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American Jewish Conference, 1946.



ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
THIRD SESSION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE  
Monday, February 18, 1946

When we last met in Pittsburgh a little over a year ago, the World War was not yet over. The evolving pattern of the new world order which was to follow the war was not yet discernible. We felt justified in entertaining high hopes and expectations for mankind, for our people and for Jewish Palestine.

We were aware of the appalling disaster which befell our people during the war but we were not yet in possession of the evidence that two-thirds of European Jewry had been destroyed, and that the great reservoirs of our physical and spiritual strength in East-Europe had been forever ruined. Some had hoped that an accurate survey after the war would show that our fears had exaggerated the extent of the calamity, but unfortunately, the facts, when ascertained, exceeded our worst fears.

We believed then that with the end of the war swift and decisive action would be taken by the victorious powers to salvage the remnants of our broken people and to remove the obstacles to rescue and salvation which, they claimed, had been unavoidable because of the exigencies of war. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had assured our leaders that as soon as the war was won, he would move to undo the mischief of the White Paper which he abhorred and to implement the rights of the Jewish people in their National Home -- for had he not always been a Zionist? The late President Roosevelt had announced in March of 1944 that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939" and in October of that year he pledged his support to bring about "the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." We were encouraged to expect bold and generous acts of Allied statesmanship which would at long last remove all the political mine fields and barbed-wire barricades which impeded our march to the fulfillment of our national aspirations and to the rescue of the survivors of our greatest national disaster. We were, however, cruelly deceived. There has been neither boldness, nor vision, nor generosity -- nor even simple honesty -- in the attitudes of the governments concerned.

When the European War ended in May, 1945, Prime Minister Churchill did not move to abrogate the White Paper Policy which he had condemned and which was responsible for the death of many of the six millions who otherwise might have been saved. Nor did he do anything about it during the succeeding few months that he remained in office. Nor has he raised his voice since as leader of the Opposition. His successor in office, Mr. Attlee, led his Government into one of the most shattering reversals in history. His party had eloquently championed the cause of Zionism for years. Its leaders were among our foremost protagonists inside and outside of Parliament. At the annual conference in December, 1944, the Labor Party adopted resolutions which were reaffirmed by its National Executive Committee in April 1945, to the effect that the Jews must be permitted to become a majority in Palestine and that the Arabs should be "encouraged to move out as the Jews move in" - a transfer arrangement, by the way, which official Zionism never advocated.

In spite of these resolutions and commitments, Mr. Attlee turned down President Truman's humanitarian request in August, 1945 to admit immediately 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine -- a request which was based on the conviction that "no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine," and that "the main solution appears to be in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed."

In lieu of acceding to President Truman's request, the shabby substitute of an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was offered by the British-Government -- a patent device for delay and for the circumvention of clear and imperative obligations. It was clear to everyone that this Committee would only ascertain facts which were already ascertained and would hear views already widely heard and would bring in



recommendations already pre-determined. Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, in announcing the appointment of this Committee, and in his subsequent press conference, clearly revealed its true intent and purpose. The superfluous investigation of the refugee problem and of Palestine was but a cover-up and an occasion for the liquidation of Zionism. The Jewish problem, he proclaimed, was not a national problem, but one of refugees. Not so Balfour, who voiced the higher statesmanship and the profounder insight of another day. "I could never," said Mr. Balfour in the speech delivered on the tenth anniversary of his great Declaration, "have thrown myself with the enthusiasm which I have always felt for this cause into it, if it had been merely a question of taking out of most unhappy conditions a certain number of the Jewish race and replanting them in the land of their forefathers. If it had been merely that, I should have been, I hope, an enthusiast for the cause. But I think it is going to be much more than that. I hope and I believe that the highly-endowed people who have done so much for Western civilization in some of the highest walks of human effort will do even more, if you give them the chance, in the original land of their inspiration, to carry out the work side by side with all the great civilized nations of the world -- the chance to work side by side with them for the common advancement of knowledge."

But for Mr. Bevin there exists only the problem of Jewish refugees. And he offered the complete solution. They should be reintegrated in their original homes. Where this is not possible, immigration opportunities should be sought for them elsewhere in the world. Some may be allowed to immigrate to Palestine. Palestine, however, "does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the problem." This is pontifically announced even before his Committee of Inquiry has had a chance to investigate the possibilities of Palestine. There is to be no Jewish State in Palestine. This, too, anticipates and restricts the findings and recommendations of the Committee. Jewry as a whole, Mr. Bevin avers, is anxious to see a final solution, -- his final solution. Only the Zionists are in the way.

Mr. Bevin betrayed the annoyance and impatience of the British Foreign Office with the Zionists, to whom, by the way, the Balfour Declaration was addressed in the first place. Their demand that Great Britain as the mandatory government which had voluntarily assumed an international obligation to implement the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine should carry them out, was interfering with the carefully laid imperial plans for a British-dominated Middle East which was to be cemented with the sacrifice, among others, of the Jewish State and with the collaboration of the United States. Mr. Bevin, new to his post and to its problems, was accordingly greatly annoyed. The Jews were crowding too much to the head of the queue, he protested, in demanding that their needs be attended to forthwith.

