



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

Reel
182

Box
67

Folder
714

Zionist speech, 1946.

This disastrous ^{line of} decline in the fortunes of our people from
the 47 killed in Beshing in 1903 to the 6 M. killed
in the 1940's - traces for many of us also the crawling
line of our ^{interests} ~~evolution~~ on the present solution.
→ Our 2 ~~concerns~~ ^{concerns} is the product of 40 yrs. of experience
which we witnessed with our own eyes & ^{in which we} participated.

From our back ground, from our training as children, ~~we~~
~~derived~~ from the redempt memories of Bible & proper
book, we derived ^{a certain affection} ~~affection~~ and awareness, but it
was life itself which drove home the lessons. It
was life itself which ^{in the case of Ozziel, the prophet} ~~put~~ ^{put} its hand and gave us
"the roll of a book" upon which was written, ^{ענין} ~~ענין~~
1. ^{ענין} ~~ענין~~ ^{ענין} ~~ענין~~ - "lamentation, and mourning and weeping" and
we were commanded to eat what we found, to
eat the roll, and, then, go and speak to the house
of Israel.

8/ Many, during these catastrophic years, refused to
eat and digest what they found. They turned
away from the stern realities ^{of life} and their dear vis-
ions; and sought escape in wishful thinking
and compensating day-dreams. The Jewish
problem would solve itself quite simply, ^{they maintained} ~~with~~ the
triumph of democracy, of internationalism, or
socialism, or communism. ^{but} for the maintenance ^{of the Jewish}
problem in Europe almost solved itself then the extermination
of the Jews & Europe.

It is said that the plan was ^{first} invented in Palestine; ~~4B~~ SB
but so also was the vision of beating ~~the~~ swords into
~~a~~ plowshares. Many great visions we gave to mankind —
justice and brotherhood and peace, but like Prometheus,
who was crucified to the rocks and tortured for having
brought the gift of fire to mankind, — we helped
mankind but could not help ourselves! —

We need a Home! That is the cry that
rises, above all others, from Belsen and Dachau
and Auschwitz, from the hearts of our fellow Jews
who are now spoken of as "displaced persons". They
are "displaced persons" because we are a "displaced
people" — and that is the root of their tragedy

and the 6 M. who perished, and all the thousands in the long centuries of our national homelessness. (I was in Pol. 1720/1721)

We need a home! That is the ~~fact~~ ^{fact} which drives the ~~hunger and hunted~~ ^{hunger and hunted} ships of our exco-begot and men-than-begot immigrants who seek the shores of Palestine, with a desperate longing unknown in ^{all} the ~~history~~ ^{ages} of nation-building. For shame that the ships, the proudest navy on earth ^{shined by} ~~and~~ ^{are being} employed to intercept ~~and~~ the ships ^{which} ~~carrying to~~ ^{carrying to} ~~some~~ ^{to} ~~land~~ ^{to} the saddest and most ~~fallen~~ ^{fallen} ~~deserving~~ ^{deserving} home-seekers on earth! Rather, should these ships, S. B. be carrying these Jews to P. for S. B., in the sight of the whole world, undertake to "facilitate J. immigration into Pal." And the ships of our own country ^{the United States}

10). ~~No Planes~~ ^{No Planes} - ~~M. U. G.~~ ^{M. U. G.} - ~~10 years~~ ^{10 years} A quarter of a century ago, Great Britain, and 50 other nations, the world, recognized the need of the Jewish people for a national home. ~~Never~~ ^{Never} the Balfour Declaration! Hence the Palestine Mandate! ~~We~~ ^{We} waited for that recognition for 1900 years! ~~We~~ ^{We} set about building our home in very different times; for European Jewry had been savaged and impoverished by four years ~~of war and Russian Jewry was completely isolated. But~~ ^{of war and Russian Jewry was completely isolated. But} the idealism and good-will, as well as the political motivations, did not carry far beyond the close, the ~~who~~ ^{who} ~~obstacles, one~~ ^{obstacles, one} more formidable than the other, ~~before~~ ^{before} were set up in our way. The mandatory government seemed determined

to delay, construct, frustrate
so that when most terrible moment — shut!

