights, even under international guarantees, are of little value, as the experience of our people in Eastern Europe, between the two world wars, amply demonstrated. We are different from all other minorities in the world. Each of the other minority groups has a fatherland somewhere where the main body of its people lives in its own home. The Jewish minorities have no homeland anywhere. Thus when minorities are hard-pressed, arrangements can be made for their transference back to their original homes. Transference of a Jewish minority can only mean consignment to

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exile, or to extermination camps. The founders of our movement, time and again warned, as did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine". Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish state made possible in a democratic world by the achievement of a Jewish majority. British and American statesmen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was and this was the interpretation put on it (the Declaration) that a Jewish State would be established as soon as the Jews had responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews".

The very essence of the millenial hope of our people would be denied and rejected by any formula which would make unattainable a Jewish State in Palestine. It would also be a disastrous retreat. The peace conference at the conclusion of this war, far from consummating, would actually be nullifying the political gains which the Jewish people achieved at the close of the last war. What may be contemplated, if these or similar rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper -- a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement.

The real purpose of the MacDonald White Paper, you will recall, was not the restrictive figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states: "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." This is the lethal dose of the White Paper and a revision of the quota figure upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not its antidote. The MacDonald White Paper was a product of that disastrous Munich era when the rights of other smaller nations were also sacrificed and other solemn international commitments were scrapped. Munich led to the Second World War. It has been the high hope of all that a victory of the United Nations will undo the mischief of Munich and will rectify the wrongs which were there and since perpetrated. What was ruthlessly taken away will be rightfully restored. Will this principle of reparation and restoration be applied to all peoples, except the Jews? Are the promises to the Jewish people alone to be ignored and dishonored? Is our loyalty alone to go unrequited, our sacrifices unrewarded and our dead forgotten?

One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conference which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-States a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home. Was the Jewish people consulted about the Fate of Iraq, or Syria or Saudi-Arabia? Were these states originally responsible for bringing the Jewish National Home into existence? Have they been asked to contribute a farthing to it, or to defend it? Have these Arab states fought so valiantly in this war that they have earned the right to determine the political destiny of a people which did fully assume its war responsibilities and did fight valiantly in defense of its national homeland and the ideals of the democratic world? Not a single Arab state gave active support to the Allied cause! Some actually played treasonable roles during the war and others flirted with the Axis.

Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent? The Mandate recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine - a fact strangely enough already recognized in Biblical times - but it remained for the Allied leaders to recognize the historic connection of Ibn Saud with Palestine: It was MacDonald, you will recall, when he planned repudiation, in 1939, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neighboring Arab countries to weight the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convoked the ill-fated Round Table Conference between Jews and Arabs in 1939. This Conference eventuated in the notorious White Paper of May, 1939 which was a complete surrender to Arab demands and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the Jewish people. This occurred on the eve of the war, under pressure presumably of the approaching world crisis when British imperial interests needed the good will and cooperation of the Arab world - a cooperation, by the way, which was never forthcoming. But this is 1945: We are on the eve of an Allied victory. The need for appeasement no longer exists. Nevertheless the Arab states are again brought into the picture, and one is forced to ask with real apprehension whether another White Paper is not in the making. It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home. It is the same Ibn Saud, who, two years ago declared "I know of nothing that justifies the Jewish claim in Palestine ... I am not afraid of the Jews or of the possibility of their ever having a state or power either in the land of the Arabs or elsewhere. This is in accordance with what God has revealed unto us through the mouth of His Frophet in His Holy Book. Thus I hold the demands of the Jews upon this land in error ... If the Jews are impelled to seek a place to live, Europe and America are larger and more fertile than Palestine".

Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding opposition to the Jewish National Home and this time to the President of the U. S. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn Saud upon whom so much had been staked, has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem? Valuable years and precious human lives have already been lost in this sad and futile endeavor. The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies of the world, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all peoples will share.

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Irac will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatamala. But Israel is not to be thereis The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy - they will not be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away.

The road ahead is hard. The odds are against us. The odds were always against us. They were strongly against the Maccabees, against our ancestors at the Red Sea striking out for freedom, against the scattered and struggling Jewish communities fighting for survival in the dark ages. The odds were against the first Jewish pioneers who broke ground for the first Jewish colony and against those who first drained the malarial marshes and swamps of the Emek. But they all had the courage of their dreams and therein lay their invincible strength.

Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unremitting effort

directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It is the vague objective which leads to the uncertain course. The difficulty arises when there are basic and frequently unconscious differences as to objectives which, to the outsider, appear as a conflict only of strategy or of personalities. But, if you penetrate all the circles of rationalization, you come at last upon the timid soul, and the heart that lacks faith. Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, they buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only zealots and extremists keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it...

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue - Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working under terrific pressure. From all sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these powerful groups are working against our movement. Political leaders, engrossed in many tasks, sometimes accept for the solution of what they regard as minor issues, formulas which appear expediant, and compromises which only aggravate the situation.

Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future". In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "Personally my heart is full of sympathy with Zionism. This sympathy has existed in me for a long time...I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain. I firmly believe that it will be a blessing also to all the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race and religion."

Nevertheless this same Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the White Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which among other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found in Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill vigorously denounced the MacDonald White Paper of May 1939. He called it "a breach, a violation of the pledge, the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration, the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream." And yet, a year later, when he became Prime Minister, in 1940, he permitted that policy to stand, and it stands to this day, a policy which has resulted in incalculable tragedies to myriads of our people in Europe who might have found a haven of refuge in Palestine during these years of slaughter and annihilation.

We do not judge. We do not point to any mcral contradictions. But surely these repeated instances of profession lagging behind performance, should caution us against exclusive reliance upon the good intentions of one or two great man, however unquestionably sincere their intentions are.

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year, and as recently as last Friday, has expressed himself in clear and forthright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently sclicited, the government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mandatory power. Mr. Roosevelt has declared himself publicly in favor of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States, where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for it overwhelmingly. Since then, months have elapsed, the Yalta Conference has been held, but nothing has been forthcoming from this Administration to compensate for this deferred action, or even to explain it.

We were asked to wait a little longer. Congress was energetically pressed not to pass the Palestine Resolution. Zionist leaders rushed pell mell to Washington to collaborate with the State Department in its effort to keep the Congress of the U. S. from expressing itself in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth. We waited. The result - Ibn Saud said "No". The entire Palestine subject has been postponed to the end of the war and there is no Palestine Resolution.

When we mention these facts, it is not that we are hostile to Mr. Churchill or to President Roosevelt. These men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions...

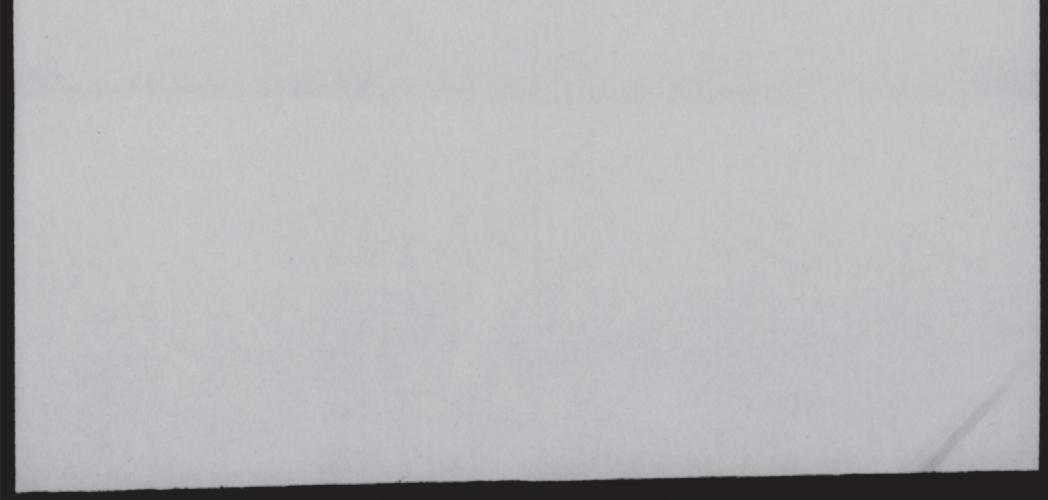
Political exigencies frequently deflect the clear purposes even of our best friends and we must do our utmost to reinforce their good will and intent so that they will not yield to pressures at our expense. Their political strategy pursued in our behalf may also be mistaken, as the case of Ibn Saud, upon whom both Roosevelt and Churchill placed such high hopes, amply demonstrates.