General Sir Frederick Morgan, the British-minded and British-serving UNRRA chief in Germany, also betrayed the same imperial annoyance and impatience. The perfect timing of his outburst coinciding with the opening sessions of the Committee of Inquiry is a tribute to the efficiency of British propaganda. The Jews were overplaying their suffering and their persecutions. The refugees who were leaving Poland where of their people few are left but the slain and none abides in hope, thinking to find greater security elsewhere and ultimately in Palestine, were really well-fed, well-clothed gentry, and well healed with occupation marks. These rosy-cheeked folk were giving up their comfortable living in Poland because of a secret and well-organized plan to get out of Europe, presumably for some sinister purpose. They were a weak force numerically, but they could become a world force, and in them we have the seeds of World War III. The Jew, Herbert Lehman, has now reinstated this General Morgan on the latter's assurance that he is not an anti-Semite. Of course he is not! Neither is Attlee nor Bevin. They are Britishers all, who are pursuing relentlessly a British imperial purpose which calls for the sacrifice of Jewish national rights in Palestine. They will use every means and employ every argument and float every propaganda however bizarre and fantastic which will help them achieve their purpose. Those who oppose it or endanger it -- regardless of the justice or merit or humanity of their claims -- will be branded as extremists or terrorists or conspirators whether they be in Central Europe or Greece, or India, or



Indonesia, or Egypt, or Palestine. General Morgan proved himself a faithful servant of British imperial interests, but a faithless servant of a non-political, non-partisan humanitarian agency to which he is now regrettably returning. Mr. Lehman's action in reinstating him is a mystery only to those who are not familiar with the psychology of Jews in high places.

The British-inspired Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry has now concluded its hearings in Washington, London and on the Continent. Those who followed its hearings and observed the reactions of the Committee members are generally of the opinion that the British members will almost all follow the line of the Colonial Office, the Bevin line, and that only a few American members, at best, will sharply deviate from it. A responsible correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune reported to his paper that "arrogance, influence, superiority and downright impoliteness unfortunately have been the stamp of the hearings..." The chairman of the American group on the Committee referred to the recent Resolution on Palestine passed almost unanimously by the Congress of the United States, and to the Democratic and Republican Party platforms on Palestine, as "all that stuff" which he was resolved to ignore.

Before such a committee, so motivated, so inspired and so constituted, the Jews of the world were invited to present their case, whose fundamental issue had already been prejudged. The Jewish representatives are going through the motions of weightily presenting evidence already well-known or available to everyone. The Committee is going through the motions of an objective, impartial and utterly uninstructed board of inquiry although its facade of objectivity frequently shows lamentable cracks. The British Foreign Office, and our own State Department are going through the motions of waiting with earnest anticipation for the findings of this committee, knowing full well that there will be no great surprises in the package when it is delivered. And should there be any unexpected surprises, they are of course in no way bound to follow it. In the meantime a bitter winter is taking its toll of our refugees in the camps of Central Europe. Myriads of them are degenerating physically and spiritually while the doors of Palestine remain closed to all but 1500 a month, Palestine finds itself under new defense regulations which amount to a regime of terror. Any place can be considered a "legal prison" to accommodate the many arrests which are being made. Men are being deported from the country without trial. The elementary human right under law to be considered innocent until proven guilty no longer exists.

The illegal acts of the mandatory government are driving the Jews of Palestine to unfortunate acts of violent resistance. They can not sit idly by and see their national rights trampled under foot and their fellow-Jews barred from their national home. A weary people came to Palestine to seek rest. From the ways of suffering and the streets of death they came, from the cities of horror and the lands of hate. They looked longingly for a haven of peace and tranquility. When they arrived they went about their work quietly, with eager, uncomplaining hands, building, planting, clearing away the ruins of the centuries and causing things to grow where nothing grew before. Now these peace-hungry people and their children are being driven by the unconscionable acts of a government, faithless to its trust, to deeds of desperation and to unequal and catastrophic strife. This enforced detour into unaccustomed ways for a traditionally law-abiding and peace-seeking folk, and the washing of the hearts of their youth with gall, is but one of the many wrongs perpetrated against our people.

And while tension mounts in Palestine, Jemal el Hussein, the pogrom-maker of 1936, is allowed to return. The refugees in Belsen and Dachau must wait. But Jemal el Hussein could not wait. The British Government was moved to pity to see this notorious fomenter of anti-Jewish riots and this Nazi tool languish in exile. It quickly made possible his return to Palestine. He is now leading in the organization of the Palestine Arabs against the Jews. Presumably the return of the Mufti will be the next step. This is how the mandatory government plans for the peace of Palestine!

With our own government we fared little better. When I appeared before you at the time of the last Conference in Pittsburgh, in January 1945, I read to you the pro-Palestine resolution which had just then been adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. We anticipated the early passage of the Palestine Resolution in Congress. But the resolution was scuttled on the insistence of the President. For reasons best known to himself, he did not wish the Congress of



the United States to declare itself in favor of the very Jewish Commonwealth idea which he himself had publicly endorsed. His subsequent meeting with Ibn Saud, after Yalta, in February 1945, and his conversation with him about Palestine, is a matter of record. In October, President Roosevelt's correspondence with Ibn Saud, as of April 5, also became a matter of record -- a bewildering and disturbing record to us. In it a new policy was announced which has since been accepted as the official line by our State Department. No decision will be taken with reference to Palestine without consulting the Arabs. It is not even specified which Arabs, the Arabs of Palestine, or all the Arabs of the world. And nothing will be done which might prove hostile to the Arab people. It is not even specified who will determine whether a political arrangement proposed for Palestine would prove hostile to them. Be it remembered that there is nothing in the Balfour Declaration or the Palestine Mandate which calls for consulting the Arabs in the matter of implementing Jewish national rights in Palestine.

President Truman, too, I am afraid, in spite of his sincere intentions to be helpful, has unfortunately proved otherwise. He made a most commendable request of Attlee for 100,000 certificates and he thereby quite unintentionally narrowed the political solution for which the Jewish people was pressing to a question of refugee aid. But even on this request he weakened and acceded to the delaying device of a Committee of Inquiry.