Still shut: - Report - 17th - newsmen 100.000

Further delay - Another month - Attlee - impossible
conditions - Disarm - Military Com - repeated

State Dept - consultation - Treuman - Apr. 30 -

"immediate objectives" - greatest dispatch - long-range

State Dept - after Arab protest - consultation - Invitation

May 22 - no conflict - Pres. statement is controlling
reaffirming the urgency 5, 10000.

Nevertheless continuesⁱⁿ practice a procedure - consultation

May 23 - no rejection of Arab protest.

Enemies - near East Div.

Demand Action!

- 11) Other Recommendations - cannot accept - J. State + 56nd State
- permanent minority - Dem vs National States

Transjordan - crucial Frnight 6 M.

Substitute may be found - will result

"Traditus non Victor". We may be betrayed - conquered.

- 12) Recommend - a page - Bible - connected with first Portenko - Frish

to delay, construct, ~~a camp~~ and finally completely to ~~frustrate~~ the building of the J. National Home. So that when the most terrible moment in our history ^{arrived} ~~came~~, and Pol. ^{might} ~~could~~ have served as a place of escape for the millions ^{to wholesale slaughter} ~~downed~~ in the Nazi ^{for chambers} ~~lands~~, its doors were practically shut. They are still shut - and a Committee, beginning - the 17th of its kind, each one in turn devised to circumvent the clear intent & purpose, the mandate, is now ^{hardly} ~~hardly~~ at work, to determine what has already been determined, to ascertain what is already established, and to recommend ^{what?} ~~what?~~ certainly not the fulfillment in letter and spirit of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate...

If that ^{with the objection 7th} ~~government~~ which created the Committee - it ~~was~~ need never have been created. The governments would have acted ^{spedily} ~~spedily~~ and ^{pathetically} ~~pathetically~~ - as they had pledged themselves to - ^{time and again}; the Labor front of P. B. - through numerous resolutions, the Labor Party - and even our Administration, in its own party platform. What need was there for a Committee of Inquiry? Unless to purpose ^{an} ~~an~~ delay and the recommendation of a formula which would put the J. people far far less than was internationally granted to them after the last war. Heron ~~radio~~ ^{radio} stated what this formula should be ^{- not contain - J. State} and, in a sense, also Truman.

11) I do not know what the report will be, but of one thing I am certain that the Jewish people inside & outside of Pal. will not ^{because they cannot agree} agree to any proposal which will rob them of their historic right and hope to rebuild themselves as a nation in the national home of Israel.

They will not agree to any proposal which will restrict, ^{for political grounds} the right of Jew. immigration into Pal. and deny the right of sanctuary to any Jew. ~~nothing~~

The essential hope of our people which expressed itself not only in political Zionism, but in the ^{contemporary} ~~national~~ ^{human} life ~~of the~~ ^{and exposed} Israel, is national restoration - to ~~regain~~ ^{the} national status of a free people among the free peoples of the earth.

That hope cannot be surrendered! No generation of Jews can or will surrender it. And no ~~authorities~~ ^{and no leaders in Israel} body in Israel, is authorized to surrender it.

A substitute solution may be forced upon us! Throughout our history substitute solutions were forced upon us! We will resist, wherever resistance is warranted and to the degree that it is warranted. Traditions non victus! We may be betrayed. We shall not be conquered!

12) I recommend friends & foes alike to read a page of our history, found in the Bible, and connected with our first restoration after the Babylonian exile. It is as fresh and revealing to-day as it was 2500 years ago - when ~~it was~~ Nehemiah wrote it.

Nehemiah
in his diary. The walls of Jerusalem had to be rebuilt. (9)
The exiles who had returned lived peacefully in midst
of other peoples in Judah - who were determined to keep
them few and to keep them weak.

The National rights and power of the J. people had to be re-established and reaffirmed.

And the symbol of that was the rebuilding, the walls of Jeru-
salem which had been razed when the people were exiled.

At once all the ~~non~~ other peoples in and around Pal-land formed
what you would call to-day an "Arab League."

