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Report on the American Jewish Conference, August 29 -
September 2, 1943 in "The New Palestine," volume XXXIII, no.
18; and American Zionist Emergency Council, "Confidential
Bulletins," volume 1, numbers 1-3, 1943.

NEW PALESTINE

Report on

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

AUGUST 29—SEPTEMBER 2, 1943.

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Tributes to the Memory of the Late

Judge Julian W. Mack

What Happened at the American Jewish Conference

A Descriptive Report of the Proceedings and Dramatic Highlights

By CARL ALPERT

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, representative assembly of all of American Jewry, met in New York, at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, from August 29th to September 2 and carved out a program of action on which all American Jews can agree. Highlights of the Conference:

1. Adoption of a resolution demanding the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Only four of the 500 delegates present dissented.
2. Vigorous denunciation, by unanimous rising vote, of the American Council for Judaism, which, during the course of the Conference, had published an attack against Zionism in the *New York Times*.
3. Adoption of resolutions demanding that immediate steps be taken by the United Nations to rescue Jews who still survive in Europe.
4. A call for an international Bill of Rights to protect the rights of Jews and all minorities in the post-war period.
5. A decision to reconvene the Conference within a year.

Dramatic Scenes

The air of tense expectancy in which the Conference opened on Sunday, August 29, the excitement caused by protracted negotiations at committee meetings, particularly in the Palestine Committee, was built up to a climactic demonstration on Wednesday evening, September 1, when the Committee reported the Palestine resolution, and it was adopted amid scenes of enthusiasm and the singing of *Hatikvah*.

The huge Waldorf-Astoria ballroom, the floor packed with delegates, and the double tier of galleries crowded with spectators, was appropriately decorated with both American and Jewish flags. Singing of *Hatikvah*, The Star Spangled Banner and God Bless America alternated frequently, as the delegates gave free vent to their emotions.

"Historic" was the adjective most frequently used by the participating delegates, who sensed the significance of this event: the gathering of 500 men and women representing every point of view in American Jewish life, and by open discussion and exchange of opinion, formulating a platform which meets with universal approval.

Individual outstanding memories were:

1. The stirring address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who brought even non-Zionists to their feet cheering, as he portrayed Palestine as the supreme demonstration of Jewish "statesmanship, vision, courage, faith."



HENRY MONSKY

2. The warm reception given to the representatives of both the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Labor Committee, when they publicly proclaimed their endorsement of unlimited immigration to Palestine, and demanded abrogation of the White Paper.
3. The dignity, humility, and ability of Henry Monsky, presiding genius over the Conference and its creator.
4. The raging attack against the *New York Times* made from the floor of the Conference by Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, of Boston—an attack which the *Times* printed in full the next morning.

The first session opened with a touching memorial service in which five rabbis and a cantor participated. The moving rendition of the *Kaddish* and the *El Moleh Rachamin* brought tears to the eyes of many.

Scheduled for 3 p. m. on Sunday afternoon, the Conference opened only twelve minutes late.

Desire for Unity

Mr. Monsky delivered the opening address, stressing the desire for unity and common action within the area of agreement among all delegates. The theme was repeated by almost every subsequent speaker.

Louis Lipsky reported a plan on procedure and organization for the Conference, which called upon the delegates to designate their group affiliation. On the basis of such designation, representation on the various committees was mathematically apportioned among the groups.

Of the nine groups listed, the General Zionists, composed of the Z. O. A., Hadassah and the Order Sons of Zion, had the largest delegation.

Other groups were the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Religious National Orthodox, Labor Zionists, Non-Partisan, Reform Religious, Conservative Religious, Jewish Labor Committee.

More Speeches

Sunday evening Rabbi Stephen S. Wise took the microphone, and in his address suggested that the Conference deputize a small committee to confer with President Roosevelt, during the period of the Conference, regarding Jewish problems. In the excitement at ensuing sessions the suggestion was not acted upon.

He was followed by Judge Proskauer, widely known as a non-Zionist. Paying tribute to the "superb achievement made by our people in Palestine", he added that "we are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding." The unexpected words set the audience off

(Continued on page 18)



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

The Annual Z.O.A. Report

The annual reports of the Z.O.A. Administration, affiliated organizations and agencies, usually published in *THE NEW PALESTINE*, have this year been issued in the form of a pamphlet, to permit the dedication of this number to the historic American Jewish Conference.

Copies of the Administration Report will be distributed to all delegates at the convention, and will be mailed to District chairmen and such other members as request copies.

Editorials

The Conference

The American Jewish Conference has won its place in Jewish history. While the outcome of the sessions was a series of resolutions addressed to the United Nations, the deliberations themselves were by and for Jews. The entire function was carried out with a dignity, a solemnity, a consecration to duty which lifted it far above the level of the usual convention or assembly. And unusual it was, for the representatives of American Jewry present were moved by a realization of the significance of the occasion. There was an enthusiasm, and at the same time a restraint, which characterized each meeting. It was almost as if the delegates were aware that their every act would be scrutinized by posterity.

The Conference had been criticized in some quarters for its cumbersome machinery, for the unwieldy, democratic process by which it took seven months to organize and ascertain the will of the American Jewish community. Yet that very weakness, which is characteristic of all democratic forms, is today its strength. The decisions which came from the Conference were the views not of individuals, not of one organization or group of organizations, but the collective expression of the opinion of all of American Jewry on the problems which the Conference faced.

There were some questions which the Conference did not consider. There might have been greater divergence of opinion had the agenda been more comprehensive. Some difference of opinion was expressed over continuation of the Conference, though the decision to call another session within a year is not an indication that it will become a permanent body. That issue will doubtless be more pertinent at the next assembly. And if in the interim the machinery established by the Conference to implement its decisions, and the leaders entrusted with the task, indicate a capacity to succeed, there is no reason why the life of the Conference should not be prolonged so long as there is need for its services. In such event steps should be taken to ensure the preservation of its democratic nature, and this might entail the holding of periodic elections.

The significance of the Conference from the Zionist point of view has been adequately pointed out by every commentator and writer, and need not be labored here. In brief, the claims previously advanced by Zionists to the effect that the great majority of American Jews are sympathetic to the Zionist cause were shown to have been, if anything, understatements. The logical exposition of the Zionist case both in committee and on the floor of the Conference, the demonstration of the tremendous emotional appeal which Zionism possesses for the masses of Jews undoubtedly affected many delegates

who had come to the Conference without fixed convictions. The tide of Zionist sentiment was irresistible.

Zionists, who composed a working majority of the delegation, bore themselves with dignity and honor. Every courtesy and every opportunity to speak was furnished the "opposition," but the latter dwindled away to less than the number of fingers on one hand.

The effect which the Conference has upon Jewish group morale in this country is obvious. Its spiritual value to the huddled Jewish masses who remain alive in Europe and who hear only snatches of the news from overseas, can well be imagined. And it remains to be seen what value the Conference will have vis-a-vis the non-Jewish world in effectuating the decisions taken. In this latter field the Conference is yet to face its supreme test, for all the fine speeches and all the resolutions and all the applause will be as naught if there are no tangible, real, substantial results.

Judge Mack

Even the distinguished array of prominent American Zionists who join, elsewhere in this number, in paying tribute to the memory of the late Judge Julian W. Mack, can not adequately in words describe the role which he played during a critical period in our movement. To tell of his association with Judge Brandeis in one of the early struggles which left its mark on the organization, to list his interests in those institutions which were devoted to the building of a sound and stable economy in Palestine, such as the Palestine Electric Corporation, the Palestine Potash Company, the Palestine Economic Corporation and its predecessors, to tell of the mildness of his spirit and the greatness of his soul, make the picture fall short of the mark.

He was a complete, an integrated personality, kin to Justice Brandeis in his ability to capture and harmonize the essence of both Americanism and Zionism. Unnumbered are those in Zionism today who owe their inspiration, their early guidance, to him.

It is sometimes forgotten, in appraising Judge Mack, the American and the Zionist, that he was a great jurist as well. His pre-eminence as a judge was shown on many occasions, and particularly was recognized when he was appointed a member of the United States Commerce Court in 1910, though he was of a different political party from President Taft, who named him. It should be recalled that in crucial cases involving the status of the Interstate Commerce Commission his dissent was the basis of the final opinion handed down by the United States Supreme Court.

Judge Mack was one of the giants in American Zionism. He will be grievously missed.

Declaration on Palestine

ADOPTED BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE, WEDNESDAY EVENING,
SEPTEMBER 1, 1943

WE, Jewish citizens of the United States, dwelling in security in this our beloved land, which, because of its democratic institutions and just laws, "gives to bigotry no sanction and to persecution no assistance," and dedicated in undivided loyalty to the noble spirit of our country, are gathered here as an American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body representative of American Jewry, to cope with the tragic problems of our fellow Jews all over the world. We make the following declaration of principles as to the relation between the Jewish people, the Homeland in Palestine and the world need for post-war reconstruction.

The Jewish problem has been made one of the central elements in the present assault on civilization. In a world wide Nazi-Fascist conspiracy its exploitation has constituted the initial phase of the assault. Its solution is an integral part of the conditions needed for an enduring peace.

In the first world war, the civilized nations pointed to a solution of the Jewish problem through the reconstruction of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine with which the Jewish people has been bound up historically and religiously throughout the centuries. This was expressed in the Balfour Declaration, issued by the British Government, after consultation between the Allied and Associated Powers, on November 2, 1917, and in the Mandate for Palestine accorded to Great Britain in 1922, with the consent of the fifty-one member-nations of the League of Nations and with the unanimous approval of the Congress of the United States.

On the basis of this international covenant the Jewish people set itself to the task of recreating its historic Homeland in Palestine. In the course of twenty-five years, it has demonstrated a constructive capacity which has already had a profound effect both on the hopes and outlook of the Jewish people, and on a country which had for centuries been regarded as one of the derelict areas of the world. The progress of all sections of Palestine, Arab as well as Jewish, under the stimulus of the developing Jewish Homeland is one of the most notable phenomena of our time; the contribution of democratic Jewish Palestine to the victories of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East has been a significant vindication of the policy initiated by world opinion and carried out in the labors and sacrifices of the Jewish people.

This period of reconstruction, however, has coincided with a general deterioration of world order and international morality. Chief among the victims of this deterioration have been the millions of Jews in Europe. Yet despite the fact that the conditions which made imperative the re-establishment of the Jewish Homeland a quarter of a century ago have been intensified beyond the darkest forebodings, the rights internationally guaranteed to the Jewish people with respect to Palestine have been progressively whittled down on grounds of administrative and political expediency until, with the promulgation of the White Paper of May, 1939, the solemn promise made to the Jewish people was virtually nullified and the last hope of millions of homeless Jews threatened with extinction.

The American Jewish Conference, meeting at a time when the policies of the peace are in the making, and conscious of its historic responsibility and of its position as representative of American Jewry and spokesman for the silenced Jewish communities of Europe, calls for the loyal and faithful fulfillment of the covenant entered into between the nations of the world and the Jewish people.

We call for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, and of the Mandate for Palestine, whose intent and underlying purpose, based on the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine", was to reconstitute Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth.

We demand the immediate withdrawal in its entirety of the Palestine White Paper of May, 1939, with its unwarranted restrictions on Jewish immigration and land settlement. The White Paper is a violation of the rights accorded to the Jewish people under the Mandate for Palestine. It was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons as "a breach and a repudiation of the Balfour Declaration". The Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations refused to recognize its legality or its moral validity.

The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration, and that the Jewish Agency, recognized under the Mandate as the authorized representative of the Jewish people, be vested with authority to direct and regulate immigration into Palestine, to develop to the maximum the agricultural and industrial possibilities and the natural resources of the country, and to utilize its uncultivated and unoccupied lands for Jewish colonization and for the benefit of the country as a whole.

The measures here urged constitute the essential prerequisites for the attainment of a Jewish majority and for the re-creation of the Jewish Commonwealth.

In the pursuit of its objective of a Jewish Commonwealth, the Jewish people has steadfastly held before it the ideals which shall integrate Jewish Palestine within the new democratic world structure. The Jewish people pledges itself to scrupulous regard for and preservation of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arab population of Palestine, and to the civil and religious equality of all its inhabitants before the law. The inviolability of the Holy Places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.

The Jewish people reaffirms its readiness and desire for full cooperation with its Arab neighbors in Palestine and, in the work of its own national redemption, welcomes the economic and political development of the Arab peoples of the Near East.

On the basis both of the part it has played in the history of civilization, and of its present achievement in Palestine, the Jewish people believes that the Jewish Commonwealth to be established will represent another fundamental contribution to the social and political ideals of the world. It will finally answer the agonized cry of the most martyred of peoples, and enable it to take its rightful place in that progressive order of mankind which, we pray, may issue from the present struggle.

We Expect Justice From the World

By HENRY MONSKY

IN addressing the first session of the American Jewish Congress in December, 1918, the late Louis Marshall, that preeminent Jewish leader and statesman, said: "The future of Palestine is no longer a mooted question. It has become a settled question. The action of the British Government as announced by its eminent spokesman, Mr. Balfour, endorsed as it has been by France, Italy, Serbia, Greece and other of the Allied Nations—approved as it has been by the President of the United States—will undoubtedly receive at the Peace Conference which is about to assemble at Versailles, the sanction of all the nations of the world." Mr. Marshall made the further significant statement: "We here in America sympathize with every Jewish aspiration."

Progress of Palestine

Encouraged by the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine, the *Yishuv* in Palestine, with the aid and support (regrettably not too universal nor adequate) of the Jewish community throughout the world, has wrought a miraculous change in Palestine. In the past ten years, the most tragic in all of Jewish history, Palestine has absorbed more than 280,000 Jewish immigrants.

More than 40,000 Jewish refugees have entered Palestine since the outbreak of the present war. The Jewish population has grown from 55,000 at the close of the first World War to over 550,000 in 1942. We have invested in Palestine during the last two decades an estimated total of \$560,000,000, of which approximately \$100,000,000 came from Jewish national and public funds.

Social, cultural and religious institutions established in Palestine represent an achievement of the most romantic character. These institutions are beginning to serve as a source of inspiration to the Jewish communities throughout the world. Can there be any question that Palestine, in the light of long-term planning, presents the most realistic single opportunity for the resettlement of large numbers of the unfortunate and harassed of our people?

A Right to Expect

Can there be any doubt that, consonant with the principles of freedom, justice and self-determination, basic in the war aims of the United Nations, there will be, after the complete triumph of the Democracies, an opportunity for the realization of the purpose and aims of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate?



General view of the assembled delegates, photographed at the opening session.

Can there be any question that we have a right to hope for and expect the victorious United Nations, in the name of justice and humanity to make Palestine available to the greatest extent possible to those of our people who desire to make it their homeland? The development in Palestine, notwithstanding all of the difficulties, political and economic, and notwithstanding the setbacks that have come about as a consequence of the war, and weak and uncertain appeasement diplomacy, must be recognized as an heroic and thrilling chapter in Jewish history.

Can there be any substantial difference of opinion with respect to the flagrant injustice of the White Paper of 1939? It has been correctly described, not only by Jews, but by non-Jewish public opinion and by statesmen in the Congress of the United States and in the British Parliament, as "cruel and indefensible." In June, 1939, Winston Churchill, whose magnificent leadership of the British people in the present crisis has won the esteem, the admiration and affection of all freedom loving men throughout the universe, made the declaration in Parliament: "There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration—I shall feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself by silence or inaction to what I must regard as an act of repudiation."