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized public opinion. In political life today great political issues which affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomness or eloquence exercised by an individual, or on the basis of a quid pro quo for political support given by an individual during a political campaign. Personal intercession of this sort is an anachronism in the world today. It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up - its ministers and educators, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legislators, its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our government and to our Chief Executive. Let the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Cabinet! Let us rally all men of good will everywhere in the world who would like to see justice done, an ancient wrong righted and a present day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has chosen for great decisions. Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by this awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot whole-heartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people !!!

We believe that the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness is imperative for the sake of the peace of the world. Any historic people which will be denied a minimum of national security and independence after the war will endanger the success of the international order which will be set up. In the delicately-poised international order of tomorrow, the Jewish people must not remain a people without status and without a national home. Against its own will and without any deliberate action on its part, it will become a focus of political tension, conflict and distress which may endanger the peace of the whole Middle East.

We, too, possess inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not .yielded on these rights for two thousand years, although the world cnose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own salvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient and honorable people.





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MARCH 21, 1945

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## "NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR ILLUSIONS"

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An analysis of the American Zionist political scene by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Text of the address delivered at the

HOTEL COMMODORE, NEW YORK CITY March 21, 1945

## "Nothing to Lose but Our Illusions ... "

HIS GREAT OUTPOURING of men and women is not a personal tribute to me. I interpret it rather as a strong and eager reaffirmation of faith in the basic ideals of our Mcvement, in men who remain loyal to them and in methods which you believe are likely to lead to success. You are resolved that the choicest vine which our people planted shall not bring forth wild grapes and that the little foxes shall not be allowed to spoil the vineyard.

What our people have sought to establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that Zionism was created to achieve. It is that which Herzl and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution of the diaspora problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unanticipated and unprepared for reality. All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of cur disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem custom-tailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day, declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable home, our fatherland." All that has happened to the Jewish people in the last 60 years, and more especially all that has happened in the

last 10 years, only serves to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision *now!* It is quite self-evident and elementary that a transitional period will be required, and a Jewish majority, before the full apparatus of a free and democratic Jewish State can be brought into operation. But all such reasonable exposition of self-evident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our adversaries who seize upon it as proof that Zionist leaders themselves favor delay and do not really expect a Jewish Commonwealth and may be satisfied with much less. These leaders are roundly praised for their statesmanlike forbearance, patience and tact, and from underneath this elegant cloak of praise often dart the deadly rapier thrusts at the heart of our Movement. That is how we have been imposed upon time and again!

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Palestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration *now*, then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

### Refugeeism May Yet Defeat Zionism

It is not for us as this time to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees—if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish State. The Arabs are not deceived by such a maneuver. The world is not moved to greater exertions in our behalf when we speak of saving refugees instead of building a Jewish State. The world was not greatly moved by our desperate pleas in behalf of our millions of doomed fellow-Jews now lying dead in their nameless graves, many of whom might have been saved. The great democracies heard the tortured cry of a dying people. They wagged their heads in sympathy and then proceeded to speak in the barren legalism of constricted hearts of their inability to intervene in the domestic affairs of other nations and of their own inviolate immigration laws.

Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands. Let it be remembered, too, that it was the national rather than the philanthropic appeal-the political necessity for normalizing the status of world Jewry once and for all by the establishment of a national home-which captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the Balfour Declaration and Mandate. Let it also be remembered that the classic text of Zionism is a book called "The Jewish State." In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: "We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the ineradicable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own-a national centre, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever."

Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism! Our undying sin will be if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

#### A Decision Now

It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State. No one spoke of partition or bi-nationalism when there were only fifty-five thousand Jews in Palestine in 1917. Why should one speak of it today when there are over six hundred thousand Jews and the ratio of Jew to Arab is far greater than it was then? Neither the Declaration nor the Mandate contemplated the creation of an Arab state in Palestine or of an Arab national home. Such Arab states were contemplated and have in fact been established by the Allied Nations elsewhere in the Near East. It was the clear intention, and the Royal Commission Report of 1937 confirms it, to convert the Jewish National Home into a Jewish State as soon as the conditions for a Jewish State actually existed. Such conditions would undoubtedly be in existence today if it were not for the legally and morally unjustifiable policy of the MacDonald White Paper which arbitrarily restricted Jewish immigration during recent years when hundreds of thousands of our people were clamoring for admission into Palestine, and when many of them were forced to the indignity of smuggling themselves into their own National Homeland as thieves in the night, and boatloads of them perished miserably within sight of the land of Israel, having been denied the right to land on its shores.

We would be a majority in Palestine today were it not for the interference of the Mandatory power. The creation of a Jewish State would by now be a matter of course. Therefore we must now ask that the primary and original purpose of the Mandate be reaffirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration. Moreover, the country should at once be placed under a special administration, on which the Jewish people shall have preponderant representation corresponding to its overwhelming stake in the country, to insure its economic development and the rapid absorption of new settlers, and the establishment of the Jewish State. This is the only kind of "transitional period" which can lead to a Jewish State. The Jewish Agency must be vested forthwith with governmental powers to plan and to set up the appropriate apparatus for mass immigration which must follow immediately after the war. Appropriate policies, economic, fiscal, industrial, agrarian, must be studied and devised. The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is thus a severe blow to all this essential preliminary planning and organization and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war, and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it.

The call for "a decision now" which we made last year and which now seems to be muted, was thus dictated by sound judgment and practical intelligence. It was not due to the impatience of impractical political extremists. To postpone the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab opposition, now rapidly organizing, to consolidate itself still further, and to defeat all efforts at intelligent planning for a difficult post-war reconstruction.

We may not succeed in our objectives. "I am not bound to succeed," declared Abraham Lincoln, "but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be free." Ours is the duty to live up to what light we have, to the guidance of our history and the great lessons of our experience and to give to the statesmen of the world our best judgment as to how our problem, which is also a world problem, can best be solved, to the hurt of none and the blessing of all.

It is not our duty to propose partial solutions. The statesmen of the world may prefer partial solutions in the hope of insuring peace. This, you will recall, was the Munich complex. Lack of vision and courage may again postpone the just and definitive decision. This will undoubtedly acerbate the political conditions in Palestine and in the Near East. But this is beyond our control. What is within our control is the resolve to make known our cause to the world, and to demand justice at the bar of history. We must ask nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We must accept nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We have no right to renounce our historic and religious hope which has fed and sustained the spirit of our people through all these long and weary centuries. No Jewish leader has been given or will be given the mandate to make such a renunciation. The messianic hope of Israel cannot be bartered away for an immigration quota, desperately as refugee Jews need the haven of Palestine and desperately as we want them to go there.

### Another White Paper?

It has been rumored that the Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they, Moslem and Christian Arabs, shall remain in the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such generosity is in violent contrast to their customary intransigeance. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not whether we have 600,000 Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If with a million Jews we still remain a minority, our primary objective is not obtained. There

is no national Jewish State. There is no internationally recognized Jewish nation. We remain as we have through these two thousand years, a minority everywhere, and our universal minority status has been at the root of our universal insecurity. Minority rights, even under international guarantees, are of little value, as the experience of our people in Eastern Europe between the two world wars amply demonstrated. We are different from all other minorities in the world. Each of the other minority groups has a fatherland somewhere where the main body of its people lives in its own home. The Jewish minorities have no national homeland anywhere. Thus when minorities are hardpressed, arrangements can be made for their transference back to their original homes. Transference of a Jewish minority can only mean consignment to exile or to extermination camps. The founders of our movement, time and again warned, as did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine." Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish State made possible in a democratic world by the achievement of a Jewish majority. British and American statesmen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was and this was the interpretation put on it (the Declaration) that a Jewish State would be established as soon as the Jews had responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews."

The very essence of the millenial hope of our people would be denied and rejected by any formula which would make unattainable a Jewish State in Palestine. It would also be a disastrous retreat. The peace conference at the conclusion of this war, far from consummating, would actually be nullifying the political gains which the Jewish people achieved at the close of the last war. What may be contemplated, if these or similar rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper—a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement.

The real purpose of the MacDonald White Paper, you will recall, was not the restrictive figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states: "His Majesty's Government now declares unequivocally that it is not part of their policy that Palestine should become a Jewish State." This is the lethal dose of the White Paper and a revision of the quota figure upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not its antidote. The MacDonald White Paper was a product of that disastrous Munich era when the rights of other smaller nations were also sacrificed and other solemn international commitments were scrapped. Munich led to the Second World War. It has been the high hope of all that a victory of the United Nations will undo the mischief of Munich and will rectify the wrongs which were there and since perpetrated. What was ruthlessly taken away will be rightfully restored. Will this principle of reparation and restoration be applied to all peoples, except the Jews? Are the promises to the Jewish people alone to be ignored and dishonored? Is our loyalty alone to go unrequited, our sacrifices unrewarded and our dead forgotten?

