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American Zionist Emergency Council press statement, 1947.

STATEMENT BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
CHAIRMAN OF THE AMERICAN SECTION OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
AND OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
AT A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE MAYFLOWER HOTEL, WASHINGTON,
D. C., MONDAY, MAY 5, 1947.

WEXER I am deeply grateful to you men and women for having taken time out of your busy day to come here and to listen to some of the things which I, as a spokesman of the Jewish people, would like to say to you, and, through you, to the American people about the subject which is now being presented to the great international tribunal of mankind, the United Nations.

We are happy that the subject is now before the United Nations. After all, the Jewish National Home x did receive its great endorsement and its status internationally at the hands of the United Nations, then known as the League of Nations. We are glad that the conscience of mankind will have an opportunity to review the whole problem and to pass judgment.

We did not ask that the subject be presented at the United Nations because we had hoped that there would be no further delay in opening the doors of Palestine for Jewish refugees and for the continuation in the development of the Jewish National Home, a delay which, as you know, has brought about the serious political deterioration in Palestine and has been working terrible hardships upon the unfortunate men, and women and children who are still in the D. P. camps where they have been languishing for quite a number of years. I hope that the United Nations will be able to find the just solution to the problem. It would mean much to all concerned. It will mean much to the prestige of the United Nations. It was the failure to solve an international problem justly and to implement that solution back in 1931 which marked the beginning of the end of the League of Nations, and, in a sense, also the beginning of the Second World War.

We are a bit concerned at the moment about what is happening at the Assembly of the United Nations in Xxx Flushing. It is now more than a week since the subject has been discussed in the Plenary Session and in committee. Those states or those representatives of states opposed to the Jewish National Home have had a field day at the United Nations and have used that institution as a soundingboard for their propaganda, and under guise of a discussion on procedure they have engaged in quite an elaborate substitute debate on the subject and have read into the record much hostile propaganda, while the voice of the Jewish people -- which is, to say the least, one of the parties most directly concerned in the whole problem, and in my humble judgment the most directly concerned party because it is the subject of the Jewish Nations Home which is being discussed -- has not been permitted to be heard. Certain technicalities have been invoked. "The Jewish Agency is not a state, it is said, "and as a non-governmental body has not the right to appear before the Assembly of the United Nations". Other states have maintained that there is no such provision in the Charter of the United Nations that non-governmental bodies cannot be summoned to appear before the Assembly. It has been argued that giving us the privilege of being there to share in the discussions would establish a precedent for other organizations who may in the fx future ask for the same privilege.

It should be remembered, however, that the Jewish Agency is not just another organization which wishes to be heard on the subject of Palestine. The Jewish Agency is a public body recognized in the Mandate for Palestine, given the right to speak for the Jews of Palestine and Jews outside of Palestine on subjects dealing with Palestine. May I read you the provision of the Mandate on the subject of the Jewish Agency:

"Article 4. An appropriate Jewish Agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other

matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

"The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Thus the Jewish Agency in asking for an exportunity to be heard is asking for what in all law and in all equity it is entitled to when the subject of the Jewish National Home is being discussed by the international tribunal. The very heart of the problem before the United Nations is the establishment of the Jewish State, and if because of a technicality the Jewish Agency is not permitted to state its case in all the discussions which revolve about the subject, in my opinion a grave injustice will have been done and a serious reflection cast on the integrity of this great international institution.

For example, when the subject of the composition of the Committee of Inquiry comes up — and this is something vital to the Jewish Agency — are the members to be neutral, impartial, or the tools and stooges of other governments committed to a policy hostile to us. When the terms of reference of the Committee come to be discussed, that is a matter of life and death to us, what these terms of reference shall be, and it is unthinkable that the opinion and counsel of the Jewish Agency should not be invoked when these preliminary and fundamental things are being discussed and decided. And that is why the position of our own Government in Flushing at this moment is to us especially baffling.

We had assumed that our Government, basing ourselves on the public premouncements of our Government, on the statements frequently made by the Chief Executives of our country favoring the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and the Resolution adopted by the Congress as recently as 15 months ago on this subject, not to speak of the general public opinion of the

United States, which when canvassed was found to be friendly on this subject -we had assumed that our representatives would make sure that the Jewish Agency
would have an opportunity to present its case fully, as the Arabs have had.