The Arab Problem

We are not unaware of the difficulties in Arab-Jewish relations, unquestionably aggravated by and largely the result of Nazi anti-Semitic propaganda and political stimulation. The removal or dissipation of this cause after a United Nations victory, and following the annihilation of the sources of hate, will bring, in my judgment, a completely changed attitude on the part of the Arab population. The utilization by enemy propaganda machinery of any disaffection between the Jews and Arabs is understandable. The readiness, however, with which those of our own people who, however earnestly and sincerely they disagree with certain ideological concepts, appropriate, adopt and help to spread such propaganda, is incomprehensible, and represents a malady in Jewish life.

The tragedies that have overwhelmed mankind as a result of the diplomacy of expediency as distinguished from rigorous adherence to the principles of justice and equity, should serve as a compelling admonition, to those who plan the post-war world, of the bankrupt character of the whole appeasement doctrine. The "Treaty of Friendship" signed by Emir Feisal and Chaim Weizmann in January, 1919, expressed most cordial good will and understanding for Jewish aspirations in Palestine and endorsed the fullest guarantee for carrying into effect the cooperation of Jews and Arabs for their common destiny. That this attitude was changed under the leadership of the Mufti of Jerusalem, the collaborator of the Axis, is not strange.

Will to Survive

The Yishuv has courageously continued its colonization and the development of Palestine. Its will to survive in the face of all obstacles, its determination to reclaim

and establish Palestine as a homeland, have resisted and overcome every frustration. I make bold to predict that with the advent of peace and the restoration of friendly relationships between the various peoples of the earth, this affliction of Arab-Jewish dissension will run its course and substantially disappear.

There are different points of view in this Conference with respect to Palestine. The diversity of opinion runs the whole course, from the *minimum*, which subscribes to the support of Palestine as a haven of refuge and as a spiritual and cultural center, to the *maximum*, represented by the concept of a Jewish state in Palestine.

No Special Privileges

There are some among our people who view with anxiety, if not alarm, any forthright expression by the Jewish community on behalf of our fellow Jews in time of war. This attitude, in my opinion, is a grievous mistake. It grows out of the fallacious notion that we are asking for special privileges—that we desire to be singled out for special consideration. The sad and irrefutable fact is that we have been singled out for persecution, for oppression, for destruction. Our demand is only this—that we shall enjoy in common with all free men the freedoms for which our beloved nation and its allies are now engaged in a ~~bloody~~ conflict. All that we ask for is that justice shall be done.



The National Idea

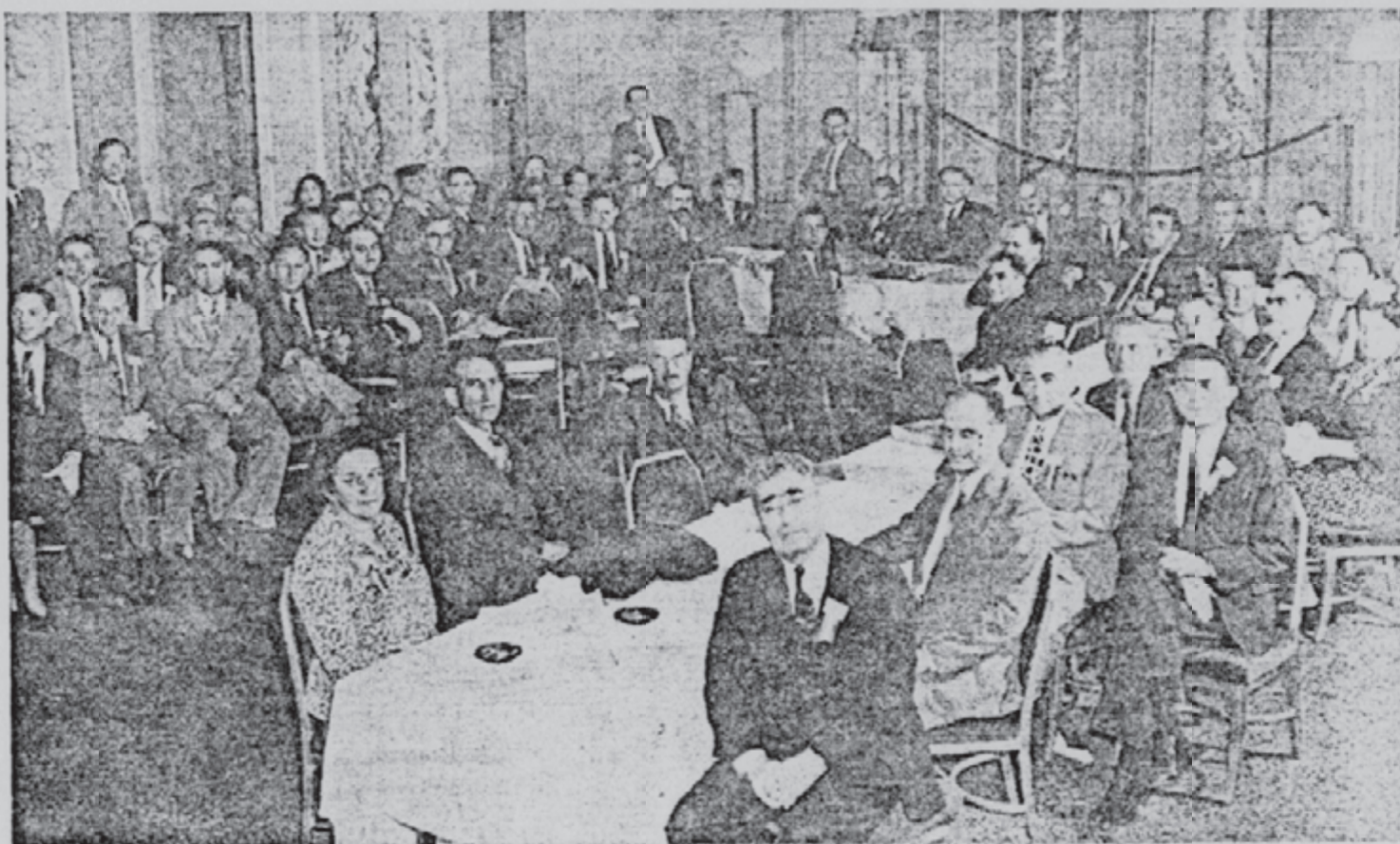
By ABBA HILLEL SILVER

If we surrender our national and historic claim to Palestine and rely solely on the refugee philanthropic appeal, we shall lose our case as well as do violence to the historic hopes of our people. On the basis of sheer philanthropy, of satisfying pressing immigration needs, Palestine has already done its full share for Jewish refugees. It has taken in more than one-half of the total Jewish refugees of the world, and the Palestine Arabs and their sympathizers in England and here have been quick to point out that Palestine has already done all that can be expected from a small country and far more than most of the larger countries have done.

It is because Palestine is the Jewish Homeland that we have the right to insist upon unrestricted immigration. It is because of the historic connection of the Jewish people with that land, that the Mandatory Government in the first place undertook to reconstitute it as a National Home and pledged itself to facilitate Jewish immigration and the close settlement of the Jews upon the land. In other words, it is on the national idea that the upbuilding of Palestine as a place of large scale Jewish immigration has always rested and can alone continue to rest. Our right to immigration in the last analysis is predicated upon the right to build the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are interlinked and inseparable.

To ask, therefore, the Jewish people to abdicate the

The Palestine Committee, of which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was chairman, Robert P. Goldman, vice-chairman, and Meyer W. Weisgal, secretary.



political positions which after centuries it finally acquired in Palestine, or by remaining silent about them, to suggest to the world that we have abandoned them, on the vain assumption that this would lead to the opening of the doors of Palestine to large-scale Jewish immigration, is utterly fantastic. I am for unity, but here I must point out in all humility that unity of action in a democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decision of the majority.

It is folly to expect universal agreement among five million Jews in America, or among their chosen representatives here, on all basic problems affecting Jewish life. It is folly to expect to. It is naive to anticipate it. However, this is no reason for avoiding these basic problems. This is no reason for preventing the majority from endorsing the program which the minority may not be inclined to endorse. If the overwhelming majority of the American Jewish people believe in the upbuilding of a Jewish Commonwealth, they should have the right, through the medium of this solemn conclave, to say so and to make their demand upon the world.

Toward Mutual Understanding

By LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

Public discussion of Zionism in 1943 need not be characterized merely by appeal to passion and emotion. The cold, hard realities of life during the past ten years have, in my opinion, vindicated all that the founders of Zionism wrote and uttered years ago. With startling clarity they probed to the very essence of the Jewish problem. They were not prophets who could foresee the future, but they did recognize that given conditions would necessarily lead to given results, and they indicated that the anomalous position occupied by the Jews of Europe in the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, no matter what the degree of so-called "emancipation", would inevitably lead to certain dire consequences. The Zionists have been among the leading scientific sociologists of modern times, recognizing a vital human problem and advocating a planned solution whose feasibility has already been amply demonstrated by the marvelous achievements of the Yishuv in Palestine.

The Original Formula

Forty-six years ago they offered a simple, precise formula known as the Basle Program. Its intent and scope were obvious. With a minimum of verbiage it advocated the establishment in Palestine of a legally secured, publicly assured national home for the Jewish people. In the forty-six years that have intervened, there have been many attempts to improve upon that first definition, to clarify it, to extend it, to redefine the terms. I cannot say that all these efforts have succeeded. Indeed, much of the confusion that has beset us, and many of the misunderstandings that have occurred, have been caused by semantic difficulties, the inability to express in precise words exactly what we mean. When our Zionist objectives are defined in clear and unam-

An analysis of the composition of the American Jewish Conference

Lawyers and judges.....	136	27%
Rabbis	98	20%
Business and Trade.....	81	16%
Organization executives and professional workers	22	4%
Writers, editors, journalists..	20	4%
Physicians and dentists.....	8	2%
Teachers	6	1%
Women	66	13%

biguous terms, prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause.

The speakers tonight will no doubt speak in language which brooks of no misunderstanding. And those who thought they were poles apart may discover after all that the only thing dividing them is words and phrases. If tonight's discussion will succeed in hacking away the accumulation of many years' growth of definitions, explanations, theories, and so-called elucidations, we shall have made a valuable contribution to the clarification of the essence of the Jewish problem. At this Conference I hope we shall all see light. One need not be optimistic to believe that we may lower the walls of separation that have in the past divided the various groups and individuals constituting this Conference, and, as the result of our deliberations, bring us all closer together.

To Alter Opinions

It should hardly be necessary to remind any of the delegates that open-mindedness and willingness to alter opinions in the face of demonstrated logic is a mark of intellectual honesty and moral courage. Such honesty and courage were displayed in 1918 by that giant in American Israel, Louis Marshall.

If, however, differ we must at this Conference, we should demonstrate to our own satisfaction and to the chagrin of our enemies, that even when we disagree, we can do so as gentlemen and as friends.

A Program of Rescue

By ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

IS there a feasible program of large-scale rescue for the Jews of Europe? There is. It has been called to the attention of our government and the British more than once—

1) to curb further massacres by sternly warning the gangster nation, now, when it feels the might of the attacking force, that there will be retribution, and by setting up without delay a tribunal of investigation in which Jews, as the chief victims, should have a representative;

2) to save Jews in Ghettos from starving to death by getting in food, either by negotiations similar to those which resulted in the feeding program for the Greeks, or else through underground channels;

3) to secure the release of considerable numbers of Jews from the lands of Germany's satellites who, quivering in the face of their impending defeat, may be not unwilling to store up at least one merit to their accounts;

4) to encourage neighboring neutral countries to provide temporary asylums to such as can be rescued by undertaking the financial obligation for their support and the guarantee of their permanent settlement elsewhere after the war;

5) to provide for the settlement in Palestine of large numbers of such Jews as can be rescued, for Palestine is not only accessible over land routes, thus avoiding the problem of shipping space, but it is, of all places, best prepared, physically, economically, socially, culturally and spiritually to accommodate large numbers of Jews, thanks to the foundations which have been laid by the Zionist movement. All that is necessary is to annul the White Paper which has shut the gates of Palestine. Illegal because it was repudiated by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, and immoral because it broke a pledge given by the strongest of empires to the weakest of peoples, this White Paper is in effect a death warrant for hundreds of thousands of Jews. If there is still a conscience in Humanity, it must be annulled and the gates of Palestine must be opened wide.

If There's a Will

A sufficient portion of this rescue program is feasible to make possible the rescue of hundreds of thousands, if there were the will to do it. But, alas, the will for a great salvation is weak. Hence the piddling ineffectiveness at Bermuda and since Bermuda; hence the self-exonerating references by our State Department to the numbers of refugees who have been accommodated on our shores since 1933, all of them within the existing immigration quotas, as if a single additional Jewish life can be saved thereby.

Of course we are grateful for all the aid that has been given. Jewish tradition teaches that even the saving of one life is of cosmic significance. Of course we are solaced by the expressions of sympathy from religious and secular quarters. But the will to undertake a bold, great program of rescue is lacking. It is a scale and tempo of a resolution of sympathy every now and then, a thread of assistance every now and then, a little help here and there, a bagatellizing, temporizing, compromis-



The Organization Committee—Judge Meier Steinbrink, chairman, Daniel Frisch, vice-chairman, Mrs. Harry Berkman, secretary.

ing program, instead of a great, passionate, moral urge to say to the doomed Jews of Europe:

"To you, whom we welcome as our national allies, who have been the first of Hitler's victims and have borne such lacerations as no other people has borne, to you we say with all our hearts, wherever there is room, and most of all in your motherland of *Eretz Yisrael*, let the hounded of your people find rest, respite and salvation."

We Face Two Wars

By STEPHEN S. WISE

This is an American Jewish Conference. American and Jewish! Jewish, because as a people we have lived and battled, with uncountable victims and casualties, through the most awful war in history. Not war but wars! One war in which all the free nations fought, and Jews among the free nations fought as of them and with them and for them, in every country in which Jews dwell—goodly numbers throughout the British Empire, the Soviet Union, and these United States. And we have fought or been fought and outfought in another war: the war of the enemies of freedom against Jews in fulfillment of a thousand threats to exterminate the Jews. We have borne our full share of the war. In addition, there has been a Jewish war, a war in which Jews were singled out as the victims, not as casualties of war but as victims of extermination, the dread and, alas, almost completely successful threat of extermination. No people, though its population were five or ten times as large as the numbers of world Jewry, has suffered losses comparable to that of the Jewish people in the war of anti-Jewish extinction. In that war of Jewish extinction one-fourth and more of our numbers have perished.

Threat of Extermination

As every American gathering aims to preserve and safeguard America, so the American Jewish Conference

aims to preserve and safeguard America, and beyond that, to preserve and defend the Jewish people. Hitler said, and Goebbels echoed: "The Jewish people must be exterminated." The American Jewish Conference accepts the challenge and answers: The Jewish people will not be exterminated, and joins in the high resolve and relentless determination of the United Nations that never more shall leader or gangster, Chancellor or President, be permitted even to threaten unrebuked and unpunished the extermination of a people or race or faith. A free world will never again passively wait for the fulfillment of such a threat as it, alas, waited from 1933 to 1939. Such a threat will indict and convict its authors, in the sight and with the sanction of all the world, of destructive intent and purpose not against the Jew alone, not against any people or faith, but against our common civilization and freedom.