Sanballat the Samaritan, Tobiah the Ammonite, and Gershom
the Arabian were grieved when they heard that there was
come a man (Nehemiah) to seek the welfare, the children of
Israel.

At first, when Jews began to build, they laughed them to
scorn and despised them.

"What can these feeble Jews do? Will they revive the stones
out of the heap of rubbish?"

Tobiah, the Ammonite, who had no business there in the
first place, any more than Abu Sand to-day, expressed
the thought that "even that which they build, if a fox
go up, he shall break down their stone wall."

But Nehemiah went on with the building. And to the leaders
of the League he declared. פילחיה | חסד | נחמיה | נחמיה | נחמיה | נחמיה | נחמיה
(Same answer -)

And when these enemies saw that the rebuilding ⁽¹⁰⁾ ~~(9a)~~
went forward and the breaches began to be stopped -
they conspired to come and fight against Jerusalem
and to lay it waste.

Then Nehemiah organized his אֶלְפֵי!

"And it came to pass from that time forward that
half of my men carried on with the work and half
; them held the spears, the shields and the bows and the
coats of mail .. Everyone with one hand carried on
with his work and with the other held his weapon..."

It was only after the work was finished, and the sherry
wall was built that Sanballat and his friends decided
to invite Nehemiah to a "Round Table". 4 and 5
times they invited him and even offered him assistance.
They were ready to negotiate, now that the wall was built.

I suggest that history may repeat itself in con-
nection with our second restoration, provided we re-
main true to the spirit of lion-hearted Nehemiah -
and when we hear the challenge אֶלְפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, we respond
as did the Jews of his day - אֶלְפֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל!

13/ There is no other way out for our people!

With in this week (Date) - a year after - war - Nazis

12/ Press forward - demand 7 our part

A new deal in our State Dept

Pres. Tr. fulfil his own party's pledge

13/ We have moral power - pot. power

It is not un-American - oil interests - missionary activities

R. interests.

(14)

Elections -

WRHS



I had cautioned - after - a shabby trick & trap
But to injury there must now be added insult
(Doubt) This is as contemptible a distortion of attitude
of Amer. people - outraged by callousness, double-dealing
& betrayal - as it is a cruel insult to Jews - &
U.S. - whose loyalty - whose sacrifices helped
- (Lend-Lease) - (Structure)

3). I call upon Jews, U.S. - & of U.S. & other
to inquire - Congress - whether - in view
ought to make the loan -
Whether Am. money - including - should be used
to support a Govt whose foreign friends

(a) Bavin does not represent - conscience - repudiate
this cheap vulgarian

(b) Unsubstantiated - Amer. people - action held
in abeyance

4). Attlee - yesterday - "We support Dem. & Freedom everywhere"
How? By supporting feudal E. & S. - exploiting
the land - ~~the~~ Jemal Hussein - Mufti - Nazi
collaborators? During Trip

How? By setting up Abdullah - Transj. - 300,000
and denying - reestablish the State - ancient

3500 yrs - made it heart of world - Every stone -

How? By rewarding Arabs - War - Nazis - 'pro forma'

6 Arab States -

Are Jews not entitled? Is Arab Nat. all right

Rebual State

Mr. Mr. Attlee - your Govt. is supporting Reaction
+ sp. privilege here. they serve your imp. interests

5/ In the widening orbit of Internationalism - our people was
almost destroyed - clean - root

States men - your statesmen - Nations, World -

Mandate - You asked for it -

Why don't you help - moderate problem -

You know that we brot nothing but Right - Revs

Why don't you help us?

Or, get out of our way! - Churchill.

You have no intention to get out.

6/ We speak in bitterness - back to wall - life & death

And the senseless words of you - salt in our wounds

Do not drive us to despair - D.P. Gishur

Do not poison our youth with hatred of you!

