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Our battle for Jewish statehood, 1946.

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ADDRESS

BY

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

PRESIDENT, ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

ON THE POLITICAL SITUATION

AT THE 49TH ANNUAL ZOA CONVENTION

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J.

OCTOBER 25th, 1946

~~But~~ We are primarily interested in the political situation which confronts us. We are at the moment dangerously becalmed. The London Conference which the Jewish Agency refused to attend because even the minimal conditions which it set were rejected, has been postponed until the middle of December, it has been reported that the British Government will release from prison the members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency who are now in Latrun, and perhaps some other prisoners, if the Agency will officially renounce or condemn all violent resistance. It is not clear what all this implies. The Government has made it clear however, that if the Executive of the Jewish Agency will decide to attend the London Conference, it will be on the basis, not of the Agency proposals, but on the Grady Morrison proposals. No concessions whatsoever have been made to increase the number of Jewish immigrants into Palestine before the Conference reconvenes.

We are also marking time on the matter of President Truman's action taken on October 4th, whereby, in a forceful public statement he called upon the British Government, in view of the fact that the London Conference has been adjourned and the winter was approaching, to permit a substantial immigration into Palestine at once. The general impression is that the President has again been rebuffed by Prime Minister Attlee. What further action will now be taken no one seems to know.

It might be well to review a bit of history on the attitude of our Government toward our cause in recent years. It might in fairness be characterized as one of mere benevolent neutrality. Our Government was at all times kindly disposed, at least as far as the Chief Executive was concerned, but it persisted in doing nothing about it. It was fashionable for public officials, from the highest to the lowest, both in the legislative and the Executive branches of our Government, to give warm endorsement to our movement and it was generally assumed, even among many Zionists, that that was all that could really be expected from our Government. This attitude persisted even after the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government. Our Government made no protest whatsoever against this unilateral and illegal action of the British Government which clearly violated the Anglo American Convention of 1924.

When the United States entered the World War, even the attitude of benevolent neutrality was abandoned. By 1942, the subject of Zionism had become taboo in Washington. I called the attention of the Zionists of America to this fact. In an address, which as Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal I delivered in Philadelphia in May 1943, "within the last few months", I stated, "as if by concerted action, there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine". The word had gone through Washington that during the duration of the war, the subject of Zionism should be avoided. This became the official line, but Zionist leaders preferred to remain blithely unaware of it. The clamor of the Jews of the world to help save their doomed brothers in Europe by opening the doors of Palestine was deftly detoured into a number of shoney inter-governmental refugee conferences.

It was clear that a change had to be forced in this attitude in Washington for our cause if it was ever to have a chance. Our demands had to be placed on the agenda of the political thought and concern, not alone of the United States, but of the world. All through 1943, we carried on an energetic campaign of education, propaganda and organization, on a scale commensurate with the urgency and size of the problem. A high-water mark was reached that year in the great assembly of the democratically elected American Jewish Conference which was held in the city of New York. At this conference not only were the convictions of American Jewry touching the Jewish Commonwealth crystallized and made vocal, but notice was served up on the Administration that the desperate plight of world Jewry cannot be met by mere words and expressions of sympathy and that our government could not push the subject of Palestine out of mind. American Jewry looked to its government to champion the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine, for our government stood committed to those rights. These resolutions were brought to the attention of our State Department. But nothing happened.

March 31, 1944 was the deadline set by the White Paper. After that date no more Jews, over and above those who would be permitted to enter on what remained of the 75,000 certificates which had not been distributed, were to be permitted to enter Palestine, except by the consent of the Arabs. We accordingly intensified our political action urging the abrogation of the White Paper. Zionist resolutions were introduced into both houses of Congress in the early months of 1944, on the eve of the White Paper deadline. A thorough canvass of Congress convinced us that the resolutions would be overwhelmingly adopted. But suddenly the War Department, undoubtedly with the full knowledge of the Administration, intervened on the ground of military expediency, and action on the resolutions was indefinitely postponed. There was widespread disappointment and strong expression of dissatisfaction. As a result, President Roosevelt received Dr. Wise and me at the White House on March 9th and authorized us to issue, on his behalf, a statement in which the President declared that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939". The President's statement thus broke a long, and to the Jews of Europe a dreadful, costly silence. Nearly five years had elapsed since the issuance of the White Paper and all through that time our Government had not registered a single objection. Meanwhile, millions of our people perished.

Unfortunately, this declaration of the President was not followed up by any official representation to the British Government, and, as if to indicate that the President's statement had not implied any new departure on the part of our Government in its policy towards Palestine, a telegram was sent by the State Department with the approval of the President, to the heads of the Arab countries, renewing the assurances which has previously been given to them that no decision on Palestine would be reached without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Such assurances were not at all called for, nor were they at all in the spirit of the Anglo-American Convention. The first time that this assurance had been given to the Arabs was in May of 1943. The Zionists of America were, of course, never informed of these private assurances which had been given.

We continued our intensive political action throughout 1944. Our country was approaching a national election. We succeeded in having pro-Zionist planks introduced into the platform of both the major political parties, in June and July of that year. In October, the War Department announced that the military considerations which were responsible for its opposition to the Palestine resolutions were no longer as strong a factor as they had been. On October 15th, President Roosevelt, through Senator Wagner, sent to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, a message in which he expressed his satisfaction that "in accord with the traditional American policy, and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July Convention 'this year included a plank in its platform - we favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result there in the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth'. Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if reelected, I shall help to bring about its realization".

But this admirable statement too was not followed up by any action. On the contrary, when on the basis of this public endorsement of Zionism by the President of the United States, and on the basis of the political platforms of both parties, and the withdrawal of the objections of the War Department, the Palestine resolution was re-introduced in Congress, the President and his administration registered the most stubborn and violent opposition to its passage. The story is well-known to you and need not be rehearsed here. Action on the resolution was postponed because of the opposition of the Executive. Some Zionist leaders actually collaborated with the Administration in the defeat of the resolution on the vague promise that something would be done some day for our cause if Zionists would not press for it in Congress. This led to an upheaval in our ranks, which fortunately, is now a matter of history.

In February of 1945, President Roosevelt, following the Yalta Conference, met with Ibn Saud and discussed Palestine with him. What actually transpired at that Conference did not become known to the public until the correspondence between Ibn Saud and the President dated March 10th and April 5th was made public six months later. In this correspondence, the President assured Ibn Saud again that no decision with respect to the basic condition in Palestine would be taken without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews and that the President would take no action which might prove hostile to the Arab people. Since the attitude of the Arab people was quite well-known to the President and was made absolutely clear to him by Ibn Saud, this assurance meant that no action whatsoever would be taken to change the status quo, which was keeping the Jews out of Palestine.

But on March 16th, three weeks before these assurances were given to Ibn Saud, President Roosevelt, upon his return from his meeting with Ibn Saud declared publicly "I made my position on Zionism clear in October - that position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

Thus the situation throughout the Roosevelt administration is clear. The United States Government was determined to take no action whatsoever and was making no representations whatsoever to the British Government either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed under the mandate. But for home consumption, statements were issued from time to time and on strategic occasions to assure the Jews of America that the Government of the United States was heartily in sympathy with them and their aspirations. Those Zionist leaders who drew attention to these simple facts were marked off as enemies of the Administration, as covert agents for the opposition political party, or as rough and inexperienced men who did not know the subtleties of diplomacy and the refinements of true statesmanship.

The situation did not change at first under the Truman administration. Assurances identical with those given by President Roosevelt were also given to the Arabs early in his administration by President Truman. Thus, all through the years of the war and until August 31st of last year, when President Truman sent his letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates for the immigration of Jews to Palestine be granted, nothing whatsoever, but absolutely nothing, was done by our government in behalf of our cause, to carry out the will of the American people, the resolutions of the Congress of the United States, or the terms of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924.

The action of President Truman in connection with the 100,000 refugees marked a welcome turning point, not to be sure in American policy on Palestine, but in the sustained policy of doing nothing, to help Jews get into Palestine. It was made clear by the President that his request was made on purely humanitarian grounds and had no political implications, and assurances were given to the Arab states that the President's letter to Mr. Attlee did not imply any change in this government's policy towards Palestine. President Truman opposed the resolution on Palestine which was reintroduced in Congress in October of

last year although he did support the resolution when he was a Senator. The Palestine resolutions, you will recall, in spite of his opposition, and the opposition of the Secretary of State, was adopted by the Senate of the United States on December 17th, 1945, and by the House on December 19th. In his latest book, "Where are We heading", Mr. Sumner Welles commenting on the action of Congress states "the position taken by the legislative branch of the Government was firm, tonic and enlightened as has often been the case in recent months. The Congress favored a foreign policy that was far more positive than that of the Executive, and far more likely to further a healthy world reconstruction". But regardless of what his position on Zionism was, President Truman was at least trying to do something concrete to ^{help Jews get into Palestine. He found it possible to} maintain that the admission of 100,000 Jews would not constitute a change in the basic situation in Palestine and did not call for prior consultation with the Arabs - a thought which had never occurred to his predecessor. President Truman's letter marked a real step forward in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation in order to put an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate. But the hand of the chief executive soon faltered. Instead of pressing vigorously and with all the authority and prestige of our government upon Mr. Atlee to accede to his request, he accepted his refusal and yielded to his counter-proposal for a joint Committee of Inquiry, a needless inquiry, a palpable delaying device and an excuse for inaction.

This was most unfortunate. The Labor Government of Great Britain was in far greater need of American political cooperation and financial assistance than we stood in need of Great Britain. The new Labor government was pressing for a large American loan and for American backing on many diplomatic sectors. It is inconceivable that if the President and the administration had made this matter of 100,000 a resolute sine quo non that favorable action on his request would not have been found.

I might say here a word about the British loan and what our attitude towards it was. We were not opposed to the British loan. We felt, however, that action on it should be postponed until Great Britain had met her responsibilities towards Palestine and had revoked its illegal measures which are keeping hundreds of thousands of our unfortunate war-ravaged refugees from entering Palestine. The American Government had a clear directive from the Congress of the United States on this subject. It would have been perfectly proper for our government to posit as a prior condition for the granting of a loan to Great Britain, the fulfillment on the part of Great Britain of her international obligations towards the Jewish National Home. Foreign loans are very frequently used by governments, including Great Britain to achieve political objectives. This is neither improper nor unusual. Two weeks ago, our State Department suspended permanently the remaining \$40,000,000 and the \$50,000,000 credit to Czechoslovakia and asked the Export and Import Bank to suspend negotiations with Czechoslovakia for another \$50,000,000 credit because our government did not like the criticism which was emanating from that country concerning America's economic imperialism.

Some time ago, our Government suspended economic negotiations with Poland because that country failed to measure up with our demand for a free flow of news and for free elections. Why then was it out of place for our government to defer action on the British loan which by the way, was not approved of by the majority of the American people, until Great Britain fulfilled her international obligations in an area where so much of human misery and suffering were involved. Are criticism of the United States government in Czechoslovakia and the holding of free elections in Poland more serious in nature than the rescue of hundreds of thousands of human beings who by every right of law and humanity were entitled to find refuge in Palestine? The great concern of the Administration and its feverish activity prior to the consideration of the loan in the House, indicated that the passage of the loan was definitely in doubt. Enough of our friends had rallied to our side in addition to those who were opposed to the loan on other grounds to make the postponement of action very likely. Had this happened, I am persuaded that the government of Great Britain would have acted very quickly, and it would have given us tremendous political prestige and

a bargaining power in all future negotiations with the British government. But the unexpected action of one of our Zionist leaders who in clear disregard of understandings reached in his presence by the Emergency Council, came forth as the champion of the loan in the name of Americanism, demoralized and scattered our friends in Congress. They could see no sense in voting against an administration measure to help the Zionist cause when a Zionist leader himself stepped forth as its champion. We have a genius for kicking ourselves in the face. It was shortly after this beau geste that the measures against the Jewish refugees coming to Haifa were intensified and their deportation to Cyprus began a few weeks after the passage of the British loan. This was great Britain's grateful quid pro quo.

I come back to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. You may recall that I urged that our movement should ignore it and should not appear before it, especially since Mr. Bevin made it very clear that the real purpose of this commission was to liquidate the Zionist movement. I was of course again marked off as a hot-headed extremist. After months later, an American member of this Committee publicly acknowledged, at a great protest meeting in Madison Square Garden that I had been right in urging rejection of this Committee and that I had correctly evaluated the political situation.