We are bidden to think clearly and to act effectively. To think clearly is to think not with confusing prepossessions or prejudices but with open-mindedness and clarity, with mind single to the needs of the hour. Each of us represents a segment of Jewish life. All of us together serve the whole of Israel. We shall be truer to Jewry in its entirety only if we remember the best and highest in the group or faction that sent us here.

Treachery to Israel

By JAMES G. HELLER

By a vote of more than three to one, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, at its Convention in New York in June, declared that the American Council for Judaism is a disruptive force, that at a tragic time in Jewish history it had chosen to attack and to attempt to destroy the greatest hope of the Jewish people, that it had drawn an unreal and misleading distinction between faith and people. The Central Conference ex-

Post-War Problems Committee — Rabbi Irving Miller, chairman, Professor Hayim Fineman, vice-chairman, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, secretary.





The General Committee, supreme administrative board of the Conference. Chairman was Louis Lipsky, vice-chairman, Herman Shulman, and secretary, Maurice Bisgier.

pressed the hope that the American Council for Judaism would disband. Instead of harkening to their colleagues, the Rabbis who constituted the American Council for Judaism have now organized in various communities, drawn in some laymen, and attempted to launch a more intensive program of action.

The most recent and outrageous action of this group is the publication in the *New York Times*, this morning, of a lengthy statement over the signatures of 26 Reform Rabbis and of 86 laymen, which comprises the traditional misrepresentation and the dangerous fallacies of this group. Without doubt, its inception and its dissemination at this time are no accident, but calculated as a counterblast against the American Jewish Conference. For some time members of this group have striven to give the impression that they represent a considerable proportion of the Jews of this country and that the Zionists are guilty of constant misrepresentation in regard to the convictions of the mass of American Jews. This Conference is now definite proof that the overwhelming majority of the Jewish citizens of this country are Zionists in their sympathies.

The American Council for Judaism represents a comparatively small minority of the Reform Rabinates. It represents an infinitesimal minority of the Jewish laity of the United States.

Any group in American Jewish life had the right to come to this meeting, to state its point of view and to agitate for it. The American Council for Judaism has a number of men at this Conference. To issue this statement at this time, totally outside its merit or demerit in and of itself, is a disservice to this representative body, and is a denial in Jewish life of that very democracy which this statement declares it loves and serves.

As a Reform Rabbi, as a Zionist, as an American Jew, whatever may be the motive of the men responsible for this statement, I denominate it here as treachery to the cause of Israel, and in the widest and deepest sense, to the cause of justice and humanity which our country and its Allies are pledged to save and serve.

Set Aside Differences

By JOSEPH M. PROSKAUER

We are trying to write a new chapter in the long struggle for the rights of Jews. As one who has fought that fight for many a long year until I can say that I have grown gray in the service of my people, I dare to view the future with optimism and with confidence. I recall the superb contribution of my revered predecessor in the presidency of the American Jewish Committee, the late Louis Marshall, when, with his co-workers, he faced 25 years ago a task like that which you and I face tonight. Then, too, there were differences of ideology; no man abandoned his principles, but all pulled together to achieve a great common good.

The Voice of American Jewry

Statement Presented by Henry Monsky and Adopted Unanimously by the American Jewish Conference, August 31, 1943

The American Council for Judaism, a body of 100 men speaking for themselves, has seen fit to issue a statement in the name of "Americans of Jewish faith" at a time when the American Jewish Conference, a democratically elected body, representing every major Jewish organization and community in the United States, is seeking to unite American Jews on a common program for the solution of the tragic problems confronting world Jewry.

The timing of this action must be characterized as unsportsmanlike and reprehensibly impertinent. It is calculated to confuse American public opinion and to disrupt the American Jewish community.

Today the delegates here assembled, representing every point of view, are united in their repudiation of this attempt to sabotage the collective Jewish will to achieve a unified program.

Committee on General Resolutions — Mortimer May, chairman, Sigmund W. David, vice-chairman, Rabbi Solomon Rosenberg, secretary.



for Israel. Truly in the words of Isaiah: "They helped everyone his brother, and everyone said to his brother, be of good courage." And I draw inspiration and courage, as I am sure every one of you will draw them, from the great wisdom, sacrifice and foresight which enabled men like Marshall and Brandeis, Wise and Mack, Warburg and Weizmann, and the many, many others to set aside differences and to achieve a program of joint action for Jewry.

We have a right to take courage, also, from the great achievements of Jewish organizations at home and abroad in the task of rehabilitation. We are united in recognizing the superb achievement made by our people in Palestine, in our admiration for the skill and devotion which has transformed the desert into the farm, the factory, the vineyard and the orange grove. We

rejoice to know that there are today 600,000 Jewish people living under their own vine and fig tree. Jews throughout the world, and particularly in America, regardless of their ideologies, have been glad and proud to help in this epic achievement. And there are many in this room numbered among those to whom Jewry owes a deep debt of gratitude for this superb creation. We are as one in our concern for its preservation and upbuilding.



Above, Dr. Solomon Goldman, in a characteristic pose. Right, Committee on Rescue—Louis I. Fabricant, chairman, Isaac Heller, vice-chairman, Sarah Feder, secretary.



THE INTERIM COMMITTEE

Which Will Implement Decisions of the Conference and Call the Next Session

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi James G. Heller, Robert Szold, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Daniel Frisch, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Herman Shulman, Harry A. Pine, Judith G. Epstein, Rose Halprin, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky, Carl Sherman, Rabbi Irving Miller, Mrs. Stephen S. Wise, Professor Hyman Ettlinger, Rabbi Joseph S. Shubow, Sigmund W. David, Herman Hoffman, Herman Stern, Simon Segel, Henry Monsky, David Blumberg, Frank Goldman, Sidney Kusworm, Mrs. Maurice Turner, Julius Livingston, Maurice Bisgver, Gedaliah Bublick, Rabbi S. Federbush, Mrs. B. J. Goldstein, Rabbi William B. Drazin, J. David Delman, Dr. Samuel Nirenstein, Professor Hayim Fineman, Devorah Rothbart, Louis Segal, David Wertheim, Baruch Zuckerman, Edgar J. Kaufmann, George Fredman, Isidor Sack, Mrs. M. L. Goldman, Rabbi Maurice Eisendrath, Charles P. Kramer, Louis J. Moss, and Dr. Louis M. Levitsky.

Impressions of a Veteran Zionist

Chairman of the Palestine Committee of the First Jewish Congress

Underlines the Present Tasks

By DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD

ALL who attended the Conference must have been impressed by the character of the body and by its deliberations. It was an assembly of high order in intelligence and in spirit; it acted wisely and fearlessly with full sense of its responsibility. Its dignity was manifested in the relations between the varied groups which represented all classes of American Jewry and wide divergence in general outlook upon the needs of our people. Its self restraint was shown when it was confronted by the effrontery of the newspaper attack, which was like a rock thrown through the window into the gathering. The act was properly denounced in a few short statements and the matter closed.

The discussions were earnest and thoughtful, and the addresses were of high level, some indeed were of exceptional quality in content and in oratory. The vast body of delegates and guests also gave evidence of deep feeling, notably during the discussions of the Palestine problem; listening with rapt attention to the reading of the report of the Committee on Palestine, it broke out in applause at the all but unanimity of the vote, and with spontaneity in singing the Hatikvah; it was deeply moving.

The First Resolution

The Conference brought to mind the first American Jewish Congress in Philadelphia twenty-five years ago. There was much alike in both. This is seen in the similarity of the Palestine Resolutions of this Conference and of the Congress a quarter of a century ago; the latter, I may tell you, was read to that Assembly by me, as Chairman of the Palestine Committee, and was as follows:

Resolved, That the American Jewish Congress instruct their delegation to Europe to cooperate with representatives of other Jewish Organizations and specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's Declaration of November 2, 1917, endorsed by the allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such a league of nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth; it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Pales-

tine, or the rights and political status, enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Mack's Statement

Summing up the significance of the adoption of the resolution, the late Judge Julian W. Mack, Chairman of the Congress, made this statement:

The resolutions adopted in reference to Palestine are an acceptance on behalf of American Jewry of the opportunities for the Jewish people that have been offered by Great Britain, endorsed by France, Italy, and Serbia, and which will undoubtedly be confirmed by the Peace Congress. President Wilson, in his letter of August 20, 1918, to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, expressed his complete sympathy with the Zionist Aims.

Great Britain has been specified as the Trustee in the firm belief that the United States desires no trusteeship or protectorate over any of the peoples in Asia Minor, and in recognition not only of Great Britain's leadership in redeeming Palestine from the rule of the Turk, and in declaring for its dedication as a National Homeland for the Jewish people, but also because of her peculiar fitness to act in this territory on behalf of the League of Nations.

It was further resolved that the American Jewish Congress elect a delegation of not more than seven members to leave as soon as possible for Europe, where in cooperation with representatives of the Jews of other lands it was to use its best endeavors to realize the objects for which the Congress was established.

The opposition to the calling of that Congress was vehement. The Central Conference took quite a different attitude then, from the present. A rabbinical fellow-townsmen of mine gave it public utterance as follows:

The rabbis held that Zionism is not Judaism, that it is often used only as a disguise by Jews who have nothing in common with the Jewish faith and the synagogue. The resolution by which nationalism was rebuked was to the effect that the rabbis condemned every unreligious or irreligious movement among Jews. The Zionists in the Conference knew exactly what that resolution meant, and at what it was aimed. The Reverend Doctor Stephen S. Wise, of New York, who, as the recognized leader of the Zionists of America, and the Reverend Doctor Max Heller of New Orleans, also a leading exponent of Zionism, did all in their power to defeat the resolution, but they were overwhelmingly outvoted.

A Poor Prophet

And he further declared:

In the near future, when the Zionist movement will have receded far into the background, as it must, American Jews will recognize the signal service rendered the Jews of the country and the country at large by the sane and statesmanlike action of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Such were his forebodings.

In claiming our rights in Palestine at the Peace Conference we took upon ourselves a heavy responsibility, that of doing our part in the upbuilding of Palestine. We have suffered many disappointments in the manner in which Great Britain has carried out the Balfour Declaration. We Zionists have carried out our part of the contract. Our pioneers have labored and have built, have redeemed waste lands and planted them, have dried out marshes and settled colonies upon them, have reared towns and cities; we have helped to build up a community that has been able to receive great numbers of our fugitive brethren and is able and ready to receive many times more. We are greatly gratified because of the successful foundation of the National Homeland and take just pride in the splendid pioneers of *Eretz Yisrael* in agriculture, in industry, in education, in science in art, and in literature.

The American Role

What we in the United States have contributed is not little, but it is far short of what our five million brethren in this country could and should have done. I look forward to greatly increased activity in this country as a result of this American Jewish Conference. The activities which it has initiated, the published reports of its proceedings, and still more, the verbal reports of our delegates and guests to their communities throughout these United States will stimulate us to greater activity and should arouse many from their state of apathy. We need ever greater devotion and sacrifice, for never was the situation of our people more critical, nor the Homeland in greater danger.

We need strength, courage and determination in this distraught, war-ridden world.

In looking back over half a century of association with Zionist activities, my memory goes back to the Chovevei Zion movement in the eighteen-nineties. I have witnessed an important period of our history. I have observed the growth of Zionism and what it has brought into Jewish life, all that it has created in Palestine. It appears to me as one of the great wonders, that it has been a hard struggle within our camp against indifference and ignorance of large groups, and against fear and cowardice of men of power and influence; a hard struggle against inimical forces from without. The foundation is laid. It is for us to make it secure and to help it grow into the Jewish Commonwealth. In this we need the fullest measure of sympathy and cooperation of the whole of American Jewry.

Tributes to Judge Mack

The Deepest Convictions

Judge Mack had lived and moved for a long time amidst perhaps the extremest anti-Zionists to be found anywhere in the country. He had won among them close personal friends, even as he had achieved high recognition throughout the country as a student and interpreter of the law, as a jurist, a man of impeccable integrity and a communal leader of marked ability. Why, asked many of those who knew him in his early years, did he go over to Zionism?

He came, as do all men whose eyes are opened to the circumstances of Jewish existence and the logic of Jewish history. He was frightened by the smugness and obtuseness of Jewish isolationists who assumed that all was right with Israel because all was well with them, and that what was wrong, their charity could right. He was grieved that many found their lives burdensome for the lack of responsibility. He was pained because much of American-Jewish talent was untouched by the pathos of Jewish destiny and the sublimity of the Zionist dream. He had come to see clearly the superficiality, lie and cowardice of assimilation. He came to Zionism out of the deepest convictions, bringing to it, in addition to his personal prestige, rare qualities of mind and heart.

This is not the moment in which to attempt an evaluation of the services he has rendered the movement. Suffice it to say that it is an amazing coincidence, and comforting to recall, that as our great leader was breathing his last, a Conference, representing well-nigh the whole of American Jewry, approved almost unanimously the cause to which he had dedicated the maturest and most fruitful part of his life.

—SOLOMON GOLDMAN.

Precious and Unforgettable

Reverently I pay to Judge Julian W. Mack the memorial tribute of a disciple and friend. He judged all men in equity; he served in love; he led in wisdom; he championed the cause of social justice and human liberty. His proud devotion to Israel, its faith, its ideals and its definite hope of national restoration in Zion inspired a whole generation of men and made his name precious and unforgettable in the annals of our people.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER.

A Believer and a Doer

Judge Julian W. Mack was a great American, and a believer in the American way of life. His life constituted a synthesis of Americanism and Zionism. Universally respected and beloved by men of all shades and opinions, he was largely responsible for drawing into active participation in Zionist work a new generation of American Jewish leadership.

He was not only a believer, but a doer, as his achieve-

ments in behalf of the Jewish people on a basis for Palestine testify. Those of us who were privileged to work closely with him reveal him for his qualities of leadership, and for his earnestness and sincerity. A great judge, American, Zionist, Jew, he has left an indelible impress on the history of his time.

ROBERT SZOLD.

End of a Chapter

The passing of Judge Mack has brought to a close a chapter in American Jewish history from which the present Jewish leadership has drawn valuable experience and guidance.

As a close associate of the late Supreme Court Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Mack was both a directing and inspirational force during the first World War in securing for the oppressed Jewish communities in Central and Eastern Europe the rights of equal citizenship. Elected President in 1918 of the newly reconstituted Zionist Organization of America, Judge Mack's tenure of office marked a turning point in the history of the Zionist movement in this country. Applying his judicial mind and vision to the furtherance of the ideal which was so dear to his heart, Judge Mack, as head of the movement, wrought a phenomenal change in the organizational structure of the organization. Under his presidency the Zionist movement in the United States gained immeasurably in membership and prestige.

Even in the years of his failing health he retained his abiding interest in the progress of the Zionist movement. During the two years in which I have served as President of the Zionist Organization of America I have derived much inspiration from the personal contact which I was privileged to have with Judge Mack. On numerous occasions, when confronted with trying problems, I was fortified by him in the carrying out of difficult Zionist tasks. His passing is a loss not only to Zionism but to America as a whole.

JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL.

Rendered Historic Service

The death of Judge Julian W. Mack has taken from us one of the most honored and distinguished figures in American and Jewish life. I had the privilege of working close by the side of Judge Mack for more than two decades, and came to know him as a jurist who ranked with the foremost judges on the Federal bench.