### Is Ibn Saud To Be the Arbiter of Our Destinies?

One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conference which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-States a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home. Was the Jewish people consulted about the fate of Iraq, or Syria or Saudi Arabia? Were these states originally responsible for bringing the Jewish National Home into existence? Have they been asked to contribute a farthing to it, or to defend it? Have these Arab states fought so valiantly in this war that they have earned the right to determine the political destiny of a people which did fully assume its war responsibilities and did fight valiantly in defense of its National Homeland and the ideals of the democratic world? Not a single Arab state gave active support to the Allied cause! Some actually played treasonable roles during the war and others flirted with the Axis.

Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent? The Mandate recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine—a fact strangely enough already recognized in Biblical times —but it remained for the Allied leaders to recognize the historic connection of Ibn Saud with Palestine! It was MacDonald, you will recall, when he planned repudiation in 1939, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neighboring Arab countries to weight the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convoked the ill-fated Round Table Conference between Jews and Arabs in 1939. This Conference eventuated in the notorious White Paper of May, 1939 which was a complete surrender to Arab demands and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the Jewish people. This occurred on the eve of the war, under pressure presumably of the approaching world crisis when British imperial interests needed the good will and cooperation of the Arab world—a cooperation, by the way, which was never forthcoming. But this is 1945! We are on the eve of an Allied victory. The need for appeasement no longer exists. Nevertheless the Arab states are again brought into the picture, and one is forced to ask with real apprehension whether another White Paper is not in the making.

It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home. It is the same Ibn Saud, who two years ago declared: "I know of nothing that justifies the Jewish claim in Palestine . . . I am not afraid of the Jews or of the possibility of their ever having a state or power either in the land of the Arabs or elsewhere. This is in accordance with what God has revealed unto us through the mouth of His Prophet in His Holy Book. Thus I hold the demands of the Jews upon this land in error . . . If the Jews are impelled to seek a place to live, Europe and America are larger and more fertile than Palestine."

Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding opposition to the Jewish National Homeand this time to the President of the U. S. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn Saud approach upon which so much had been staked, has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem? Valuable years and precious human lives have already been lost in this sad and futile endeavor. The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies of the world, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all peoples will share.

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxemburg and Saudi Arabia and Guatemala. But Israel is not to be there! The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battlefront on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy-they will not be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away.

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The road ahead is hard. The odds are against us. The odds were always against us. They were strongly against the Maccabees, against our ancestors at the Red Sea striking out for freedom, against the scattered and struggling Jewish communities fighting for survival in the dark ages. The odds were against the first Jewish pioneers who broke ground for the first Jewish colony and against those who first drained the malarial marshes and swamps of the Emek. But they all had the courage of their dreams and therein lay their invincible strength.

Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unremitting effort directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It is the vague objective which leads to the uncertain course. The difficulty arises when there are basic and frequently unconscious differences as to objectives which, to the outsider, appear as a conflict only of strategy or of personalities. But, if you penetrate all the circles of rationalization, you come at last upon the timid soul, and the heart that lacks faith. Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, they buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "Endziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only "zealots" and "extremists" keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it . . .

### Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue—Prime Minister Churchill and President Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our Movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our Movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working under terrific pressure. From all sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these groups are working against our Movement. Political leaders, engrossed in many tasks, sometimes accept for the solution of what they regard as minor issues, formulas which appear expedient, and compromises which only aggravate the situation.

Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future." In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "Personally my heart is full of sympathy with Zionism. This sympathy has existed in me for a long time . . . I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain. I firmly believe that it will be a blessing also to all the inhabitants of the country without distinction of race and religion."

Nevertheless this same Mr. Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the White Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which among other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found *in* Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill vigorously denounced the MacDonald White Paper of May, 1939. He called it "a breach, a violation of the pledge, the abandonment of the Balfour Declaration, the end of the vision, of the hope, of the dream." And yet, a year later, when he became Prime Minister in 1940, he permitted that policy to stand, and it stands to this day, a policy which has resulted in incalculable tragedies to myriads of our people in Europe who might have found a haven of refuge in Palestine during these years of slaughter and annihilation.

We do not judge. We do not point to any moral contradictions. But surely these repeated instances of performance lagging behind profession should caution us against exclusive reliance upon the good intentions of one or two great men, however unquestionably sincere their intentions are.

Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year, and as recently as last Friday, has expressed himself in clear and forthright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently solicited, the Government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mandatory power. Mr. Roosevelt declared himself publicly in favor of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our Government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States, where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for it overwhelmingly. Since then, months have elapsed, the Yalta Conference has been held, but nothing has been forthcoming from this Administration to compensate for this deferred action, or even to explain it.

We were asked to wait a little while longer. Congress was energetically pressed not to pass the Palestine Resolution. Zionist leaders rushed pell mell to Washington to collaborate with the State Department in its effort to keep the Congress of the U. S. from expressing itself in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth. We waited. The result-Ibn Saud said "No". The entire Palestine subject has been postponed to the end of the war and there is no Palestine Resolution.

When we mention these facts, it is not that we are hostile to Mr. Churchill or to President Roosevelt. These men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions . . .

Political exigencies frequently deflect the clear purposes even of our best friends and we must do our utmost to reinforce their good will and intent so that they will not yield to pressures at our expense. Their political strategy pursued in our behalf may also be mistaken, as the case of Ibn Saud, upon whom both Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill placed such high hopes, amply demonstrates.

### The Correct Course

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized public opinion. In political life today great political issues which affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomness or eloquence exercised by an individual, or on the basis of a quid pro quo for political support given by an individual during a political campaign. Personal intercession of this sort is an anachronism in the world today. It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up-its ministers and educators, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legislators, its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our Government and to our Chief Executive. Let the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Cabinet! Let us rally all men of good will everywhere in the world who would like to see justice done, an ancient wrong righted and a present day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has

chosen for great decisions. Let these men become aware, and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by this awareness, that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot whole-heartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people!

We believe that the solution of the problem of Jewish national homelessness is imperative for the sake of the peace of the world. Any historic people which will be denied a minimum of national security and independence after the war will endanger the success of the international order which will be set up. In the delicately-poised international order of tomorrow, the Jewish people must not remain a people without status and without a national home. Against its own will and without any deliberate action on its part, it will become a focus of political tension, conflict and distress which may endanger the peace of the whole Middle East.

We, too, possess inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not yielded on these rights for two thousand years, although the world chose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own salvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient and honorable people.



AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE 55 West 42nd Street New York 18, N. Y.



## Nothing to Lose But Our Illusions Jewish Review and Observer, March 30, 1945 Condensation of Address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at Testimonial

Dinner Given in His Honor by New York Zionists on March 21 at Hotel Commodore.

What our people have sought to es- Jewish communities before them, to tablish through the long and weary 'the shock and horror of an unanticiyears of our dispersion is a Jewish pated and unprepared for reality. All



### DR. ABBA, HILLEL SILVER

Zionism was created to achieve. It is that which Herzl and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess and the myraids of Jews of our genneration and of the unnumbered generations before them worked and prayed for. This is the realistic solution. of the diaspora problem. Comfortable Jews in comfortable lands may prefer the other solutions and the soothing refrains of pleasant lullabies. Sooner or later they are awakened, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many

State. It is a Jewish State that Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our tranquility, how frequent and prolonged the years of our disquietude! There is a definite pattern to our experience in every land. There is no solution to the Jewish problem custom-tailored to each individual country, each community or each class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, shaken out of his assimilationist dream by the Russian pogroms of his day declared: "Our future will remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our position is not made. This change cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jewish people as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging to the Jews, which is some day to become our inalienable home. our fatherland." All that has happened to the Jewish peoplel in the last 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

> It is of a Jewish state that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued. lest in this strident, clamorous day (Continued on Page 5)

> our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

## THE JEWISH REVIEW AND OBSERVER

### NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR ILLUSIONS

### (Continued from Page 1)

It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political Now!! It is quite selfdecision evident and elementary that a transitional period will be required and a Jewish majority before the full aparatus of a free and democratic Jewish State can be brought into operation. But all such reasonable exposition of self-evident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our adversaries who seize upon it as proof that Zionist leaders themselves favor delay and do not really expect a Jewish Commonwealth and may be satisfied with much less. These leaders are roundly praised for their statesmanlike forbearance, patience, tact, and from underneath this elegant cloak of praise often dart the deadly rapier thrusts at the heart of our movemennt. That is how we have been imposed upon time and again ! !