The Committee, you will recall, made ten recommendations, among them was a recommendation for immediate action, authorizing the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine - that these certificates should be awarded in 1946 as far as possible. There was a second proposal that the restrictions and land regulations be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale of land, irrespective of race, community or creed. When President Truman made public this report on April 30th, he stated "I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Committee of Inquiry. The transfer of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch....in addition to these immediate objectives, the report deals with many other questions of long range political policies and questions of international law which require careful study and which I will take under advisement."

This was a sound, just, and statesmanlike position to take. Unfortunately, here again the hand of the Chief Executive soon faltered. When Prime Minister Attlee took violent exception to his position, the President failed to follow through and our State Department announced that no immediate action would be taken in behalf of these hundred thousand and without first acting on all the other recommendations of the report. On May 20th, the State Department went through the motions of inviting Arab and Jewish representatives to present their views on the recommendations of the Committee, as if their views were not already fully known.

Because of the vigorous protest which was made against the State Department, it was forced to issue a statement on May 22nd attempting to reconcile its own position with that of the President. It naively suggested that its invitation to Arab and Jewish representatives to present their views was "the best and quickest means of reaching an effective solution of the problems dealt with in the report." We refused to cooperate however, in this palpable and transparent maneuver aimed at further delay. Thus, further progress was lost while our refugees continued to languish in detention camps.

Under pressure of public opinion, the President then appointed on June 11th, a Cabinet Committee on Palestine, consisting of the Secretary of State, of War and of Treasury. In so doing, the President declared that he was appointing this Committee to assist him in the "early consideration of the recommendation of the Anglo American Committee of Inquiry", in view of the urgency of the solution of various problems relating to the Jews in Europe and Palestine. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin replied to this action of the President by a speech which he delivered to the British Labor Conference at Bournemouth on June 12th in which he hurled that infamous slur against the Jews of New York - repeated the canard about the Zionists wishing to establish an exclusively racial state in Palestine and proclaimed "that if we put 100,000 Jews into Palestine tomorrow, I would have to put another division of troops there. I am not prepared to do it."

After another delay, American technical experts were sent to London to meet with British experts and to work out the logistics in connection with the transfer of the hundred thousand. This Committee completed its work, but again nothing happened. Finally, the Cabinet Committee dispatched to London its three deputy members to meet with the British, not to get the hundred thousand Jews moving into Palestine, but to work out the implementation of all the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. Attlee and Bevin won their point. The results of the labors of these deputy members was the well-known Grady-Morrison report which I am sure is fresh in your minds. What the report recommended was not a plan for implementing the recommendations of the Committee on Inquiry, but an utterly new and radically different, substitute plan. It recommended a scheme of provincial autonomy for Palestine wherein the Jewish people would be restricted to an area of some 1400 square miles. Jewish immigration would be permitted in that Zone, up to its absorptive capacity which would be determined by the Mandatory power or trustee government. A mockery of self-government was outlined. Great Britain would remain the sole trustees with increased power over an indefinite period - Great Britain would also remain in absolute control of a large zone of its own. The American government was to woo the cooperation of the Arabs to this plan by a bribe of \$300,000,000.

On the advice of Secretary of State Byrnes, President Truman was prepared to approve this report for the American Government. His heart was so set on getting 100,000 Jews into Palestine that he was prepared to accept any arrangement regardless what sacrifices were involved of fundamental Jewish rights. The story of how the President was persuaded at the very last moment from withholding American approval to this scheme, so palpable wrong-headed, unjust and so violative of the rights of the Jewish people, will someday be fully told. It is a tribute to the loyalty, devotion and discipline of the Zionists of America.

It was at this juncture after the rejection of the Grady plan by the American Government, that the Executive of the Jewish Agency came forward with its partition proposal as a solution for the Palestine problem. An emissary of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Nahum Goldman, brought these proposals to Washington, and presented them to the members of the Cabinet Committee and to others. As to the wisdom of the action of the Executive and the manner in which its decisions were carried out in Washington, I shall speak later on in my report. At the moment, I am interested in recording the sequence of events and their implication. This emissary reported that the members of the Cabinet Committee approved the proposals of the Jewish Agency. It was not made clear, however, that in approving these proposals, our government did not accept them as government policy and did not transmit them to Great Britain as the proposals of the American Government. They were transmitted as the proposals of the Jewish Agency. The President of the United States, before very long, took occasion to point out specifically that the statement issued on August 16th that "although the President has been exchanging views with Prime Minister Attlee on the subject, this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine." The British Government drew the full implication from this statement of the President. The proposals did not have the authority of the American Government behind them. It was not surprising that all the efforts of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in the two months from the middle of August to the middle of October to persuade the British Government to accept partition as a basis for negotiations, failed completely. All the long-drawn out negotiations resulted in nothing, and during those two months, the American Government acted as though it had done all that had been requested of it - it had transmitted the Agency proposals to London - and what more did the Jews want? It gave the impression of having washed its hands of the entire matter, even the subject of the hundred thousand refugees seemed to have been shelved. This was all that was really accomplished by the floating Jewish ambassador in Washington.

It was at this juncture that the American Zionist Emergency Council which had been violently pushed out of the Washington scene by the Agency emissary, again went into action in an intensified campaign. The approaching November elections offered a favorable opportunity. It is at such times that government in democracies are more sensitive to the expressions and sentiments of its citizens. A Political Actions Committee was organized to mobilize the Jewish citizens of America to demand in the name of American principles and American commitments, action from our government in connection with Palestine. Our purpose was not to elicit another statement from the White House. Of these, the records show that we have had quite a number. Nevertheless, the pressure of aroused and indignant public opinion was so great that on October 4th, the President did issue a statement. It was a long statement of some 1500 words in which the President reviewed the Administration's efforts regarding Palestine - a rather unconvincing record even when presented by the Administration. The President strongly urged that in view of the postponement of the London Conference to December 16th, "that substantial immigration into Palestine cannot await a solution to the Palestine problem and that it should begin at once. Preparations for this movement have already been made by this government and it is ready to lend its immediate assistance." This was a forthright and admirable statement and in making it, the President went back to the position which he took before, upon the publication of the report of the Committee on Inquiry. He separated the short-term recommendations from the long-term recommendations and demanded immediate action where action was immediately imperative.

With reference to the ultimate solution for Palestine, the President took note of the Agency's proposals to "solve the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine, instead of in the whole of Palestine."

It was his belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. However, the President still did not commit the United States Government to the Agency proposals - "I cannot believe," he stated, "that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward (the Grady-Morrison plan and the Agency plan) is too broad to be breached by men of reason and good-will. To such a solution our government could give its support." In other words, while the United States definitely refused to give its support to the Agency proposals, it is prepared to give its support to a compromise proposal as between partition, which is the Agency proposal, and the Grady-Morrison plan. This is a far cry from endorsing the Jewish state in terms of what the floating spokesman for the Jewish Agency has so neatly and so attractively defined for himself in the public press. President Roosevelt, you will recall, did go much farther in this regard than did President Truman. President Roosevelt stated that he was convinced that the American people gave their support to the establishment of Palestine (that is to say, the whole of Palestine) as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and if reelected he would help to bring about its realization.

Here is where the road ends as of the moment. It remains to be seen whither it will lead from here on. The hundred thousand Jews are still in the detention camps. The gates of Palestine are still closed.

No one questions the sincerity of President Truman. He has evidenced time and again a deep humanitarian interest in the problem of Jewish refugees. He would like to see a great number of them go to Palestine. He regards that as one of the major solutions of the refugee problem. What troubles us deeply is not merely his failure to achieve any results - but the doubt which is widespread among so many as to whether our government actually did employ and is employing its full strength, weight and diplomatic apparatus to get results. We cannot help but feel that if the Administration had been one-tenth as concerned with this problem as it was with the problem of insuring favorable action on the British loan, that the Jews would now be moving in great numbers into Palestine.

I have dwelt at great length on the attitude of the Government of the United States to our cause. I have said little or nothing about the attitude of Great Britain, which is after all the Mandatory Government of Palestine and the Government which has the prime obligation and responsibility in the matter and the ultimate decision. I have done so for two reasons. The Government of the United States is after all our Government. As citizens we can turn to it for redress and because this is a democracy, also for an explanation and an accounting. It is quite easy to criticize a foreign government. We must be equally as frank in the criticism of our own Government. Here however, party interests and other conflicting loyalties frequently get in the way, and we are inclined to apologize for, overlook and generally shield our Government where only just and forthright criticism could correct the situation.

In the second place, I am persuaded that only as the United States is brought into the picture very affirmatively and as ^a strong and dependable ally of ours will we make any progress at all with Great Britain in a final settlement of Palestine. The Government of Great Britain wants neither the Biltmore program nor partition, nor a unitary state as envisaged by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. It wants no political arrangement for Palestine which will substantially increase the Jewish population there, or reduce its own firm and indefinite control over that country. It will resort to every device to defeat a just solution. Unless the Government of the United States can be persuaded energetically to intervene on the basis of its commitments and in the name of justice and humanity and for the sake of peace in the Near East, where peace is very vital to its own interest and in the interest of the world, nothing will be done. If the United States will resolve to see that the letter and the spirit of the Palestine Mandate are faithfully carried out, and will make that one of the major objectives of its foreign policy to which it will devote itself persistently and aggressively, as it has begun to do with other political problems in other

parts of the world, something definite will be achieved and that speedily. That is why we have placed so much importance on persuading our Government not to treat the Palestine problem as an incident on the periphery of its world-wide diplomatic activities, to which it turns its attention only when prodded by an unhappy electorate, but to put it along with the other major political questions of the hour at the very center of its foreign policy. For Palestine is a major international political problem to which far-sighted statesmen have pointed to, time and again, as containing disastrous explosive possibilities for the peace of the world.

There is no use devoting much of our time to a criticism of what Great Britain has done in Palestine during the year and what it is doing at the moment. It is indeed a black chapter of which the people of Great Britain, I am sure, will never be proud. The story of helpless refugees turned away from the doors of Palestine by tear-gas and fire hoses, and forcibly moved from the doors of the Jewish National Home to detention camps in Cyprus, the ruthless destruction of Jewish settlements, the imprisonment of the leaders of the Jewish Agency and their detention without trial, and the iron military dictatorship which has been clamped on that country, all these are pages from the Dark Ages. In modern times only Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany could offer parallels to such barbarism. It is a great pity that the friendly and sympathetic people of Great Britain are being involved by their blundering Government in such practices. These practices are poisoning the relationship between the Jewish people and the people of Great Britain and, as Mr. Harold J. Laski pointed out the other day, they are also poisoning the hope of that creative understanding between the United States and Great Britain so vital to the peace of the world. "I have rarely seen goodwill thrown away," declared Mr. Laski, "by misjudgment so great and so unnecessary. I do not know upon whom Mr. Attlee relies for his opinion of the American attitude. I can only say that I am certain American indignation will grow unless he takes steps to alter a policy which is an abysmal failure. He has not too much time to avert one of those catastrophes from which there is no recovering."

The action of the Executive of the Jewish Agency which was taken in Paris on August 5th to the effect that "it is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine," must be in the last analysis be judged by its results. Results so far have been entirely negative. The high hope which was entertained by the members of the Executive that their partition proposal, representing as it did "a supreme sacrifice in order to facilitate an immediate lasting settlement" to quote the words of Dr. Chaim Weizman's letter to the British Colonial Secretary, would be quickly accepted and would help to clear up the dangerous political log-jam which had developed, did not materialize.

I am inclined to believe that the action of the Executive was an error of judgment. To question the judgment of the Executive is not to challenge the authority of the Jewish Agency. The Executive is only an instrumentality of the Jewish Agency, and it is charged with carrying out its policies. At the time of the vote on partition, the Executive had not consulted either the Smaller or the Larger Actions Committee of our movement which alone have the authority to act for our movement in the interim between Congresses. When the Executive of the Jewish Agency acted on partition in Paris, there was but one binding Zionist policy to guide it - the one which was reaffirmed as late as August 1945 by the post-war Zionist Conference in London, and this policy was opposed to partition. "There can be no solution," stated the London Political Resolution, "to the inseparable twin problems of the Jewish people and Palestine, except by constituting it, undivided and undiminished, as a Jewish State in accordance with the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration."

