



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series VIII: Scrapbooks, 1902-1964, undated.

Sub-series A: Clippings Scrapbooks, 1902-1964, undated.

Reel
229

Box
100

Folder
33

Clipping scrapbook, 1945 October.

Part 1
Jan.-Feb.
1945

AZRC controversy, continued; statements pro and con action by AHS; Zionist regions, Silver, Wise, Goldstein, Mirzachi.
Packing for AHS grows; Zionist regions, Yiddish press.
Palestine resolution re-introduced in House, Jan. 11, 1945.
Mirzachi Wise's telegram to Roosevelt, dated Dec. 3, 1944, published Jan. 26, 1945.
Plans for testimonial dinner to AHS, March 21, 1945.

Part 2
Mar.-Apr.
1945

British and Egyptian views on Palestine.
Zionist leaders demand AHS's reinstatement.
Testimonial dinner, March 21, 1945, New York; speakers include Senators Burton, Taft, Barkley, Gov. Dewey.
"Peace" movement in ZOA begins, Apr. 19, 1945.
AZRC appoints "Peace" committee; AZRC rejects committee.
Rally for Palestine, Lewisohn Stadium, New York, Apr. 29, 1945; Wise and Silver both speak.

Part 3
May-Sept.
1945

Rally for Palestine, continued.
Further votes of confidence for AHS.
Mirzachi demands recall of AHS, June 1945.
Greenberg resigns as co-chairman of AZRC, June 18, 1945.
"Peace" committee urges reconciliation, June 26, 1945.
AHS recalled as co-chairman of AZRC, July 12, 1945.
Truman supports Zionists, July 17, 1945.
World Zionist Conference, London, Aug. 28, 1945.
Britain will refer Palestine to the U. N., Sept. 1945.
Editorial support for Zionists, American Press.
Rally for Palestine, Madison Square Garden Sept. 30, 1945; Speakers include AHS, Wise, Dewey, LaGuardia.

Part 4
Oct. 1945

Rally for Palestine, continued.
Taft reintroduces Palestine resolution in Senate, Oct. 2, 1945
Emergency Conference on Palestine, Washington, Oct. 4, 1945
Publication of Roosevelt-Ibn Saud letter, dated March 10, 1945, Oct. 19, 1945.
AHS and Wise see Sec'y. of State Byrnes, Oct. 23, 1945