If we succeed in obtaining a declaration now from the proper authorities that it is proposed to set up Palestine as a Jewish State, then, whether it takes three or five years to complete its implementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration. Now, ( then the time element is altogether irrelevant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made, are politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat. for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

The very essence of the millenial hope of our people would be denied and rejected by any formula which would make unattainable a Jewish State in Palestine. It would also be a disastrous retreat. The peace conference at the conclusion of this war, far from consummating, would actually be nullifying the political gains which the Jewish people achieved at the close of the last war. What may be contemplated, if these or similar rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper-a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement.

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of' world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago "pro forma", in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be tthere, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatamala. But Israel is not to be there! The Jewish people against whom Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties run. ning into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by tthe hundreds of thousannds are fighting on every battle front on 'the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Pal. estine, which sent its sons in the tens freedom and democracy-they will of thousands to fight for the cause of "not" be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away. The road ahead is hard. The odds The odds are always are against us. against us. They were strongly against the Maccabees, against our ancestors at the Red Sea striking out for freedom, against the scattered and struggling Jewish communities fighting for survival in the dark ages. The odds were against the first Jewish pioneers who broke ground for the first Jewish colony and against those first drained the malarial who marshes and swamps of the Emek. But they all had the courage of their dreams and therein lay their invincible strength. Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unremitting effort directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It is the vague objective which leads to The difficulthe uncertain course. ty arises when there are basic and frequently unconscious differences as to objectives which, to the outsider, appear as a conflict only of strategy or of personalities. But, if you pen-

etrate all the circles of rationaliza-'tion, you come at last upon the timid soul, and the heart that lacks faith. Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government. circles, they buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only zealots and extremists keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it . . .

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue -Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world they possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working From all under terrific pressure. sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these powerful groups are working against our movement. Political leaders, engrossed in many tasks, sometimes accept for the solution of what they regard as minor issues, formulas which appear expedient, and compromises which only aggravate the situation.

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in democracy is thru organized public opinion. In political life today great political issues which

affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomness or eloquence exercised by an individual, or on the basis of a quid pro quo for political support given by an individual during a political campaign. Personal intercession of this sort is It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up-its ministers and educatoors, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legislators, its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our government and to our Chief Executive. Let the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Cabinet. Let us rally all men of good will everywhere in the world who would like to see justice done, an ancient wrong righted and a present day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has chosen for great decisions. Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by this awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot whole heartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to fused and over-loaded.



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## AUFBAU May. 36, 19

# Our Inalienable Rights

A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatamala.

But Israel is not to be there! The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of thousands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy—they will not be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be included as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of our case to some subsidiary body at the conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away.

The road ahead is hard. The odds are against us. The odds were always against us. Our strength today, as of old, lies in our dream, in the urgency of our national need, in knowing our own minds and in unremitting effort directed towards an undeflected purpose. We may not succeed even then, but our faith and courage will then inspire generations yet unborn to complete the task which we were prevented from completing. Ours is the responsibility of presenting our case fully, clearly, forcibly, to the world. Once we know our own minds and have the courage to pursue our objectives to the end, we shall have no difficulty in finding the proper methods for presenting our case. It is the vague objective which leads to the uncertain course.

It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue—Churchill and Roosevelt. They are great and good men and they are well intentioned towards us. In the present political conjuncture of the world, they possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are most vital to the success of our movement. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of these statesmen are working under terrific pressure. From all sides powerful pressure groups converge on them, and some of these powerful groups are working against our movement.

Take the case of Mr. Churchill. He has always been a friend of Zionism. He is today. Only recently he spoke of himself as "the architect of the Jewish future." In 1921, on the occasion of his planting a tree in the garden of the Hebrew University on Mt. Scopus, he declared: "... I believe that the building of a Jewish National Home in Palestine will be a blessing to the whole world, a blessing to the Jewish race scattered all over the world, a blessing to Great Britain."

Nevertheless this same Churchill, only a year later, was responsible for the Whilte Paper of 1922, the first of a series of reinterpretations, which among other things declared that the terms of the Balfour Declaration did not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a home should be found *in* Palestine.

Prime Minister Churchill vigorously denounced the MacDonald White Paper of May 1939. And yet, a year later, when he became Prime Minister, in 1940, he permitted that policy to stand, and it stands to this day, a policy which has resulted in incalculable tragedies to myriads of our people in Europe who might have found a haven of refuge in Palestine during these years of slaughter and annihilation.

We do no judge. Mr. Roosevelt has frequently evidenced his interest in the Jewish National Home, and more than once during the past year has expressed himself in clear and fortright endorsement of Zionism. And yet, though frequently solicited, the government of the United States did nothing to undo the mischief of the White Paper which was in clear violation of agreements between our Government and the Mandatory power. Mr. Roosevelt has declared himself publicly in favor of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, but twice during 1944, the executive branch of our government was responsible for the shelving of the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution in the Congress of the United States, where both the House and the Senate were prepared and eager to vote for it overwhelmingly. Since then, months have elapsed, the Yalta Conference has been held, but nothing has been forthcoming from this Administration to compensate for this deferred action, or even to explain it.

the people of England of all political parties make their will known to their Colonial Office and to their Cabinet! Let us rally all men of good-will everywhere in the world who would like to see justice done, an ancient wrong righted and a present-day world need met. Let a mighty chorus of voices rise to the ears of the men whom destiny has chosen for great decisions.

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1945

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We, too, possess inalienable rights as a people, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. We have not yielded on these rights for two thousand years, although the world chose to ignore and to deny them. The Jewish people, for its own salvation and for the peace of the world, now asks that no obstacle be put in its way to repossess itself of these rights, to reconstruct its national life in its historic home and to quicken to new life an ancient and honorable people.

When we mention these facts, in is not that we are hostile to Mr. Churchill or to President Roosevelt. These men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the ery of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions....

Political exigencies frequently deflect the clear purposes even of our best friends and we must do our utmost to reinforce their good-will and intent so that they will not yield to pressures at our expense. Their political strategy pursued in our behalf may also be mistaken, as the case of Ibn Saud, upon whom both Roosevelt and Churchill placed such high hopes, amply demonstrates.

It is important to continue to make the most friendly and effective representation to the great leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized public opinion. It is too late for Court Jews. If our cause is just, let the American people speak up—its ministers and educators, its writers and journalists, its leaders of capital and labor, its state legislators, its congressmen and senators, of both political parties, Republicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have strong and warm friends in both. Let them make known their will to our government and to our Chief Executive. Let

# Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

### (Continued from Page 9)

TWELVE

years and precious human lives have already been lost in this said - and futile endeavor. The Jewish problem is a world problem, not an Arabian problem. Its solution must come at the hands of the great democracies of the world, who have assumed the grave responsibility for rebuilding our world upon new and lasting foundations of justice in which all peoples will share.

"A new world order is in the making. A system of security is being devised to protect the rights of all nations, their independence and survival. An important conference of the United Nations will be held in San Francisco in a few weeks to carry the work of world organization a step further. All the nations who fought on the side of the United Nations, they are well intentioned towards the mischief of the White Paper even those who declared war only a few days ago pro forma, in order to be included in the invitation, will be represented there. Iraq will be there, and Luxembourg and Saudi-Arabia and Guatemala. But Israel is not to be there!! The Jewish people against whom the Axis had decreed a war of extermination, and singled it out as its chief enemy, the Jewish people whose civilian casualties running into the millions far outnumber those of any other nation, and whose sons by the hundreds of thousands are fighting on every battle front on the side of the United Nations, the Jewish people and the Yishuv of Palestine, which sent its sons in the tens of theusands to fight for the cause of freedom and democracy - they will NOT be represented at San Francisco. We are not to be ncluded as a people in the planned international order of tomorrow. Seemingly as a nation, we do not exist, except for persecution and calumny and sacrifices. Rumor has it that something may be done about it; some back door may be opened for the presentation of cur case to some subsidiary body at the Conference. Let us hope that even this shred of comfort will not be taken away.