This policy, by the way, is still the only authentic and binding policy for the Zionist movement. There is no other, and there will be no other, until the World Zionist Congress alters or revises it. When and if it does, it will be binding upon everyone who recognizes and accepts its authority.

We questioned the wisdom of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to make the radical decision which it did make and to proceed to act forthwith upon it in its contacts with governments, without first receiving approval of either the Smaller or Larger Actions Committees not to speak of the Congress itself. Our movement was thus confronted with a fait accompli. The explanation which has been given that the situation called for the greatest speed has not been established by subsequent events. The Executive did move rapidly and precipitously but moved toward nothing. We are not unmindful of the sincere and honorable motives which moved the members of the Executive in Paris to make their decision. The tragic plight of European Jewry, the desperate position of the refugees and the mood of the beleaguered Yishuv, all undoubtedly were factors in the decision. Nevertheless, as events have demonstrated, their decision did not correct any of these tragic situations.

We also question the method which was employed in ascertaining whether the American or the British Government would be prepared to accept the partition proposal. There were many ways in which such information could have been readily obtained without the necessity of a preliminary formal vote of approval of partition, a decision which could hardly be expected to remain secret for long. It could have been obtained without dramatically flying an emissary from Paris to Washington, whose coming was heralded by sensational dispatches from Paris announcing that an emissary was arriving to discuss with the President of the United States a Jewish Agency plan for Palestine. There was a sufficient number of Zionist leaders left in the United States who could have obtained that information quietly and quickly in the ordinary course of their work in Washington. We criticize the manner in which the mission of the Jewish Agency was carried out by its emissary in Washington. The story has been told and will be told in fullest detail at the World Zionist Congress. Suffice it to state that agreements which were reached by the American Zionist Emergency Council and Dr. Goldmann on his arrival in Washington, agreements which later information proved to have been in complete conformity with the letter and spirit of the decision of the Executive, were ignored and flouted by Dr. Goldmann. We agreed unanimously,

Dr. Goldmann concurring, that neither he nor we would propose a partition plan to the Cabinet committee or other American officials, that we would not try to "sell" them partition, or to tell them that the Jewish Agency wants it. We would continue to press for the implementation of the short-range recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the transference of the 100,000 and the removal of immigration and land restrictions. The American members of the Committee were then in Washington and were eagerly cooperating with us in this. If, in the course of the discussions between these committee members and the members of the Cabinet Committee, the subject of partition would come up, and there was no doubt that the subject would come up, since some of the members were preparing to raise it, and if then the emissary of the Jewish Agency or the representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council were asked what the attitude of the Jewish Agency would be to such a proposal, they would then be in a position to indicate that under certain conditions, the Jewish Agency would be prepared to consider such a compromise solution. We all agreed that it would be a colossal political blunder for us to announce publicly that the Zionist movement proposes to sacrifice one-half of Palestine in order to retain the other half. Once that is done, a partitioned Palestine becomes our maximal position, from which Governments may properly ask us in the name of reasonableness and compromise to recede still further. This over, partition proposals would be still further whittled down.

To criticize the manner in which the emissary of the Jewish Agency carried out his mission in Washington is not to criticize the Jewish Agency, although some have come to think of themselves as synonymous and identical with the Jewish Agency.

Nothing was gained by this diplomatic maneuver of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. Its action had nothing to do with the rejection by our Government of the Morrison-Grady proposal.

Mr. Grady was recalled from London on July 31st. Mr. Morrison was compelled to announce in the House of Commons on that day that the American Government which he had confidentially expected to sign the proposal and which agreement was to have been announced that very day, had changed its mind. The Executive

of the Jewish Agency did not adopt its partition proposals till August 5th and Dr. Goldmann did not arrive in the United States until August 6th. The argument that as a result of the partition mission to Washington, our Government is now on record as endorsing a Jewish State is also not borne out by the official documents, as I have indicated.

But if nothing was gained, something substantial was lost, I am afraid. A partitioned Palestine now represents our maximum Zionist demands, both in London and in Washington and in the Arab world. Our own Government now suggests a still further compromise, not as between the Biltmore program and partition, but between partition and cantonization. From now on anyone who will go to Washington to talk with officials about a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in the whole of Palestine -- and this mind you is still the official position of our movement -- will, I am afraid, be laughed out of court. Again, as has been pointed out by some who would favor partition as a possible solution, that the moment partition was put forward as an official Zionist proposal it thereby became available as a possible British Conference proposal.

Unless the forthcoming Zionist Congress disavows in some decisive manner the action of the Executive, or the interpretation which was universally placed upon it, we shall have to reorient our entire Zionist propaganda and begin to urge our friends to press for a Jewish State in a part of Palestine, a prospect which, at the moment, is no brighter than was the prospect of a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine. We have not succeeded in achieving the Biltmore program, but we have also failed to achieve partition. Wherein then have the so-called pro-partition moderates scored over the Biltmore extremists?

If it is true that the present Government of Great Britain is unwilling to grant us statehood in even a part of Palestine, and the record of the present British Government is very clear on this subject, what point is there in making one grand gesture of renunciation after another and in publicly proclaiming our readiness for supreme sacrifices when our gestures are disdained and our sacrifices are condemned!

Can you recall a single instance in the last 25 years when any sacrifice on our part evoked a favorable response either from the British Government or from the Arabs? Have the unofficial negotiations which the Executive of the Jewish Agency carried on during the past two months with the British Government, during which time the Executive yielded again and again on conditions which it had previously announced as the irreducible minimum, in the hope that its reasonableness would recommend itself to the Government, have these negotiations, I ask, yielded a single response of fairness and generosity on the part of the Government?

How long can we follow along this road of renunciation and abnegation without tearing the heart out of our movement?

Something else has been lost, I am afraid. In its eagerness to persuade the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to accept partition, the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency quite naturally praised their proposal as very reasonable and moderate. The impression accordingly was left with Governments and with the press of the world that those Zionists who remain loyal to the Biltmore plan, to the classic Zionist program, to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, are unreasonable and extremists.

It was not long before reports began to circulate through the press, some of them inspired I am afraid by some of our own people, reports emanating from Paris or London, to the effect that a sharp struggle exists in the Zionist movement between the moderates and the extremists, that the Jewish Agency represents the temperate and the moderate wing of the movement, and that certain Zionists principally the Zionists of the United States represent the extremists. Your president was singled out time and again as the spokesman of these intransigent extremists. My resignation from the Executive of the Jewish

the effectiveness of our entire public relations work there, was interpreted in the public press in this manner; "If his resignation goes through, it will be regarded as a new sign of growing "moderate" influence in the Jewish Agency top ranks." As recently as two weeks ago there appeared an inspired newspaper column in the Washington Post which quoted an anonymous administration source to the effect that the purpose of President Truman's statement of October 4th was to strengthen the influence of the so-called moderates in the Zionist Organization of America against the so-called extremists under Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

A few days ago there appeared a lengthy despatch from London where a Zionist functionary who has promoted himself to the position of proxy to the president of our movement is quoted as warning the British Government that unless there is interim relief for Palestine pending a long-term solution, the forthcoming World Zionist Congress is likely to be one of the stormiest and bitterest in the history of our movement. Unless there is a change in the situation, the Congress is likely to be dominated by elements that have lost faith in fairness, justice and in the ability of any British Government to meet the needs of the hour.

Those Zionists all over the world who have been loyally following the classic Zionist line, have overnight become extremists. Even some Zionists are falling into this unsuspected trap and are accepting this piece of idiotic perversion. The dismal irony of all this is that the zealous advocates of partition are coming to be called extremists. It will not be long before those who demand a compromise solution between partition and the Morrison-Grady plan will be branded as extremists. The London Times, for example, two weeks ago already raised such a cry. "Last Thursday's statement from the White House", it commented editorially, "may well compel people in Britain as well as in the Arab countries to the reluctant conclusion that no solution will satisfy the President unless it goes the whole way to satisfy Jewish claims."

Dr. Nahum Goldman may consider 60% of Palestine as a reasonable and moderate goal, but a spokesman of the Foreign Office in London commenting on his moderate and reasonable proposal, stated that "The Foreign Office has noted with interest a plan under which 30% of the population of Palestine would occupy 65% of the territory." Dr. Goldman himself is fearful that his moderate and reasonable plan will be regarded as extreme by the British Government, and he sees no other alternative but extreme violence against the British Government within a few weeks. So even the partition plan cannot be carried out without the threat of violence and violence is not the counsel of moderation.

I reject with contempt all those who unctiously and mendaciously suggest to Governments or to the public press that those Zionists who do not favor partition are dangerous extremists, and that partition must be accepted lest the movement fall into their hands. The Zionists who remain loyal to the classic Zionist Program, who demand that Great Britain fully and honorably discharge the obligations which it had assumed voluntarily as the Mandatory Government of Palestine, the Zionists who are not stampeded by the emergencies of the hour and who do not believe that either the Yishuv or the Jewish people are so weary and shaken as to be prepared to accept any settlement however cruelly unjust. These Zionists I maintain are not extremists they are the proud and loyal followers of Herzl, Nordau and Ussishki and of all the splendid men and women who by the sweat of their brow and blood of their hearts have in the last fifty years been building Eretz Israel. Courage, faith and persistence even under the most desperate conditions are not extremism, and defeatism is not to be confused with moderation.

When proposals will be made to us by Governments which we will find truly reasonable and which will meet our fundamental needs and satisfy our national aspirations and our sense of justice, the whole movement will be prepared, I am sure, to give them every serious consideration. But such proposals have definitely not been made to us by anyone. So far they represent the wishful thinking of certain Zionists who have begun to act in relation to the Zionists who disagree with them, as if partition were actually in the bag. Sound and just proposals are bound to be made to us sooner or later, if we do not lose our nerve, and if we are not misled by artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves.

Until such time there is nothing else for us to do but to carry on as energetically and determinedly as heretofore, insisting upon our historic and legal rights to Palestine, our rights under the Mandate. There are no other legal or political realities in the situation, at present. There are no partition proposals before the Zionist movement. It is along the line of our historic claims and legal rights to the whole of Palestine that we must continue our struggle -- and unfortunately the whole of Palestine has now come to mean one-third of Palestine, for we have already been victimized by catastrophic partition in 1922 when Transjordan was torn away.

We must in every way support the Yishuv in its struggle against the brutal attempts of the Mandatory Government to liquidate the Jewish National Home. By maximum financial and moral support we must strengthen the Yishuv's power of resistance. The Yishuv must, in the last analysis, decide for itself the form and the timing of its resistance to British lawlessness in Palestine. Whatever their decision - we will stand by them. We must do everything possible, regardless of cost, to continue Jewish immigration into Palestine. The power which keeps these immigrants out of the Jewish National Home is an illegal power and must be resisted in every way. The Government which complains of terror in Palestine must understand that it alone is responsible for that terror. We must carry on in every part of the world and especially in this country an intensified campaign of education to inform the world of the organized conspiracy of the present British Government to nullify our rights in Palestine, and physically to destroy whatever Jewish labor and sacrifice have through the years built in that country, and built so well.

Finally, we must stand four-square on the proposition that Zionism is not an immigration or a refugee movement, but a movement to rebuild the Jewish State for the Jewish nation in the land of Israel. The classic textbook of Zionism is not how to find a home for one hundred thousand Jewish refugees. The classic textbook of our movement is "The Jewish State".

Address Delivered at Fourth Plenary Meeting of Third Session

By Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

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My dear friends, while I may be more unanimous than Dr. Wise, it is Dr. Wise who is unique. (Laughter) He is unique in the greatness of his service to our people, unique in the years of unfailing devotion, unique in eloquence and unique in spiritual greatness. I hope to continue for many years to come to fight with Dr. Wise and to work with him. (Applause)

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 a year ago, 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 had 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 million 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 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 lie 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 predetermined.

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."

This was Balfour speaking in tones of a higher statesmanship and a deeper insight into our problem.

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, anticipated and restricted 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-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 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, Greece, India, Indonesia, 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 almost 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 prejudiced. 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 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 them. In the meantime a bitter winter is taking its toll of our refugees in the camps of Europe. Myriads of them are degenerating physically and spiritually while the doors of Palestine remain closed to all but 1500 a month.

