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Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Nothing to lose but our illusions, 1945.

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 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 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 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 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.

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 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.

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.

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~~ ^{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 intransigence. 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 ~~will~~ 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 ^{national} 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 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 millennial 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~~ ^{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.

~~You will recall~~ ^{You will recall} The real purpose of the MacDonald White Paper was not the restrictive figure of 75,000 additional Jewish immigrants, but as it clearly and specifically states: "His Majesty's Government now declare 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~~ 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 ~~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^{op} position 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 ^{approach} ~~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 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 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.

TP 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 ~~is~~ 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 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 ~~for~~ 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} ~~has~~, 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~~ 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 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 ^{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 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, winsomeness 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 / ^{TORS} / ~~its~~ 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, 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 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-posed 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.

Press Release:

American Zionist Policy Committee

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

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER DEMANDS ACTION NOW ON JEWISH STATE

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(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 re-affirmed 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 now!...

"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 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 nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people!"

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

A JEWISH STATE

(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.)

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 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 tranquillity, 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.

● 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.

Leading Zionist Analyzes the Political Scene and Recommends a Program for Immediate Future.

● 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.

● 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 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 it.

● 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 intransigence. 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 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

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A JEWISH STATE

(Continued from page 7)

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 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 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.

● 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 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.

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 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 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 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 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 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.

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 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.

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.

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 intransigence. 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 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 millennial 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 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 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. 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. 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 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 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 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 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, winsomeness 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.



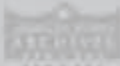
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Testimonial Dinner to

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GRAND BALLROOM, HOTEL COMMODORE
NEW YORK CITY

MARCH 21, 1945

Program

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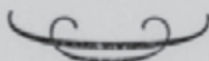
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"NOTHING TO LOSE BUT OUR ILLUSIONS"



*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 . . ."

*T*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 Movement, 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 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 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 *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 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 undoubtedlyacerbate 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 intransigence. 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 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 to four million Jews."

The very essence of the millennial 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 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? 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 battlefield 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 . . .

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."

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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.

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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, winsomeness 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 establish through the long and weary years of our dispersion is a Jewish State. It is a Jewish State that



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 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 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

(Continued on Page 5)

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

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 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, 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.

The very essence of the millennial 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 there, 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 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 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 are against us. The odds are 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 pen-

etrate 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 expedient, and compromises which only aggravate the situation.

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affect the destinies of nations are not decided by the charm, winsomeness 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 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 fuse and over-loaded.



Our Inalienable Rights

By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

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 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 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 unrelenting 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.

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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 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. 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. 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 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 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.

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. 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

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Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

(Continued from Page 9)

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, 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 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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Churchill's Stand

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Roosevelt's Stand

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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 2,000 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."

Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

Solution Of Problem Would Bless World, Zionist Says

(Editor's Note: The following address by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is reproduced in full because of its importance, its timeliness and its appeal to reason.)

New York—Calling for a decision now on the Palestine homeland issue, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver delivered a ringing speech at a testimonial dinner in his honor at Hotel Commodore Mar. 21. Long the bellwether in the movement for a homeland for the Jews, Dr. Silver, in his efficient manner, enunciated the reasons why a Jewish homeland should be established in Palestine and why it should be established now. His address in full follows:

"This 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 movement and in men who re-

main 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 the 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 60 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 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

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 im-

(Continued on Page 8)



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Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

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plementation 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.

Impudent Immigration Laws

"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 reinforce 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 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.

Partition Scorned

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 600,000 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.

Hurt None, Bless All

"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 exacerbate 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 intransigence. 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 2,000 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 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.'

No Retreat

"The very essence of the millennial 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 right 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 prin-

ciple 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 the Jewish National Home? (Continued on Page 9)

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Silver Urges Homeland Decision Now

(Continued from Page 8)

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 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 neighboring 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.

Surrender 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

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 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

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ENGLISH SECTION

A Weekly Review of Jewish Life
Special Articles and Features Dealing with
the Jewish Scene

דער טאג The Day

A THOUGHT FOR TODAY

One who preserves one Jewish life is as if he
preserved the whole world.

Rabbi Hirsch II.