President Truman, helped to draft the Palestine plank which was adopted by the Democratic Party in Chicago in 1944: "We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." He approved the Taft-Wagner Resolution before it was re-introduced last November. But he, too, soon changed his mind and opposed Congressional action. And on December 5, he announced that while he still favored Jewish immigration into Palestine he had changed his mind about the Jewish State. The reason behind the change seems to be the settled misconception which the President has come to entertain that a Jewish State means a racial state, or a union of Church and State. Bevin and presumably other interested Britishers have been assiduously spreading this canard and, of course, some Jews also here and in Great Britain.

In October we felt constrained to present to the Secretary of State Byrnes, a memorandum in which we made, among others, the following observations:

"We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department had, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East, persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to rely, in turn, upon reports and advices emanating from them. On two occasions the Executive Branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political reorientation and reorganization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies."

But while we received little support from the Executive Branch of our Government, we were heartened throughout the year by the numerous evidences of understanding and good will on the part of the members of Congress and on the part of the American people. In November, the Palestine Resolution finally was voted on approvingly and overwhelmingly by both Houses of Congress, in spite of the expressed opposition of the President, and of the Secretary of State, who appeared in person before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to oppose it. It is a good and strong resolution, though not as good or as strong as the original Taft-Wagner resolution which might have passed a year ago if Zionist leaders had understood then that in the prosecution of an ideal, as difficult as ours, it is sometimes both wise and necessary to go counter to the wishes even of a President or of a State Department, and to challenge and oppose an administration which fails to fulfill its public pledges.



The Palestine Resolution which was finally adopted reflects the true sentiment of the elected representatives of the American people. It was not hastily adopted. It had been before Congress for nearly two years. Extensive public hearings and debates were held on the Resolution. It was not rushed through before an election. There is crystallized in this Resolution the considered and deliberate judgment of democratic America. The Resolution does not partake of the character of law. It is not a binding legislative act. But unmistakably it is a forceful enunciation of the opinion of the greatest legislative body on earth, and it should therefore not be lightly regarded or brushed aside either by the President of the United States, by the State Department, or by the American members on the Committee of Inquiry. The concurrent Resolution reads:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into the country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

The political situation is being complicated for us further by the developing rivalry between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, which has now come to embrace also the Middle East. From stray and as yet inconclusive incidents, it might be inferred that the Soviet Union, like Great Britain, may also be interested in winning over the Arab world to its side by offering up our legitimate national rights in Palestine as part payment for such an alignment. We hope that it is not so. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Union. We do not and cannot take sides in imperial conflicts. We do not wish to be made the shuttle-cock of power politics. We do not wish to be crushed between the upper and the lower millstones. Our cause is a moral cause. We appeal for sympathy and support to all governments and peoples who can be moved to assist an ancient and not undeserving people to re-establish its national life in its historic home, after centuries of tragic wandering and homelessness. Why should a clear, honest purpose, sanctioned by the nations of the world after the last war, and now in the process of fulfillment, be permitted to become entangled in the tortuous folds of competitive imperial maneuvers? Great Britain does not require for its survival as a great power the cramping and constricting or the total extinction of the Jewish National Home in Palestine which it, first among all and above all others, helped to bring into existence. Its position in the Middle East is not and cannot be endangered by the presence of a Jewish State in that small notch of 10,000 square miles in that vast Arab world. Nor does the Soviet Union, strong and victorious, covering as it does, one-sixth of the globe, need such a sacrifice. Why should the Jewish people again be made the scape-goat?

The Arab peoples are all to receive their freedom and independence, and none begrudges it to them, though few of them died for freedom and none of them perished in gas chambers. They have all been welcomed into the United Nations Organization. Even Transjordan is to be admitted, though its status as an independent state under the Palestine Mandate is far from clear. But not the Jewish people! Not the Jewish people whose sons fought on all the battle-fronts of the world for the cause of freedom and whose war casualties far exceeded those of Great Britain and the United States combined. The Jewish people, though recognized as a nation and guaranteed a national home, must not be included among the United Nations. It must have no voice in the Assembly of the nations, and it must remain forever content to feed on the crumbs which fall from the tables of other peoples.

Friends! We are in the midst of a long, historic struggle which, by its very nature, has had and will continue to have its victories and its set-backs. The victories will not be decisive nor will the set-backs be conclusive until the final decision, whose hour no one knows. At the moment our movement, awaiting the results of the joint Committee of Inquiry, is compelled to mark time. The present political constellation is not very favorable to us. But the stars in their courses move swiftly and there is no permanence to any constellation. Certainly there is no permanence to any short-sighted political policy which, like Munich, appears to be practical and expedient at the moment, but which turns out to be stupid and disastrous, because it ignores the moral imperatives and the larger world perspective.



Truly spoken were the words of the courageous British civil servant, Herbert Howarth, who resigned a few months ago from his post with the Palestine Government in protest against the failure of the British Labor Government to carry out its promises to the Jewish people and against the anti-Jewish character of the Palestine administration. He declared: "To imagine that relations with the Arab world or with Russia can be made more expedient by sacrificing the Jewish nation, and the Jewish power of reclaiming waste lands fantastic self-deception. The world is waiting for someone to act by reference to standards of justice. America and Britain should dare to do it on the issue of Palestine; and their daring may turn out to be ultimately expedient as well as just."

Our strength and our hope lie not alone in the fundamental justice of our cause but in the compulsion of an inescapable reality. That holds true of the Jewish refugee problem, concerning which President Truman wrote to Prime Minister Attlee: "I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement." And it holds equally true of the indurate problem of Jewish national homelessness. It feeds anti-Semitism everywhere and everywhere anti-Semitism is the war-provoking weapon in the hands of reactionary or power-seeking political parties and governments.