He was an American passionately devoted to fundamental American concepts of freedom; a proud and courageous Jew who thoroughly understood the problems of his people; a Zionist who brought prestige, honor and influence to his cause. Judge Mack strikingly illustrated the point in the same way as did his illustrious co-worker, Louis D. Brandeis: that Americanism and Zionism are wholly compatible; that an espousal of Zionism is but an extension of American principles of liberty and democracy applied to the Jewish people.

As President of the Zionist Organization of America, as first chairman of the Jewish delegations at the Peace Conference following the first World War, and in countless other directions, Judge Mack rendered inestimable and historic service. Always stressing fundamentals, always bringing his unmistakable integrity to bear upon the solution of the problems he dealt with, Judge Mack's passing is an irreparable loss to America, to Israel, to the Zionist movement.

JUDGE MORRIS ROTHENBERG.

Spokesman and Leader

Judge Mack has been a Nestor in the Zionist movement in America. He came to Zionism through intellectual conviction in the mature years of his life, after a judicial weighing of the various factors involved in the Jewish problem. He brought to it a vigor and clarity of his brilliant mind and the rigid integrity of his soul. As President of the Zionist Organization of America he was a spokesman and leader during a momentous period in the history of Zionism.

Judge Mack's name in the annals of American Zionism will be recalled alongside that of the late Justice Louis D. Brandeis. Like Brandeis he by his public career and by his ideals exemplified the utter congeniality, nay the consanguinity, between Americanism and Zionism. A whole generation of American Jews have been influenced by his example.

When Palestine will be re-established as a Jewish Commonwealth, as indeed it must be if there is still a conscience left in humanity, Julian Mack's Zionism will have its fulfillment at last.

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN.



The big sign leaves no room for doubt that service men are welcome at this recreation center in Palestine.

The Delegates Appraise the Conference

Statements by Representative Delegates Indicate an Awareness of the Significance of the Assembly. Keynotes: Unity, Democracy, Action.

Organic Unity of American Jews

It is impossible at this early date to appraise in its far-reaching implications the deep significance of the convening of the American Jewish Conference and of the dignified and efficient manner in which the Conference carried out the task which had been entrusted to it. But one thing it has already demonstrated beyond a peradventure of doubt, and that is that it can become the long-sought-for melting-pot to fuse into one organic community all American Jews, regardless of nativity, world-outlook or economic status, and that Zionism is the only cause which can provide the necessary heat to effect such fusion.

—DR. MORDECAI M. KAPLAN

New York, N. Y.

A New Era in Jewish History

The American Jewish Conference presented a mighty challenge to American Jewry, which has been fully met to the complete satisfaction of all elements of Jewry.

Viewing the totality of Jewish life and recognizing that as Jews we were confronted with the immediate as well as the post-war problem of saving the Jewish people and not merely the rescue of individuals, and with a courage most befitting a people so outraged, the Conference has initiated a new era in the history of American and World Jewry. It spoke with almost complete unanimity, justly demanding the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

From this Conference, American Jewry has emerged a united Jewry, entitled to be proud of its accomplishments. I have every confidence that soon a new day will dawn with justice to the Jew throughout the World.

I am proud that I had a share in this memorable event in Jewish life, however small it may have been.

—JUDGE EMANUEL GREENBERG

Brooklyn, N. Y.

An Emotional Experience

It is impossible at this time to appraise the significance of the great meeting just ended. It struck me, however, that as an emotional experience it was without parallel. At the opening meeting, and at the Wednesday evening session, when the Palestine Resolution received the almost unanimous support of American Jewry, the room seemed filled to overflowing. It was filled not only with the thousands of the living, but there seemed also the spirits of many others who have prayed and lived and died for the establishment of an ideal brought closer by this historic meeting.

Zionism has always combined reason and emotion. Reason ruled at the Conference in the spirit of moderation and concession from many groups. Emotion also influenced all of us—emotion for our stricken brethren to be translated into action, enthusiastic consecration to an ideal that seems nearer realization, prayerful thankfulness that we are permitted to see this new day of greater unity for greater work.

—ISAAC S. HELLER

New Orleans, La.

Landmark in Zionist History

The American Jewish Conference demonstrated the coming of age of the American Jewish community. Jews the world over viewed the proceedings of this assembly with great anxiety and with prayerful expectation. Indeed, all who have witnessed and participated in the deliberations of this Conference can now testify to its historic grandeur.

With uncommon earnestness and deep concern, this Conference recalled the story of Jewish suffering, demanded the implementation of rescue and relief measures, proposed a post-war program of compelling justice and moral validity, and proclaimed the indestructibility of Israel's will to live.

Of transcending significance was the universal and almost unanimous acceptance of the Zionist program calling for the recreation of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. For years Zionists have contended that American Jewry had come to realize the centrality of the Zionist idea and ideal in the solution of the Jewish problem. This contention was finally,

completely and enthusiastically vindicated by the high resolve of the Conference. The passage of the Palestine resolution constitutes one of the most glorious and epochal landmarks in the history of American Zionism, aye more, in the entire epic of the Zionist movement.

It would be tragic and most unfortunate should the organized Zionists of America now rest on their laurels. The historic action of the American Jewish Conference should serve to quicken the tempo and deepen the measure of our unceasing and undeviating labor in the cause of the Jewish Commonwealth reborn and rebuilt.

—EZRA Z. SHAPIRO.

Cleveland, Ohio.

A Spur to Zionist Determination

The word "historic" has lost much of its power and significance by virtue of frequent and loose usage. It may, however, honestly and unreservedly be applied in all of its original strength to the American Jewish Conference which was recently convened. This great convocation was truly historic, not as much by virtue of what was accomplished, as by reason of that which it symbolizes, and the possibilities for the future which it presages and reveals. These accomplishments can be briefly summarized.

1. The Zionist ideal, it has been clearly demonstrated by the Conference, is not the concern of a fringe of the Jewish community, but is the object of sympathetic interest by the overwhelming body of American Jewry. Zionism is now officially native to the aspirations of American Jewry as a collective organism.

2. The elected representatives affiliated with various trends and groups were impressed, in a more dramatic and emphatic way than ever before, by the intimate inter-relationship between all grave world problems of the Jewish people everywhere, and the solution offered by *Eretz Yisrael*. The line demarcated between the realities of the Jewish situation in Europe and the rebuilding of the homeland is artificial and unreal.

3. The Conference has shown that despite the baffling variety of Jewish blocs and ideologies, a practical unity in significant areas of common action can be achieved. Such unity need no longer remain in the realm of pious wishes.

4. A principle of discipline in American Jewish life is in the process of being developed. The repudiation of the American Council for Judaism by the Conference was a repudiation of anarchy. The American Council for Judaism was vilified and ostracized because it had the brazenness to challenge the collective will of American Jewry as expressed by the Conference.

The American Jewish Conference should act for us Zionists as an additional spur to our determination and our zeal. Whatever be the actions or utterances of a few irreconcilable Jews, we can go forward drawing strength from the knowledge that the heart of American Jewry beats for Zionist ideals and hopes.

—RAEBI MORRIS ASHUR.

Detroit, Mich.

An Everlasting Impression

The exaltation and emotions which filled the hearts of the delegates to the American Jewish Conference cannot adequately be described in any word picture. One must have been present truly to appreciate it. The solemnity of the occasion and the heavy responsibility which lay upon the delegates could be felt in the very atmosphere.

Palestine, the immediate rescue of fellow Jews from the Aryan dominated lands, and post-war reconstruction were the problems which commanded the attention of the delegates, and the question of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was the burning issue. When the Palestine Resolution came up for discussion and vote, the delegates and guests sat tense and the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, and then the flood-gates of emotion broke loose. The scene which followed was one of those unforgettable moments which left an everlasting impression upon the memory of every person who witnessed it.

The Conference was significant in the fact that here, at long last, was assembled the collective voice of American

Jewry, and that it spoke for the welfare of fellow Jews the world over. Significant was the recognition by the whole of American Jewry that the Jews are a people, that Palestine is the Jewish Homeland, and that the gates of Palestine must be opened wide to the Jewish people. To all of this there was not a dissenting vote or voice. The Conference also demonstrated that the Zionists are not a "small vocal minority" as had at times been charged, but that, with the exception of a very tiny minority, the Zionists actually express the view of the whole of American Jewry.

—JUDGE LEWIS GOLDBERG.

Brookline, Mass.

The Supreme Democratic Body

The great, heartening, bracing news is that at last the mighty giant that is American Jewry has shaken off his drugged slumber and has arisen to the full consciousness of his power. The American Jewish Conference has vindicated the courage, intelligence and honor of American Israel.

The American Jewish Conference emerges as the *supreme democratically chosen body of American Jewry*. The cry for unity in American Israel, for a single forum for the defense of Jewish rights, has at last been heeded. The effort to sabotage the Conference has proved a boomerang. Orthodox, Conservative and Reform, labor and business, Zionist and non-Zionist, all are component members of the Jewish people and all are represented in the Conference, which safeguards alike the will of the majority and the rights of the minority.

The Conference is dedicated to the conviction that the preservation of Jewish life and aspirations is not a minor problem that can wait for disposal at some unspecified future date. The Conference has demanded active moves now, by the United Nations, for saving the lives of the victims of Nazism, and for the international outlawry of Anti-Semitism, as the moral cancer of the twentieth century. These goals must be recognized as prime military objectives and inescapable moral obligations.

The American Jewish Conference has demonstrated its stalwart Americanism in calling for the establishment of the Bill of Rights of our immortal Constitution as part of the international law of mankind. The world cannot endure half-slave and half-free. As Americans, we are determined to make it safe for freedom.

Lastly, and most significantly, the American Jewish Conference has demonstrated that American Jewry stands four-square behind the ideals of Palestine and the Jewish Homeland. Even the delegates who are non-Zionist demanded the immediate abrogation of the White Paper and mass Jewish immigration into Palestine under the direction of the Jewish Agency. By an overwhelming majority, the Conference went on record to demand the attainment of a Jewish majority and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, in which the rights of all other groups would be guaranteed in the letter and the spirit.

Over forty years ago Herzl addressed a group of French Jewish students and said to them: "*Je ne vous dis pas encore, 'Marchons!' Je vous dis seulement, 'Debout!'*" "I am not yet saying to you 'Let us march'; I only say 'arise'."

American Jewry has now arisen. With God's help it will go forward!

—DR. ROBERT GORDIS.

Rockaway Park, N. Y.

Political Maturity of the Jews

What did the Conference achieve? Is that not the question which will now be posed to the 500 delegates in an effort to determine if the hopes which were engendered for its success have materialized? And what will be the answer? What will the delegates who came from Shreveport, from Nashville, from Seattle, from Los Angeles as well as those who came from communities nearer to New York reply? Will the delegates merely report, as is already being done in the press, that the *raison d'être* of the Conference was merely to accomplish unanimity on the Palestine resolution? To render such a statement is, in my opinion, to miss entirely the point and the significance of the Conference. True, indeed, the high point of the Conference was the thrilling climax when the resolution concerning, among other items, the proposal that Palestine be constituted as a Jewish Commonwealth, was adopted by all the delegates of varying shades of opinion; but, as a symphony cannot depend for its effectiveness merely on its climax (no matter how brilliantly executed) so, too, the Conference cannot be measured in terms of one resolution.

To me the Conference mirrored the political maturity which we are developing; for even as people the world over with a minimum of dissenters are now accepting the belief that

nations can, and should, federate for the common good of all upon a common anvil of action; so too are we Jews accepting the same dictum that Jewish organizations (which in a political sense are not unlike minor sovereign authorities) for their common weal should organize a deliberative body based upon democratic representation, in order that without loss of autonomy their representatives can meet and effectively shape and adopt a common policy.

That is the significance of the Conference. And if we hold fast to such concepts, we may ultimately evolve (even within the framework of the call of the Conference) an assembly which can attempt to solve the many problems with which we Jews are faced and which hitherto have gone unanswered, only because there was considerable disparity in our organizational approach.

—SEYMOUR R. LEVINE.

Peekskill, N. Y.

Beyond the Conference

No one who witnessed or participated in the American Jewish Conference could fail to be impressed by the earnestness, dignity, and forthrightness of that historic assembly. It may well be said that there American Israel rose to its responsibilities and to the challenge of the hour.

For us Zionists this conclave, which cut across all social, ideologic, and organizational lines, was fraught with added significance and invested with solemn implications. Hitherto, it was left to the Zionists to be the standard bearers of the ideals for which Herzl laid down his life, the pioneers of Palestine labored, and Zionists everywhere poured forth their soul-force. Now it can be said that all American Jewry has taken up the banner under which we go forward for the redemption of our people and the fulfillment of our destiny.

This enlargement is far from carrying with it a release or diminution of responsibility. On the contrary, Zionists must do more, think harder, and serve more loyally than ever before. We have reached a great landmark. Rebuilding of Palestine, the implementation of Jewish rights to our ancient Homeland, setting firm the foundations for the re-establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth, these have become the purposes of a united American Jewry. The era of propaganda in our midst draws to its close. With the American Jewish Conference a new era opens. We have told each other. Now we must tell the world. We have produced a sample of what Jewish dedication to Zionist ideals can achieve. This is what the Jewish National Home has been thus far. Now we must complete the task! May the spirit and the strength that brought American Jewry together find their fulfillment in a noble Jewish Commonwealth expressive of the ideals of the prophets of Israel and of the undimmed fervor and brotherliness of Israel today!

—TAMAR DE SOLA POOL.

New York City.

The Triumph of an Ideal

From the opening prayer until the solemn and sacred moment when delegates, by a show of their credentials, voted for the Commonwealth resolution, the Conference was marked by its earnestness, impressiveness and significant achievements.

Once again there is confirmation of the fact that whenever all elements of our people are given the opportunity to express the feelings which tie them with Palestine, the answer is always the same. The American Jewish Conference has shown more than this. The maximalist program of the Zionist *ani maamin* was adopted.

It is clear that the Palestine resolution was the main achievement at the Conference. It was an ideological triumph, the triumph of an ideal. From a negligible minority in years gone by to the greatest majority today! Truly a historic span! The statement by the anti-Zionist Council caused sorrow and indignation. They spoke as representatives of enslavement within freedom, and sought to embitter the taste of victory.

One sensed that this was a gathering of generations. Behind the Conference there stood millions of Jewish souls, killed and tortured to death. Surrounding the Conference were the millions of victims throughout the world, and hovering over its proceedings were the hopes of generations. Within the portals of the Conference there assembled Jewish energy, Jewish intellect and brawn, Jews who were ready to serve, to build and ready to put an end to our homelessness. Like a flame lighting up the darkness, the American Jewish Conference showed the way. It was truly a great assembly.

—ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN.

Hartford, Conn.

THE NATIONAL PRESS IN REVIEW

The Jewish Press on the Conference

On the whole, the Jewish press hailed the recently held American Jewish Conference with enthusiasm, and noted the Palestine resolution with especial satisfaction. There have been some dissenting voices, some, in fact, of a very curious nature. We shall begin with the latter, as a good Lithuanian Jewish housewife begins the serving of the Sabbath meal with chopped liver.