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### **Political Exigencies**

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# Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

# Solution Of Problem Would Bless World, Zionist Says

address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is reproduced in full betimeliness and its appeal to reason.)

sion now on the Palestine home- spoil the vineyard. full follows:

and women is not a personal tri- fortable lands may prefer the other as a nation, the foundation of a bute to me. I interpret it rather solutions and the soothing refrains colonial community belonging to as a strong and eager reaffirma- of pleasant lullables. Sooner or la- the Jews, which is some day to tion of faith in the basic ideals of ter the are awakened, like the become our inalienable home, our

people planted shall not bring every land. forth wild grapes and that the lit-

testimonial dinner in his honor at weary years of our dispersion is sker, shaken out of his assimila- a Jewish Commonwealth and may Hotel Commodore Mar. 21. Long a Jewish State. It is a Jewish tionist dream by the Russian pothe bellwether in the movement State that Zionism was created to groms of his day, declared: "Our for a homeland for the Jews, Dr. achieve. It is that which Herzl future will remain insecure and Silver, in his efficient manner, and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess precarious so long as a radical enunciated the reasons why a Jew- and the myriads of Jews of our change in our position is not ish homeland should be established generation and of the unnumbered made. This change cannot be in Palestine and why it should be generations before them worked brought about by the civil emanestablished now. His address in and prayed for. This is the realis- cipation of the Jews in this or tic solution of the diaspora prob- that state, but only by the auto-"This great outpouring of men lem. Comfortable Jews in com- emancipation of the Jewish people

our movement and in men who re- Jews of Germany in our day and fatherland." All that has happened to the Jewish people in the alast 60 years, and more, especially all that has happened in the last ten years, only serve to underscore the inevitability of Pinsker's conclusions.

### **Decision** Needed Now

It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out.

"It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will

RUSCO

COMBINATION WINDOWS

Save Fue

WITH GREATER COMFORT

like so many Jewish communities take to set up such a Jewish be satisfied with much less. These before them, to the shock and hor- State in actual running order. We leaders are roundly praised for ror of an unanticipated and unpre- need the political decision NOW !! their statesmanlike forbearance, pared-for reality. All Jews share It is quite self-evident and elemen- patience and tact, and from undera common destiny. How brief the tary that a transitional period will neath this elegant cloak of praise (Edilor's Note: The following | main loyal to them and in methods intervals of our tranquility, how be required and a Jewish majority often dart the deadly rapier which you believe are likely to frequent and prolonged the years before the full apparatus of a free thrusts at the heart of our movelead to success. You are resolved of our disquietude! There is a de- and democratic Jewish State can ment. That is how we have been cause of its importance, its that the choicest vine which our finite pattern to our experience in be brought into operation. But all imposed upon time and again !!! such reasonable exposition of self- "If we succeed in obtaining a

"There is no solution to the evident truths at this time only declaration now from the proper New York-Calling for a deci- tle foxes shall not be allowed to Jewish problem custom-tailored to serves the purpose of our adver- authorities that it is proposed to each individual country, each com- saries who seize upon it as proof set up Palestine as a Jewish land issue, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver "What our people have sought munity or each class of Jews. that Zionist leaders themselves fa- State, then, whether it takes three delivered a ringing speech at a to establish through the long and More than 60 years ago, Leo Pin- vor delay and do not really expect or five years to complete its im-

SEVEN

(Continued on Page 8)



Storm Sash To Screens Changed In 30 Seconds The householder's dream! No more fussing with ladders, no more storm windows stored in the cellar. No more sweating and puffing to change from creens to storm sash! RUSCO COMBINATION

WINDOWS liminate all that. They comine storm windows, screens, and weather-stripping in one ompact, permanent unit. It akes just 30 seconds to change Rusco Window from screen o storm sash. You can change or wash windows from the IN-SIDE!

TITS OVER OLD WINDOWS. RUSCO is a metal frame, fitted with combination sash, which s installed over your present vindows. Improves the appearnce of your home, and is pernanently installed-no seminnual removal as with oldashioned screens and storm ash. RAIN PROOF, DRAFT REE. RUSCO makes ventilaion possible, summer and winer, without letting in snow or ain and without causing drafts. Pays for itself in winter fuel savings. Phone us or mail a post card for more information.

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of war-torn Europe. Will you help.

BRING YOURS TO

Sage-Fillen

HARTFORD

EIGHT

# Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

### (Continued from Page 7)

plementation is of secondary importance. If we do not obtain such a positive declaration NOW, then the time element is altogether irrevelant, and whatever concessions in terms of immigration schedules are made are, politically speaking, of little moment. They may be only indices of defeat, for such schedules will most probably be fixed to insure a permanent minority status for us in Palestine.

#### Impudent Immigration Laws

"It is not for us at this time to stress Palestine as a place of re-, fuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour violate immigration laws. .

by the establishment of a national unpreparedness, to absorb it. home - which captured the imagination of the great statesmen of the first World War who were responsible for the Balfour Declaration and Mandate. Let it also be remembered that the classic text of Zionism is a book called "The Jewish State." In 1917, Dr. Chaim Weizmann declared: 'We have never built our Zionist Movement on the sufferings of our people in Russia or elsewhere. These sufferings were never the cause of Zionism. The fundamental cause of Zionism was, and is, the inerad cable national striving of Jewry to have a home of its own --- a national center, a national home with a national life. And this remains now stronger than ever." "Refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism! Our undying sin will be, if we fail to understand the potentials of this great hour and if we sink our clear, resplendent political vision of national rebirth in the surging and engulfing waters of philanthropy.

ly be in existence today if it were the spirit of our people through come a Jewish State." This is the be applied to all peoples, except not for the legally and morally all these long and weary centuries. lethal dose of the White Paper and the Jews? Are the promises to the unjustifiable policy of the Mac- No Jewish leader has been given a revision of the quota figure up- Jewish people alone to be ignored Donald White Paper which arbi- or will be given the mandate to ward from 75,000 to 375,000 is not and dishonored? Is our loyalty trarily restricted Jewish immigra- make such a renunciation. The its antidote. The MacDonald alone to go unrequited, our sacrition during recent years when messianic hope of Israel cannot be White Paper was a product of fices unrewarded and our dead forhundreds of thousands of our peo- bartered away for an immigration that disastrous Munich era when gotten? ple were clamoring for admission quota, desperately as refugee the right of other smaller nations into Palestine, and when many of Jews need the haven of Palestine were also sacrificed and other sol- ported proposals are the result of them were forced to the indignity and desperately as we want them emn international commitments the conference which Mr. Churchof smuggling themselves into to go there. their own national homeland as thieves in the night, and boatloads of them perished miserably within sight of the land of Israel, having been denied the right to land an its shores.

of fugitive political opportunities, Palestine today were it not for the credit this rumor, for such generwhen the great bell of history is interference of the Mandatory osity is in violent contrast to their tolling for us the final summons, power. The creation of a Jewish customary intransigeance. But on immigration certificates for re- State would by now be a matter whether the rumor has substance fugees - if what we have in mind of course. Therefore we must now or not, from the point of view of is national restoration and a Jew- ask that the primary and original our national rebirth what matters ish State. The Arabs are not de- purpose of the Mandate be reaf- is not whether we have 600,000 ceived by such a maneuver. The firmed forthwith, that it be imple- Jews or a million Jews in Palesworld is not moved to greater ex- mented, and that its implementa- tine, but whether we have a maertions in our behalf when we tion be assured by giving the Jew- jority. If with a million Jews we speak of saving refugees instead ish people control over immigra- still remain a minority, our priof building a Jewish State. The tion. Moreover, the country should mary objective is not obtained. world was not greatly moved by at once be placed under a special There is no national Jewish State. our desperate pleas in behalf of administration, on which the Jew- There is no internationally recogour millions of doomed fellow- ish people shall have preponderant nized Jewish nation. We remain Jews now lying dead in their representation corresponding to its as we have through all these 2,000 nameless graves, many of whom overwhelming stake in the coun- years, minority everywhere, and might have been saved. The great try, to insure its economic devel- our universal minority status has democracies heard the tortured opment and the rapid absorption been at the root of our universal ery of a dying people. They of new settlers, and the establish- insecurity. Minority rights, even wagged their heads in sympathy ment of the Jewish State. This is under international guarantees, and then proceeded to speak in the only kind of 'transitional pe- are of little value, as the experithe barren legalism of constricted riod' which can lead to a Jewish ence of our people in Eastern Euhearts of their inability to inter- State. The Jewish Agency must be rope, between the two world wars, vene in the domestic affairs of vested forthwith with governmen- amply demonstrated. We are difother nations and of their own in- tal powers to plan and to set up ferent from all other mingrities in the appropriate apparatus for the world. Each of the other mi-"Those who tell us to forget or mass immigration which must fol- nority groups has a fatherland forego our national claims at this low immediately after the war, somewhere where the main body time so as to reenforce our refu- Appropriate policies, economic, of its people lives in its own home. gee claims are talking sheer non- fiscal, industrial, agrarian, must The Jewish minorities have no sense. Thus far the refusals have be studied and devised. The post- homeland anywhere. Thus when stood as adamant against their ponement of a decision as to the minorities are hard-pressed, arhumanitarian pleas as against our status of Palestine until after the rangements can be made for their national demands. Let it be re- end of hostilities is thus a severe transference back to their original membered, too, that it was the na- blow to all this essential prelim- homes. Transference of a Jewish tional rather than the philan- inary planning and organization minority can only mean consignthropic appeal - the political nec- and it may seriously affect the ment to exile, or to extermination essity for normalizing the status flow of immigration after the war, camps. The founders of our moveof world Jewry once and fcr all and the country's ability, through ment, time and again warned, as