Instead of that, strangely enough, our spokesmen at this Assembly seems to be
Russia, xxx Poland, Czechoslovakia, Chile. We do not conclude that this over-concern
of our representatives with technicalities of procedure is indicative of any
reversal to oppose in detail what one is unwilling to oppose in full, but we
do say that we are considerably bewildered at the spectacle of the United States
delegate arguing at great length as to why the Jewish Agency should not be heard
at a Special Session discussing the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

Great Britain asked for this Special Assembly after Mr. Bevin's private improvisations in this field upon the success of which he had staked his political career ended, as they were doomed to end, in total failure -- and we must say that we are glad that Great Britain will no longer kare the sole judge and jury in the case in which it stands as the accused, and, if you will pardon us, we also question the sincerity of Great Britain referring this matter to the United Nations, accompanied by a declaration that it has no intention of abiding by the recommendations should these recommendations prove not acceptable to Great Britain. In other words, Great Britain reserves the right to reject the recommendations in the same manner it rejected the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee which it, Great Britain, called into existence, in the same manner as it called the Special Session into existence, and we are afraid that our fear is not unjustified. We are afraid that this is a procedure of delay, heart-breaking procrastination, the purpose of which is to break the morale of the refugees, to scatter their number and to compel the Jewish people to accept Mr. Bevin's private solution for the Palestine problem.

I hope, good friends, that when the Committee of Inquiry is appointed by the United Nations, it will be composed of neutrals, truly neutral states, and will exertime to contain neither Arabs nor Great Britain. In proposing the Special Session of the United Nations, Great Britain indicated that it wishes to give an account of its stewardship of the League of Nations Mandate for Palestine. I do hope that the Committee of Inquiry will have a full opportunity to investigate the long record of the violations perpetrated under this stewardship. I hope they will inquire how an international trust which was voluntarily assumed to promote the establishment of the Jewish National Home, which according to the report of the British Palestine Royal Commission was unquestionably the primary purpose of the Mandate, how that international trust which was based on the Mandate -- one of its principal articles reading as follows:

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion."

National Home and of no other national home. You will note that what is spoken of here after the primary x responsibility of the Jewish National Home is the setting up of self-governing institutions in conformity with the primary aim, the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and also for the protection of civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, which civil rights have not been interfered with by anybody, and nobody has complained that they have been interfered with. You will note that there is no mention of the establishment of an Arab National Home. You will note that in this Mandate as part of the preamble it is stated that recognition is given to the "historical connection of the Jewith people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in this country".

I say, I hope that the Committee of Inquiry will inquire as to how this international krasksaxhas trusteeship has been violated to a point where today Jews are being driven away from the shores of their National Home by British military might, and how a government which pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine and the close settlement of Jews on the soil as part of its commitments can reconsile that obligation with the present enterprise in which it is engaged in driving tragically weak men, women and children who come to the shores of Palestine in rotten hulks, leaky boats as to their last refuge, driving them away to new detention camps, inxwhich and how they can reconsile the close settlement on the soil with the edict which they issued that Jewish settlement shall be restricted to 6% of the area of that little country. I hope that the Committee of Inquiry will study the basic documents upon which the work in Palestine has been progressing, and what was intended by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and it is this thought that I would like to emphasize to you at this time, because there is considerable confusion as to what was intended and what the purpose of the National Home was and how to take care of refugees at the present time.

The primary Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration was Lloyd George, and this is the testimony of Lloyd George: "It was not their idea (the members of the Cabinet) that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty... On the other hand, it was a contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them... and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whome we were appealing."

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This, by the way, was too the understanding of our own President at the time, President Wilson, who declared in March 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

The idea, therefore, was the reconstituting of the Jewish State. It was not the salvation of a pressing refugee problem in 1919. Attempts have since been made to confuse the issues -- the problem of what to do with a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand x tragic Jewish refugees now in the American and British zones of Occupation in Germany, and this national problem which the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate sought to solve and which Zionism came to solve which was the problem not of refugees but the problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people which has been the source of all our tragedies since our dispersion. The tragedy of the Jews being a minority everywhere in the world and a majority nowhere where he can control his own destiny, the problem of not having xx national status in the world, so that at the United Nations the Jewish people which has contributed as much as any other nation in history to mankind must hover around in the corridors and is not permitted to have a seat even in the discussion of a problem which most directly and vitally concerns them -- this is the problem which the Mandate sought to solve. To reconstitute the Jewish National Home was to provide the Jewish people with a home to which its people could go if they wished to or if they had to as a matter of right. Six million Jews were destroyed in the last few years of the war in Europe because they had no national home to which kk to go in the desperate emergency, so they had to go to gas chambers.

The Zienist Movement was not created after the Second World War to meet the problem of these unfortunate Jews in the D. P. camps. The Zienist Movement was created in 1879, and the first Zienist Congress at the time when there were great immigration opportunities in many parts of the world for Jews,

but at the time when the national problem existed, as it has existed for thousands to of years, and thankitanes the book by the founder of the Zionist Movement is appropriately called, "The Jewish State".