(Snake). David + Solomon - Walls of Jericho -

7/ You can out-maneuver us - old hand at the game (5)
But we shall keep right on - no choice!
Our people is on the march - nothing can stop them!
We fought for every inch of it - ^{long ago} - make it our own
for ever - Exiled - we returned! Exiled a 2nd time
We are coming back - to stay!
We will not remain among 207. for Charles G. ...
2 vicious wars
There is no other way out - but a Nat. Home!
We must move forward at all costs -

8. Jews of Amer. - Turn to your feet - your feet -
Your fellow-Americans

"We favor the opening the doors of P. to unrestricted
J. immigration & colonization, and make a policy as to
resettlement in the establishment there of a free and decent
J. Commonwealth -

- Congress - (Jews). This is the bill of America!
- It is by 6 times that ^{the bill of Amer} ~~is better~~ ~~could~~
should prevail -

London, England

46-12

ZIONIST CONGRESS AND Z.O.A.

Dr. Silver's Statement

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, President of the Zionist Organisation of America, reaffirmed the pro-labour stand of his Organisation in an address before 3,000 Zionists at a mass meeting in New York.

"I have been asked about my attitude towards Palestine labour," said Dr. Silver. "There is

can Zionism wants to capture the Jewish Agency Executive and other supreme bodies of the movement.

"We have never sought domination and do not seek it now. We have always stood for a genuine partnership between all the creative and constructive forces in Zionism. We stand for such a true partnership today. We extend our hand in friendship, in a spirit of comradeship to all groups that have a vital contribution to make. We are convinced that such a partnership is possible, without the domination of any particular group or party and without the suppression of the principles which they hold dear. It is our purpose to help bring about such a stable and fruitful coalition of forces at the forthcoming Congress.

"Another question asked is whether we approve the social and economic policies pre-

vailing in Palestine labour with regard to the upbuilding of the country. The social and economic pattern of the Yishuv must be determined primarily by the Yishuv itself. It cannot and must not be imposed from the outside. But the political future of Palestine is a matter of concern to the Jewish people the world over. It is the concern of the Zionist movement as a whole. To be sure, to the extent to which the World Zionist Organisation and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, representing the whole Jewish people, influence the development of the Yishuv—to that extent the policies pursued become the proper subject for discussion and regulation by the World Zionist Congress. At the forthcoming Congress, as at previous Congresses, the ZOA delegation will support such policies as will favour and encourage a balanced and comprehensive approach—one which will, in our judgment, best serve the national interest."



Dr. Silver

scarcely a Zionist in America who does not appreciate the tremendous contribution Jewish labour in Palestine has made to the growth of the Jewish State. It has been creative, far-sighted and imbued with an admirable spirit of self-sacrifice."

Dr. Silver characterised as "absurd" the rumours in America to the effect that Ameri-

46-12
100,000 HOMELESS JEWS TO PALESTINE NOW!

Fight . . .

**THE DELAYING TACTICS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND THE U. S. STATE DEPARTMENT**

Join . . .

THE GREAT MASS DEMONSTRATION

**Wednesday, June 12, 1946, 8 P. M.
MADISON SQUARE GARDEN**

Sponsored by
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, Chairmen

ADMISSION FREE
COME EARLY



DOORS OPEN
AT 6:30 P. M.

ZOA President Denounces Anti-Labor Charges

Statement by

Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I have been asked about my attitude towards Palestine labor. There is scarcely a Zionist in America who does not appreciate the tremendous contribution Jewish labor in Palestine has made to the growth of the Jewish State. It has been creative, far-sighted and imbued with an admirable spirit of self-sacrifice.

The ZOA has been traditionally pro-labor. We have given and continue to give our full moral and material support to the great constructive efforts of Jewish labor in Palestine. That does not mean a blanket approval of every policy and every measure proposed by Labor Zionism but it does imply a basically sympathetic attitude on our part. Nor does our positive attitude towards labor imply a lack of appreciation of the great and constructive achievements of other sections of the Yishuv and indifference to their needs and legitimate interests. As General Zionists we stand for a balanced and comprehensive program of development.

Another question asked is whether we approve the social and economic policies prevailing in Palestine labor with regard to the upbuilding of the country. The social and economic pattern of the Yishuv must be determined primarily by the Yishuv itself. It cannot and must not be imposed from the outside. But the political future of Palestine is a matter of concern to the Jewish people the world over. It is the concern of the Zionist movement as a whole. To be sure, to the extent to which the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, representing the whole Jewish people, influence the development of the Yishuv—to that extent the policies pursued become the proper subject for discussion and regulation by the World Zionist Congress.