Our strength and our hope lie in the good-will and sympathy of the democratic peoples of the world, even where their governments for a time pursue policies in defiance of their true wishes. Scientific polls of American public opinion have shown how wide-spread is the sympathy for our cause among the American people. This favorable popular opinion must be activated and focused and made to tell upon our government. I am confident that public opinion in Great Britain, where for generations there has existed a deep, religiously-grounded sympathy for Zionism, can also be aroused and made vocal more than it has been. So can the good-will among other peoples whose governments will have a voice in the United Nations Organization where the major decisions on Palestine will finally be made.

Our strength lies in discovering our own strength and in making the strongest possible representation through the strongest possible unification of our forces with our government, to demand the implementation of the Resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States which indubitably voiced the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the American people. "The time is at hand," declared the Report which accompanied the Senate Resolution, "when the long-standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled." Verily, the time is at hand. And long since over-due!

The Jews of America should be on guard against accepting substitutes or appeasement gifts from the Administration in lieu of this great historic service which it can and should render to our people. To appoint a Jew to this or that important post in government or to make inexpensive good-will gestures in our direction is of little value to us. They are neither commensurate with the tragic magnitude of our problem nor in any way related to its solution.

Our strength lies in the rapidly growing awareness among our own people of the inevitability of the Zionist solution which is, of course, but another name for the millennial Messianic solution of the Jewish problem. Here again the polls have demonstrated how Zionism has won the hearts and minds of the Jews of America. A small opposition group has persisted in carrying on a bitter, at times irresponsible, anti-Zionist propaganda which is so very reminiscent of the unprofitable propaganda of the Germans of the Mosaic persuasion in pre-Hitler Germany. Their propaganda is wrapped up in the American flag and is widely peddled, especially among the "better-class Jews" - God save the mark! But to no avail. The free Jews of America will not accept the truckling and bankrupt philosophies and ways of life of the assimilationist Jews of Western Europe who were utterly rejected and cast out in spite of their attempts, frequently bordering on the pathological, at complete and total "integration." "A day will come," warned Dr. Nordau in Berlin, in 1898, "on which Zionism will be as needed by you, you proud Germans, as by those wretched Ostjuden." And what a day of wrath and blood and terror it was when it came!...

Our strength and hope lie in what we have builded in Palestine. There a nation has come to life, conscious of its strength, overflowing with eager, creative energy, sinking its roots deep and spreading its branches wide. Within a generation



a backward, eroded, wasted and impoverished land was restored, quickened into life, healed and made prosperous, to the amazement of all and to the envy of some. Those who builded it for their people are determined to defend it for their people. "They shall not build, and another inhabit. They shall not plant, and another eat." Against the granite of their courage and obduracy, all opposition will hurl itself in vain.

Fifty years ago, Herzl, in his little book which shook our world, wrote these prophetic words:

" The Jews who wish will have their State.

"We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.

"The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

"And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity."

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Insertion, Page 5, Para. 4.

In this connection I should like to suggest that we should be on guard against those who would like to tie the Zionist movement to one or another of present-day rival ideologic groups, Soviet Socialism vs. Social Democracy. There are those who resent every approach made to win over the sympathy of the Soviet Government to our cause. They call it "flirting," and point the finger of derision at Zionists whenever some anti-Zionist statement or act emanates from Soviet or pro-Soviet sources. This is an amazing phenomenon in Jewish life which can only be attributed to a blind and bitter partisanship which carries over from an area which is not related to Jewish life to a specifically Jewish issue of gravest moment.

In my address before the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City on November 18, I stated: "We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the goodwill and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character."

I did not ask that the Zionist movement should align itself with the Soviet Union. We have received no such invitation and we are entertaining no such plans. I called attention to the fact that the basic decisions with reference to Palestine will undoubtedly be made by the United Nations Organization, which body is made up of other states besides Great Britain, and where the Soviet Union certainly will have its significant say. I urged that we should not fail to cultivate the Soviet Union, as well as all other nations who will have a voice in the decision. For we will need many friends there. I called for a propaganda which would take on a "global character."

We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over Great Britain even though we have been grievously disappointed time and again, and the latest developments are the most disappointing of all. We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over the President of the United States and our State Department even though heretofore we have encountered considerable misunderstanding and resistance there. No one has criticized or derided us for carrying on intensive work with these governments. No one has criticized or derided us for trying to establish contacts with other governments in Europe, South and Central America and other parts of the world. Why, then should the Zionist movement regard itself as in any way inhibited from trying to win understanding and friendship for our movement from one of the greatest powers on earth?

The Arabs are certainly not averse to carrying on their propaganda both in the direction of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union. My regret is not that we have tried, but that we have not tried hard enough, or soon enough. At the moment, the attitude of the Soviet Government - insofar as the sparse evidence can indicate an attitude - does not seem to be favorable to us. But there is nothing final about it. Some of us recall that up to a few months ago, even more definite evidences seemed to point to favorable and a friendly attitude. The present attitude may or may not change again in the future. We may not succeed. But we certainly owe it to ourselves to do everything in our power to see that that attitude does change, and in our favor.



*Amer. Jew. Conf.*  
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When we last met in Pittsburgh a little over a year ago, the World War was not yet over. The evolving pattern of the new world order which was to follow the war was not yet discernible. We felt justified in entertaining high hopes and expectations for mankind, for our people and for Jewish Palestine.

We were aware of the appalling disaster which befell our people during the war but we were not yet in possession of the evidence that two-thirds of European Jewry had been destroyed, and that the great reservoirs of our physical and spiritual strength in East-Europe had been forever ruined. Some had hoped that an accurate survey after the war would show that our fears had exaggerated the extent of the calamity, but unfortunately, the facts, when ascertained, exceeded our worst fears.