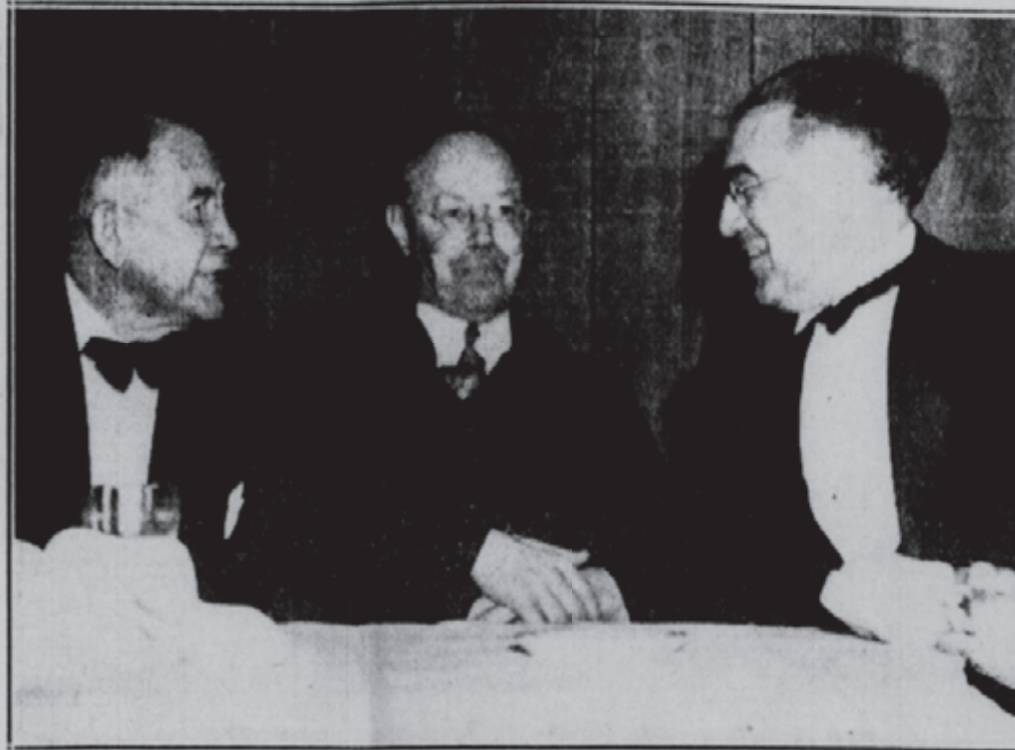
OFFICE: 183 EAST BROADWAY

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, MARCH 25, 1945

TELEPHONE: ORCHARD 4-3300

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.



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

This 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 Movement, 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 Hirsch and the myriads of Jews of our generation and of the unnumbered

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.

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 as 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 reinforce 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 center, a national home with a national life. And this remains no stronger than ever."

Refugees 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.

TOWARD A STATE

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 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 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, agricultural, 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.

WHY NOW?

The call for "a decision now" which we made last year, was thus dictated by sound judgment and practical intelligence. It was not due to the impotence 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 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 statements of the world our best judgment as to how our problems, 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 statements 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 accelerate 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 can not be battered 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 intransigence. But whether the rumor has substance or not, from the point of view of our national rebirth what matters is not whether we have six hundred Jews or a million Jews in Palestine, but whether we have a majority. If we have a majority, it will 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 supervision, are of little value. As the expansion 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 can be 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 kindly 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 envisioned "on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State which might comprise three to four million Jews."

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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 repeated proposals are the result of the conference 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. 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 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 treacherous 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 MacDonald, you will recall, when he planned repatriation in 1929, who hit upon the idea of bringing in the leaders of the neighboring Arab countries to weigh the scale against the Jewish National Home. He convened 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.

The road ahead is hard. The odds are against us. The odds were always against us. They were 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 Negev. 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 undeviated 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 the 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...

THE RECORD OF THE LEADERS

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 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 reintepretations, 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, as 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 professions 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 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 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—Mr. Roosevelt 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 entertain honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely persecuted 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 hopes, amply demonstrate.

THE PROPER 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, eloquence 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, its publicans and Democrats alike. Our movement is not wedded to any one political party. We have sincere and warm friends in both parties. 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 whose 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 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 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.

OUR APOLOGUES: Day to the apology 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.

"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.