Reference was made this evening by Dr. Wise to the statement of Bartley Crum, one of the American representatives on the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. This is one sentence of his recently uttered in Vienna: "Displaced Jews housed in the settlement camps in Germany are so desperate that unless they are given the opportunity to emigrate to Palestine, they will commit mass suicide or fight their way to the Holy Land." While this delay and procrastination is taking place, 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 cannot 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 Hussini, the pogrom-maker of 1936, is allowed to return. The refugees in Belsen and Dachau must wait. But Jemal el Hussini 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 December 1944, I read to you the pro-Palestine Resolution which had just 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, also some Jews here and in Great Britain.

In October we felt constrained to present to Secretary of State ~~Barnes~~ 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 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 thing and a strong resolution, though not as good or as strong as the original Taft-Wagner^R 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.

(Applause)

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 that 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 scapegoat?

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^{al}/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 pre-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 on the Commission of Inquiry. Surely the Soviet Union is interested in the problem of the displaced Jews of Europe, and surely the problems of the Middle East cannot find their complete solution without the good-will 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, it is now clear, 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 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 a 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 battlefronts 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 setbacks. The victories will not be decisive nor will the setbacks 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 Hewart, 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. 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 widespread 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 to 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 overdue!

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 these 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."

This was Herzl's vision 50 years ago. Two elements of his immortal vision have come to pass, one tragically enough and one blessedly hopeful enough.

The destruction of Western European Jewry -- that was part of the warning which he sought to give to his people. He felt this oncoming, crushing disaster. It was not very clear, not completely defined, but he sensed it with every fibre of his spiritual being. He sought to warn his people.

SATURDAY

Evening

Presidential Address of Dr. Silver

An air of expectancy and solemnity pervaded the huge audience which overcrowded the spacious auditorium of the Atlantic City Steel Pier as the formal opening session of the 49th Annual Convention of the ZOA was called to order. With a huge multi-colored Palestine poster as a backdrop, the rostrum was graced by an array of the foremost Zionist leaders in the country.

Formally declared open by Joseph W. Greenleaf, chairman of the National Convention Committee, the delegates attending the session were warmly welcomed in brief addresses by the Mayor of Atlantic City, Joseph Altman, and Joseph Halbert, president of the Zionist District.

The atmosphere in the convention hall grew more electrified as Dr. Emanuel Neumann, who presided, listed the members of the Jewish Agency imprisoned in Latrun, and a few moments later brought the vast audience to its feet with the resounding call, "We salute the Haganah."

Colors Presented

Added impressiveness to the opening session was given by the presentation of the colors by the Color Guard of the Jewish War Veterans followed by the singing of the national anthem and Hatikvah, led by Cantor Myro Glass of Indianapolis. Rabbi David Polish offered the invocation.

Reports of the organization's activities in the past year were presented by Dr. Sidney Marks, executive director of the ZOA, and a financial report was given by Abraham Goodman, treasurer.

The major item on the program was the presidential address by Dr. Silver. It was the general consensus that Dr. Silver's address was one of the most masterful presentations in his rich and colorful career as a leader in the movement. The address was frequently interrupted by vociferous cheers, the echo of which was heard outside the portals of the auditorium.

Dr. Silver declared that "a Jewish State, undiminished and undivided, in the whole of Palestine, remained the basic Zionist position, which could not be changed unless the World Zionist Congress sees fit to do so."

British Barbarism

He urged full support to the resistance of the Jews of Palestine against "the brutal attempts of the Mandatory Government to liquidate

Oneg Shabbat

A Hebrew address by Dr. Silver, and a discussion on problems of Hebrew cultural activity in this country featured the well-attended Oneg Shabbat sponsored by the Histadruth Ivrit of America on Saturday afternoon at the Hotel Breakers. Talks were given in both Hebrew and English before an unusually large audience.

Boris Margolin presided and introduced the several speakers. In addition to Dr. Silver, speakers included Dr. Israel Efros, Mordecai Halevi, Elihu D. Stone, and Marlin Feinstein. Miss Shifra Baraks offered several dramatic Hebrew recitations, and Mr. Harry Coopersmith led community singing.

Silver Reviews Political Situation

the Jewish National Home," characterizing the British action as "barbaric," and having its parallels only in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany."

He termed the policy of the United States Government towards the Jewish cause in Palestine one of "mere benevolent neutrality" and "do nothing," and pleaded for United States intervention as the only way to secure a final settlement in Palestine. He asserted that favorable action by the British Government on President Truman's request for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine would have been found if "this matter had been made a *sine qua non*" for the granting of the British loan.

Dr. Silver declared: "A Jewish State, undivided and undiminished, in the whole of Palestine, in accordance with the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration is still the only authentic and binding policy for the Zionist movement, and there is no other until the World Zionist Congress alters or revises it." This Congress, which is the supreme body of the World Zionist movement, meets in Switzerland in December.

He criticized the partition proposal made in Paris on August 5 by the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as "an error of judgment" which had accomplished nothing, but expressly pointed out that in making this charge, he was "not challenging the authority of the Jewish Agency itself."

Substantial Loss

"Nothing was gained by this maneuver of the Jewish Agency Executive, but something substantial was lost," he stated. "Our own government now suggests a still further compromise, not as between the Biltmore program and partition, but between partition and cantonization. From now on, anyone who will go to Washington to talk with officials about a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in the whole of Palestine, and this, mind you, is still the official position of our movement—will, I am afraid, be laughed out of court."

"We questioned the wisdom of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to make the radical decision which it did make and to proceed to act forthwith upon it in its contacts with governments, without first receiving approval of either the Smaller or Larger Actions Committees, not to speak of the World Zionist Congress itself. Our movement was thus confronted with a fait accompli."

Situation Not Helped

"We are not unmindful of the sincere and honorable motives which moved the members of the Executive in Paris to make their decision, but their decision did not correct the tragic situation of the Jewish refugees or of beleaguered Palestine."

Dr. Silver pointed out that even the partition proposal has not been accepted by the British government, and it was useless for the Jewish people to make one grand gesture or renunciation after another when

"our gestures are disdained and our sacrifices are condemned."

Alluding to the proposal of Dr. Nahum Goldmann, emissary of the Jewish Agency Executive, to accept from 50 to 65% of Palestine, Dr. Silver stated:

"Dr. Goldmann may consider 60% of Palestine as a reasonable and moderate goal, but a spokesman of the Foreign Office in London, stated that 'The Foreign Office has noted with interest a plan under which 30% of the population of Palestine would occupy 65% of the territory.' Dr. Goldmann himself is fearful that his moderate and reasonable plan will be regarded as extreme by the British Government, and he sees no other alternative but extreme violence against the British Government within a few weeks. So even the partition plan cannot be carried out without the threat of violence."

Hits Extremism Charges

The head of the major Zionist body in the United States lamented the division which has been caused in the Zionist position and the issue of "extremists" versus "moderates" which has been raised.

"I reject with contempt all those who unctuously and mendaciously suggest to Governments or to the public press that those Zionists who do not favor partition are dangerous extremists, and that partition must be accepted lest the movement fall into their hands," he asserted.

"The Zionists who remain loyal to the classic Zionist program, who are not stampeded by the emergencies of the hour and who do not believe that either the Jews of Palestine or elsewhere are so weary and shaken as to be prepared to accept any settlement, however cruelly unjust, are not extremists. Courage, faith and persistence, even under the most desperate conditions, are not extremism and defeatism is not to be confused with moderation."

"Sound and just proposals by governments are bound to be made to us sooner or later, if we do not lose our nerve, and if we are not misled by artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves."

Support the Yishuv

Urging unstinting support to the Jewish Community of Palestine in its struggle against the "brutal attempts of the Mandatory Government to liquidate the Jewish National Home," Dr. Silver declared:

"By maximum financial and moral support, we must strengthen the Yishuv's (Jewish Community in Palestine) power of resistance. The Yishuv must, in the last analysis, decide for itself the form and the timing of its resistance to British lawlessness in Palestine. Whatever their decision, we will stand by them."

"We must make possible, regardless of cost, continued Jewish immigration into Palestine. The power which keeps these immigrants out of the Jewish National Home is an illegal power and must be resisted in every way. The Government which complains of terror in Palestine



Veterans of the ZOA, members for forty years or more, attending the convention. Left to Right (Front Row): Morris Margulies, Max Doff, Charles A. Cowen, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Louis Lipsky, Elihu D. Stone, Joseph Weiss, Bernard G. Richards, Dr. H. J. Epstein. (Middle Row): Henry Eiser, Samuel Lonschein, Sol Cohen, Julius Haber, Samuel Judenfreund, Abraham Spiechandler, Joachim Kornbluh, Benjamin Rabalsky, Dr. David Klein, Dr. Louis Lowner, Max Perlman. (Back Row): Feibus Kobak, Morris Kurz, Dr. Leon Schwartz, Jacob Hoffman, Robert Silverman, Joseph Schikler, David Margulies, Herman Schwartz, Philip Levy.

must understand that it alone is responsible for that terror."

Dilatory Tactics of U. S.

Discussing our own government's position with respect to Palestine, Dr. Silver asserted that "until August 31 of last year when President Truman sent his letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates for the immigration of Jews to Palestine be granted, nothing whatsoever, but absolutely nothing, was done by our government, in behalf of our cause, to carry out the will of the American people, the resolution of the Congress of the United States or the terms of the Anglo-American Convention of 1945."

Relating the history of negotiations during the Roosevelt Administration, Dr. Silver said:

"The situation throughout the Roosevelt Administration is clear. The United States Government was determined to take no action whatsoever and was making no representations whatsoever to the British Government either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed under the mandate. But for home consumption statements were issued from time to time and on strategic occasions to assure the Jews of America that the Government of the United States was heartily in sympathy with them and their aspirations."

"Those Zionist leaders who drew attention to these simple facts were marked off as enemies of the Administration, as covert agents for the opposition political party, or as rough and inexperienced men who did not know the subtleties of diplomacy and the refinements of true statesmanship."

Truman's Action

Describing our Government's attitude towards Palestine in recent years as "one of mere benevolent neutrality," the Zionist leader termed President Truman's action asking the admission of 100,000 Jews

to Palestine as "a welcome turning point, not to be sure in American policy on Palestine but in the sustained policy of doing nothing to help Jews get into Palestine. It marked a real step forward in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation to put an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate."

In reviewing events since the Chief Executive's request last year, Dr. Silver believed that Mr. Truman had faltered—first, in yielding to the British proposal for a joint Committee of Inquiry, "a palpable delaying device," later, in pressing for passage on the British loan before Great Britain had met her responsibilities towards Palestine, and finally, in failing to follow through on the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, which were in line with the President's prior request.

On the subject of the British loan, Dr. Silver remarked:

"We were not opposed to the British loan. We felt, however, that action on it should be postponed until Great Britain had met her responsibilities towards Palestine and had revoked its illegal measures restricting immigration. It would have been perfectly proper for our government to posit as a prior condition for the granting of a loan to Great Britain, the fulfillment on the part of Great Britain of her international obligations towards the Jewish National Home."

Dr. Silver pointed out that our government had recently suspended loans to Czechoslovakia and Poland because of conditions in those countries it found objectionable. "Are criticism of the United States Government in Czechoslovakia and the holding of free elections in Poland more serious in nature than the rescue of hundreds of thousands of human beings who by every right of law and humanity were entitled to find refuge in Palestine?"

Condemns Grady-Morrison Plan

Dr. Silver also strongly condemned the Grady-Morrison Plan for Palestine and praised President Truman for rejecting it.

"The story of how the President was persuaded at the very last moment from withholding American approval to this scheme, so palpably wrongheaded, unjust and so violative of the rights of the Jewish people, is a tribute to the loyalty, devotion and discipline of the Zionists of America," he said.

"No one questions the sincerity of President Truman. He has evidenced time and again a deep, humanitarian interest in the problem of Jewish refugees. He would like to see a great number of them go to Palestine. He regards that as one of the major solutions of the refugee problem."

"What troubles us deeply is not

merely his failure to achieve any results, but the doubt which is widespread among so many of us as to whether our government actually did employ and is employing its full strength, weight and diplomatic apparatus to get results. We cannot help but feel that if the Administration had been one-tenth as concerned with this problem as it was with the problem of insuring favorable action on the British loan, that the Jews would now be moving in great numbers into Palestine."