At the forthcoming Congress as at previous Congresses, the ZOA delegation will support such policies as will favor and encourage a balanced and comprehensive approach—one which will, in our judgment, best serve the general interests of the Jewish people.

There have been rumors in America to the effect that American Zionism wants to capture the Agency Executive and the other supreme bodies of the movement. This is absurd. We have never sought domination and do not seek it now. We have always stood for a genuine partnership between all the creative and constructive forces in Zionism. We stand for such a true partnership today. We extend our hand in friendship, in a spirit of comradeship to all groups that have a vital contribution to make. We are convinced that such a partnership is possible, without the domination of any particular group or party and without the suppression of the principles which they hold dear. It is our purpose to help bring about such a stable and fruitful coalition of forces at the forthcoming Congress.

ATTENTION, VOTERS!

1. Bring your shekel to the polls. Without a shekel, you cannot vote.
2. Vote for the entire slate. You cannot vote for individual names. A split vote will invalidate the ballot. Mark a cross (x) alongside the ZOA ticket—No. 1 on the ballot.
3. Bring with you any one of the following identifications:
 - a) A driver's license.
 - b) Selective Service card.
 - c) A ration book.
 - d) Department store charge account.
 - e) Veterans discharge certificate.
 - f) A bona fide letter or bills of public utilities addressed to you.

Worthless Pledges

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

President of Zionist Organization of America and
Joint Chairman of American Zionist Emergency Council

When the new anti-Zionist policy of the British Government was announced in 1939, Winston Churchill declared that it was a clear breach, a violation of a pledge. When he became Prime Minister, however, he did nothing to honor that pledge, while six million Jews perished because the doors of Palestine were closed to them in defiance of obligations voluntarily assumed by Great Britain when it requested and received the Mandate over Palestine to facilitate Jewish immigration into that country and to assist in the establishment there of the Jewish National Home.

When the Labor Government came into power in 1945 it lost no time in breaking a solemn pledge of its own, this time one which was made by the Labor Party itself, which time and again passed strong pro-Zionist resolutions and demanded the abrogation of the White Paper of 1939.

When Prime Minister Attlee rejected President Truman's humanitarian request that 100,000 refugee Jews be permitted to enter Palestine at once, he made a counter-proposal that a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry should be appointed to investigate the situation. The members of this Committee were told by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, that their recommendations would be implemented forthwith if they would be unanimous. The Committee unanimously recommended that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jews who have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and that these certificates be awarded as far as possible in 1946.

More Conditions

The President of the United States declared that he was very happy that the request which he had made had been unanimously endorsed by the Committee. He

urged that the transference of these unfortunate people should now be accomplished "with the greatest dispatch." But the British Government again wretched. Prime Minister Attlee called for the disarming of the Jews of Palestine as a prior condition, which condition the Committee had considered and rejected. He made other unwarranted conditions.

Mr. Bevin declared that "if we put 100,000 Jews into Palestine I would have to put another division of British troops there. I am not prepared to do it." This trumped-up military argument is again trotted out to justify another broken pledge. And this latest act is accompanied by Bevin's cheap slur on the American people and a coarse bit of anti-Semitic vulgarity reminiscent of the Nazis at their worst.

In view of this shocking record of broken pledges and the repeated violation of solemn obligations, American citizens have the right to turn to their representatives in the Congress of the United States, who are now discussing the granting of a loan to Great Britain, and inquire whether the Government of the United States can afford to make a loan to a Government whose pledged word seems to be worthless. They should also inquire whether American money, including that of the Jewish citizens of the United States who have given such superb evidence of their loyalty and patriotism during the war and whose sacrifices helped to save a collapsing British Empire, should be used to back up a Government whose Foreign Minister has repeatedly given evidence of a virulent anti-Jewish bias.

We question very much whether Mr. Bevin represents the conscience and the spirit of the British people but it is up to them to repudiate this maligner and cheap vulgarian, and to demand that someone who more truly represents them should occupy such an important post.