We believed then that with the end of the war swift and decisive action would be taken by the victorious powers to salvage the remnants of our broken people and to remove the obstacles to rescue and salvation which, they claimed, had been unavoidable because of the exigencies of war. The Prime Minister of Great Britain had assured our leaders that as soon as the war was won, he would move to undo the mischief of the White Paper which he abhorred and to implement the rights of the Jewish people in their National Home -- for had he not always been a Zionist?! The late President Roosevelt had announced in March of 1944 that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939" and in October of that year he pledged his support to bring about "the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." We were encouraged to expect bold and generous acts of Allied statesmanship which would at long last remove all the political mine fields and barbed-wire barricades which impeded our march to the fulfillment of our national aspirations and to the rescue of the survivors of our greatest national disaster. We were, however, cruelly deceived. There has been neither boldness, nor vision, nor generosity -- nor even simple honesty -- in the



attitudes of the governments concerned.

When the European War ended in May, 1945, Prime Minister Churchill did not move to abrogate the White Paper Policy which he had condemned and which was responsible for the death of many of the six millions who otherwise might have been saved. Nor did he do anything about it during the succeeding few months that he remained in office. Nor has he raised his voice since as leader of the Opposition. His successor in office, Mr. Attlee, led his Government into one of the most shattering reversals in history. His party had eloquently championed the cause of Zionism for years. Its leaders were among our foremost protagonists inside and out side of Parliament. At the annual conference in December, 1944, the Labor Party adopted resolutions which were reaffirmed by its National Executive Committee in April 1945, to the effect that the Jews must be permitted to become a majority in Palestine and that the Arabs should be "encouraged to move out as the Jews move in" - a transfer arrangement, by the way, which official Zionism never advocated.

In spite of these resolutions and commitments, Mr. Attlee turned down President Truman's humanitarian request in August, 1945 to admit immediately 100,000 displaced Jews into Palestine -- a request which was based on the conviction that "no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine," and that "the main solution appears to be in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed."

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recommendations already pre-determined. Mr. Bevin, the Foreign Secretary, in announcing the appointment of this Committee, and in his subsequent press conference, clearly revealed its true intent and purpose. The superfluous investigation of the refugee problem and of Palestine was but a cover-up and an occasion for the liquidation of Zionism. The Jewish problem, he proclaimed, was not a national problem, but one of refugees. Not so Balfour, who voiced the higher statesmanship and the profounder insight of another day. "I could never," said Mr. Balfour in the speech delivered on the tenth anniversary of his great Declaration, "have thrown myself with the enthusiasm which I have always felt for this cause into it, if it had been merely a question of taking out of most unhappy conditions a certain number of the Jewish race and replanting them in the land of their forefathers. If it had been merely that, I should have been, I hope, an enthusiast for the cause. But I think it is going to be much more than that. I hope and I believe that the highly-endowed people who have done so much for Western civilisation in some of the highest walks of human effort will do even more, if you give them the chance, in the original land of their inspiration, to carry out the work side by side with all the great civilised nations of the world -- the chance to work side by side with them for the common advancement of knowledge."

But for Mr. Bevin there exists only the problem of Jewish refugees. And <sup>offered</sup> he the complete solution. They should be reintegrated in their original homes. Where this is not possible, immigration opportunities should be sought for them elsewhere in the world. Some may be allowed to immigrate to Palestine. Palestine, however, "does not by itself provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the problem." This is pontifically announced even before his Committee of Inquiry has had a chance to investigate the possibilities of Palestine. There is to be no Jewish State in Palestine. This, too, anticipates and restricts the findings and recommendations of the Committee. Jewry as a whole, Mr. Bevin avers, is anxious



to see a final solution, -- his final solution. Only the Zionists are in the way.

Mr. Bevin betrayed the annoyance and impatience of the British Foreign Office with the Zionists, to whom, by the way, the Balfour Declaration was addressed in the first place. Their demand that Great Britain as the mandatory government which had voluntarily assumed an international obligation to implement the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine should carry them out, was interfering with the carefully laid imperial plans for a British-dominated Middle East which was to be cemented with the sacrifice, among others, of the Jewish State and with the collaboration of the United States. Mr. Bevin, new to his post and to its problems, was accordingly greatly annoyed. The Jews were crowding too much to the head of the queue, he protested, that in demanding/their needs be attended to forthwith.

General Sir Frederick Morgan, the British-minded and British-serving UNRRA chief in Germany, also betrayed the same imperial annoyance and impatience. The of Inquiry is a tribute to the efficiency of British propaganda. perfect timing of his outburst coinciding with the opening sessions of the Committee/ The Jews were overplaying their suffering and their persecutions. The refugees who were leaving Poland where of their people few are left but the slain and none abides in hope, thinking to find greater security elsewhere and ultimately in Palestine, were really well-fed, well-clothed gentry, and well-heeled with occupation marks. These rosy-cheeked folk were giving up their comfortable living in Poland because of a secret and well-organized plan to get out of Europe, presumably for some sinister purpose. They were a weak force numerically, but they could become a world force, and in them we have the seeds of World War III. The Jew, Herbert Lehman, has now reinstated this General Morgan on the latter's assurance that he is not an anti-Semite. Of course he is not! Neither is Attlee nor Bevin. They are Britishers all, who are pursuing relentlessly a British imperial purpose which ~~xxx~~ calls for the sacrifice of Jewish national rights in Palestine. They will use every means and employ every argument and float every propaganda however bizarre and fantastic which will help them achieve their purpose. Those who oppose it or endanger it -- regardless of the justice or merit or humanity of their claims -- will be branded as extremists



or terrorists or conspirators whether they be in Central Europe or Greece, or India, or Indonesia, or Egypt, or Palestine. General Morgan proved himself a faithful servant of British imperial interests, but a faithless servant of a non-political, non-partisan humanitarian agency to which he is now regrettably returning. Mr. Lehman's action in reinstating him is a mystery ~~not~~ only to those who are not familiar with the psychology of Jews in high places.