Such conditions would undoubted- hope which has fed and sustained policy that Palestine should be- ciple of reparation and restoration

"It has been rumored that the Arabs are about to make a generous gesture and consent to additional Jewish immigrants on condition that they. Moslem and Christian Rrabs, shall remain in "We would be a majority in the majority. I am not inclined to did Nordau, that "we must at any price become a majority in Palestine." Their kingly dream was at all times that of a Jewish state which we made last year and made possible in a democratic which now seems to be muted, was world by the achievement of a thus dictated by sound judgment Jewish majority, British and Amand practical intelligence. It was erican statesmen, too, thought in terms of a Jewish National Home who was Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Declaration, testified that "the idea was as soon as the Jews had responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants." Mr. Winston Churchill, who was Secretary of State in 1920 exultingly visioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews."

were scrapped. Munich led to the ill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Second World War. It has been Ibn Saud and the other Arab the high hope of all that a victory Criefs of States a few weeks ago. of the United Nations will undo One wonders why Arab states rectify the wrongs which were about the fate of the Jewish Nathere and since perpetrated. What tional Home. Was the Jewish peowas ruthlessly taken away will be ple consulted about the fate of rightfully restored. Will this prin-

"One wonders whether these rethe mischief of Munich and will were consulted in the first place

(Continued on Page 9)

## ON LAKE SALMON, EAST HAMPTON, CONN. AN IDEAL CHILDREN'S CAMP, AGES 4 TO 16

1500 acres, large lake, 75 canoes, boats, 10 clay tennis courts, horseback riding; all athletic and aquatic facilities under mature and competent teacher counsellors. Jewish American cuisine. 75 modern bunks. Hotel, Bungalow accommodations for parents and day campers. Comfortable innerspring mattresses.

#### Partition Scorned

tion or bi-nationalism if we erally hurt of none and the blessing of denied and rejected by any formumean a Jewish State. No one all. spoke of partition or bi-national- "It is not our duty to propose a Jewish State in Palestine. It ism when there were only fifty- partial solutions. The statesmen would also be a disastrous retreat. five thousand Jews in Palestine in of the world may prefer partial The peace conference at the con-1917. Why should one speak of it solutions in the hope of insuring clusion of this war, far from contoday when there are over 600,000 peace. This, you will recall, was summating, would actually be nul-Jews and the ratio of Jew to Arab the Munich complex. Lack of vi- lifying the political gains which is far greater than it was then? sion and courage may again post- the Jewish people achieved at the Neither the Declaration nor the pone the just and definitive deci- close of the last war. What may Mandate contemplated the crea- sion: This will undoubtedly acer- be contemplated, if these or simtion of an Arab State in Palestine bate the political conditions in ilar rumors have any substance, is, or of an Arab National Home. Palestine and in the Near East. I am afraid, another White Paper Such Arab states were contem- But this is beyond our control. -a final payoff, and liquidation of plated and have in fact been es- What is within our control is the the Zionist Movement. tablished by the Allied Nations resolve to make known our cause "The real purpose of the Mcelswhere in the Near East. It was to the world, and to demand jus- Donald White Paper, you will rethe clear intention, and the Royal tice at the bar of history. We call, was not the restrictive figure Commission Report of 1937 con- must ask nothing that is unjust of 75,000 additional Jewish immifirms it, to convert the Jewish Na- and unreasonable. We must accept grants, but as it clearly and specitional Home into a Jewish State nothing that is unjust and unrea- fically states: "H's Majesty's Govas soon as the conditions for a sonable. We have no right to re- ernment now declares unequivo-

### Hurt None, Bless All

"The call for 'a decision now' not due to the impatience of impractical political extremists. To and a Jewish State. Lloyd George, postpone the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab opposition, now rapidly organizing, to consolidate itself still fur- and this was the interpretation ther, and to defeat all efforts at put on it (the Declaration) that a intelligent planning for a difficult Jewish State would be established post-war reconstruction.

"We may not succeed in our objectives. 'I am not bound to succeed,' declared Abraham Lincoln, 'but I am bound to live up to what light I have. I am not bound to win, but I am bound to be free.' Ours is the duty to live up to what light we have, to the guidance of our history and the great lessons of our experience and to give to the statesmen of the world our best judgment as to how our probler: which is also a world prob-It is not for u" 'o talk of parti- lem, can best be solved, to the lenial hope of our people would be

Jewish State actually existed nounce our historic and religious cally that it is not part of their

### No Retreat

"The very essence of the milla which would make unattainable

# Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

### (Continued from Page 8)

Irad, or Syria or Saudi-Arabia? Were these states originally responsible for bringing the Jewish National Home into existence. Have they been asked to contribute a farthing to it, or to defend it? Have these Arab states fought so valiantly in this war that they have earned the right to determine the political destiny of a people which did fully assume its war responsibilities and did fight valiantly in defense of its national homeland and the ideals of the democratic world? Not a single Arab state gave active support to the Allied cause! Some actually played treasonable roles during the war and other flirted with the Axis.

"Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent? The Mandate recognized the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine — a fact strangely enough already recognized in Biblical times - but it remained for the Allied leaders to recognize the historic connection of Ibn Saud with Palestine! It was Mac Donald, you will recall, when he planned repudiation, in 1939, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neignboring Arab countries to weight the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convoked the ill-fated Round Table Conference between Jews and Rrabs in 1939. 1. 102.0.8

Surrenuer to Arabs "This Conference eventuated in the notorious White Paper of May, 1939 which was a complete surrender to Arab demands and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the Jewish people. This occurred on the eve of the war, under pressure presumably of the approaching world crisis when British imperial interests needed

into the picture, and one is forced the Jews or of the possibility of tine."

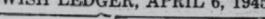
the good will and cooperation of that Ibn Saud is now the chief fig- with what God has revealed unto opposition to the Jewish National

the Arab world - a cooperation, ure consulted by Great Britain and us through the mouth of His Home and this time to the Presiby the way, which was never the United States about the future Prophet in His Holy Book. Thus I dent of the U.S. and the Prime forthcoming. But this is 1945! We of the Jewish National Home. It is hold the demands of the Jews upon Winister of Great Britain, now are on the eve of an Allied vic- the same Ibn Saud, who, two years this land in error. . . If the Jews that the long cherished and fostory. The need for appeasement no ago declared "I know of nothing are impelled to seek a place to tered Ibn Saud upon whom so longer exists. Nevertheless the that justifies the Jewish claim in live, Europe and America are larg- much had been staked, has proved Arab states are again brought Palestine. . . I am not afraid of er and more fertile than Pales- a dismal failure, will the demo-

to ask with real apprehension their ever having a state or power "Is this man to be the arbiter ing to find an Arab solution for whether another White Paper is either in the land of the Arabs or of our destinies? Now that Ibn the Jewish problem? Valuable not in the making. It would seem elsewhere. This is in accordance Saud has reiterated his unyielding

cratic leaders still persist in try-

(Continued on Page 12)





#### **OFFICE : 183 EAST BROADWAY**

NEW YORK - SUNDAY, MARCH 25, 1915

# NOW, NOW IS THE TIME FOR DECISION ON A JEWISH MAJORITY STATE IN PALESTINE

The full text of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's speech at the Testimonial Dinner given in his honor on Wednesday, March 21, 1945, at the Hotel Commodore, in New York.

This great outpouring of men may be satisfied with much less and the Royal Commission Report and women is not a personal These leaders are roundly praised of 1937 confirms it, to convert the tribute to me. I interpret it ra- for their statesmanlike forhear- Jewish National Home into a Jewall a strong and eager re- ance, patience and tact, and from ish State as soon as the conditions ther affication of faith in the basic underneath this elegant cloak of for a Jewish State actually existideals of our Movement, in praise often dart the deadly rapier ed. Such conditions would unmen who remain loyal to them thrusts at the heart of our move- doubtedly be in existence today if and in methods which you believe ment. That is how we have been it were not for the legally and are likely to lead to success. You imposed upon time and again! morally unjustifiable policy of the are resolved that the choicest vine If we succeed in obtaining a MacDonald White Paper which which our people planted shall declaration now from the proper arbitrarily restricted Jewish imnot bring forth wild grapes and authorities that it is proposed to migration during recent years that the little foxes shall not be set up Palestine as a Jewis's State, when hundreds of thousands of allowed to spoll the vineyard. then, whether it takes three or five our people were clamoring for ad-

What our people have sought years to complete its implementa- mission into Palestine, and when to establish through the long and tion is of secondary importance, many of them were forced to the weary years of our dispersion is If we do not obtain such a posit- indignity of smuggling themselves a Jewish state. It is a Jewish state live declaration now, then the time into their own national homeland that Zionism was created to element is altogether irrelevant, as thieves in the night, and boat schieve. It is that which Herzl and whatever concessions in terms loads of them perished miserably and Nordau and Pinsker and Hess of immigration schedules are within sight of the land of Israel and the myriads of Jews of our made, are politically speaking, of having been denied the right to generation and of the unnumbered little moment. They may be only land on its shores.



and democratic Jewish commonwealth ....