I stress the point because what we are concerned with is a national problem and not a refugee problem, and what the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate speak of is a National Home. I hear it often said, and to me it is a disconcerting statement, "Oh, yes, the United States is concerned about sending Jews to Palestine but why isn't it concerned with taking Jews into the United States?" Now, this is not a logical argument. It is a "red herring". It would be wonderful if the United States would open its doors to Jewish refugees -- and to other refugees -- but, after all, the United States is not the Jewish National Home and the United States did not undertake to facilitate Jewish immigration. It is the Mandatory which is obligated to keep the doors open and k even to facilitate Jewish immigration. Therefore, this argument is only meant to confuse logical thought on this subject.

And may I also emphasize this thought, if I may be permitted to do so briefly. We have no issue with the Arabs really. We are not opposed to having the Arabs hopes fulfilled. At the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, it was realized that the national aspirations of the Arabs, which had been in abeyance for many years, would be fully satisfied when out of the Turkish Empire which was then breaking up not one, but a number of independent Arab States would be set up, and since that time five independent Arab States have been set up. Four of them are already members of the United Nations, and the fifth has been declared independement and will probably seek representation in the United Nations before long. And these states occupy an area of a million-two-hundred-thousand square miles, are under-populated, with population impoverished, and there is room, if proper stimulation were given; to irrigation and technical

or has benefitted it. They will find -- I have just returned from Palestine a few weeks ago -- that an epic of marvelous colonization, the like of which for the world has not seen/ramy many generations, has been accomplished. They will see there the outpost of the 20th century in a world which is still unfortunately but essentially a medieval world, and if the Jewish National Home is permitted to continue, the standards of living, the conceptions of social justice, the new techniques of building and agriculture which are being used will in my humble judgment -- and I say this with a fair amount of pride in an achievement of my people, and not at all in the spirit of braggadocio -- that all these if permitted to carry on will act as a great stimulus to the entire vast area of the world which in my humble judgment is the next great area of human development -- the Middle East.

I hope they will also visit the Displaced Persons Camps of Europe and see what is happening to these war victims, If the people who suffered most in the war, how their morale is being undermined by this protracted detention. Why, some of them have lived in camps ten years or more. There are childrene who are seven or eight years old who have never seen the inside of a home. An appalling human tragedy is taking place there which could have been averted right after the war, but for considerations of oil or war or what not -- I am not even making indictments -- these people are languishing there with their hopes deferred time and again, facing the future as if they were facing a stone wall.

You read a great deal about terror in Palestine. I have got to say a word about that. The Jews who came to Palestine came there bearing tools, not weapons. They came there as pioneers to build, to invest their lives with sweat and blood. Weapons are being forced into their hands by a Mandatory Government which is executing a lawless policy and a lawlessness breeds lawlessness. The closing of the doors of Palestine was a lawless act of the Mandatory not

sanctioned by the League of Nations. It drives men and women away from the shores of Palestine as a lawless act, unilateral and illegal, not to speak of immorally enforced by the Mandatery Government. No one condones terror, and I, for one, question the political value of these acts of so-called terror. But one must be fair. One must understand what breeds this bitter resentment which forces men and women, peace-loving men and women, to resort to these desperate measures. The people languishing in Europe are their kith and kin. They have spent years and years in the hell of Europe. Six million of them had to die because you couldn't disturb the Middle East during the war, but they were hoping for the end of the war when these remnants would be let immediately to come to Palestine, and these Jews of Palestine have to stand on the shores and see the ships come near, crowded with their blood, coming nearer and nearer to the shores, and then the boats are boarded by troops and with I tear gas and fire karray hoses and truncheons, transported to other ships and carried away again to new camps.

There is one way to put an end to the terror in Palestine, and you can do it in 24 hours. Great Britain could do it in 24 hours. Just make the announcement that Jewish refugees who want to come to Palestine will be allowed to come as is their right to do. That is all. That is all that would be needed. I heard magnanimity, andfor a representative of one of the great European Commonwealth appeal for/patience and for good will so that the United Nations could carry on its deliberations in an atmosphere of calmness. I agree **thank* with him entirely. It would be entirely desirable. But I know of only one way it can be accomplished: if the spirit of magnanimity would come not only to the Jews but to those who hold the key to the door of Palestine. If Jews were allowed to enter in substantial number to Palestine today, the whole tension would be lifted. People would breathe more easily and in that spirit of greater magnanimity, let me say the

the United Nations can then proceed with its work in solving this great international problem.