The British-inspired Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry has now concluded its hearings in Washington, London and on the Continent. Those who followed its hearings and observed the reactions of the Committee members are generally of the opinion that the British members will almost all follow the line of the Colonial Office, the Bevin line, and that only a few American members, at best, will sharply deviate from it. A responsible correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune reported to his paper that "arrogance, influence, superiority and downright impoliteness unfortunately have been the stamp of the hearings..." The chairman of the American group on the Committee referred to the recent Resolution on Palestine passed almost unanimously by the Congress of the United States, and to the Democratic and Republican Party platforms on Palestine, as "all that stuff" which he <sup>was</sup> ~~is~~ resolved to ignore.

Before such a committee, so motivated, so inspired and so constituted, the Jews of the world were invited to present their case, whose fundamental issue had already been prejudged. The Jewish representatives are going through the motions of weightily presenting evidence already well-known or available to everyone. The <sup>C</sup> Committee is going through the motions of an objective, impartial and utterly uninstructed board of inquiry <sup>although</sup> ~~while~~ its facade of objectivity frequently shows lamentable cracks. The British Foreign Office<sup>s</sup> and our own State Department are going through the motions of waiting with earnest anticipation for the findings of this committee, knowing full well that there will be no great surprises in ~~that~~ <sup>the</sup> package when it is delivered. And should there be any unexpected surprises, they are of course in no way bound to follow it. In the meantime a bitter winter is taking



its toll of our refugees in the camps of Central Europe. Myriads of them are degenerating physically and spiritually while the doors of Palestine remain closed to all but 1500 a month. ~~and~~ <sup>Cum</sup> Palestine finds itself under new defense regulations which amount to a regime of terror. Any place can be considered a "legal prison" to accommodate the many arrests which are being made. Men are being deported from the country without trial. The elementary human right under law to be considered innocent until proven guilty no longer exists.

The illegal acts of the mandatory government are driving the Jews of Palestine to unfortunate acts of violent resistance. They can not sit idly by and see their national rights trampled under foot and their fellow-Jews barred from their national home. A weary people came to Palestine to seek rest. From the ways of suffering and the streets of death they came, from the cities of horror and the lands of hate. They looked longingly for a haven of peace and tranquility. When they arrived they went about their work quietly, with eager, uncomplaining hands, building, planting, clearing away the ruins of the centuries and causing things to grow where nothing grew before. Now these peace-hungry people and their children are being driven by the unconscionable acts of a government, faithless to its trust, to deeds of desperation and ~~into~~ unequal and catastrophic strife. This enforced detour into unaccustomed ways for a traditionally law-abiding and peace-seeking folk, and the washing of the hearts of ~~our~~ <sup>their</sup> youth with gall, is but one of the many wrongs perpetrated against our people.

And while tension mounts in Palestine, Jemal el Hussein, the pogrom-maker of 1936, is allowed to return. The refugees in Belsen and Dachau must wait. But Jemal el Hussein could not wait. The British Government was moved to pity to see this notorious fomenter of anti-Jewish riots and this Nazi tool languish in exile. It quickly made possible his return to Palestine. He is now leading in the organization of the Palestine Arabs against the Jews. Presumably the return of the Mufti will be the next step. This is how the mandatory government plans for the peace of Palestine!



With our own government we fared little better. When I appeared before you at the time of the last Conference in Pittsburgh, in January 1945, I read to you the pro-Palestine resolution which had just then been adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee. We anticipated the early passage of the Palestine Resolution in Congress. But the resolution was scuttled on the insistence of the President. For reasons best known to himself, he did not wish the Congress of the United States to declare itself in favor of the very Jewish Commonwealth idea which he himself had publicly endorsed. His subsequent meeting with Ibn Saud, after Yalta, in February 1945, and his conversation with him about Palestine, is a matter of record. In October, President Roosevelt's correspondence with Ibn Saud, as of April 5, also became a matter of record — a bewildering and disturbing record to us. In it a new policy was announced which has since been accepted as the official line by our State Department. No decision will be taken with reference to Palestine without consulting the Arabs. It is not even specified which Arabs, the Arabs of Palestine, or all the Arabs of the world. And nothing will be done which might prove hostile to the Arab people. It is not even specified who will determine whether a political proposed arrangement/for Palestine ~~will be hostile to them, or not.~~ *would prove* *Be it remembered that* there is nothing in the Balfour Declaration or the Palestine Mandate which calls for consulting the Arabs in the matter of implementing Jewish national rights in Palestine.

President Truman, too, I am afraid, in spite of his sincere intentions to be helpful, has unfortunately proved otherwise. He made a most commendable request of Attlee for 100,000 certificates and he thereby quite unintentionally narrowed the political solution for which the Jewish people was pressing to a question of refugee aid. But even on this request he weakened and acceded to the delaying device of a Committee of Inquiry.

President Truman, helped to draft the Palestine plank which was adopted by the Democratic Party in Chicago in 1944: "We favor the opening of Palestine to



unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." He approved the Taft-Wagner Resolution before it was re-introduced last November. But he, too, soon changed his mind and opposed Congressional action. And on December 5, he announced that while he still favored Jewish immigration into Palestine he had changed his mind about the Jewish State. The reason behind the change seems to be the settled misconception which the President has come to entertain that a Jewish State means a racial state, or a union of Church and State. Bevin and presumably other interested Britishers have been assiduously spreading this canard and, of course, some Jews <sup>also</sup> here and in Great Britain.

In October we felt constrained to present to the Secretary of State Byrnes, a memorandum in which we made, among others, the following observations:

"We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department has, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East, persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to rely, in turn, upon reports and advices emanating from them. On two occasions the Executive branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political ~~xxi~~ reorientation and reorganization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies."