The Communist Press

According to the Communist *Morning Freiheit*, the Conference should have devoted its energies to mobilizing the Jewish masses behind the war effort. It should not have done anything about Palestine except help the *Yishuv* in its industrial war effort and establish friendly relations with the Arabs. Nothing else—not even to ask for the admission of refugees who can still be saved from the Hitler inferno. It thus transpires that the advocacy of open doors to Palestine voiced in the *Freiheit* some weeks ago is hereby withdrawn, and the over-enthusiastic greetings extended to the Soviet Jewish emissaries by some of our Zionist leaders was premature; the party-line has swerved back to a pro-Arab orientation.

In an editorial in its issue of August 29, the day the Conference opened, the *Morning Freiheit* proposed a six-point agenda for the Conference: help win the war; strengthen the home front and fight Anti-Semitism at home; stand behind Roosevelt; fight the Jewish Quislings and Lavalists; establish friendship with the Jews of the U. S. S. R.; help the *Yishuv* in its war effort.

In other words: holler for a second front and against Dubinsky. And yet the *Morning Freiheit* gave the Conference much more prominence than the *Jewish Daily Forward*. Devora Tarant interviewed everybody under the sun, and Abraham Chapman wrote columns in English demanding a platform uniting all Jews. On the whole, the Conference seemed O. K. to the comrades, before it got under way, except that the Jewish workingman was not represented on it. The Jewish workingman is a euphonious term for the Communists and their fellow travelers, since non-Communist Jewish workers' organizations, according to the August 29 editorial, ought to be ousted.

"A Good Thing"

Mr. B. Z. Goldberg of the *Day*, one of the cleverest Jewish columnists, discusses the Conference fairly reasonably, that is, with no more fallacy than is permissible to an average intelligent human being, except when he touches on the Communists and the U. S. S. R. In the latter case he is subject to all the mental distortions of a fellow-traveler. Although not a Zionist, he recognizes that the overwhelming Zionist sentiment demonstrated at the Conference reflects the sentiment of articulate American Jewry as a whole; he does not think it was wise to have adopted the demand for a Commonwealth as a common demand of all Jews, and he believes a request for the abolition of the White Paper and the opening of immigration would have united all Jewry.

Altogether he believes the Conference was a good thing and a step forward in bringing together Jews of various camps. But in discussing the U. S. S. R. and the Communists at the Conference, Mr. Goldberg resorts to thinly veiled threats that so long as Dubinsky's tailors are given preference to Ben Gold's tailors, Stalin will go on jailing Zionists and suppressing the Hebrew language, and Philip Bernstein's appeal to the Russian government will be of no avail.

The Forward Not Excited

The *Jewish Daily Forward* gave the Conference less space than any other Jewish newspaper. Officially the organ of the Jewish Labor Committee and its sister organizations, the *Forward* reflected their attitude, which is divided. The old die-hard anti-Zionists of the group are represented in the *Forward* by Zivion (Dr. Hoffman), while the pro-Zionist spokesman is H. Lang. Mr. Zivion, who takes keen joy in baiting the Zionists, repeats in his review what he has said before: that while Zionism has been making steady gains among the Jewish masses, it has been steadily losing ground in the arena of international politics. Unlike other anti-Zionists, Zivion refuses to take comfort in the supposedly unrepresentative character of the Conference. He is quite willing to concede that the Conference represents the bulk of American Jewry, and that the Palestine resolution represents the sentiments of the Conference.

It was a Zionist Conference, says Zivion, except that it had less debating and bickering than Zionist Conventions. During the Conference Mr. Lang warned against turning it into a straight Zionist demonstration, and would have preferred a resolution on Palestine to which the Jewish Labor Committee and the American Jewish Committee could subscribe, that is, demanding the abrogation of the White Paper and open doors for Jewish immigration into Palestine. But after the Palestine resolution was adopted, Lang wrote in its support. In the demand that the control of Jewish immigration be vested in the Jewish Agency, and in the recital of the history of Palestine during the past twenty-five years, Lang sees expressions of Jewish dignity in dealing with the world. To some extent he sees the same manifestation in the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, and therefore welcomes the good grace of the Jewish Labor Committee in refraining from voting against the resolution although it was not ready to go the full length of a demand for a Commonwealth.

Most Outstanding Event

Except for the discordant note of B. Z. Goldberg, the *Day* was all out for the Conference. It had a special supplement on the day of the opening, and articles, editorials and records of impressions during and after the Conference. The *Day* and the *Morning Journal* treated the Conference as the most outstanding Jewish event of many years; the *Freiheit*, with apparent insincerity, tried to jump on the Jewish wagon in order to boost Communism, while the *Forward* treated it as just an important event.

Incidentally, both an editorial in the *Day* and a column by Jacob Fishman in the *Morning Journal* shortly before the Conference, welcomed the special supplement on the Jewish question by the *New Republic*, and recommended that delegates to the Conference read it.

The most important comments in the *Morning Journal* were those contained in Fishman's columns; the most important ones in the *Day* were the English columns and daily impressions by Dr. Samuel Margoshes. The absence of prominent Gentiles on the platform to greet the Conference was welcomed by Fishman and explained by the fact that no non-Jew, no matter how friendly he may be, is capable of feeling the depth of the Jewish tragedy. Nearly every commentator expressed his admiration for Henry Monsky as a leader and as a speaker. All, except Danzis of the *Day*, were impressed by the simple, homely prayer of Rabbi Riff—Mr. Danzis did not think the ballroom of the richest hotel in the world was a fitting background for such a prayer. Every comment praised Rabbi Silver's address on Palestine as one of the greatest Jewish addresses in modern history and Dr. Nahum Goldmann's as one of the most intelligent interpretations of the Zionist attitude.

There were angry outbursts against Judge Proskauer for the passage in his declaration in which he explained his dissent by a desire not to embarrass the United Nations' war effort; there were more than angry outbursts against the bombshell of the American Council for Judaism. The Palestine resolution and the unity of the Conference were welcomed by most Jewish commentators, except by those mentioned at the beginning of the article and by Mordecai Danzis who, being a good Revisionist, finds the term Commonwealth insufficient.

The distinguished literary critic and publicist, S. Niger, is almost as pessimistic, though not as cynical as Zivion, about the effect of Jewish enthusiasm and Jewish unity on the fortunes of the Jews in the world. He describes the Conference as a Jewish monologue to which there is no reply from the world.

Some of the more unorthodox commentators, such as Danzis and B. Z. Goldberg, pointed out that there was too much platform and too little discussion from the floor during the Conference.

A Cynical Comment

The finest human touch is provided by the brilliant commentator of the Labor Zionist *Yiddisher Kemfer*, G. Solomon (Shlomo Grodzensky), who divides participants in the Conference into four classes: the people, the leaders, the rabbis and the functionaries. The people, that is the ordinary delegates, are the most likable ones. They are sincere in their desire to help solve the Jewish problem. The leaders, fine individuals as they are, most of them, are the victims of their bad habits of long standing to bicker and bargain over places behind the scenes. The rabbis are prima donnas vying with one another for the attention of the audience. Most of them are East Side boys who have made good and are anxious to do still better. The functionaries are a cynical lot, and most of them are not interested in the causes they serve.

—MOSES Z. FRANK.

What Happened at the Conference

(Continued from page 12)

into another wild demonstration. Their feelings were somewhat tempered by his next words: that while there is room for agreement and the working out of a formula, "we may not all be of one mind regarding the ultimate form of government in Palestine."

Other speakers at the session were Dr. Israel Goldstein and Joseph Weinberg. Dr. Goldstein presented the details of a feasible program for immediate rescue of Jews from Europe, and declared that the plan had been called to the attention of the British and American Governments more than once.

"We are soiled by expressions of sympathy", he said, "but the will to undertake a bold, great program of rescue is lacking."

The patience of the delegates began to fray a bit at the third session, on Monday afternoon, when the speeches continued, though all addresses were excellent. The speakers were Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Baruch Zukerman, Gela-



DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

liah Bublick and Rabbi Meyer Berlin, the latter three in Yiddish.

The Palestine Session

Monday evening, August 30, was scheduled as Palestine Night, and several of the most distinguished orators of American Zionism spoke. Judge Louis E. Levinthal, presiding, declared that "when our Zionist objectives are defined in clear and unambiguous terms, prejudices frequently disappear and opponents become friends of the cause."

Zionist speakers included Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. It may truly be said that "there were giants on that dais."

Unforgettable Moments

NAHUM GOLDMANN: "Many injustices have been done us by the British Administration in Palestine and by the Government in London, and some of the greatest spokesmen of the British people have been the first to acknowledge it. But I do not believe that any other people would have performed its task as a man-

datory power in a more satisfactory way than the British. And let us, a people of a long past and a long memory, not forget in all the heat and resentment against British policies and colonial administration in Palestine, that the British were the first to recognize the need of the Jewish people for a land of its own and to issue the Balfour Declaration."

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN: "Let us Jews do for our brethren in Palestine at least what the Arabs are doing for the Arabs of Palestine. The Arabs of Egypt and the Arabs of Saudi Arabia and Iraq and Yemen are speaking without equivocation—at least let us speak of our 600,000 without equivocation."

DR. JAMES G. HELLER: "We have not come together into this Conference because we take pleasure in seeing each other's faces. We have not come together for the enjoyment of listening to brilliant and envisioned addresses. We have not come together for the purpose of barren argument. Let us not forget that this Conference has but one purpose, to exert the maximum power which is within the hands of the American Jewish community on behalf of our brothers in Europe, and those who may go to Palestine and live there."

DR. SILVER: "I am for unity in Israel for the realization of the total program of Jewish life: relief, rescue, reconstruction and the national restoration in Palestine. I am not for unity on a fragment of the program—for a fragment of the program is a betrayal of the rest of the program, and a tragic futility besides. We can not truly rescue the Jews of Europe unless we have free immigration into Palestine. We can not have free immigration into Palestine unless our political rights are recognized there. Our political rights cannot be recognized there unless our historic connection with the country is acknowledged and our right to rebuild our national home is reaffirmed. These are inseparable links in the chain. The whole chain breaks if one of the links is missing."

ISRAEL H. GOLDBERG, for the Jewish Labor Committee, announced that the Committee has a policy only on such matters as gain the unanimous support of its members. On the question of a Jewish Commonwealth there is no such unanimity—therefore they have no policy. With regard to Palestine, however, he said:



RABBI B. L. LEVINTHAL, who pronounced the invocation opening the Conference, MR. MONSKY beside him.



DR. JAMES G. HELLER

"We declare our solidarity with organized Jewish labor in Palestine and its demands regarding Jewish immigration and colonization of Palestine. We demand the immediate annulment of the White Paper, and the guarantee of free Jewish immigration, land purchase and colonization of Palestine."

A Sneaking Attack

Delegates arose Tuesday morning and discovered in the New York Times a huge display, in five columns, of the latest statement of the American Council for Judaism. The statement opposed the effort to "establish a national Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem."

Indignation reigned supreme at the Conference. The obviously deliberate attempt to sabotage the decisions of the Conference, and to give the impression that the Conference was just another partisan Jewish group, was bitterly resented by almost every delegate.

At the afternoon session Mr. Monsky revealed that the reaction of the delegates had been overpowering.

"The pressure on the part of the delegates to take the floor was enormous, and irresistible", he said, "and finally the Chair decided, having denied all the requests to speak because we could have gone on forever allowing people to express their resentment, that he would recognize four speakers and then make a statement."

The speakers were Dr. James G. Heller, Dr. Robert Gordis, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein and Dr. Wise. The Chairman then read a brief statement characterizing the action of the Council as "reprehensible impertinence." All four of the speakers used stronger language.

Upon motion of Mr. Fred M. Butzel, of Detroit, Mr. Monsky's statement was unanimously adopted as expressing the views of the entire Conference.

Two members of the Council, who were among the 500 delegates to the Conference, could not be found for immediate comment. They were Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia and Rabbi Ira E. Sanders, of Little Rock, Ark.

Other speakers at this session included Rabbi Max Nussbaum, Rabbi Jacob Hoff-

man, Louis Segal, Adolph Held and Dr. Joseph Tennenbaum.

A dispute which had been aired in committee for two days as to who should be the chairman, who the president, who the supreme head of the Conference, was finally settled with the decision that fourteen individuals, all equal in rank, should serve as the praesidium. The fourteen included: Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Henry Monsky, Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, Adolph Held, Leon Gellman, Rabbi Israel Goldstein, Hayim Greenberg, Herman Hoffman, Edgar J. Kaufmann, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Adolf Rosenberg and Carl Sherman. Mr. Simon Shetzer was added to the Secretariat of seven.

The Palestine Resolution

Speakers at the sixth session, on Wednesday afternoon, included Rabbi Irving Miller, H. Leivick, Rabbi Philip Bernstein and Israel Mereminski.

From the standpoint of most delegates, however, THE session was held Wednesday evening. Dr. Silver read the complete text of the resolution on Palestine (printed in full in this issue). First mention of the phrase "Jewish Commonwealth" occasioned a spontaneous demonstration climaxed by the singing of Hatikvah. Many glanced furtively at Judge Proskauer, who rose with the throng and remained standing each time the Hatikvah was sung—and it was sung often.

Every phrase in the resolution expressing a Zionist demand met with a tumultuous reception. The resolution was seconded by Mr. Monsky, speaking as a delegate from the floor of the Conference.

Dr. Wise, presiding called for a vote: "All in favor raise their delegates' cards."

A sea of cards appeared, waving madly, subsiding only after repeated taps of the gavel.

"All opposed . . . ?"

On the platform Judge Proskauer quietly raised his card shoulder high. The delegates turned in their seats, craning their necks to locate other votes. Far out in the middle of the big hall, three scattered cards were to be seen—saved for merciful anonymity by their distance from the platform.

Dr. Wise declared the resolution adopted by "an overwhelming majority", but delegates rose in protest. "It was more than overwhelming," shouted M. J. Slonim of St. Louis, and Dr. Wise ruled that there were four negative votes.

Statement of Dissent

Judge Proskauer was recognized at this point and he came forward to make a statement. A hush settled on the hall.

"I think I understand the feelings experienced by Daniel when he entered the lion's den," he began, amid laughter. The tension was eased. "You don't agree with me—I don't agree with many of you. That is give and take."

He then read a prepared statement recording the dissent of the three delegates representing the American Jewish Committee. Repeating their deep concern for the welfare and proper development of Palestine, he said that it was the opinion of his group that the resolution as couched "is unwise because it may carry with it embarrassment to the Governments of the United Nations, and is calculated to jeopardize the status of

How the Conference Was Created

1. Summoned by Henry Monsky, representatives of 32 national Jewish organizations gathered in Pittsburgh on January 23, 1943, to consider what steps might be taken to formulate a post-war program for American Jews.

2. The Pittsburgh conference decided to call a democratically constituted American Jewish Assembly (later called Conference), and an Executive Committee was set up to implement the plan.

3. At 135 electoral communal and regional gatherings, 375 delegates, nominated by local Jewish organizations, were elected to the Conference. 125 additional delegates, making a total of 500, were named by 65 participating national organizations.

4. On August 29, 1943, the Conference convened, and adopted its own organization procedure. All 500 delegates were present.



JUDGE LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL

Jews and even prejudice the fullest development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine itself."

Despite this difference of opinion, he made it clear, the American Jewish Committee would remain within the Conference.

Closing Sessions

The two closing sessions, on Thursday, were devoted to reports of the respective committees, and to discussion and action on the resolutions presented.

During the afternoon there was a mild flurry when Moshe Furmansky, spokesman for Hashomer Hatzair, which stands on a platform of bi-nationalism in Palestine, obtained the floor, and announced his opposition to a Jewish Commonwealth.