I hope that the United States will take the leadership in this matter, as it does in some other international matters in which it has not such clear commitments as it has in the matter of Palestine. When our Governments wants to move affirmatively and aggressively, it knows how. I am afraid that in this matter -- which is not a small matter on the periphery of America's foreign policy, not a small matter at all or else there would not be a Special Assembly of the international organization -- I hope that in this instance our Government will take a position of real leadership in conformity with its traditional dignity on the subject and will lend its prestige and authority to kkixxgxx the solution of this great human problem.

QUEST IONS

Question: Dr. Silver, I noted you used the words "baffled" and "bewildered" in connection with the United States position in not allowing the presentation of the Agency position in the UN. Would the word "betrayal" be too strong?

Dr. Silver: I am not using that term. You can readily understand why I am not using it. The REFREX act is not yet completed. I hope some just solution will be found, and I hope that our country will be on the right side.

Question: I notice that in your remarks basing your expectations on statements by the President, by Congress, and public opinion. Is there an inference there that there is a 2i division between the statements of the President and the acts of the State Department in carrying them out?

Dr. Silver: At times there appeared to be. At times there appeared to be lack of cooperation and lack of a straight line, as you put it, as between the legis-

lative branch of our Government and the executive branch of our Government, and between the Chief Executive and the State Department. I am hoping that now that we are approaching the hour of decision that there will be some basic understanding as to what is the position of our Government.

Question: Could you be more specific?

Dr. Silver: At the moment I don't know. At the moment, as I stated, we have all been seriously confused as to this attitude of our Government at the United Nations. Presumably it represents the attitude of the State Department. Presumably also, that of the Chief Executive. Whether it is merely a technical attitude taken by our Government to insure a certain permanent procedure for the United Nations or not, that we don't know. We will know before the day is over. If our Government is really concerned in seeing that we get a hearing, there are ways of getting it even if we cannot appear officially before the Assembly. Question: You spoke of Bevin's private solution. Can you explain what that is? Dr. Silver: Bevin's private solution, you know -- when I say "private", it isn't that he invented it. He didn't invent it, but her is most determined to put it over, even in opposition to the Colonial Drries Administrator. Bevin's position at the moment is to solve the problem by cantonization of Palestine, setting up a number of cantons, very restricted as far as the Jewish area is concerned, and the rights of the Jewish people within that area are even more restricted. Over-all control is in the hands of Great Britain.

I notice also a confusion which crops up from time to time, and it appeared, I think, in one of the papers yesterday: partition plans, the partition plan of Mr. Bevin and those of some others. Mr. Bevin's scheme does not contemplate partition. It contemplates an a unitary state with cantons in which the area of the Jewish cantons will be about 1200 square miles, and where the ultimate control of immigration within those narrow cantons will also be left to the British High Commissioner.

Question: There have been accusations that the Agency does not represent the Jews of Palestine or the Jews of the world. Can you say something about that?

Dr. Silver: Gladly. There is one body in Palestine which speaks for the Jews of Palestine, the Vaad Leumii, the National Council. That National Council has within the last forty-eight hours sent an official cable to the Secretariat of the United Nations that the Jewish Agency speaks for the Vaad Leumii in international relations and represents the Jews of Palestine.

Question: You have based the Jewish case on legality, but the Arabs base their case on ethnological rather than legal grounds.

Dr. Silver: Of course we will have full occastion to present to the Committee of Inquiry a rather extensive reply. Their argument has no basis. There has never been an Arab country called Palestine. There has never been an Arab government in Palestine. Palestine has been for centuries now a province within the Turkish Empire. The statesmen of the world at the time they issued the Mandate fully understood the ethnological background of Palestine and the historical connections of the Jewish people with Palestine. They took all these facts, weighed these factors, and decided that inasmuch as they were setting up in that great world of which I spoke a moment ago five independent Arab states, it is perfectly logical to reconstitute their homeland in what was their historic home, the place where the Jewish people had lived for centuries, where they created Judaism and Christianity and to which they have constantly sought to return and to which toward the close of the 19th century they began a great movement of return, culminating in the work of the last two or three decades.

Question: Could you comment on the relationship between a Jewish State and democratic developments in the Middle East?

Dr. Silver: I think a Jewish State in Palestine would be a great radiating center.

The dank Jews coming to Palestine bring with them high democratic ideals, not only

of their own people, but of the Western World, and in all they have sought to build in Palestine, they have imprinted a stamp of democracy, and I think one of the fears of the Jewish National Home is that kks very thing -- that the Jews are bringing irresistible democratic influences which are bound to penetrate to the periphery.