But while we received little support from the Executive Branch of our Government, we were heartened throughout the year by the numerous evidences of understanding and good will on the part of the members of congress and on the part of the American people. In November, the Palestine Resolution finally was voted on approvingly and overwhelmingly by both Houses of Congress, in spite of the expressed opposition of the President, and of the Secretary of State who appeared in person before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to oppose it. It is <sup>a</sup> good and strong resolution, though not as good or as strong as the original Taft-Wagner resolution which might have passed a year ago if Zionist leaders had understood then that in the prosecution of an ideal, as difficult as ours, it is sometimes both wise and necessary to go counter to the wishes even of a President or of a State Department, and to challenge <sup>and oppose</sup> an administration which fails to fulfill its public pledges.

The Palestine Resolution which was finally adopted reflects the true sentiment of the elected representatives of the American people. It was not hastily adopted. It had been before Congress for nearly two years. Extensive public hearings and debates were held on the Resolution. It was not rushed through before an election. There is crystallized in this Resolution the considered and deliberate judgment of democratic America. The Resolution does not partake of the character of law. It is not a binding legislative act. But unmistakably it is a forceful enunciation of the opinion of the greatest legislative body on earth, and it should <sup>therefore</sup> not be lightly regarded or brushed aside either by the President of the United States, by the State Department, or by the American members on the Committee of Inquiry. The concurrent Resolution reads:

"Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into the country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall



~~be opened for free entry of Jews into the country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for~~ colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

The political situation is being complicated for us further by the developing rivalry between Great Britain and the Soviet Union which has now come to embrace *also* the Middle East. From stray and as yet inconclusive incidents, it might be inferred that the Soviet Union <sup>*like Great Britain*</sup> ~~may~~ also be interested in winning over the Arab world to its side by offering up our legitimate national rights in Palestine as part payment for such an alignment. We hope that it is not so. We have no quarrel with the Soviet Union. We do not and cannot take sides in imperial conflicts. We do not wish to be made the shuttle-cock of power politics. We do not wish to be crushed between the upper and the lower millstones. Our cause is a moral cause. We appeal for sympathy and support to all governments and peoples who can be moved to assist an ancient and not undeserving people to re-establish its national life in its historic home after centuries of tragic wandering and homelessness. Why should a clear, honest purpose, sanctioned by the nations of the world after the last war, and now in the process of fulfillment, be permitted to become entangled in the tortuous folds of competitive imperial maneuvers? Great Britain does not require for its survival as a great power the cramping and constricting or the total extinction of the Jewish National Home in Palestine which it, first among all and above all others, helped to bring into existence. Its position in the Middle East is not and cannot be endangered by the presence of a Jewish State in that small notch of 10,000 square miles in that vast Arab world. Nor does the Soviet Union, strong and victorious, covering as it does, one-sixth of the globe, need such a sacrifice. Why should the Jewish people again be made the scape-goat?



In this connection I should like to suggest that we should be on guard against those who would like to tie the Zionist movement to one or another of present-day rival ideologic groupings, Soviet Socialism vs. Social Democracy. There are those who resent every approach made to win over the sympathy of the Soviet government to our cause. They call it "flirting," and point the finger of derision at Zionists whenever some anti-Zionist statement or act emanates from Soviet or pro-Soviet sources. This is an amazing phenomenon in Jewish life which can only be attributed to a blind and bitter partisanship which carries over from an area which is not related to Jewish life to a specifically Jewish issue of gravest moment.

In my address before the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City on November 18, I stated: "We must prepare the minds of the leaders of the nations of the world with knowledge and understanding, so that our case will be properly understood and our cause adequately supported. There is much work to be done in Washington and in London and also in other capitals of the world. I do not know why the Soviet Union was not invited in the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the goodwill and helpful cooperation of this closest and most powerful neighbor. Our propaganda must now take on a global character."

I did not ask that the Zionist movement should align itself with the Soviet Union. We have received no such invitation and we are entertaining no such plans. I called attention to the fact that the basic decisions with reference to Palestine will undoubtedly be made by the United Nations Organization, which body is made up of other states besides Great Britain, and where the Soviet Union certainly will have its significant say. I urged that we should not fail to cultivate the Soviet Union, as well as all other nations who will have a voice in the decision. For we will need many friends there. I called for a propaganda which would take on a



"global character."

We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over Great Britain even though we have been grievously disappointed time and again, and the latest developments are the most disappointing of all. We were not and are not discouraged in our efforts to win over the President of the United States and our State Department even though heretofore we have encountered considerable misunderstanding and resistance there. No one has criticized or derided us for carrying on intensive work with these governments. No one has criticized or derided us for trying to establish contacts with other governments in Europe, South and Central America and other parts of the world. Why, then, should the Zionist movement regard itself as in any way inhibited from trying to win understanding and friendship for our movement from one of the greatest powers on earth?

The Arabs are certainly not averse to carrying on their propaganda both in the ~~Christian~~ direction of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union. My regret is not that we have tried, but that we have not tried hard enough, or soon enough. At the moment, the attitude of the Soviet government -- in so far as the sparse evidence can indicate an attitude -- does not seem to be favorable to us. But there is nothing final about it. Some of us recall that up to a few months ago, even more definite evidences seemed to point to favorable and a friendly attitude. The present attitude may or may not change again in the future. We may not succeed. But we certainly owe it to ourselves to do everything in our power to see that that attitude does change, and in our favor.



The Arab peoples are all to receive their freedom and independence, and none begrudges it to them, though few of them died for freedom and none of them perished in gas chambers. They have all been welcomed into the United Nations Organization. Even Transjordan is to be admitted, though its status as an independent state under the Palestine Mandate is far from clear. But not the Jewish people! Not the Jewish people whose sons fought on all the battle-fronts of the world for the cause of freedom and whose war casualties far exceeded those of Great Britain and the United States combined. The Jewish people, though recognized as a nation and guaranteed a national home, must not be ~~included~~ <sup>included</sup> among the United Nations. It must have no voice in the Assembly of the nations, and <sup>it</sup> must remain forever content to feed on the crumbs which fall from the tables of other peoples.