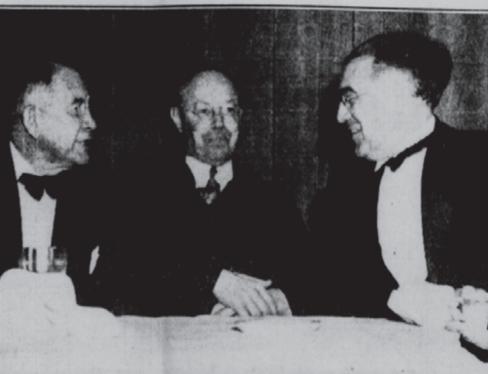
generations before them worked

tranquility, how frequent and pro- against our national demands. Let

indices of defeat, for such sched- We would be a majority in

ules will most probably be fixed Palestine today were it not for insure a permanent minority the interference of the Mandatory power. The creation of a Jewish status for us in Palestine. It is not for us at this time to State would by now be a matter

stress Palestine as a place of re- of course. Therefore we must now fuge for homeless Jews and con- ask that the primary and original entrate in this brief, tense hour purpose of the Mandate be reaf of fugitive political opportunities, firmed forthwith, that it be imwhen the great bell of history is plemented, and that its implemen-



At the Commodore last Wednesday night Dr. Silver (right) in conversation with Sen. Alben Barkley (Dem. Ky.), In the center is Scn. Robert Taft (Rep. Ohio).

olling for as the final summons, tation be assured by giving the customary intransigence. But whe- the high hope of all that a victory has reiterated his unyielding op- engrossed in many tasks, someon immigration certificates for re- Jewish people control over immifugees-if what we have in mind gration. Moreover, the country not from the point of view of our the mischief of Munich and will Home and this time to the Pres- of what they regard as minor pro quo for political support given is national restoration and a Jew- should at once be placed under a national rebirth what matters is rectify the wrongs which were ident of the U. S. and the Prime issues, formulas which appear ish State. The Arabs are not de-special administration correspond- not whether we have 600,000 Jews there and since perpetrated. What Minister of Great Britain, now that expedient, and compromises which campaign. Personal intercession ceived by such a maneuver. The ing to its overwhelming stake in world is not moved to greater exertions in our behalf when we development and the rapid absorp- with a million Jews we still re- ciple of reparation and restora- whet has proved to greater the country, to insure its economic with a million Jews we still re- ciple of reparation and restora- much had been staked, has proved to THE RECORD OF THE speak of saving refugees instead tion of new settlers, and the estab- main a minority, our primary ob- tion be applied to all peoples, a dismal failure, will the demoof building a Jewish State. The lishment of the Jewish State. This jective is not obtained. There is except the Jews? Are the promises cratic leaders still persist in tryworld was not greatly moved by is the only kind of "transitional is no national Jewish State. There to the Jewish people alone to be ing to find an Arab solution for our desperate pleas in behalf of period" which can lead to a Jewpublicly in favor of a free new lying dead in their must be vested forthwith with nameless graves, many of whom governmental powers to plan and minority everywhere, dead forgotten? and fullie endeavor. The Jewish in 1921, on the occasion of his publican and our universal minority status one wonders whether these re-problem is a world problem, not planting a tree in the series of the series democracies heard the tortured us for mass immigration which has been at the root of our uni-cry of a dying people. They must follow immediately after the versal insecurity. Minority rights, the conference which Mr. thur must come at the hands of the the Hebrew University on Mr. democracies heard the tortured us for mass immigration which an prayed for. This is the real-wagged their heads in sympathy war. Appropriate policies, service are of little value, as the excite a fix Saud and the other Arah who have assumed the grave rest tore are of little value, as the excite a fix Saud and the other Arah who have assumed the grave rest tore are of little value. and prayed for. This is the real intic solution of the disport problem. Comfortable Jews in the barren legalism of constricted ther solutions and the southing refrains of pleasant lullables. Sooner of later they are awak-Sooner of later they are awak-

oned, like the Jews of Germany in our day and like so many Jewish forego our mational claims at this communities before them, to the communities before them, to the shock and horror of an unantici-pated and unprepared for reality. All Jews share a common destiny. How brief the intervals of our trangelity, how frequent and pre-stand will everywhere in the world who or Syria or Saudi-Arabia? Were the flow of immigration after the shock and horror of an unantici-pated and unprepared for reality. How brief the intervals of our trangelity, how frequent and pre-stand somewhere whole the shock and horror of an unantici-pated and unprepared for reality. How brief the intervals of our trangelity, how frequent and pre-stand somewhere whole the shock and horror of an unantici-pated and unprepared for reality. How brief the intervals of our trangelity, how frequent and pre-stand somewhere whole the shock and horror of an unantici-pated and unprepared for reality. How brief the intervals of our trangelity, how frequent and pre-ter hor pressed, arrangements their humanitarian pleas as an he made for their intervals of our their humanitarian pleas as

can be made for their transference these Arab states fought so val. be held in San Francisco in a few Nevertheless this same Church- chosen for great decisions. Let longed the years of our disquiet- it be remembered, too, that it was The call for "a decision now" back to their original homes. family in defense of its national weeks to carry the work of world ill, only a year

**TELEPHONE : ORCHARD 4-3300** 

we shall have no difficulty in find-energetically pressed not to pass ing the proper methods for pre- the Palestine Resolution. Ziouht senting our case. It is the vague leaders rushed pell mell objective which leads to the un- Washington to collaborate with ertain course. The difficulty arises the State Repartment in KS when there are basic and fre- effort to keep the Congress uently unconscious differences as of the U.S. from expressing itsuif the objectives which, to the in favor of the Jewish Commoautsider, appear as a conflict only wealth. We waited. The resultof strategy or of personalities. Ibu Saud said "No". The entire But, if you penetrate all the Palestine subject has been postcircles of rationalization, you come poned to the end of the war and at last upon the timid soul, and there is no Palestine Resolution. the heart that lacks faith. Not all When we mention these faces, who talk about a Jewish Common- it is not that we are hostile to Mr. wealth really have faith in it. Time Churchill or to President Roomand again, in negotiations with yelt, These men are too big and opposing groups, or facing official politically too experienced to inopposition in government circles, terpret houest differences of opinthey buckle under. The Jewish ion and the cry of a sorely pressed Commonwealth suddenly becomes people for action, as personal hcs-

nebulous, a far-off "End-ziel" to tility. Only little souls stoop 10 which one pays ritual lip-service, such conclusions .... but which for all practical pur- Political exigencies frequently poses is brushed aside. Only defict the clear purposes even if zealots and extremists keep press- our best friends and we must so ing for it, even when important our utmost to reinforce their good people are annoyed by it ... will and intent so that they will It is of course clear that two not yield to pressures at our ef-

men will have much to do with pense. Their political strategy the final settlement of the Pales- pursued in our behalf may also be wards us. In the present political amply demonstrate, conjuncture of the world, they

possess enormous power. Their sympathy and cooperation are movement. It would be a mistake. of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen. Both of der terrific pressure. From all der

sides powerful pressure groups these groups are working against our movement, Political leaders,

## LEADERS

scopus, he declared: "Personally strong and warm friends in both. A new world order is in the race scattered all over the world, will everywhere in the world will

tine issue-Churchill and Roose- mistaken, as the case of Ibn Saud, velt. They are great and good men upon whom both Roosevelt and and they are well intentioned to Churchill placed such hopes, THE PROPER COURSE It is important to continue to most vital to the success of our make the most friendly and effect however, to leave the entire fate leaders of the democracies, but the most effective representation in a democracy is through organized In political life today great converge on them, and some of political issues which affect the destinies of nations and not de-

cided by the charm, win omeness or eloquence exercised by an inby an individual during a political of this sort is an anachronism in the world today. It is too late for Court Jews

If our cause is just, let the American people speak up - its

position is not made. This change called "The Jewish State." In war reconstruction. cannot be brought about by the 1917, Dr. Unaim Weizmann de-We may not succeed in our ob-National Home and a Jewish Heal times but it remained for chief enemy, the Jewish people called it "a breach, a violation of Zionist line should step aside. We the inevitability of Pin-

clamorous day our voice and the the surging and enguling waters solutions in the hope of insuring precise intent of our urgent cause of philanthropy. be drowned out.