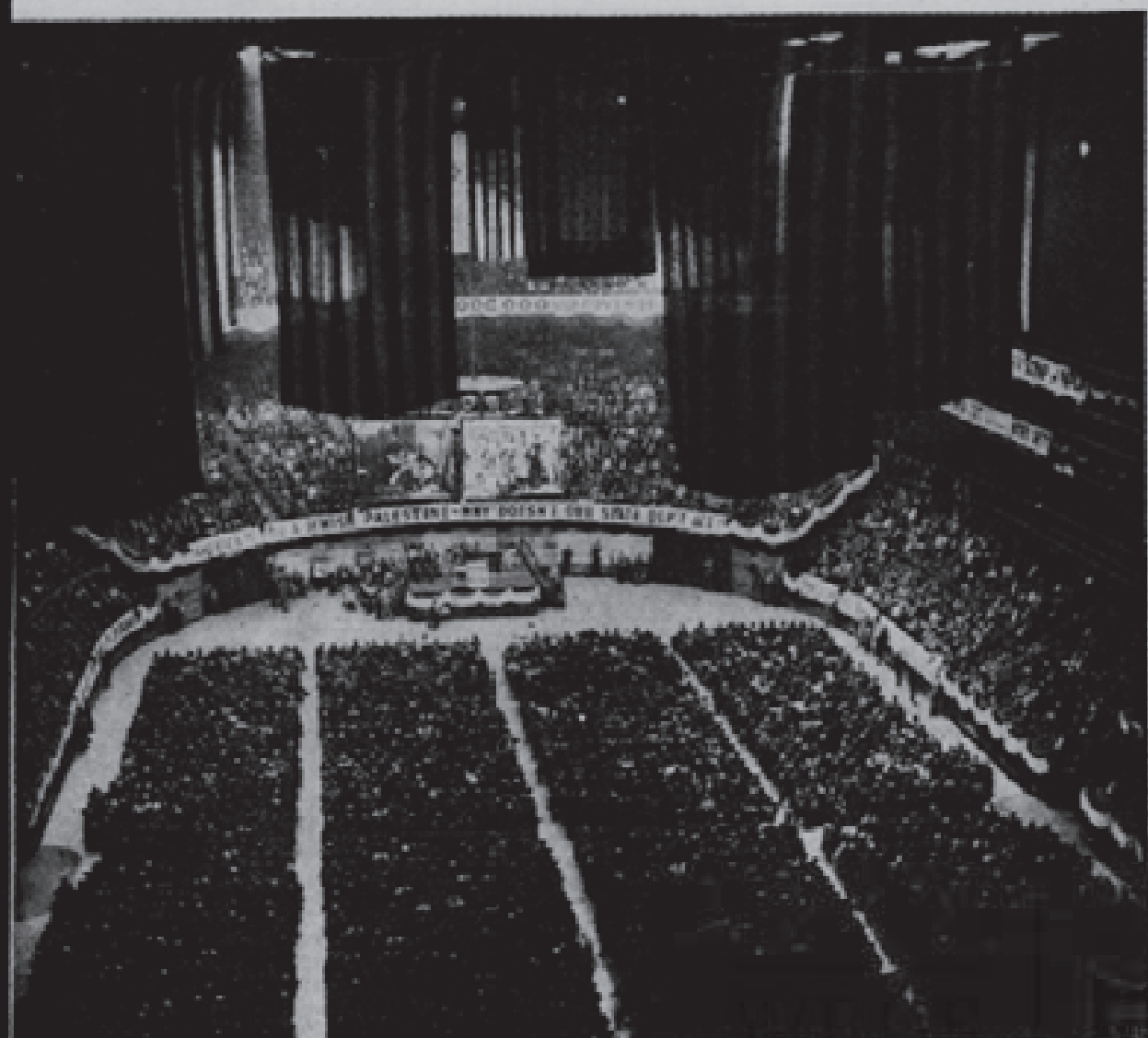
Zionist Rally, Madison Square Park, New York, Oct. 24, 1945; Speakers include Goldstein, Dewey, Lipsky, Thos. Murray.

Part 5
Nov.-Dec.
1945

Zionists score British policy in Palestine.
ZOA convention, Atlantic City, November 16, 1945; AHS elected president.
AHS urges non-cooperation with Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, Nov. 1945.
Senate postpones action on Palestine resolution, Nov. 28, 1945.
AHS in Palestine, Nov. 26-Dec. 8, 1945.
Texts of resolutions, House and Senate, and text of debates; Senate passes resolution, Dec. 17, 1945; House, Dec. 19.
Rally for Palestine, Cleveland, Dec. 23, 1945; AHS address.

NY Post Oct 1 1945

Giant Zionist Rally Blames Britain for Jewish Deaths



THIS OVERHEAD view shows some of the 22,000 persons who jammed Madison Square Garden last night to demand that England make good her pledges for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine. The rally was sponsored by American Zionist Emergency Council.

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

The campaign for a free Jewish state in Palestine stepped up today, inspired by a giant rally at which Britain's policy of drastic restrictions on immigration to the Holy Land was condemned as imperialistic and inhumane.

The mass meeting, announced six days ago when Britain revealed her decision not to open Palestine's doors to less, destitute Jews, brought throngs to Madison Square Garden last night.

While an overflow crowd of 45,000 listened through amplifiers in blocked-off streets, 22,000 people in the packed Garden solemnly chanted in unison a demand that Palestine be "opened wide to free Jewish immigration."

While "we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people," they said, "six million Jews were killed in Europe. The British government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe."

"Our patience is at an end," the huge audience said in one voice. "We shall not continue to suffer British injustice silently." They read from printed postcards which were then signed and mailed to Ambassador Halifax.

A Mobilization Call

Their pledge was an answer to the call issued at the rally by Dr.

Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, for "total mobilization" of world Jewry in the fight for Palestine.

"From here on," he said, "every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish liberation."