Friends! We are in the midst of a long, historic struggle which, by its very nature, has had and will continue to have its victories and its set-backs. The victories will not be decisive nor will the set-backs be conclusive until the final decision whose hour no one knows. At the moment our movement, awaiting the results of the joint Committee of Inquiry, is compelled to mark time. The present political constellation is not very favorable to us. But the stars in their courses move swiftly and there is no permanence to any constellation. Certainly there is no permanence to <sup>any</sup> short-sighted political policy which, like Munich, appears to be practical and expedient at the moment, but which turns out to be stupid and disastrous, because <sup>it</sup> ~~they~~ ignore the moral imperatives and the larger world perspective.

Truly spoken were the words of the courageous British civil servant, Herbert Howarth, who resigned a few months ago from his post with the Palestine Government in protest against the failure of the British Labor Government to carry out its promises to the Jewish people and against the anti-Jewish character of the Palestine administration. He declared: "To imagine that relations with the Arab world or with Russia can be made more expedient by sacrificing the Jewish nation, and the Jewish power of reclaiming waste land, is fantastic ~~self-deception~~ self-deception.



The world is waiting for someone to act by reference to standards of justice. America and Britain should dare to do it on the issue of Palestine; and their daring may turn out to be ultimately expedient as well as just."

Our strength and our hope lie not alone in the fundamental justice of our cause but in the compulsion of an inescapable reality. That holds true of the Jewish refugee problem concerning which President Truman wrote to Prime Minister Attlee: "I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement." And it holds equally true of the indurate problem of Jewish national homelessness. It feeds anti-Semitism everywhere and everywhere anti-Semitism is the war-provoking weapon in the hands of reactionary or power-seeking political parties and governments.

Our strength and our hope lie in the good-will and sympathy of the democratic peoples of the world even where their governments for a time pursue policies in defiance of their true wishes. Scientific polls of American public opinion have shown how wide-spread is the sympathy for our cause among the American people. This favorable popular opinion must be activized and focussed and made to tell upon our government. I am confident that public opinion in Great Britain, where for generations there has existed a deep, religiously-grounded sympathy for Zionism, can also be aroused and made vocal more than it has been. So can the good-will among other peoples whose governments will have a voice in the United Nations Organization where the major decisions <sup>on Palestine</sup> will finally be made.

Our strength lies in discovering our own strength and in making the strongest possible representation through the strongest possible unification of our forces with our government to demand the implementation of the Resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States which indubitably voiced the opinion of the



overwhelming majority of the American people. "The time is at hand," declared the Report which accompanied the Senate Resolution, "when the long-standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled." Verily, the time is at hand. And long *since* over-due!

The Jews of America should be on guard against accepting substitutes or appeasement gifts from the Administration in lieu of this great historic service which it can and should render to our people. To appoint a Jew to this or that ~~an~~ important post in government or to make inexpensive good-will gestures in our direction is of little value to us. They are neither comensurate with the tragic magnitude of our problem nor in any way related to its solution.

Our strength lies in the rapidly growing awareness among our own people of the inevitability of the Zionist solution, which, is, of course, but another name for the millenial Messianic solution of the Jewish problem. Here again the polls have demonstrated how Zionism has won the hearts and minds of the Jews of America. A small opposition group has persisted in carrying on a bitter, <sup>at</sup> times irresponsible, anti-Zionist propaganda which is so very reminiscent of the *unprofitable* propaganda of the Germans of the Mosaic persuasion in pre-Hitler Germany. Their propaganda is wrapped up in the American flag and is widely peddled especially among the "better-class Jews" -- God save the mark! But to no avail. The free Jews of America will not accept the truckling and bankrupt philosophies and ways of life of the assimilationist Jews of Western Europe who were utterly rejected and cast out in spite of their attempts, frequently bordering on the pathological, at ~~any~~ complete and total "integration." "A day will come," warned Dr. Nordau in Berlin, in 1898, "on which Zionism will be as needed by you, you proud Germans, as by those wretched Ostjuden." And what a day of wrath and blood and terror it was when it came!....

Our strength and hope lie in what we have builded in Palestine. There a nation has come to life, conscious of its strength, overflowing with eager,



creative energy, sinking its roots deep and spreading its branches wide. Within a generation, a backward, eroded, wasted and impoverished land was restored, quickened into life, healed and made prosperous to the amazement of all and to the envy of some. Those who builded it for their people are determined to defend it for their people. "They shall not build, and another inhabit. They shall not plant, and another eat." Against the granite of their courage and obduracy, all opposition will hurl itself in vain.

Fifty years ago, Herzl, in his little book which shook our world, wrote these prophetic words:

"The Jews who wish will have their State.

"We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.

"The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness.

"And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity."



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FROM ADDRESS BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER DELIVERED AT CONVENTION  
OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IN CLEVELAND, OHIO on MONDAY,  
FEBRUARY 18, 1946

In this connection I should like to suggest that we should be on guard against those who would like to tie the Zionist movement to one or another of present-day rival ideologic groups, Soviet Socialism vs. Social Democracy. There are those who resent every approach made to win over the sympathy of the Soviet Government to our cause. They call it "flirting," and point the finger of derision at Zionists whenever some anti-Zionist statement or act emanates from Soviet or pro-Soviet sources. This is an amazing phenomenon in Jewish life which can only be attributed to a blind and bitter partisanship which carries over from an area which is not related to Jewish life to a specifically Jewish issue of gravest moment.

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