Urges U. S. Intervention

The speaker urged United States intervention in a final settlement of the Palestine problem "on the basis of its commitments, and in the name of justice and humanity and for the sake of peace in the Near East, where peace is very vital to its own interest and in the interest of the world."

"Palestine is a major international political problem to which far-sighted statesmen have pointed time and again, as containing disastrous explosive possibilities for the peace of the world," he stated. "That is why our government must not treat it as an incident on the periphery of its world-wide diplomatic activities, to which it turns its attention only when prodded by an unhappy electorate, but to put it along with the other major political questions of the hour at the very center of its foreign policy."

"Finally, we must stand four-square on the proposition that Zionism is not an immigration or a refugee movement, but a movement to rebuild the Jewish State for the Jewish Nation in the Land of Israel. The classic textbook of Zionism is not how to find a home for one hundred thousand Jewish refugees. The classic textbook of our movement is *The Jewish State*."



The New England Region, headed by Dr. Morton J. Robbins, was well represented.

1,000,000 Membership Goal Aim by 1950



Dr. Hyman Silver, head of the Bronx Region (seated center) with the members of his delegation at the Convention.

devised a secret weapon against oppressed peoples in their struggle for national liberation," he declared. "It is a well-known weapon of psychological and political warfare by which the forces of a struggling nationality seeking freedom and independence are skillfully divided against each other, wasting upon internal struggle and internecine war, the strength which should be husbanded for use against the external enemy. It is a weapon not unknown to those who preside over the destinies of the British Empire.

Deceptive Maneuvers

"Shall we Zionists lend or expose ourselves to such maneuvers? Shall we endure it that those among our leaders, who out of deep conviction stand uncompromisingly by the official Zionist position shall be decry as extremists, while others who may not share their convictions are held out as moderates, to be complimented on their moderation, praised for their statesmanship and showered with favor and esteem by those external factors that seek to accentuate division in our camp, to demoralize our forces, to disintegrate our Movement and defeat us from within?

"Such maneuvers are doomed to failure. There can be no division into moderates and extremists where basic Zionist principles are concerned. There will be no partitioning of the Zionist movement even before there is a further partition of Palestine.

"The time is long past when the future of Palestine and the fate of the Jewish people bound up with it, can be settled without us, over our heads or behind our backs. Zionism will strive unceasingly to achieve an amicable understanding and agreement with all parties concerned—but never at the price of surrender and self-betrayal."

Declaring that "leaders of a struggling or revolutionary national movement" are never *persona grata* with those in power, and implying that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, president of the ZOA, was such a leader, Dr. Neumann added:

Disturbs Complacency

SUNDAY

Morning

Organizational Work and Palestine Funds

The Sunday morning session, which was given over to organizational work and Palestine funds, unfolded to the delegates a vivid picture of the manifold and diversified activities and achievements of the ZOA in the past year. Rabbi Leon I. Feuer presided at the organizational part of the session and Judge Morris Rothenberg presided over the session which heard reports on the Palestine funds.

The reports submitted reflected the phenomenal organizational growth of the organization, its effective public relations and educational activities and the ever-increasing role played by the ZOA districts in every community in assuming the leadership in Zionist fund-raising.

At the organizational session, reports were rendered by Joseph Goldberg on Membership; Milton Pollack, Finance Committee; Dr. S. Bernstein, Palestine Bureau; Mendel Selig, Expansion Fund, in behalf of Dewey Stone; Herman Weisman, Youth Commission; Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld, Committee on Unity for Palestine.

Reports by Dr. Israel Wechsler on the Hebrew University and Mendel Fisher, Charles Rens and Rudolf G. Sonnenborn on the National Funds, completed the morning program.

20,000 Arrive

Some 20,000 Jewish refugees reached Palestine in one way or another during the first eight months of this year, it was revealed by Judge Rothenberg, president of the Jewish National Fund of America.

"Seven thousand came in July and August alone, not including those who were transported to Cyprus," he said.

Figures cited by Judge Rothenberg showed that American Jewry's participation in the maintenance and expansion of Jewish Palestine reached its peak during the past year. To the unprecedented sum of \$50,000,000 spent by the Jewish Agency in Palestine, American Jewry through the United Palestine Appeal comprising the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund contributed nearly 80 per cent.

During the past year, the Jewish National Fund established 25 new settlements and redeemed more than 40,000 dunams of land, "despite the vicious and restrictive land laws," Judge Rothenberg stated. He called particular attention to the founding in one night by 1,000 Jewish pioneers—among them 300 girls—of 12 new agricultural settlements in the Negev, for centuries a barren desert zone, "which culminated three years

of agricultural experimentation and proved beyond doubt that the Negev, if properly developed, is capable of supporting large scale Jewish settlement."

"Should President Truman's plan for the immediate transfer of 100,000 Jews become a reality, the overall cost of their absorption in Palestine has been estimated at about \$215,000,000, of which \$120,000,000 is required in the first year," Judge Rothenberg said.

New JNF High

An all high income of more than \$13,000,000, was raised by the Jewish National Fund during the past year for the purchase of land in Palestine, it was reported by Mendel N. Fisher, executive director of the Fund. This represented an increase of more than \$6,000,000, over the previous year.

Mr. Fisher paid tribute to the leadership of the Fund's president, Judge Morris Rothenberg, and to the many organizations, including the Zionist Organization of America, B'nai Zion, and Hadassah, who have aided in the fund-raising.

\$40 Million For UPA

The record sum of \$40,000,000 will be received this year by the United Palestine Appeal from the \$100,000,000 campaign of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine, Rudolf G. Sonnenborn, of New York, Acting National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, told the delegates.

Paying tribute to the Zionists of America for their vision and leadership in bringing about united action of American Jews for the realization of the extraordinary \$100,000,000 goal this year for the upbuilding of Palestine, for the relief and rehabilitation overseas and for aid to refugees in the United States, Mr. Sonnenborn warned that greater obligations faced the Jews of America in 1947 and that the Zionists must again assume a position of leadership in saving the largest possible number of Jews in Europe through immediate and large-scale immigration to the Jewish National Home.

Mr. Sonnenborn reported that of the \$40,000,000 to be received by the United Palestine Appeal from the 1946 United Jewish Appeal campaign, \$20,000,000 would go to the Palestine Foundation Fund for the work of immigration, settlement, housing, retraining and economic development

and another \$20,000,000 would go to the Jewish National Fund for the acquisition of land for expanded Jewish development of Palestine.

He deplored the fact that intergovernmental agencies notably UNRRA were being dissolved or weakened in their work and urged that American Jews be prepared for greater tasks to help the Jews of Europe in their struggle to find peace and security in the Jewish homeland.

More Difficult Year

Calling for an even greater measure of help in the coming year for the survivors of Hitlerism, Mr. Sonnenborn said that American Jews must anticipate "an even more difficult year." He added:

"The collapse of intergovernmental relief agencies, the dissolution of UNRRA, the unanticipated pogrom atmosphere of Eastern Europe, the exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe to the American zone of occupation in Germany and Austria in a desperate hope to reach Palestine present problems whose magnitude cannot even be fully estimated at this moment.

"Once again we shall have to rouse American Jewry to new heights of courage and responsibility to meet the needs of our people. Again we shall require vision, devotion and fearlessness. Without Zionist dedication and leadership we shall fail our people," he declared.

Despite the obstacles created by the British Government, Mr. Sonnenborn stated, more than 20,000 Jewish refugees entered Palestine in the eight months from January 1st to August 31st of this year and more than 5,000 others reached the shores of the Jewish homeland but were deported by the British to Cyprus where they are now in detention camps.

He emphasized that the immediate transfer and the speedy absorption in Palestine of the largest possible number of Jewish survivors in Europe was the basic concern of both of the funds which comprise the United Palestine Appeal, the central American fund-raising agency for the support of every phase of the development and upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

The efforts of American Jews in behalf of Palestine through the \$100,000,000 United Jewish Appeal should be a source of encouragement to all Zionists in "a time when Zionism faces frustrations and disappointments," he said.

Mr. Sonnenborn predicted that the full \$100,000,000 quota of the United Jewish Appeal would be realized this year.

Pollack Reports

Milton Pollack, noted New York attorney, National Chairman of the ZOA Finance Committee, disclosed the completion of plans by his committee for the consolidation and reorganization of the departmental set-up of the organization designed to meet the expanded program of activities in the coming year.

Emphasizing the need for the Zionist Organization of America to adapt its administrative machinery to the ever-changing panorama on the political and educational scene,

SUNDAY

Afternoon

Silver Reelected President

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was reelected by acclamation president of the Zionist Organization of America for a second term at the afternoon session of the 49th annual convention of the ZOA. Dr. Silver also serves as executive chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The newly elected administration elected at the same session includes Honorary Vice-President, Dr. Harry Friedenwald; Past Presidents, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Edmund I. Kaufman, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise; Vice-Presidents, Rabbi Leon Feuer, Jacob Fishman, Abraham Goldstein, Dr. James G. Heller, Mortimer May, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neuman, A. A. Redelheim, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Charles J. Rosenbloom and Elihu D. Stone.

Daniel Frisch was reelected chairman of the National Administrative Council; Treasurer, Abraham Goodman; Associate Treasurer, Mark Sugarman.

The Chairman of the Nominations Committee was Rabbi Irving Miller of Woodmere, Long Island.

(The complete list of new officers and members of the National Executive Committee will be found elsewhere in this issue.)

Frisch Assails British Imperialism

Assailing the British Army's treatment of Palestine's Jews as "a brazen violation of the international code" and as "rape and plunder at their lowest possible level and their most sadistic forms," Daniel Frisch, chairman of the ZOA National Administrative Council, saw in the Palestine situation a replica of Britain's mistreatment of colonial America. He applied the slogan, "England ueber Alles" to British policy.

Addressing a Political Affairs session Sunday afternoon at the Con-



A caucus session of the Brooklyn Region delegates, headed by Benjamin G. Browdy.



49th ANNUAL
Convention
1946

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



Banquet

Monday, October 28, 1946

**7 P. M.
BREAKERS HOTEL
ATLANTIC CITY**

... Program ...



NATIONAL ANTHEM

HATIKVAH

Toastmaster:

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Invocation:

RABBI MAX MACCOBY

Speakers:

BARTLEY CRUM

LOUIS LIPSKY

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Musical Program:

RICHARD TUCKER, Tenor,
accompanied by

JOSEPH GARNETT

... Menu ...



ICED PERSIAN MELONS

OLD FASHION CHICKEN GIBLET SOUP

SWEET BREADS -- "BURNSIDE" -- PATTY SHELL

HALF STUFFED ROAST BROILERS

JUNE PEAS

NOODLE CHARLOTTE

ROLY POLY

DEMI TASSE

AFTER DINNER MINTS

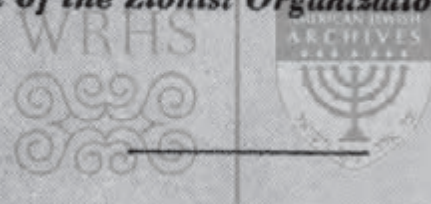
OUR BATTLE FOR JEWISH STATEHOOD

TEXT OF POLITICAL ADDRESS

by

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

President of the Zionist Organization of America



**49th Annual Convention of the
Zionist Organization of America**

Atlantic City, New Jersey

OCTOBER 25 to 28, 1946

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JG-C

OUR BATTLE FOR JEWISH STATEHOOD

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President of the Zionist Organization of America

Fellow Zionists:

We are primarily interested in the political situation which confronts us. We are at the moment dangerously becalmed. The London Conference which the Jewish Agency refused to attend because even the minimal conditions which it set were rejected, has been postponed until the middle of December. It has been reported that the British Government will release from prison the members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency who are now in Latrun, and perhaps some other prisoners, if the Agency will officially renounce or condemn all violent resistance. It is not clear what all this implies. The Government has made it clear, however, that if the Executive of the Jewish Agency will decide to attend the London Conference, it will be on the basis, not of the Agency proposals, but on the Grady-Morrison proposals. No concessions whatsoever have been made to increase the number of Jewish immigrants into Palestine before the Conference reconvenes.

We are also marking time on the matter of President Truman's action taken on October 4th, whereby, in a forceful public statement he again called upon the British Government, in view of the fact that the London Conference had been adjourned and the winter was approaching, to permit a substantial immigration into Palestine at once. The general impression is that the President has again been rebuffed by Prime Minister Attlee. What further action will now be taken no one seems to know.