At the rally, sponsored by the Emergency Council, speaker after speaker recalled Britain's unredeemed promises to the Jew.

Mayor LaGuardia declared that Britain first promised to establish a Jewish Commonwealth 28 years ago, while Gov. Dewey and several other speakers pointed out the British Labor Party, shortly before it won power, adopted a resolution saying:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irrefutable case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

Dewey and Polling Speak

"We call tonight for the redemption of this and all the similar pledges," Dewey said. "The conscience of civilization must find expression. I can wait no longer."

Dr. Daniel A. Polling, editor of the Christian Herald and New York Post columnist, warned that the failure to keep the pledge made in the Balfour Declaration, "which failure has already cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews, now threatens the lives of yet other tens of thousands."

Although the rally was scheduled to start at 8 p. m., the audience began arriving before 5, the auditorium was filled by 6:30 and the meeting was under way at 7:30, while thousands of people tried vainly to gain entrance.

Both 49th and 50th Sts. were so crowded it was impossible to get through.

"Attlee a Chamberlain?"

Inside, the Garden was decorated with militant slogans, such as: "Is Attlee Another Chamberlain?" "Is Britain Planning Another Munich?" "No American Aid for British Betrayal," "When Will the War Be Over for the Jewish People? Aern't 6,000,000 Jewish Dead Enough?"

Two huge photographs hung from the rafters. One showed a group of Jews in a concentration camp, their faces gaunt, their eyes haunting. The other showed a group of smiling, healthy Jewish pioneers in Palestine.

The audience was, for the most part, solemn and stern. But it hissed and booed when mention was made of the "few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews" who oppose Zionism. And it cheered mention of President Truman and of Jewish hopes in Palestine.

Wise Praises Truman

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Rabbi Silver, praised Mr. Truman's request that the British grant the Jews 100,000 entry certificates into Palestine, but stressed that this was just a "first step."

He said that, after a meeting with Mr. Truman Saturday, he was "not without hope." And Wise, at 70 the grand old man of American Zionism, brought the

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The design of this paper is to diffuse among the people correct information on all interesting subjects to include fast principles in religion, morals and politics, and to cultivate a taste for sound literature.—Proprietor of the EVENING POST, No. 1, Nov. 10, 1801

NEW YORK, MONDAY, OCTOBER 1, 1945.

A Shocking Story

"As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our own military guard instead of SS troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy . . ." from a report to President Truman by Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees.

The essence of Harrison's indignant 7,000-word report is that certain American army officers have taken up where the Nazis were forced to leave off.

They are holding Jews and other displaced persons behind barbed wire (14,000 of them at the horror camp, Belzen) without sufficient food, clothing or medical care.

They are helping well fed, well housed and well dressed Germans get back to "normal" while Jews, Poles and Belgians watch their "liberators" aid their former persecutors.

Truman Hits Hard

The President has written a strong letter to General Eisenhower, a letter that reflects the anger which stirred Harrison when he saw these unbelievable conditions in Germany and Austria. But the President has wisely—and justly—done more than order an army reform in the treatment of Jews; he has demanded that the British government open the gates of Palestine to all displaced Jews who want to go there.

cont. on next page

Rabbi Wise Addresses Rally



RABBI Stephen S. Wise speaks to the throng who got in and the 45,000 who listened outside Madison Square Garden last night.

audience to its feet when he said: "I shall live to see the establishment of a Jewish National Home."

Messages were sent to President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and British Ambassador Halifax after the need for swift action was emphasized by a cablegram from the Jewish community of Berlin saying: "Life seems futile. Eretz Yisrael (Palestine) our only hope. Please rescue us."

It is reported that the President called upon the British government to admit displaced European Jews to Palestine a month ago, and that he has not yet received a reply. We cannot believe the new Labor Government of Britain will continue an inhuman silence in the face of the Harrison report and the President's letter.

The British government is reported willing to admit only 1,500 Jews to Palestine each month. Is the British government willing that scores of thousands of Jews remain in concentration camps because the Arab League, creature of reactionary British diplomacy, wants to keep Jews out of Palestine?

Speaking for the Arab League in London Saturday, Azzam Bey of Egypt said the League "would go on disagreeing for a hundred years if necessary" to the proposed admission of 100,000 Jews.