Judge Meier Steinbrink of Brooklyn declared: "I came here with an open mind. I learned much—and I have contributed to a result which I believe to be both correct and just."

The recommendation that the Conference be reconvened for another session within a year met with some opposition. Some delegates objected that it was the first step toward making the Conference a permanent body, and they were opposed to that. Many opinions were expressed, but the recommendation of the committee, to meet again within a year, was adopted overwhelmingly.

The closing session was permeated with an air of solemnity. Resolutions on immediate rescue of Jews from Europe, and on post-war security for all peoples, couched in the strongest terms, were passed unanimously.

The most prolonged and tempestuous ovation was accorded to Mr. Monsky on the introduction of a resolution expressing thanks to him. Mr. Monsky was visibly overcome.

Other business transacted at the session included the reading, by Judge Levinthal, of a message to Dr. Weizmann, thanking him for his own greetings. Speakers included David Wertheim, Rudolph Kahn, Rabbi S. P. Wohlgelehrter, Judge Harry M. Fisher and Hayim Greenberg.

In a solemn atmosphere Dr. Silver expressed the gratitude of all for the great achievements of the historic Conference. The session was closed by Dr. Milton Steinberg.

The American Jewish Conference, assembly of a united American Israel, was adjourned—to reconvene within a year.

Tender Reception to Mrs. Silverman

That the overwhelming majority of British Jewry is opposed to any compromise that would curtail the right of the Jewish people to reclaim Eretz Yisrael as a Jewish Commonwealth, was the report brought back from England by Mrs. Archibald Silverman, widely known Zionist leader and orator. Mrs. Silverman made the statement at a luncheon given in her honor by the administrations of the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, in New York last week. Close to 200 delegates to the American Jewish Conference attended the luncheon, over which Bernard A. Rosenblatt, President of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Foundation Fund in the United States, presided, and at which Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Jewish National Fund of America, and Leib Jaffe, Director of the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem were the speakers.

The tribute was paid Mrs. Silverman on the occasion of her return by clipper from England following an extended tour of the British Isles in the interests of the Keren Hayesod campaign, which netted the amount of £250,000 for the Jewish Agency's Palestine colonization instrument.

THE LETTER BOX

Correspondence from readers is invited. The editors assume no responsibility for the views expressed in this column and reserve the right to abridge unduly long letters.

Who Will Help?

TO THE EDITOR:

We thank you very much for your letter as well as for the reading material which we received yesterday. You ask us what kind of support we require. We think that the necessary help can be divided into two groups, that is, the material support—books, magazines, prayerbooks, text books for children—and the spiritual support. Since you want to know what articles we need here we can tell you that anything in the Jewish line will be welcome and useful to us. One thing we consider important and that is that we receive those magazines and newspapers as regularly as possible.

We have no real Jewish leader here who could direct and form the Jewish life. We don't know whether all this can be explained or done by mail, but we would regard it as very important and heartening if you would give us instructions as to how to build up Jewish life and bring more people to recognition that they are Jews.

One thing we are trying hard to get, but so far we have not been successful. We need musical notes to form a choir for our services. We believe that there exists a book with all melodies from Levandovsky. Is that true? And if so, could you help us to get it?

DR. ERNST FIALLA,
Association of Jewish Settlers.

Sosua Settlement
Dominican Republic.

Editor's Note: Readers will doubtless recall the first letter from this group, appearing in the July 16th number of THE NEW PALESTINE. Their request for books, papers, music, etc., as well as for suggestions on organizing the Jewish community, should not go unheeded. THE NEW PALESTINE will be glad to transmit all material in Yiddish, Hebrew, German or English that may be contributed by its readers for this purpose. The response from American Jews should be warm and generous. Acknowledgment of all gifts will be made in these columns.

TO THE EDITOR:

It would be most desirable and helpful if the next issue of THE NEW PALESTINE, as well as that of the Hadassah News-Letter, were to contain an appeal to organized Zionists to enroll their children in the Hebrew Schools of their respective communities at the beginning of the season.

While Zionists are, and always have been, vitally concerned with Jewish education so far as general ideology and organization programs are concerned, the interest on the part of individual Zionists has often been quite vicarious. This has resulted in numerous Zionists sincerely claiming an interest in Jewish education, but doing very little about giving an adequate education to their own children.

I need hardly state that in these trying times when Jewish life must be intensified in this country if there are to be well-informed Zionists in the future, and when religious education is being stressed by Jews and non-Jews alike, our own Zionists ought to take the lead in enlarging the enrollment in our Hebrew and Religious Schools everywhere.

SYLVAN H. KOHN.

Newark, N. J.

Joins Z.O.A. from Overseas

TO THE EDITOR:

I received word from my son, Louis, who is now with the U. S. Army in England, that he wishes to become a member of the Zionist Organization, and he requested that I forward to your organization a check in the amount of \$5.00, which is herewith enclosed.



LOUIS SHULEWITZ

My son attended the University of Illinois, and studied Jewish history. He said that if every Jewish youth would have the opportunity to study the Jewish past, he would have an entirely different conception of the Jewish problem and struggles.

He was president of Avukah there, and took his duties much to heart. He constantly deplored and was depressed by the lack of understanding of his fellow classmates for the Jewish culture and the ideals of Judaism. Upon his safe arrival overseas he asked me to contribute to the American Red Cross, which he considers the outstanding humanitarian organization, and to the Zionist Organization, which in his opinion is doing much in keeping Judaism and its culture alive for the generations to come.

If possible he would like to receive THE NEW PALESTINE regularly.

ANSHEL SHULEWITZ.

Peoria, Ill.

Lack of Enlightenment

TO THE EDITOR:

I'm late, I know, but I have just read the June issue of THE NEW PALESTINE, and in particular, Mr. Almi's article, on which comment is invited. A few writers, a few politicians, a few others have taken the trouble to study the story of the Jews—but how about the millions of people? Not even a small portion know anything about the Jews, the Palestine question, Zionism. True, lying propaganda has been thrust upon them, and of this they have believed plenty. But there is no central, constructive educational force behind the organized (?) Jewish community—a force to spread not "lying and harmful propaganda," but "true enlightenment." Quoting Mr. Almi, "We do have something to tell the world." Why don't we have a propaganda agency, or to use the polite phrase, a public relations agency?

I worked for years at the Columbia Broadcasting System in Washington. I saw release after release directed to the news room and commentators from the British Information Service, from the Finnish Legation, from the Russian, Belgian, the Netherlands, Canadian, Korean,

etc.—all pleading their causes. Never did I see any from the Jewish community of Palestine giving their side of the picture, or publicity to any of their achievements.

We Zionists are organized, but we must do more. Every other group does it. Wouldn't you think that the American Red Cross would not have to resort to publicity—but no—they maintain large public relations staffs throughout the world. Why shouldn't we?

Yes, I definitely agree with Mr. Almi. We must have a Central Agency for Public Relations for the Enlightenment of the People.

ESTHER KRAVITZ.

Washington, D. C.

All Right-Minded People

TO THE EDITOR:

Thank you for the pamphlet, "Palestine—A Jewish Commonwealth In Our Time". You are doing a fine work. Surely all right-minded people hope that the Jewish people who have suffered so greatly will soon have a national homeland. Time is so short when there is so much suffering and so many innocent people are dying merely because they are Jews that I trust that all efforts will be made to achieve alleviation of their suffering at the earliest possible moment. In addition to a homeland for the Jews, I would like to see our own Government set an example before the world by having Congress appropriate funds for the settlement of the persecuted on some suitable American soil such as, perhaps, Alaska.

SYLVESTER J. HEMLEBEN, Ph.D.

Head, Dept. of History
and Social Studies.

Fordham University, N. Y.

Experts in Palestine

TO THE EDITOR:

What ridiculous statements are made in your edition of August 29. In the article on page 20, "The Best Kept Secret", there is a quotation: "... the Carl Zeiss works of Jena having been transferred to the Holy Land a few years previously."

As much as I would like the Carl Zeiss works being in Palestine, everybody who knows anything about these plants knows that they are still in Germany.

R. A. MANDELBAUM.

Yonkers, N. Y.

Editor's Note: The physical properties of the plant may remain in Germany, but many of the most highly skilled technicians, including the general manager of the works, are today in Palestine, at the service of the United Nations.

TO THE EDITOR:

Our problem, I think, is not so much with those Jews who approach their Jewishness with a negative attitude, as with those who approach it with no attitude at all. In the army, where the illusion of losing separate Jewish identity seems so close to these people, it is almost impossible to talk of Zionism to them at all.

It is a tribute to the justice on our side, that in spite of our small numbers and the power of our enemies, the cause of a Jewish nation lives on in courage and idealism. The Zionist may be either a dreamer who glories in the words of

the Bible, or he may be a practical, hard-headed man who has read the lesson of the past few years, but he can not be faint-hearted enough to quail before injustice, even when backed by the force of the British Colonial Office and Ibn Saud.

PVT. HARVEY MILLER.
University, Mississippi.

TO THE EDITOR:

I was made very happy yesterday by receiving THE NEW PALESTINE. It really was swell to receive it. Since I have been here in England I have not seen any Zionist publications besides THE NEW PALESTINE. I would appreciate it if you would also send me some Zionist pamphlets.

PVT. MILTON SCHWARTZ.
Somewhere in England.

TO THE EDITOR:

THE NEW PALESTINE is more important to me than ever before. After I have read it, I pass it on to other soldiers. It eventually reaches the local civilian community, where it is warmly welcomed.

CPL. MORTON JARASHOW.
Somewhere in England.

TO THE EDITOR:

The article that appeared in the New York Times on August 31, released by the American Council for Degrading Judaism, was not only a stab in the back—but also a stab in the heart of world Jewry. Just when American Jewry is striving to achieve unity, and through their democratically elected representatives present the case of the Jews to the world, a group of self-appointed leaders, including the Times personnel, who, by the way, are not recognized by the Jewish people as their leaders, attempt to block this. . . .

S/SGT. EDWARD STEINFELD.
Buffalo, N. Y.

Develop Plans for Music Colony in Palestine

During the past year the fund established by the Palestine Symphonic Choir Project has continued to grow, and plans are now being developed for the founding of an artist colony in Palestine composed of cantors and singers. Cantor Myro Glass, of Indianapolis, chairman of the project, declared that the plan calls for the purchase of 2,000 dunams of land through the Jewish National Fund.

It is hoped that the project will result in the creation of a symphonic choir and the holding of annual music festivals on the Salzburg scale. The colony will bear the name Asaph, after the choir leader of the Second Temple. During time of war, when implementation of the project is temporarily halted, funds of the organization are being invested in U. S. War Bonds.

Other officers, in addition to Cantor Glass, are Prof. Jacob Weinberg, Vice Chairman, and Dr. James G. Heller, Treasurer.

Dr. Silver Heads Emergency Comm. Executive

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, was summoned to active political leadership in the Zionist movement last week when he was unanimously elected chairman of the executive and political committee of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

He succeeds Judge Louis E. Levinthal, who is also president of the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York is chairman of the Emergency Committee and Dr. Silver was elected to serve with him as co-chairman. The Emergency Committee acts in behalf of the four major Zionist organizations in the United States, the Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi Organization of America, Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America and the Zionist Organization of America.

Dr. Silver has long been active in Zionist affairs. He is national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, which, combining the fund-raising efforts of the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund, is the central financial instrument in this country for the rebuilding of Palestine. He is national co-chairman of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine, and a vice-president of the Z.O.A.

A graduate of the University of Cincinnati and Hebrew Union College in 1915, Dr. Silver occupied a pulpit in Wheeling, West Virginia, and in 1917 became the rabbi of The Temple in Cleveland, where he has been active in liberal and social movements.

Zionist From Belgium Active

A Zionist from Belgium, now in New York, who has pitched in with a will, and participated vigorously in every phase of Zionist activity in this country, is Charles Wolf, treasurer of the West Side District No. 7. In Belgium Mr. Wolf was treasurer of the Antwerp Federation of Charities, and an active figure in the Zionist movement.



CHARLES WOLF

He has been in New York for only three years, but has already set a record for American Zionists to aim at. In the past 24 months he has personally enrolled nearly 400 members in the Z. O. A., and expects to boost the total even higher.

His activity in behalf of the Jewish National Fund was recognized by his Zionist colleagues, who have inscribed his name in the J. N. F. Golden Book, and plans are now under way to plant a grove in his name. Friendly, affable, energetic, Charles Wolf is one of the most valued members of District 7 and of the Z. O. A. in New York. He is one of a number of Zionists from Belgium, now in this country, who are taking an active part in Zionist work and leadership.

New J. N. F. Stamp



The beginning of the High Holiday season on the first day of the Hebrew month of Ellul (September 1st) has been marked in many communities throughout the nation by the distribution of the latest Jewish National Fund stamp (reproduced above). Issued on the advent of the New Year 5704, which the Ellul season is ushering in in the life of the Synagogue, the Keren Kayemeth stamp is designed as a token of Jewry's faith in the victory of the United Nations and in the triumph of the principles of justice and freedom which shall include rescue for the surviving remnants of European Jewry and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

American Jews Aided 1,800,000 In Four Years

In the four years since the outbreak of World War II, a period in which the Jews are estimated to have suffered 3,000,000 civilian casualties in Nazi-held Europe, American Jewry, through its contributions to the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs and Palestine, brought relief, rehabilitation and resettlement assistance to a total of 1,800,000 homeless Jews and refugees in Europe, Palestine and the Western Hemisphere, it was announced last week by William Rosenwald, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, National Chairmen of the U. J. A.

The largest rescue campaign ever organized by the Jews of the United States, the U. J. A., has raised approximately \$15,000,000 annually since September 1, 1939, for the overseas war relief and rehabilitation activities of the Joint Distribution Committee; for support of the war effort and rebuilding of the Jewish national homeland in Palestine maintained through the United Palestine Appeal and for the program of assistance to newcomers in the United States carried on by the National Refugee Service.

Mr. Rosenwald and Rabbis Silver and Wise estimated that during the past four years the Joint Distribution Committee, whose war relief experience dates back to World War I, provided various forms of assistance from emergency relief to emigration aid, to an average of more than 900,000 persons in more than 52 countries scattered over five continents. In the past four years the war mobilization program of the 584,000 Jews in Palestine and their activities in providing for the settlement and rehabilitation of refugees from war-shattered Europe were supported by the United Palestine Appeal. Here in the United States, an overwhelming majority of the 253,000 newcomers of all creeds who have found a haven in this country were helped in adjusting themselves to the American way of life by the National Refugee Service.

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CONFIDENTIAL BULLETIN

If there is information contained herein on which you wish fuller details, write to the Emergency Council.

Issued for private, confidential use by AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, 41 East 42nd Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Vol. 1, No. 1

ORGANIZATION: The American Zionist Emergency Council is the new name for the organization previously called the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. It comprises the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion. Under the recent reorganization, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is Chairman of the Executive Committee, which directs activities. Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Silver are Co-Chairmen of the Emergency Council.