Question: How do you account for this apparent division of policy between the President and the State Department? Domestic influence?

Dr. Silver: I don't know just at the moment that there are sharp differences between the President and the Secretary of State. I don't know what their position is.

Question: Could you say a word on what you think the reaction of the Arabs, particularly Arab governments, might be to the proceeding you suggested and what steps should be taken to deal with it?

Dr. Silver: I cank't speak for them. In fact, they have spoken for themselves quite specifically. They are agin it, but I don't think that they should be the determining factor.

Question: Can you explain the relationship of this problem to our policy in aiding Greece and Turkey to resist Communism and also the influence on Palestine of Russia's spokesmanship of it in the UN?

Dr. Silver: I think it would be a great mistake to use -- for our people and our Government to conclude that the need for stopping Communist penetration into the Middle East -- and that is the objective -- that that has to be had at the price of sacrificing the Jewish National Home, that they have to appeare the Arab

States in the Middle East by the sacrifice of the Jewish National Home in order to keep them loyal to the Anglo-American bloc, as against the Soviet bloc. I think that is fundamentally an error. First of all, the rulers of the Arab States fear Communism far more than they fear the Jewish National Home, because they know that Communist penetration in the Middle East means the end of their feudal regimes, so the danger of driving them into the lap of the Soviet Union is a propaganda, not at all an actuality.

Question: Can you tell why you don't make a deal with the Arabs and get together with the Arabs?

ing with the Arabs if the Great Powers of the world hadn't interfered.

Question: Do you think there will be a civil war if Jews are permitted to enter the country?

Dr. Silver: Not at all. Please remember that the Jews of Palestine are not fighting the Arabs. They are fighting the British.

Question: Have there been any negotiations before the Powers stepped in?

Dr. Silver: There were attempts to come to and understanding, but as long as the Arabs understand that they can play off power politics against us, why should they sit down with us to discuss it? What have they to gain by it?

Question: You say you question the sincerity of Britain in referring the Palestine question to the Assembly and that you question the British sincerity of her intention to abide by the decision. I would like to ask whether you have troubled to clear this point up with the British Government. Sir Alexander Cadogan said in the Committee of the UN last week that Britain was prepared to km accept any decision, but not to enforce it, which is a different thing.

Dr. Silver: Oh, you think so.

Question: Certainly there is a difference. To alone give men and money to fight terrorism in Palestine and accepting a decision carried out by all the nations.

Dr. Silver: I am afraid I cannot be characterized as giving a misleading statement. I a have only quoted the statement. I interpret it to mean that Britain reserves the right to accept or reject the decision.

Question: Sir Cadogan gave a different opinion. It has been quoted in the papers.

Question: Do you think that if a pro-Jewish solution is proposed, an army will be necessary to enforce it?

Dr. Silver: I think if the United States and the United Nations together agree upon a just solution, that this itself would carry enoughk moral force not to necessitate any other kind of farm force to implement that decision.

Question: On what basis do you say that Great Britain reserves the right to accept or reject the UN decision?

Dr. Silver: Just what they stated. Their own word.

Question: It is true that Lord Hall in the House of Lords stated that the British Government was not prepared to enforce a decision of the United Nations if that was unacceptable. That meant, on the interpretation of Sir Cadogan, that they weren't prepared to enforce it alone.

Dr. Silver: They meant to accept it and not enforce it. I do not know. All I know is that Mr. Bevin stated that if the report of the Anglo-American Committee were unanimous, that Great Britain would implement that report, and the report was unanimous and Great Britain refused to implement it.

Question: Wouldn't she have done so if the United States had been prepared to help?

Dr. Silver: That was not a condition of the report. It was not called for.

Question: Would you say that when the door of Palestine is opened, then the urgency of the problem would be solved. Do you think that if immigration were allowed, that would be a solution of the problem of the D. P.'s.

Dr. Silver: I think so. That would be a solution of that problem. I think if the doors of Palestine were opened and substantial numbers allowed to come in

in accordance with the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee, it would be possible to take into Palestine a hundred thousand refugees within a year, and even more, and if that were done and some of the other countries of the world would be a little more lenient and take in some more of them into their countries, that would solve the refugee problem. **IfxkhaxBriki**

Question: If the British were to allow a substantial immigration now, would that terminate underground activity, the so-called terroristic activities?

Dr. Silver: I think it would take the steam out of the entire movement. It would take the basis, the justification, away from it. That is what adds fuel to the flames. All you have to do is be there and you sense it immediately.

MEETING ADJOURNED AT 2:30 P. M.