~~It might be well to review a bit of history on the attitude of our Government toward our cause in recent years. It might in fairness be characterized as one of mere benevolent neutrality. Our Government was at all times kindly disposed, at least as far as the Chief Executive was concerned, but it persisted in doing nothing about it. It was fashionable for public officials, from the highest to the lowest, both in the legislative and the Executive branches of our government, to give warm endorsement to our movement and it was generally assumed, even among many Zionists, that that was all that could really be expected from our Government. This attitude persisted even after the White Paper of 1939 was issued by the British Government. Our Government made no protest whatsoever against this unilateral and illegal action of the British Government which clearly violated the Anglo-American Convention of 1924.~~

The Answer
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~~SUBJECT AVOIDED~~

When the United States entered the World War, even the attitude of benevolent neutrality was abandoned. By 1942, the subject of Zionism had become taboo in Washington. I called the attention of the Zionists of

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America to this fact. In an address, which as Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal I delivered in Philadelphia in May, 1943, "within the last few months," I stated, "as if by concerted action, there has set in a very definite and noticeable withdrawal on the part of the official family from anything which might even remotely suggest a recognition or endorsement of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine." The word had gone through Washington that during the duration of the war, the subject of Zionism should be avoided. This became the official line, but Zionist leaders preferred to remain blithely unaware of it. The clamor of the Jews of the world to help save their doomed brothers in Europe by opening the doors of Palestine was deftly detoured into a number of phoney inter-governmental refugee conferences.

U. S. COMMITTED

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It was clear that a change had to be forced in this attitude in Washington for our cause if it was ever to have a chance. Our demands had to be placed on the agenda of the political thought and concern, not alone of the United States, but of the world. All through 1943, we carried on an energetic campaign of education, propaganda and organization, on a scale commensurate with the urgency and size of the problem. A high-water mark was reached that year in the great assembly of the democratically elected American Jewish Conference which was held in the city of New York. At this conference not only were the convictions of American Jewry touching the Jewish Commonwealth crystallized and made vocal, but notice was served up on the Administration that the desperate plight of world Jewry cannot be met by mere words and expressions of sympathy and that our government could not push the subject of Palestine out of mind. American Jewry looked to its government to champion the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine, for our government stood committed to these rights. These resolutions were brought to the attention of our State Department. But nothing happened.

EXPEDIENCY

March 31, 1944 was the deadline set by the White Paper. After that date no more Jews, over and above those who would be permitted to enter on what remained of the 75,000 certificates which had not been distributed, were to be permitted to enter Palestine, except by the consent of the Arabs. We accordingly intensified our political action urging the abrogation of the White Paper. Zionist resolutions were introduced into both houses of Congress in the early months of 1944, on the eve of the White Paper deadline. A thorough canvass of Congress convinced us that the resolutions would be overwhelmingly adopted. But suddenly the War Department, undoubtedly with the full knowledge of the Administration, intervened on the ground of military expediency, and action on the resolutions was indefinitely postponed. There was widespread disappointment and strong expression of dissatisfaction. As a result, President Roosevelt received Dr. Wise and me at the White House on March 9th and authorized us to issue, on his behalf, a statement in which the President declared that "the American Government had never given its approval to the White

Paper of 1939." The President's statement thus broke a long, and to the Jews of Europe, a dreadfully costly silence. Nearly five years had elapsed since the issuance of the White Paper and all through that time our Government had not registered a single objection. Meanwhile, millions of our people perished.

Unfortunately, this declaration of the President was not followed up by any official representation to the British Government, and, as if to indicate that the President's statement had not implied any new departure on the part of our Government in its policy toward Palestine, a telegram was sent by the State Department with the approval of the President, to the heads of the Arab countries, renewing the assurances which had previously been given to them that no decision on Palestine would be reached without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Such assurances were not at all called for, nor were they at all in the spirit of the Anglo-American Convention. The first time that this assurance had been given to the Arabs was in May of 1943. The Zionists of America were, of course, never informed of these private assurances which had been given.

PRO-ZIONIST PARTY PLANKS

We continued our intensive political action throughout 1944. Our country was approaching a national election. We succeeded in having pro-Zionist planks introduced into the platform of both the major political parties, in June and July of that year. In October, the War Department announced that the military considerations which were responsible for its opposition to the Palestine resolutions were no longer as strong a factor as they had been. On October 15th, President Roosevelt, through Senator Wagner, sent to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, a message in which he expressed his satisfaction that "in accord with the traditional American policy, and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July Convention 'this year included a plank in its platform—we favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result there in the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.' Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim, and if reelected, I shall help to bring about its realization."

STILL NO RESULTS

But this admirable statement, too, was not followed up by any action. On the contrary, when on the basis of this public endorsement of Zionism by the President of the United States, and on the basis of the political platforms of both parties, and the withdrawal of the objections of the War Department, the Palestine resolution was re-introduced in Congress, the President and his administration registered the most stubborn and violent opposition to its passage. The story is well-known to you and need not be rehearsed here. Action on the resolution was postponed be-

cause of the opposition of the Executive. Some Zionist leaders actually collaborated with the Administration in the defeat of the resolution on the vague promise that something would be done some day for our cause if Zionists would not press for it in Congress. This led to an upheaval in our ranks, which fortunately, is now a matter of history.

In February of 1945, President Roosevelt, following the Yalta Conference, met with Ibn Saud and discussed Palestine with him. What actually transpired at that Conference did not become known to the public until the correspondence between Ibn Saud and the President dated March 10th and April 5th was made public six months later. In this correspondence, the President assured Ibn Saud again that no decision with respect to the basic condition in Palestine would be taken without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews and that the President would take no action which might prove hostile to the Arab people. Since the attitude of the Arab people was quite well-known to the President and was made absolutely clear to him by Ibn Saud, this assurance meant that no action whatsoever would be taken to change the status quo, which was keeping the Jews out of Palestine.

MORE STATEMENTS

But on March 16th, three weeks before these assurances were given to Ibn Saud, President Roosevelt, upon his return from his meeting with Ibn Saud declared publicly, "I made my position on Zionism clear in October—that position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization." *after*

Thus the situation throughout the Roosevelt administration is clear. The United States Government was determined to take no action whatsoever and was making no representations whatsoever to the British Government either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed under the mandate. But for home consumption, statements were issued from time to time and on strategic occasions to assure the Jews of America that the Government of the United States was heartily in sympathy with them and their aspirations. Those Zionist leaders who drew attention to these simple facts were marked off as enemies of the Administration, as covert agents for the opposition political party, or as rough and inexperienced men who did not know the subtleties of diplomacy and the refinements of true statesmanship.

NO ACTION WHATSOEVER

The situation did not change at first under the Truman administration. Assurances identical with those given by President Roosevelt were also given to the Arabs early in his administration by President Truman. Thus, all through the years of the war and until August 31st of last year, when President Truman sent his letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates for the immigration of Jews to Palestine be granted, nothing whatsoever, but absolutely nothing, was done by our government in behalf of our cause, to carry out the will of the American people, the resolutions of the Congress of the United States, or the terms of the Anglo-American Convention of 1924. *See*

CONGRESS MORE POSITIVE

The action of President Truman in connection with the 100,000 refugees marked a welcome turning point, not to be sure in American policy on Palestine, but in the sustained policy of doing nothing, to help Jews get into Palestine. It was made clear by the President that his request was made on purely humanitarian grounds and had no political implications, and assurances were given to the Arab states that the President's letter to Mr. Attlee did not imply any change in this government's policy toward Palestine. President Truman opposed the resolution on Palestine which was reintroduced in Congress in October of last year although he did support the resolution when he was a Senator. The Palestine resolution, you will recall, in spite of his opposition, and the opposition of the Secretary of State, was adopted by the Senate of the United States on December 17th, 1945, and by the House on December 19th. In his latest book, "Where Are We Heading," Mr. Sumner Welles commenting on the action of Congress states, "the position taken by the legislative branch of the Government was firm, tonic and enlightened as has often been the case in recent months. The Congress favored a foreign policy that was far more positive than that of the Executive, and far more likely to further a healthy world reconstruction." But regardless of what his position on Zionism was, President Truman was at least trying to do something concrete to help Jews get into Palestine. He found it possible to maintain that the admission of 100,000 Jews would not constitute a change in the basic situation in Palestine and did not call for prior consultation with the Arabs—a thought which had never occurred to his predecessor. President Truman's letter marked a real step forward in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation in order to put an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate. But the hand of the Chief Executive soon faltered. Instead of pressing vigorously and with all the authority and prestige of our government upon Mr. Attlee to accede to his request, he accepted his refusal and yielded to his counter-proposal for a joint Committee of Inquiry, a needless inquiry, a palpable delaying device and an excuse for inaction.

UNFORTUNATE TACTICS

This was most unfortunate. The Labor Government of Great Britain was in far greater need of American political cooperation and financial assistance than we stood in need of Great Britain. The new Labor Government was pressing for a large American loan and for American backing on many diplomatic sectors. It is inconceivable that if the President and the administration had made this matter of 100,000 a resolute sine qua non that favorable action on his request would not have been found.

Begin I might say here a word about the British loan and what our attitude toward it was. *Loan* We were not opposed to the British loan. We felt, however, that action on it should be postponed until Great Britain had met her responsibilities toward Palestine and had revoked its illegal measures which are keeping hundreds of thousands of our unfortunate war-ravaged refugees from entering Palestine. The American Government had a clear directive from the Congress of the United States on this subject. *cl*

the Jewish National Home.

It would have been perfectly proper for our government to posit as a prior condition for the granting of a loan to Great Britain, the fulfillment on the part of Great Britain of her international obligations toward the Jewish National Home. Foreign loans are very frequently used by governments, including Great Britain, to achieve political objectives. This is neither improper nor unusual. Two weeks ago, our State Department suspended permanently the remaining \$40,000,000 and the \$50,000,000 credit to Czechoslovakia and asked the Export and Import Bank to suspend negotiations with Czechoslovakia for another \$50,000,000 credit because our government did not like the criticism which was emanating from that country concerning America's economic imperialism.

Some time ago, our Government suspended economic negotiations with Poland because that country failed to measure up with our demand for a free flow of news and for free elections. Why then was it out of place for our government to defer action on the British loan which by the way, was not approved of by the majority of the American people, until Great Britain fulfilled her international obligations in an area where so much of human misery and suffering were involved? Are criticism of the United States government in Czechoslovakia and the holding of free elections in Poland more serious in nature than the rescue of hundreds of thousands of human beings who by every right of law and humanity were entitled to find refuge in Palestine? The great concern of the Administration and its feverish activity prior to the consideration of the loan in the House, indicated that the passage of the loan was definitely in doubt. Enough of our friends had rallied to our side in addition to those who were opposed to the loan on other grounds to make the postponement of action very likely. Had this happened, I am persuaded that the government of Great Britain would have acted very quickly, and it would have given us tremendous political prestige and a bargaining power in all future negotiations with the British government. But the unexpected action of one of our Zionist leaders who in clear disregard of understandings reached in his presence by the Emergency Council, came forth as the champion of the loan in the name of Americanism, demoralized and scattered our friends in Congress. They could see no sense in voting against an Administration measure to help the Zionist cause when a Zionist leader himself stepped forth as its champion. We have a genius for kicking ourselves in the face. It was shortly after this beau geste that the measures against the Jewish refugees coming to Haifa were intensified and their deportation to Cyprus began a few weeks after the passage of the British loan. This was Great Britain's grateful quid pro quo.

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CORRECT EVALUATION

I come back to the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. You may recall that I urged that our movement should ignore it and should not appear before it, especially since Mr. Bevin made it very clear that the real purpose of this commission was to liquidate the Zionist movement. I was of course again marked off as a hot-headed extremist. After months later, an American member of this Committee publicly acknowledged, at a great protest meeting in Madison Square Garden that I had been right

in urging rejection of this Committee and that I had correctly evaluated the political situation.