#### TOWARD A STATE THE TIME FOR DECISION

to our experience in every land. anthropic appeal - the political which now seems to be muted, was can only mean consignment to ex- democratic world? Not a single the nations who fought on the side the first of a series of reinterpre- purpose by this awareness that our There is no solution to the Jewish necessity for normalizing the sta- thus dictated by sound judgment ile, or to extermination camps. The Arab state gave active support to of the United Nations, even those tations, which among other things cause is overwhelmingly approved problem custom-tailored to each tus of world Jewry once and for and practical intelligence. It was founders of our movement, time the Allied cause. Some actually who declared war only a few days declared that the terms off the by the people of America and of individual country, each commun-ity or each class of Jews. More then which captured the practical intengence. It was and again warned, as did Nordau. played treasonable roles during ago pro forma, in order to be in-the wint due to the impatience of im-ity or each class of Jews. More then which captured the property of the property of America and statistics of the property of t ity or cach class of Jews. More than sixty years ago, Leo Pinsker, anagonation of the great states men of the first World War who the decision is to prolong the crisis, to permit the Arab op-beila day declared: "Our future will be claration and Mandate. Let it remain insecure and precarious so long as a radical change in our basic text of Zionism is a book ligent planning for a difficult post-long defeat all efforts at intel-long as a radical change in our basic text of Zionism is a book ligent planning for a difficult post-long defeat all efforts at intel-long as a radical change in our basic text of Zionism is a book ligent planning for a difficult post-long defeat all efforts at intel-long d

cannot be brought about by the civil emancipation of the Jews in this or that state, but only by the auto-emancipation of the Jews in popele as a nation, the foundation of a colonial community belonging fatheriand." All that has hap-paned to the Jews in poned to the Jews in that state a conserver built or instruction of the Jews in poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in pone with a fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in the idea of a national home with fatteriand." All that has hap-poned to the Jews in the idea of a national home with fatteriand." All that hap hap-poned to the Jews in the idea of a national home with fatteriand." All that hap hap-hab the idea of last 60 years, and more, especially centre, a national home with a the statesmen of the world our by the idea of a national home with a the statesmen of the world our by the idea of a national home with a the statesmen of the world our by the idea of a national home

all that has happened in the last all that has happened in the last 10 years, only serves to under-the investigability of the inhabitants." Mr. Win-the investigability of the inhabitants." Mr. Win-the investigability of the inhabitants." Mr. Win-the international of the work our protection and uccount of the work of the inhabitants." Mr. Win-the international of the interna

Refugeeism may yet defeat lem, can best be solved, to the ston Churchill, who was Secretary eventuated in the notorious White not to be included as a people in slaughter and annihilation.

Refugeeism may yet defeat it is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trum-sink our clear, respleudent polit-unmistakable speech, even trum-state of the planed international order of to-int is of a Jewish State that we unmistakable speech, even trum-state of the planed international order of to-marks and a burnt-offering of all the national aspirations of the speech even trum-state speech even true spe pet-tongued, lest in this strident, ical vision of national rebirth in of the world may prefer partial ZIONISM IN MORTAL DANGER Jewish people. This occurred on rifices. Rumor has it that some- hind performance, should caution Against its own will and without

solutions in the hope of insuring pace. This, you will recall, was The very essence of the mil- presumably of the approaching back door may be opened for the the good intentions of one or two it will become a focus of political the Munich complex. Lack of lenial hope of our people would world crisis when British imperial presentation of our case to some great men, however unquestion. tension, conflict and distress which vision and courage may again be denied and rejected by any for- interests needed the good will and subsidiary body at the Conference. ably sincere their intentions are. may endanger the peace of the

It is not for us to talk of parti- postpone the just and definitive mula which would make unattain- cooperation of the Arab world\_ Let us hope that even this shred Mr. Roosevelt has frequently whole Middle East. It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up a Jewish State in actual poke of partition or bi-national-in Palestine and in the Near East. running order. We need the polit- ism when there were only fifty- But this is beyond our control. conclusion of this war, far from Allied victory. The need for apevident and elementary that a tight endower of zionism. And to demand just the world, and to demand just the world chose to the world and to demand just the d transitional period will be required it today when there are over six to the world, and to demand jus- the Jewish people achieved at the again brought into the picture. Sea striking out for freedom. yet, though frequently solicited. to ignore and to deny them. and a Jewish majority before the hundred thousand Jews and the tice at the bar of history. We must close of the last war. What may and one is forced to ask with real against the scattered and strugfull apparatus of a free and de- ratio of Jew to Arab is far great- ask nothing that is unjust and un- he contemplated, if these or sim- apprehension whether another gling Jewish communities fighting. States did nothing to undo the salvation and for the peace of the mocratic Jewish State can be er than it was then? Neither the brought into operation. But all brought into operation of an Arab such reasonable exposition of self-evident truths at this time only serves the purpose of our andver-saries who selfe upon it as proof saries who selze upon it as proof were contemplated and have in the spirit of our people through Donald White Paper, you will re- fewish National Home. It is the larial marshes and swamps of the publicly in favor of a free and de- an ancient and honorable people. that Zionist leaders themselves fact been established by the Allied all these long and weary cen- call, was not the restrictive figure same Ibn Saud, who, two years are of their dramms and therain mocratic lewish Commonwealth. favor delay and do not really ex- Nations elsewhere in the Near turies. No Jewish leader has been of 75,000 additional Jewish immipect a Jewish Commonwealth and East. It was the clear intention, given or will be given the man- grants, but as it clearly and spe- that justifies the Jewish claim in lay their invincible strength.

### "THE KIND OF JEW I AM" Contest

The editors of the English Section of The Day have made their decision. They have selected the ten essays which won the ten prizes amounting to \$250.00, and several others which they considered worthy of publication. These essays will be published in our English sections beginning next week, the week of Passover, irrespective of the order of their merit.

When all these essays will have been published an announcement will be made of the specific prizes they won. date to make such a renunciation cifically states: "His Majesty's palestine . . . I am not afraid of Our strength today, as of old, was responsible for the shelving The messianic hope of Israel can. Government now declares unequi- the Jews or of the possibility of lies in our dream, in the urgency of the Jewish Commonwealth Renot be bartered away for an im- vocally that it is not part of their ever having a state or power of our national need, in knowing solution in the Congress of the migration quota, desperately as re-policy that Palestine should be either in the land of the Arabs or our own minds and in unremitting United States, where both the fugee Jews need the haven of Pal- come a Jewish State." This is the elsewhere. This is in accordance effort directed towards an unde- House and the Senate were preestine and desperately as we want lethal dose of the White Paper with what God has revealed unto flected purpose. We may not sucand a revision of the quota figure us through the mouth of His Pro- ceed even then, but our faith and overwhelmingly. Since then. them to go there.

It has been rumored that the upward from 75,000 to 375,000 is shet in His Holy Book. Thus I courage will then inspire genera- months have elapsed, the Yalta Arabs are about to make a gen- not its antidote. The MacDonald hold the demands of the Jews tions yet unborn to complete the Conference has been held, but noerous gesture and consent to ad- White Paper was a product of that apon this land in error ... If the task which we were prevented thing has been forthcoming from ditional Jewish immigrants on disastrous Munich era when the Jews are impelled to seek a place from completing. Ours is the res- this Administration to compensate condition that they, Moslem and rights of other smaller nations to live, Europe and America are ponsibility of presenting our case for this deferred action, or even

Christian Arabs, shall remain is were also sacrificed and other larger and more fertile than Pal-the majority. I am not inclined to credit this rumor, for such gener-osity is in violent contrast to their Second World War. It has been our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud pursue our objectives to the end, while lorger. Congress was

was re I these men become aware and be ade! There is a definite pattern the national rather than the phil- which we made last year and Transference of a Jewish minority homeland and the ideals of the organization a step further. All sible for the White Paper of 1922. guided and sustained in their own

will be set up. In the delicately-

tive branch of our Government

OUR APOLOGIES: Due to the urgency of Dr. Silver's speech,-and paper rationing-we were compelled to omit our regular weekly features: B. Z. Goldberg's column, The Vest Pocket Essay, Dr. Bloch, and In the News of the Week. They will be resumed next Sunday.