The largest scale program in the history of the American Zionist movement has been initiated. It involves an intensification of effort on a national basis and far greater responsibility for local leadership. The committees which have been appointed and their chairmen include: Community Contacts, Joel Gross, Newark; Finance and Personnel, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh; American Palestine Committee, Herman Shulman; Press, Chaim Greenberg; Publications, Louis Lipsky; Research, Mrs. Rose Jacobs; Political Planning, Robert Szold; Intellectual Mobilization, Rabbi Milton Steinberg; Christian Clergy, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein; Contact with Allied Post-War Groups, Mrs. Rose Halprin; Contact with American-Jewish Religious Forces, Rabbi Wolf Gold; Economic Planning, Emanuel Neumann; Special Services and Events, Meyer W. Weisgal. Henry Montor is Executive Director.

COMMUNITY CONTACTS: Every Jewish community is being asked to create an Emergency Committee, small in membership, to serve as the local instrument of the Emergency Council. All forces in the community must be mobilized and the most effective personnel must be brought into the Emergency Committee. There will be regular, complete contact between the Council and each city, for the issuance of directives, the exchange of counsel and submission of political information and educational material. A complete program for the establishment of such committees is available. Rabbi Leon Feuer is director for this program.

POLITICAL PICTURE: The Jewish National Home is faced with its gravest crisis. The White Paper of 1939 is due to go into effect in April, 1944. Its terms would forbid the entry of Jews, except as Arabs might acquiesce. The efforts of the Emergency Council during the coming months will be concerned immediately with the menace of the White Paper. American Jewry will have to mobilize its forces in extraordinary measure to help avert this blow to Jewish hopes.

The recent gun-running trial in Palestine was a symptom of the attitude of the Palestine Government. What was at stake was not the guilt or innocence of several Jews accused of gun-running but the determination of the Palestine Government to use every means to ensure the final enactment of the White Paper. The trial was a political

conspiracy aimed at defaming the Yishuv, the Jewish people, the Jewish Agency and the Jewish recruiting effort. It was intended to incite public opinion in Great Britain and the United States—as well as the Arabs—against the Jews.

A deliberate, continuous plan is under way to create the impression that Palestine (and because of Palestine the whole Middle East) stands on the verge of rioting and civil war due to Jewish violence in the midst of a world war. To achieve this purpose British Intelligence has been sending out endless reports, the Government has been giving "guidance" to the press, and the gun-running trials were staged.

The purpose of these efforts is apparently to force the United States to agree to the White Paper, or, failing that, at least to bring our country to a more "anti-Zionist" point of view. It has not been found possible to influence the United States with political arguments. The effort is, therefore, being made to put the issue on military grounds.

The recent attempt to force the issuance of a joint Anglo-American statement on the problem of Palestine was part of this picture. The British alleged that there was imminent danger of bloodshed in the Middle East. This would have an effect on American forces stationed in that area. It is reliably learned that the American War Department gave its own view that it was not convinced of the existence of such dangers. No joint statement was, therefore, issued. But the British Foreign Office is still applying great pressure on the United States, insisting that a statement of policy or American support of the White Paper is necessary to "quiet" the Arabs.

This whole plot arises from the fear in certain British circles that the White Paper policy will collapse. It is consequently considered necessary to bolster it. It is also deemed possible that the frantic efforts being made by the British to spread fear about the situation in Palestine is to ensure the continuation of British rule in Palestine. There may also be some intention of frightening the United States and so deterring Americans from "poking their noses" into "this unsavory and dangerous business," thus leaving Palestine to England's sole concern.

The Palestine Government is subjecting the Yishuv to extraordinary provocation. A libel is being steadily spread that the Jews of Palestine intend to create a revolt or incite the Arabs to riot in the middle of a world war. This false accusation is used as a battering-ram to destroy Jewish hopes of overthrowing the White Paper by public political action.

It is probable that the strength of British efforts to defame and demoralize the Yishuv arises from a basic conviction that the Jewish support of Palestine is so strong that extraordinary measures must be taken to combat it.

The Emergency Council believes that it speaks for the Jews of America in the struggle which it will wage with all means at its disposal to upset this cruel plot to bury the hopes for the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

WASHINGTON SCENE: Dr. Silver does half his political work in New York, half in Washington. In two days recently he visited with Samuel Rosenman, counsel to the President; Mr. Justice Felix Frankfurter; Congressman Sol Bloom, Chairman of the House Foreign Relations Committee; Congressman Emanuel Celler; and Laurence Steinhardt, American Ambassador to Turkey. Everywhere he emphasized that American Jewry expects the abandonment of the White Paper policy. He stressed that all responsible people felt it desirable not to add to anti-British tensions in the United States. But unless assurance was forthcoming from the British Government that the White

Paper would not be implemented, it would be impossible to suppress the upwelling of outraged indignation from American Jewry. Jews would regard the announcement: "No more Jews allowed into Palestine" as an unforgivable climax to the massacre of millions of Jews in Europe. It was for the British Government to determine whether it was prepared to embitter the Jewish people. . . . Herman Shulman, Chairman of the American Palestine Committee of the Zionist Emergency Council, visited with Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman of the nationwide American Palestine Committee, and with Senator Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is hoped to create a small Executive Committee in Washington in which a group of government officials could familiarize themselves with Palestine problems as intimately as some members of the Houses of Commons and Lords in England. . . . Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, and Chaim Greenberg, on behalf of the Zionist Emergency Council, made representations to the British Embassy in protest against the manner in which the Palestine gun-running trials were conducted. Sir Ronald Campbell heard the protests, which pointed out that it was common for Arabs to be convicted of gun-running, but that no publicity was ever given these cases. It was evident that the government was using these trials to "smear" the Jews.

PALESTINE VISITOR: Dr. Bernard Joseph, Legal Adviser of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, is coming to the United States in several weeks. He is expected to be a source of great information and stimulation, considering his unique contact with the work in Palestine. He is also Chairman of the Jewish Agency's recruiting effort. It is expected that he will spend a substantial part of his time in Washington. He will be asked to visit four or five major communities for large public meetings so that the general public may pay its tribute to the Yishuv through him, one of its foremost figures. But in view of the importance of his political work, it is most probable that he will not undertake an extensive speaking tour.

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Vol.I. No. 1

November 1, 1943

First Issue: This bulletin is issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council to keep friends informed of the background of events affecting Palestine and to indicate the policies which animate our work. The ability to present the case for Jewish Palestine is dependent upon a knowledge of the facts, both those which are published and those which cannot yet be made generally available. The select group to whom this bulletin is distributed may have questions as situations develop. Readers are invited to make special inquiries and the answers will be made available through this bulletin.

CONGRESS: The first objective of the reorganized Emergency Council is to mobilize the Jews of the United States and Christian sympathizers to prevail upon our Government to help in eliminating the British White Paper on Palestine, which intends to halt all Jewish immigration into Palestine by April, 1944. Under the White Paper, Jews will be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of their religious belief. It is inconceivable that any person living in a free democracy can subscribe to that anti-Jewish and anti-democratic philosophy. Fourteen committees have been set up by the Emergency Council through which to present the story to the various elements of American public opinion. The Community Contacts Committee is the channel through which every Jewish community in the United States will be organized for the establishment of local emergency committees to represent a cross-section of the community. In the next five months every member of the House of Representatives and of the United States Senate is to be seen by local constituents. Congressmen are to be visited when they return to their home districts and by delegations going to Washington. This is to be done, without fanfare, as a basic educational job, so that Congressmen may understand the Jewish problem in order to act informedly and decisively.

GOVERNMENT RESISTS RECRUITING: The recent gun-running trial in Palestine was staged by the Palestine Government as part of an extensive effort to discredit the Jewish Agency and the Jewish community of Palestine in order to help fasten the White Paper like a lid on a coffin. A confidential letter has just reached New York from Jerusalem giving the facts which a tight military and civilian censorship was not permitted to reveal. It throws new light on the attitude of the Palestine Government toward the efforts of the Jewish Agency to recruit soldiers for the fighting forces.

"The hostile attitude of the Government to Jewish recruiting has been evident since the early stages of the war," says this high official of the Jewish Agency. "The Government, which clings with all force to the White Paper policy, is afraid that if the Jews enlist in large numbers and take an honorable share in the fighting, they will thereby accumulate political credit which will

enable them after the war to secure a solution of the Palestine problem very different from that embodied in the White Paper. It follows that if military necessity renders it unavoidable to recruit Jews, every effort must be made to cover up that fact in the eyes of the world as much as possible.

"The Government of Palestine goes further than this. For a number of months now the Government has been conducting a skillfully planned whispering campaign against Jewish recruiting all over the Middle East. Reports of it are reaching us from military headquarters in Cairo, from foreign journalists who visit Palestine and are being given the 'dope' by the government and from various other quarters. All these circles are told that the purpose of the Jewish recruiting campaign is not to assist the military war effort but to train the Jewish youth of Palestine for an eventual armed conflict with the Government and the military conquest of the country. Everything that the Jewish Agency proposes or demands in connection with Jewish recruiting is interpreted in the light of this insinuation. If the Jewish agency demands all-Jewish units, if it asks that Jewish recruits should be given an effective training for combat service, if it urges that the various Jewish units should be formed into an effective fighting force, if it opposes the transfer of the Jewish infantry battalions to other parts of the Middle East for non-combatant duties (although everybody knows that the Jewish Agency is most anxious that they should be so transferred for active service)--each and sundry of these demands is interpreted as flowing from the well-hatched scheme of the Jewish Agency to prepare 'the Jewish revolt.'"

BETE NOIRE: The same confidential source describes the campaign of the Government to ensure the "success" of the gun-running trials. From the moment American journalists were especially brought over to Jerusalem from Cairo by Government invitation "they were taken in hand and given clearly to understand that the real culprits in the case were not the two British soldiers accused of selling arms, or the two Jewish fellows accused of buying them, but the leaders of the Jewish Agency. The police were convinced that at long last they had secured evidence to prove to the world at large the wicked designs of the Jewish Agency and the active participation of its leaders in the stealing of arms from the British Army, in setting up a Jewish subterranean organization within the British Army and, in general, preparing the 'Jewish revolt.' Nothing was too low to achieve that purpose. The evidence of two self-admitted criminals and of a prostitute was used in order to throw mud at the Jewish Agency in general and in particular at its Chairman (David ben Gurion) who has become a veritable bete noire to the Government because he is regarded as the soul of Jewish resistance to the White Paper. No one who attended the trial could fail to be impressed by the spirit of hatred to the Jews and of the Jewish public bodies evident from the utterances of the military officers conducting the trial."

IBN SAUD'S SONS: The visit to the United States of two sons of King Ibn Saud of Arabia was preceded by a request to the Zionist Emergency Council by Government officials that no critical statements should be made during their stay in the country. It was said that the two princes are guests of President Roosevelt and it would be inappropriate to have their visit marred by political attacks. Zionist leaders, wishing to cooperate with the State Department, acquiesced on condition that the princes be advised at the same time to take no stand on Jewish Palestine. As a result, Jewish newspapermen were informed of this understanding in order to guide their comments. A number of newspapermen of the

general press wanted to interview Prince Feisal, Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia, when he and his brother visited several American cities. The Prince's escorts remarked that the Zionists had requested that the Prince give no interviews since they did not wish any adverse comments made on Zionism. This distortion of the facts served to turn the annoyance of these American journalists against the Zionist movement. A cooperative act on the part of the Emergency Council reacted against it.

SECRET SESSION: Senator Brewster, one of the five globe-girdling Senators, mentioned Palestine during his report to the secret session of the Senate. Unfortunately, the Senator, who has expressed his sympathy with Jewish Palestine on several occasions, had no opportunity to visit Palestine. He did stop at Cairo, however. He reported that British sources had talked to him at length about "tension" between Jews and Arabs in Palestine. These sources suggested to the Senator that Americans be told that Palestine is "a British problem" and that the United States "should lay off." Senator Mead flew to Palestine for interviews with a number of Jewish leaders. He returned with the feeling that Arab-Jewish relations can be satisfactorily resolved. He was impressed with the extent of Jewish achievements in Palestine.

THE WASHINGTON SCENE: The Emergency Council has broadened the base of its approach in Washington. All of us are concerned in maintaining the best relations between America and England. It is obvious, however, that this desire on our part cannot be utilized as a cover under which our position will be impaired. It is clear that unless assurances are forthcoming, from the Mandatory Government, in definite form, as to Jewish rights in Palestine, it is our duty and responsibility to give public expression to what we demand and what we expect in a world based upon justice and international law, and to appeal to all our friends to support us in our endeavors. Dr. Silver is now actively engaged in this political work, both in New York and in Washington. He has had interesting conversations with Acting Secretary of State Edward Stettinius, Judge Samuel Rosenman, Adviser to the President, Herbert H. Lehman, Congressman Sol Bloom, Congressman Emanuel Celler, Lawrence Steinhardt, American Ambassador to Turkey and others. Herman Shulman has met with Senator Robert F. Wagner and Senator Tom Connally and is engaged in organizing a small executive committee of the American Palestine Committee for the purpose of creating an informed group, familiar with the problems of Palestine, who will take an active part in the propaganda against the White Paper. . . . Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin, and Chaym Greenberg made representations to the British Embassy in protest against the manner in which the Palestine gun-running trials were conducted.

DANGER OF "BLOODSHED": The fact that the Persian Command (in which Palestine is included) contains a very large number of American troops is being used by the Palestine Government in an anti-Zionist campaign directed at the United States. A deliberate, continuous plan is under way to create the impression that Palestine (and because of Palestine the whole Middle East) stands on the verge of rioting and civil war due to Jewish violence in the midst of a world war. To achieve this purpose, our correspondent at Cairo reports, the British Intelligence has been sending out voluminous reports to sustain the objective. The purpose is to force the United States to agree to the White Paper or, failing that, at least to bring our country to a more "anti-Zionist" point of view.

It has not been found possible to influence the United States with political arguments. The effort is, therefore, being made to put the issue on military grounds.

The recent attempt to force the issuance of a joint Anglo-American statement on the problem of Palestine was part of this picture. Certain officials alleged that there was imminent danger of bloodshed in the Middle East. This would have an effect on American forces stationed in that area. It is reliably learned that the American War Department gave its own view that it was not convinced of the existence of such dangers. No joint statement was, therefore, issued. But the Foreign Office is still applying great pressure on the United States, insisting that a statement of policy or American support of the White Paper is necessary to "quiet" the Arabs.

PALESTINE VISITOR: We anticipate the presence in the United States shortly of Dr. Bernard Joseph, legal adviser of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dr. Joseph is one of the best informed men on political and economic conditions in the Homeland. He will spend a substantial part of his time in Washington. He may find it possible to visit four or five major communities for large, public meetings, but will not be able to undertake an extensive speaking tour. Arrangements are being made accordingly.



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Vol. 1. No. 2

November 26, 1943

WHITE PAPER POLICY NOT CHANGED: Nobody should be misled into thinking that any change has taken place with regard to the White Paper policy. An effort was made to blunt the edge of Jewish and non-Jewish attacks on the White Paper through the announcement in the House of Commons on November 9th that 31,078 certificates, representing the unused balance of the 75,000 allotted in the White Paper for the five year period ending March 31, 1944, would be honored beyond that date. This "gesture" means nothing whatever so far as policy is concerned. The Zionist Emergency Council issued a statement, after receipt of this news, pointing out that the ban on future immigration has in no sense been lifted and that the statement of the Colonial Secretary, and the replies given by him to questions, make it clear that the policy of the White Paper remains essentially unchanged and the fight for its abrogation must continue.