SHAM AND DELAY

The Committee, you will recall, made ten recommendations—among them was a recommendation for immediate action, authorizing the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine—that these certificates should be awarded in 1946 as far as possible. There was a second proposal that the restrictions and land regulations be rescinded and replaced by regulations based on a policy of freedom in the sale of land, irrespective of race, community or creed. When President Truman made public this report on April 30th, he stated, "I am very happy that the request which I made for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine has been unanimously endorsed by the Committee of Inquiry. The transfer of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished with the greatest dispatch . . . in addition to these immediate objectives, the report deals with many other questions of long range political policies and questions of international law which require careful study and which require careful study and which I will take under advisement." This was a sound, just, and statesmanlike position to take. Unfortunately, here again the hand of the Chief Executive soon faltered. When Prime Minister Attlee took violent exception to his position, the President failed to follow through and our State Department announced that no immediate action would be taken in behalf of these hundred thousand and without first acting on all the other recommendations of the report. On May 20th, the State Department went through the motions of inviting Arab and Jewish representatives to present their views on the recommendations of the Committee, as if their views were not already fully known.

Because of the vigorous protest which was made against the State Department, it was forced to issue a statement on May 22nd attempting to reconcile its own position with that of the President. It naively suggested that its invitation to Arab and Jewish representatives to present their views was "the best and quickest means of reaching an effective solution of the problems dealt with in the report." We refused to cooperate however, in this palpable and transparent maneuver aimed at further delay.

BEVIN'S INFAMOUS SLUR

Under pressure of public opinion, the President then appointed on June 11th, a Cabinet Committee on Palestine, consisting of the Secretaries of State, of War and of Treasury. In so doing, the President declared that he was appointing this Committee to assist him in the "early consideration of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry," in view of the urgency of the solution of various problems relating to the Jews in Europe and Palestine. Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin replied to this action of the President by a speech which he delivered at the British Labor Conference at Bournemouth on June 12th in which he hurled that infamous slur against the Jews of New York—repeated the canard about the Zionists wishing to establish an exclusively racial state in Palestine and proclaimed, "that if we put 100,000 Jews

into Palestine tomorrow, I would have to put another division of troops there. I am not prepared to do it."

MOCKERY OF AUTONOMY

After another delay, American technical experts were sent to London to meet with British experts and to work out the logistics in connection with the transfer of the hundred thousand. This Committee completed its work, but again nothing happened. Finally, the Cabinet Committee dispatched to London its three deputy members to meet with the British, not to get the hundred thousand Jews moving into Palestine, but to work out the implementation of all the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. Attlee and Bevin won their point. The results of the labors of these deputy members was the well-known Grady-Morrison report ~~which I am sure is fresh in your minds~~. What the report recommended was not a plan for implementing the recommendations of the Committee on Inquiry, but an utterly new and radically different, substitute plan. It recommended a scheme of provincial autonomy for Palestine wherein the Jewish people would be restricted to an area of some 1400 square miles. Jewish immigration would be permitted in that zone, up to its absorptive capacity which would be determined by the Mandatory power or trustee government. A mockery of self-government was outlined. Great Britain would remain the sole trustee with increased power over an indefinite period—Great Britain would also remain in absolute control of a large zone of its own. The American government was to woo the cooperation of the Arabs to this plan by a bribe of \$300,000,000.

AMERICAN APPROVAL WITHHELD

On the advice of Secretary of State Byrnes, President Truman was prepared to approve this report for the American Government. His heart was so set on getting 100,000 Jews into Palestine that he was prepared to accept any arrangement regardless of what sacrifices were involved of fundamental Jewish rights. ~~The story of how the President was persuaded at the very last moment from withholding American approval to this scheme, so palpably wrong-headed, unjust and so violative of the rights of the Jewish people, will some day be fully told.~~ It is a tribute to the loyalty, devotion and discipline of the Zionists of America.)

THE AGENCY PROPOSAL

It was at this juncture after the rejection of the Grady plan by the American Government, that the Executive of the Jewish Agency came forward with its partition proposal as a solution for the Palestine problem. An emissary of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, brought these proposals to Washington, and presented them to the members of the Cabinet Committee and to others. (As to the wisdom of the action of the Executive and the manner in which its decisions were carried out in Washington, I shall speak later on in my report. At the moment, I am interested in recording the sequence of events and their implication.) This emissary reported that the members of the Cabinet Committee approved the proposals of the Jewish Agency. It was not made clear, however, that in ap-

proving these proposals, our government did not accept them as government policy and did not transmit them to Great Britain as the proposals of the American Government. They were transmitted as the proposals of the Jewish Agency. The President of the United States, before very long, took occasion to point out specifically ~~the~~ⁱⁿ the statement issued on August 16th that "although the President has been exchanging views with Prime Minister Attlee on the subject, this government has not presented any plan of its own for the solution of the problem of Palestine." The British Government drew the full implication from this statement of the President. The proposals did not have the authority of the American Government behind them. It was not surprising that all the efforts of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in the two months from the middle of August to the middle of October to persuade the British Government to accept partition as a basis for negotiations, failed completely. All the long-drawn out negotiations resulted in nothing, and during those two months, the American Government acted as though it had done all that had been requested of it—it had transmitted the Agency proposals to London—and what more did the Jews want? It gave the impression of having washed its hands of the entire matter, even the subject of the hundred thousand refugees seemed to have been shelved. (This was all that was really accomplished by the floating Jewish ambassador in Washington.)

FORTHRIGHT DECLARATION

It was at this juncture that the American Zionist Emergency Council (which had been violently pushed out of the Washington scene by the Agency emissary) again went into action in an intensified campaign. The approaching November elections offered a favorable opportunity. It is at such times that government in democracies are more sensitive to the expressions and sentiments of its citizens. A Political Actions Committee was organized to mobilize the Jewish citizens of America to demand in the name of American principles and American commitments, action from our government in connection with Palestine. Our purpose was not to elicit another statement from the White House. Of these, the records show that we have had quite a number. Nevertheless, the pressure of aroused and indignant public opinion was so great that on October 4th, the President did issue a statement. It was a long statement of some 1500 words in which the President reviewed the Administration's efforts regarding Palestine—a rather unconvincing record ~~even when presented by the Administration.~~ The President strongly urged that in view of the postponement of the London Conference to December 16th, "that substantial immigration into Palestine cannot await a solution to the Palestine problem and that it should begin at once. Preparations for this movement have already been made by this government and it is ready to lend its immediate assistance." This was a forthright and admirable statement and in making it, the President went back to the position which he took before, upon the publication of the report of the Committee on Inquiry. He separated the short-term recommendations from the long-term recommendations and demanded immediate action where action was immediately imperative.

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With reference to the ultimate solution for Palestine, the President took note of the Agency's proposals to "solve the Palestine problem by means of the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine, instead of in the whole of Palestine." It was his belief that a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States. However, the President still did not commit the United States Government to the Agency proposals—"I cannot believe," he stated, "that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward (the Grady-Morrison plan and the Agency plan) is too broad to be breached by men of reason and good-will. To such a solution our government could give its support." In other words, while the United States definitely refused to give its support to the Agency proposals, it is prepared to give its support to a compromise proposal as between partition, which is the Agency proposal, and the Grady-Morrison plan. This is a far cry from endorsing the Jewish State in terms of what the floating spokesman for the Jewish Agency has so neatly and so attractively defined for himself in the public press. President Roosevelt, you will recall, did go much farther in this regard than did President Truman. President Roosevelt stated that he was convinced that the American people gave their support to the establishment of Palestine (that is to say, the whole of Palestine) as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and if re-elected he would help to bring about its realization.

PALESTINE STILL CLOSED

Here is where the road ends as of the moment. It remains to be seen whither it will lead from here on. The hundred thousand Jews are still in the detention camps. The gates of Palestine are still closed.

No one questions the sincerity of President Truman. He has evidenced time and again a deep humanitarian interest in the problem of Jewish refugees. He would like to see a great number of them go to Palestine. He regards that as one of the major solutions of the refugee problem. What troubles us deeply is not merely his failure to achieve any results—but the doubt which is widespread among so many as to whether our government actually did employ and is employing its full strength, weight and diplomatic apparatus to get results. We cannot help but feel that if the Administration had been one-tenth as concerned with this problem as it was with the problem of insuring favorable action on the British loan, that the Jews would now be moving in great numbers into Palestine.

READY TO HAIL TRUMAN

We would be glad of the opportunity to applaud President Truman. The five million Jews of the United States stand ready to hail him and his administration as soon as their weary and suffering brethren in Europe begin arriving in Palestine.

I have dwelt at great length on the attitude of the Government of the United States to our cause. I have said little or nothing about the attitude of Great Britain, which is after all the Mandatory Government of Palestine and the Government which has the prime obligation and responsi-

bility in the matter and the ultimate decision. I have done so for two reasons. The Government of the United States is after all our Government. As citizens we can turn to it for redress and because this is a democracy, also for an explanation and an accounting. It is quite easy to criticize a foreign government. We must be equally as frank in the criticism of our own Government. Here, however, party interests and other conflicting loyalties frequently get in the way, and we are inclined to apologize for, overlook and generally shield our Government where only just and forthright criticism could correct the situation.

U. S. SUPPORT NECESSARY

In the second place, I am persuaded that only as the United States is brought into the picture very affirmatively and as a strong and dependable ally of ours will we make any progress at all with Great Britain in a final settlement of Palestine. The Government of Great Britain wants neither the Biltmore program nor partition, nor a unitary state as envisaged by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. It wants no political arrangement for Palestine which will substantially increase the Jewish population there, or reduce its own firm and indefinite control over that country. It will resort to every device to defeat a just solution. Unless the Government of the United States can be persuaded energetically to intervene on the basis of its commitments and in the name of justice and humanity and for the sake of peace in the Near East, where peace is very vital to its own interest and in the interest of the world, nothing will be done. If the United States will resolve to see that the letter and the spirit of the Palestine Mandate are faithfully carried out, and will make that one of the major objectives of its foreign policy to which it will devote itself persistently and aggressively, as it has begun to do with other political problems in other parts of the world, something definite will be achieved and that speedily. That is why we have placed so much importance on persuading our Government not to treat the Palestine problem as an incident on the periphery of its world-wide diplomatic activities, to which it turns its attention only when prodded by an unhappy electorate, but to put it along with the other major political questions of the hour at the very center of its foreign policy. For Palestine is a major international political problem to which far-sighted statesmen have pointed to, time and again, as containing disastrous explosive possibilities for the peace of the world.

A BLACK CHAPTER

There is no use devoting much of our time to a criticism of what Great Britain has done in Palestine during the year and what it is doing at the moment. It is indeed a black chapter of which the people of Great Britain, I am sure, will never be proud. The story of helpless refugees turned away from the doors of Palestine by tear-gas and fire hoses, and forcibly moved from the doors of the Jewish National Home to detention camps in Cyprus, the ruthless destruction of Jewish settlements, the imprisonment of the leaders of the Jewish Agency and their detention without trial, and the iron military dictatorship which has been clamped

on that country, all these are pages from the Dark Ages. In modern times only Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany could offer parallels to such barbarism. It is a great pity that the friendly and sympathetic people of Great Britain are being involved by their blundering Government in such practices. These practices are poisoning the relationship between the Jewish people and the people of Great Britain and, as Mr. Harold J. Laski pointed out the other day, they are also poisoning the hope of that creative understanding between the United States and Great Britain so vital to the peace of the world. "I have rarely seen goodwill thrown away," declared Mr. Laski, "by misjudgment so great and so unnecessary. I do not know upon whom Mr. Attlee relies for his opinion of the American attitude. I can only say that I am certain American indignation will grow unless he takes steps to alter a policy which is an abysmal failure. He has not too much time to avert one of those catastrophes from which there is no recovering."

NEGATIVE RESULTS

The action of the Executive of the Jewish Agency which was taken in Paris on August 5th to the effect that "it is prepared to discuss a proposal for the establishment of a viable Jewish State in an adequate area of Palestine," must in the last analysis be judged by its results. Results so far have been entirely negative. The high hope which was entertained by the members of the Executive that their partition proposal, representing as it did "a supreme sacrifice in order to facilitate an immediate lasting settlement" to quote the words of Dr. Chaim Weizmann's letter to the British Colonial Secretary, would be quickly accepted and would help to clear up the dangerous political log-jam which had developed, did not materialize.

I am inclined to believe that the action of the Executive was an error of judgment. To question the judgment of the Executive is not to challenge the authority of the Jewish Agency. The Executive is only an instrumentality of the Jewish Agency, and it is charged with carrying out its policies. At the time of the vote on partition, the Executive had not consulted either the Smaller or the Larger Actions Committee of our movement which alone have the authority to act for our movement in the interim between Congresses. When the Executive of the Jewish Agency acted on partition in Paris, there was but one binding Zionist policy to guide it—the one which was reaffirmed as late as August, 1945 by the post-war Zionist Conference in London, and this policy was opposed to partition. "There can be no solution," stated the London Political Resolution, "to the inseparable twin problems of the Jewish people and Palestine, except by constituting it, undivided and undiminished, as a Jewish State in accordance with the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration."

This policy, by the way, is still the only authentic and binding policy for the Zionist movement. There is no other, and there will be no other, until the World Zionist Congress alters or revises it. When and if it does, it will be binding upon everyone who recognizes and accepts its authority.

We questioned the wisdom of the Executive of the Jewish Agency to make the radical decision which it did make and to proceed to act forthwith upon it in its contacts with governments, without first receiving ap-

proval of either the Smaller or Larger Actions Committees, not to speak of the Congress itself. Our movement was thus confronted with a *fait accompli*. The explanation which has been given that the situation called for the greatest speed has not been established by subsequent events. The Executive did move rapidly and precipitously but moved toward nothing. We are not unmindful of the sincere and honorable motives which moved the members of the Executive in Paris to make their decision. The tragic plight of European Jewry, the desperate position of the refugees and the mood of the beleaguered Yishuv, all undoubtedly were factors in the decision. Nevertheless, as events have demonstrated, their decision did not correct any of these tragic situations.

We also question the method which was employed in ascertaining whether the American or the British Government would be prepared to accept the partition proposal. There were many ways in which such information could have been readily obtained without the necessity of a preliminary formal vote of approval of partition, a decision which could hardly be expected to remain secret for long. It could have been obtained without dramatically flying an emissary from Paris to Washington, whose coming was heralded by sensational dispatches from Paris announcing that an emissary was arriving to discuss with the President of the United States a Jewish Agency plan for Palestine. There was a sufficient number of Zionist leaders left in the United States who could have obtained that information quietly and quickly in the ordinary course of their work in Washington. We criticize the manner in which the mission of the Jewish Agency was carried out by its emissary in Washington. The story has been told and will be told in fullest detail at the World Zionist Congress. Suffice it to state that agreements which were reached by the American Zionist Emergency Council and Dr. Goldmann on his arrival in Washington, agreements which later information proved to have been in complete conformity with the letter and spirit of the decision of the Executive, were ignored and flouted by Dr. Goldmann. We agreed unanimously, Dr. Goldmann concurring, that neither he nor we would propose a partition plan to the Cabinet committee or other American officials, that we would not try to "sell" them partition, or to tell them that the Jewish Agency wants it. We would continue to press for the implementation of the short-range recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee for the transference of the 100,000 and the removal of immigration and land restrictions. The American members of the Committee were then in Washington and were eagerly cooperating with us in this. If, in the course of the discussions between these committee members and the members of the Cabinet Committee, the subject of partition would come up and there was no doubt that the subject would come up, since some of the members were preparing to raise it, and if then the emissary of the Jewish Agency or the representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council were asked what the attitude of the Jewish Agency would be to such a proposal, they would then be in a position to indicate that under certain conditions, the Jewish Agency would be prepared to consider such a compromise solution. We all agreed that it would be a colossal political blunder for us to announce publicly that the Zionist movement proposes

to sacrifice one-half of Palestine in order to retain the other half. Once that is done, a partitioned Palestine becomes our maximal position, from which Governments may properly ask us in the name of reasonableness and compromise to recede still further. This over, partition proposals would be still further whittled down.

NOT CRITICISM OF AGENCY

To criticize the manner in which the emissary of the Jewish Agency carried out his mission in Washington is not to criticize the Jewish Agency, although some have come to think of themselves as synonymous and identical with the Jewish Agency.

Nothing was gained by this diplomatic maneuver of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. ~~Its action had nothing to do with the rejection~~ by our Government of the Morrison-Grady proposal. Mr. Grady was recalled from London on July 31st. Mr. Morrison was compelled to announce in the House of Commons on that day that the American Government, which he had confidentially expected to sign the proposal and which agreement was to have been announced that very day, had changed its mind. The Executive of the Jewish Agency did not adopt its partition proposals till August 5th and Dr. Goldmann did not arrive in the United States until August 6th. The argument that as a result of the partition mission to Washington, our Government is now on record as endorsing a Jewish State is also not borne out by the official documents, as I have indicated.

VITAL LOSS

But if nothing was gained, something substantial was lost, I am afraid. A partitioned Palestine now represents our maximum Zionist demands, both in London and in Washington and in the Arab world. Our own Government now suggests a still further compromise, not as between the Biltmore program and partition, but between partition and cantonization. From now on anyone who will go to Washington to talk with officials about a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in the whole of Palestine—and this mind you is still the official position of our movement—will, I am afraid, be laughed out of court. ~~Again, it~~ has been pointed out by some who would favor partition as a possible solution, that the moment partition was put forward as an official Zionist proposal it thereby became available as a possible British Conference proposal.

Unless the forthcoming Zionist Congress disavows in some decisive manner the action of the Executive, or the interpretation which was universally placed upon it, we shall have to reorient our entire Zionist propaganda and begin to urge our friends to press for a Jewish State in a part of Palestine, a prospect which, at the moment, is no brighter than was the prospect of a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine. We have not succeeded in achieving the Biltmore program, but we have also failed to achieve partition. Wherein then have the so-called pro-partition moderates scored over the Biltmore extremists?

OUR SACRIFICES CONTEMNED

If it is true that the present Government of Great Britain is unwilling to grant us statehood in even a part of Palestine, and the record of the present British Government is very clear on this subject, what point is there in making one grand gesture of renunciation after another and in publicly proclaiming our readiness for supreme sacrifices when our gestures are disdained and our sacrifices are contemned!

Can you recall a single instance in the last 25 years when any sacrifice on our part evoked a favorable response either from the British Government or from the Arabs? Have the unofficial negotiations which the Executive of the Jewish Agency carried on during the past two months with the British Government, during which time the Executive yielded again and again on conditions which it had previously announced as the irreducible minimum, in the hope that its reasonableness would recommend itself to the Government, have these negotiations, I ask, yielded a single response of fairness and generosity on the part of the Government?

How long can we follow along this road of renunciation and abnegation without tearing the heart out of our movement?

FALSE IMPRESSION ENGENDERED

Something else has been lost, I am afraid. In their eagerness to persuade the Governments of Great Britain and the United States to accept partition, the spokesmen of the Jewish Agency quite naturally praised their proposal as very reasonable and moderate. The impression accordingly was left with Governments and with the press of the world that those Zionists who remain loyal to the Biltmore plan, to the classic Zionist program, to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, are unreasonable and extremists. It was not long before reports began to circulate through the press, some of them inspired I am afraid by some of our own people, reports emanating from Paris or London, to the effect that a sharp struggle exists in the Zionist movement between the moderates and the extremists, that the Jewish Agency represents the temperate and the moderate wing of the movement, and that certain Zionists, principally the Zionists of the United States, represent the extremists. Your president was singled out time and again as the spokesman of these intransigent extremists. My resignation from the Executive of the Jewish Agency was interpreted in the public press in this manner: "If his resignation goes through, it will be regarded as a new sign of growing 'moderate' influence in the Jewish Agency top ranks." As recently as two weeks ago there appeared an inspired newspaper column in the *Washington Post* which quoted an anonymous administration source to the effect that the purpose of President Truman's statement of October 4th was to strengthen the influence of the so-called moderates in the Zionist Organization of America against the so-called extremists under Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

A few days ago there appeared a lengthy dispatch from London where a Zionist functionary who has promoted himself to the position of proxy to the president of our movement is quoted as warning the

British Government that unless there is interim relief for Palestine pending a long-term solution, the forthcoming World Zionist Congress is likely to be one of the stormiest and bitterest in the history of our movement. Unless there is a change in the situation, the Congress is likely to be dominated by elements that have lost faith in fairness, justice and in the ability of any British Government to meet the needs of the hour.

DANGEROUS TRAP

Those Zionist all over the world who have been loyally following the classic Zionist line, have overnight become extremists. Even some Zionists are falling into this unsuspected trap and are accepting this piece of idiotic perversion. The dismal irony of all this is that the zealous advocates of partition are coming to be called extremists. It will not be long before those who demand a compromise solution between partition and the Morrison-Grady plan will be branded as extremists. The *London Times*, for example, two weeks ago already raised such a cry. "Last Thursday's statement from the White House," it commented editorially, "may well compel people in Britain as well as in the Arab countries to the reluctant conclusion that no solution will satisfy the President unless it goes the *whole way* to satisfy Jewish claims."

Dr. Nahum Goldmann may consider 60% of Palestine as a reasonable and moderate goal, but a spokesman of the Foreign Office in London commenting on his moderate and reasonable proposal, stated that "The Foreign Office has noted with interest a plan under which 30% of the population of Palestine would occupy 65% of the territory." Dr. Goldmann himself is fearful that his moderate and reasonable plan will be regarded as extreme by the British Government, and he sees no other alternative but extreme violence against the British Government within a few weeks. So even the partition plan cannot be carried out without the threat of violence, and violence is not the counsel of moderation.

I reject with contempt all those who unctuously and mendaciously suggest to Governments or to the public press that those Zionists who do not favor partition are dangerous extremists, and that partition must be accepted lest the movement fall into their hands. The Zionists who remain loyal to the classic Zionist Program, who demand that Great Britain fully and honorably discharge the obligations which it had assumed voluntarily as the Mandatory Government of Palestine, the Zionists who are not stampeded by the emergencies of the hour and who do not believe that either the Yishuv or the Jewish people are so weary and shaken as to be prepared to accept any settlement however cruelly unjust, these Zionists I maintain are not extremists. They are the proud and loyal followers of Herzl, Nordau and Ussishkin and of all the splendid men and women who by the sweat of their brows and blood of their hearts have in the last fifty years been building Eretz Israel. Courage, faith and persistence even under the most desperate conditions are not extremism, and defeatism is not to be confused with moderation.

WISHFUL THINKING

When proposals will be made to us by Governments which we will find truly reasonable and which will meet our fundamental needs and satisfy our national aspirations and our sense of justice, the whole movement will be prepared, I am sure, to give them every serious consideration. But such proposals have definitely not been made to us by anyone. So far they represent the wishful thinking of certain Zionists who have begun to act, in relation to the Zionists who disagree with them, as if partition were actually in the bag. Sound and just proposals are bound to be made to us sooner or later, if we do not lose our nerve, and if we are not misled by artful political manipulators who outsmart themselves.

Until such time there is nothing else for us to do but to carry on as energetically and determinedly as heretofore, insisting upon our historic and legal rights to Palestine, our rights under the Mandate. There are no other legal or political realities in the situation, at present. There are no partition proposals before the Zionist movement. It is along the line of our historic claims and legal rights to the whole of Palestine that we must continue our struggle—and unfortunately the whole of Palestine has now come to mean one-third of Palestine, for we have already been victimized by catastrophic partition in 1922 when Transjordan was torn away.

STAND BY THE YISHUV!

We must in every way support the Yishuv in its struggle against the brutal attempts of the Mandatory Government to liquidate the Jewish National Home. By maximum financial and moral support we must strengthen the Yishuv's power of resistance. The Yishuv must, in the last analysis, decide for itself the form and the timing of its resistance to British lawlessness in Palestine. Whatever their decision—we will stand by them. We must make possible, regardless of cost, continued Jewish immigration into Palestine. The power which keeps these immigrants out of the Jewish National Home is an illegal power and must be resisted in every way. The Government which complains of terror in Palestine must understand that it alone is responsible for that terror. We must carry on in every part of the world and especially in this country an intensified campaign of education to inform the world of the organized conspiracy of the present British Government to nullify our rights in Palestine, and physically to destroy whatever Jewish labor and sacrifice have through the years built in that country, and built so well.

Finally, we must stand four-square on the proposition that Zionism is not an immigration or a refugee movement, but a movement to rebuild the Jewish State for the Jewish nation in the land of Israel. The classic textbook of Zionism is not how to find a home for one hundred thousand Jewish refugees. The classic textbook of our movement is "The Jewish State."