GOVERNMENT INVADES JEWISH COLONY: The lengths to which the Palestine Administration will go to ensure the continuance of the White Paper policy have led to an incident even more provocative and tragic than the recent gun running trials. On November 16th, the British police, supported by Indian troops and Polish military police, raided the village of Ramat Hakovesh to search for illegal arms, for "a training camp for an illegal armed organization", and for alleged deserters from the Polish Army. All the men in the colony were herded into a barbed-wire enclosure. Thirty-five of them were arrested. One of the men, Samuel Wolinetz, was mortally wounded by shots fired by the police officer in command. Wolinetz was removed to a government hospital in an Arab city, despite the village physician's warning that it was dangerous to move him. The physician was later denied permission to see him in the hospital. Wolinetz died on November 21.

During a protest demonstration in Tel-Aviv on November 20, twenty-one civilians and eleven British policemen were wounded. Protest meetings have been held throughout Palestine demanding cessation of the Government's persecution of the Jewish Self Defense, release of the arrested villagers, and the lifting of the ban imposed on the Hebrew press since November 19th. "The Mufti's gangs", said David Ben-Gurion, "are organizing again and purchasing arms, not for self-defense but for the resumption of their attacks against us. The few arms we possess are intended for our own defense and we shall guard them as the apple of our eye."

PROVOCATION: Ever since the danger of invasion was removed by the North African victories, the Palestine Administration has consistently attempted to provoke the Yishuv to an armed uprising, hoping to prove to the outside world that Palestine Jewry is a menace to security in the Middle East and to the Allied war effort. The theory in Administration circles seems to be

that the Middle East is in an explosive condition and that the Jews will apply the match to the fuse by starting a rebellion which will provoke a counter-rebellion on the part of the Arabs. As the Emergency Council pointed out in its statement of November 23rd: "This view can only be described as utterly fantastic. There will be a rising in Palestine only if the Government wishes it... The Administration of Palestine is to blame for the murder in Ramat Hakovesh and it alone is to blame for the disturbances in Tel-Aviv."

WHY ARMS ARE HOARDED: The Ramat Hakovesh incident cannot be properly understood unless it is recalled that this village was one of those most tragically affected by the riots of 1936-1939. Surrounded by Arab settlements, it was attacked incessantly by day and by night, its roads were mined and scores of its settlers were victims of the Mufti's terror. The Government is fully aware of the fact that it has in the past been unable to give the Jewish villages adequate protection and that Jewish arms have been used in the past, as they will be in the future, for self defense and not for aggression. The need for such arms is nowhere more marked than in exposed Ramat Hakovesh.

A letter which has reached us from an authoritative Jewish source in Palestine throws light upon the question of the smuggling and hoarding of arms in Palestine today. It reads in part: "It is true that throughout the war period, there has been a considerable traffic in military arms throughout the Middle East, not only in Palestine but also in Transjordan, in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. Large quantities of military arms have found their way into the hands of Arabs in Palestine and Transjordan. There is an abundance of cash among the Arabs and a desire to get rid of it, and rifles are always an attraction. At any given moment there is a fixed quotation for the cost of a rifle on the Arab market, rising or falling with the supply and demand. In the light of these circumstances, it is not surprising that for their own self defense, Jews, too, are storing away such arms as they can purchase from the quantities offered for sale."

DR. WEIZMANN MEETS GENERAL SMUTS. - We learn from a London correspondent that Dr. Weizmann has had a long conversation with Field Marshal Smuts of South Africa. General Smuts was a member of the War Cabinet of 1917 which was responsible for the issuing of the Balfour Declaration. He has been a warm friend of the Jewish National Home ever since. His prestige in England was never higher than it is today. It is encouraging to know that he is as keenly interested as ever in our cause and is ready to be helpful in the present situation.

AMERICA AND ARAB OIL: Little effort is being made to conceal the fact that the recent visit to this country of the Saudi-Arabian princes had something to do with the game of international oil. It is known that the reception for the princes at the Waldorf-Astoria on November 9th was arranged with the cooperation of the Standard Oil Company. A high official of the Interior Department was to be sent to Saudi-Arabia in connection with the oil concessions previously granted to an American firm. The negotiations have been proceeding with the aid of the State Department on behalf of the California Arabian Standard Oil Company, and definite decisions may be expected shortly. When the Arab princes were in Washington, the Washington newspapers gave a great deal of space to a discussion of America and oil in Arabia.

Thus, through a commercial by-path, a new and potentially significant factor has been introduced in the Middle Eastern political scene with important implications for the Palestine question.

UNREST IN LEBANON. - It is generally agreed that the stand taken by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies in insisting upon immediate and complete independence from French authority was a move in the struggle carried on ever since the last war between British and French interests for dominance in the eastern Mediterranean. The proposal for an Arab Federation has been fostered throughout by the British with a view to bringing all the Arab countries as a single unit within their sphere of influence, including Syria and Lebanon. The New York Times correspondent in Beirut, A. C. Sedgwick, seems to be expressing the British attitude in his cable of November 18: "This is a small country, but the events leading up to the crisis and those that followed indicating what might be considered a final solution to what appeared to be a hopeless problem, sounded with mighty resonance. A vast sounding board was provided by the Arab world whose aspirations toward unity have the avowed encouragement of the British."

ARAB PROPAGANDA IN U. S. - Further indications of an Arab propaganda offensive in the United States on the Palestine issue are: 1) the appointment of Major Haddad as Military Attache to the Iraq Legation. We have learned from Palestine that Major Haddad's real function is to conduct propaganda against the Zionist cause in the United States. A feature article by him against Zionism appeared in the Sunday issue of the Herald Tribune several weeks ago. 2) The prospective opening of a Saudi-Arabian Legation in Washington hinted at by Prince Feisal while visiting here. 3) The invitation which, according to the press, has been extended to five representative Arab journalists in Egypt to visit the United States.

RUMORS OF PARTITION. - While the Palestine Administration adheres to the White Paper as the blueprint for post-war Palestine, high British officials in Cairo, aware that some other solution will have to be found, have been feeling out both Arab and Jewish political leaders on the subject of partition. There are persistent rumors to the effect that according to one proposed plan, Haifa, the Emek and Galilee would be included in the Arab sector, while the Jews would be left with the undeveloped southern half of Palestine, the arid Negev. Professor L. B. Namier of the political department of the London Office of the Jewish Agency, may be considered to have given a quasi-official Jewish answer to the partition rumors in a letter of November 16 to the Manchester Guardian. In view of the vast extent of the Jewish tragedy, and the scope of Jewish achievement in Palestine, Professor Namier writes, only one solution is possible - that Palestine become an independent Jewish state. Though in 1937 some Zionist leaders were ready to negotiate for a Jewish state on the basis of a partitioned Palestine, "The reasons for partition," Professor Namier states, "no longer hold good."

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Vol. 1. No. 3

December 22, 1943

DR. WEIZMANN SEES THE PRIME MINISTER: Censorship difficulties make full reports of Dr. Weizmann's recent negotiations in London impossible. It is, however, known that he had several encouraging discussions with Field Marshal Smuts who had been acting as head of the War Cabinet in Mr. Churchill's absence. Moreover, prior to the Prime Minister's departure for the Middle East, Dr. Weizmann had a long and friendly conversation with him. In the fall of 1940, when Dr. Weizmann had his first interview with Mr. Churchill after the latter's appointment as Prime Minister, Mr. Churchill approved a memorandum presented by Dr. Weizmann on the subject of the Jewish Army. Outside pressure and Mr. Churchill's concentration on major strategic problems were later responsible for the rejection by the Government of the proposed Jewish Army which was to taper off into Jewish units and the Jewish battalions of the Palestine Regiment. Such contacts as the Zionist leadership has had with the Prime Minister since 1940 have demonstrated that there has been no essential change in the sympathetic attitude towards Zionism he manifested in his anti-White Paper speech of May, 1939, and on so many previous occasions. Dr. Weizmann's recent interview with Mr. Churchill has confirmed our previous impression that he is still a firm believer in the cause of the Jewish National Home. He is determined to take some positive action in its behalf but is concerned with choosing what seems to him an appropriate time.

MORE ON THE ARMS FRONT: Though the news of Dr. Weizmann's conversation with Mr. Churchill has naturally proved gratifying to Zionist circles, all indications make it clear that an intense struggle is being waged against us and that there is a concentrated effort to create a situation adverse to us before any intervention on our behalf is judged advisable or timely. The Palestine Administration, though it released the thirty-four arrested settlers of Ramat Hakovesh, continues its attempts to break up the Jewish Self-Defense. In searching the village of Hulda some weeks ago, it again chose a settlement which by the very nature of its exposed situation and its tragic history during periods of unrest, could hardly be expected not to hoard arms against possible future attacks. There was a particularly sinister note in the suggestion by the President of the Court, the same officer who had presided over the Arms Trial of the summer, that if the two villagers who had pleaded guilty (inasmuch as the defense of the village is their special responsibility) would reveal where they had obtained their small "illegal" arms cache, their sentences would be "considered in another light" -- an obvious bid to them to name the Hagana as their source of munitions. Hulda, it will be recalled, was burnt down in the riots of 1929 and lost seventeen of its settlers in the 1936-1939 disturbances mainly as a result of German-made land mines strewn over the unpaved roads surrounding the village. In the case of Hulda, as of Ramat Hakovesh, the pretext for the police raid was the search for Polish deserters; none was found in either village. Though the village's precarious situation was made clear to the court by the settlers and attested to by a police inspector, the two settlers who had pleaded guilty were sentenced to six and five years imprisonment each, after declining to reveal how they came into possession of the weapons. Three other settlers were given sentences of two years each.

A SENATOR REFUTES THE MACMICHAEL FORMULA: The arms searches are of course intended to be conclusive evidence in support of the Palestine Administration's self-serving formula that Jewish armed aggression will lead inevitably to an explosion in the Middle East, and that Zionism is a menace to the United Nations' war effort throughout the Middle East. Significant refutation of this theory has been furnished by one of the five United States Senators who toured the war fronts. This gentleman who had been given the background of the Zionist situation before his departure, visited the Arab countries of North Africa and also Palestine. Throughout his trip he discussed the Palestine question with British and Arab statesmen. Wherever he went the British representatives were at pains to impress him with the tension in Palestine and the danger of an explosion throughout the Arab world because of the Zionist issue. On the other hand, none of the many Moslem leaders to whom the senator spoke in Egypt and North Africa raised the Palestine question. The Senator's own conclusion is that it should not be impossible to bring about a satisfactory solution of the Palestine problem if the Arabs are properly dealt with in the other Arab countries.

THE BASIS OF OUR WORK: The conference of leaders of local emergency committees held in Cleveland on December 11 and 12 made clear the basic political principle underlying the work of both the national Zionist Emergency Council and the local emergency committees. The political situation with regard to Palestine seems to be developing with great rapidity, and it is in fact believed that the Palestine problem was discussed at the Cairo Conference. At a time when ultimate decisions on the political future of Palestine may well be under consideration, we for our part cannot limit ourselves to a mere demand for the removal of the restrictive White Paper but must state our own case positively and comprehensively. Hence all our work must be predicated on the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference which demanded the withdrawal in its entirety of the White Paper and control by the Jewish Agency of immigration to, and agricultural and industrial development in, Palestine -- these measures constituting "the essential pre-requisites for the attainment of a Jewish majority and for the re-creation of the Jewish Commonwealth."

THE UNWANTED AMBULANCES: An interesting little sidelight on the Palestine Administration is furnished by Congressman Celler who reports that the ten ambulances purchased by the Order Sons of Zion last year for the Red Mogen David (the equivalent in Jewish Palestine of the Red Cross), were kept in this country for six months for lack of import licenses from the Palestine Administration. All necessary papers had been secured at this end - an export license from the Office of Economic Warfare, clearance from the Lend-Lease Administration, etc. It was only after great effort by the Order Sons of Zion and personal representations by Congressman Celler to a prominent American official attached to the Middle East Supply Center that the Palestine Administration granted the necessary import license.

MR. LONG AND THE STRUMA: In the course of Mr. Breckenridge Long's appearance before the Foreign Affairs Committee, he was asked if he had any knowledge of the fatal accident to the Struma in 1941. The congressman who asked the question stated that he was under the impression that the ultimate cause of the disaster was the refusal of the Palestine Administration to give immigration certificates for Palestine to the Rumanian Jewish refugees crowded on the boat. Mr. Long's reply was: "There was a ship in 1941 which approached Istanbul. The boat was rerouted back and something happened in the Black Sea." Why it was turned back, he said, he did not remember in detail. He could look up the details and advise Congressman Mundt who had asked the question. Mr. Long's general conclusion was that nothing could have prevented the boat from exploding. "It was a terrible thing to happen, but it was one of those things that do happen."

DR. SILVER TO MR. LONG: In order to furnish Mr. Long with the details he had volunteered to look up for Mr. Mundt's information, Dr. Silver, as chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Committee, wrote to Mr. Long, enclosing a copy of the memorandum on the Struma submitted to the Acting Secretary of State last March. That memorandum had made it clear that had the Palestine Administration given the Struma passengers immigration certificates which were in fact available under the quota, the Turkish Government would have been willing to permit the refugees to leave their unseaworthy boat and remain temporarily on Turkish soil. Every attempt to secure immigration permits from the Palestine Administration failed despite the repeated warnings of the Jewish Agency that rejection of these appeals meant death by drowning for the passengers: hence on Feb. 24, 1942 the Struma was ordered out of port by the Turkish authorities and went to pieces on reaching the open sea. Only one out of 769 on board survived. Dr. Silver's letter ends: "The recollection remains bitter that owing to the refusal of the Palestine Administration in the face of urgent humanitarian pleas from many quarters, to admit these refugees to Palestine, the boat with its human cargo was ordered back to Rumania. It was in the course of this return trip that the explosion took place, as a result of which all aboard, with one exception, were drowned. One may be permitted the reflection that the explosion came perhaps as a merciful release for people who had already suffered greatly and who were now faced with return to the death chambers and concentration camps of the Nazis."

THE ARGUMENT THAT MUST BE ANSWERED: Increased contact with government personnel during the last few months has made it clear to those actively involved in the work of the Emergency Council, that a principal line of attack of those opposed to the Jewish National Home is to question its absorptive capacity. That so small a land can solve so large a refugee problem is deemed impossible. The Emergency Council now has in preparation suitable popular material on the economic potentialities of Palestine. Special mention must be made here of a book to be published by Harper's in March: "Palestine, Land of Promise" by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Bureau. This is a detailed and convincing analysis of the great possibilities in Palestine for the absorption of millions of new immigrants.

MISS STARK SEES THE BEST PEOPLE: The Palestine Administration's campaign for the preservation and implementation of the White Paper policy is being carried on in devious ways in this country. The propaganda in the New York Times is only one weapon. For the last few months Miss Freya Stark, the enthusiastically pro-Arab British archaeologist and author, has been in the United States: her mission is to make propaganda for the Arab cause, to explain why the White Paper should be carried out, and to sound out "important" -- ergo, generally anti-Zionist -- American Jews on their attitude to Palestine. She is doing little public lecturing but devoting herself to "seeing people" and expounding to them as an "expert" her favorite theory that all of Arabia -- from the lowliest fellah to the highest effendi -- is passionately and primarily concerned with the sad lot of the Arabs of Palestine whom the Jews are allegedly depriving of land and livelihood. While visiting and "observing" Palestine before her trip to the United States, Miss Stark did not find time to see any Jewish village, institution, or undertaking and could not manage even to meet with representatives of the Jewish Agency.