If the British government props up Azzam Bey a little higher, he will scream even louder.

Our Job

The British government cannot act too soon, after having delayed so long. We hope it acts today, but until it does act our own job is clear:

The demand, so effectively and courageously voiced by the President, must be repeated also by all Americans of good will, individually and through their various organizations.

As for the shameful conduct of some of our own army officers, we are hopeful that General Eisenhower will immediately put a stop to it. The fact that he called General Patton to the carpet after his astonishing comparison of Nazis to Republicans and Democrats while using Nazis in high office in Bavaria is encouraging.

The Bavarian regime has been shaken up as a result. With Nazis kicked out of office, and American officers told the facts of life, our occupation forces should be stirred from the political apathy which alone could explain the treatment of Jews and other displaced persons.

President Truman wants the army to requisition homes from the Germans for the men and women in concentration camps. We are confident that General Eisenhower will do this at once.

deed with internal and external difficulties and for the best in leadership.

"But none of them is an excuse for leaving unrelieved the greatest human tragedy of this war, the plight of the first victims of Nazi terror, who still, five months after the fall of Germany, remain victims. There is no other problem which calls in such alarm tones for the sympathetic and effective action of an aroused community.

"These people ask simply for the right to have a home of their own. That home was promised them a quarter of a century ago by the nations of the world. I can understand no legitimate reason for its continued denial. I cannot believe that the British people or the American people or the other peoples of good-will in the world will remain deaf to the cries of these suffering hundreds of thousands. Since their voices cannot be heard, it is our privilege and our duty to make sure that at this mighty meeting we voice their pleas in clear and unmistakable terms.

"Whatever the arguments which might properly have been advanced during the war to justify the continuation of the exclusion policy from Palestine, those arguments no longer apply. As I have said repeatedly, the homeless and persecuted Jews of Europe are entitled to life and dignity and the right of self-determination. They are entitled to live free of the fetters of persecution. They are entitled to live away from scenes haunted by memories of loot, torture and murder. They are entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they can live as free, equal men and women.

"There is one place they can call their own—their very own—and to which they should be entitled to go as their right, to live in peace and security, to develop their genius—to be free forever from all the horrors of the dreadful past. That place is Palestine, the homeland."

After recalling the work already done in Palestine to make it a homeland, the Governor said:

"The rights of the Jewish people in Palestine are not a local problem. These rights have wide historic human and political implications, as we have learned at such bitter cost. The attitude of nations to the problem of minorities is a touchstone to their approach to other and wider problems. Unless a society bases itself on a sincere acknowledgment of its responsibilities to the weak as well as to the strong, it will, in the inexorable process of the passage of time, perish.

"What is needed today is not mere sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist, as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action. They are entitled to insist and we insist on their behalf that solemn international covenants shall be respected and carried out.

"Our own Government and people are deeply involved. It was the common victory of ourselves and our allies in World War I which made possible the British Mandate of Palestine—which made possible that mandate expressly granted for the purpose of promoting the development of a Jewish homeland. It was to that victory, incidentally, that the independent Arab states were also obligated for their creation. The text of the Palestine Mandate is incorporated in the convention between our country and Great Britain. It has been confirmed by every President since 1920, and both our great political parties are publicly committed to bring it to fruition."

Dr. Daniel A. Pelling, president of the World Christian Endeavor Union, said that pledges made by Great Britain to the Jews should be kept; that the British Labor Government invited a major tragedy by failing to redeem its campaign promise of last May.

"The administration of Palestine as a Jewish state would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all other freedoms of a truly democratic government," he declared.

Rabbi Silver called on Prime Minister Attlee to open the doors of Palestine to Jews and urged

President Truman to continue his efforts for unrestricted immigration and Jewish colonization in Palestine.

Commenting on the activities of those Jews who oppose establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state, Rabbi Silver said: "They speak for an insignificant number of our people, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish state will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

He added that the American people had given evidence in many ways that it approved the reconstitution of the Jewish commonwealth. He said the Jewish people were striving to achieve only that which every other people on the face of the earth possess—a country and a homeland.

Each time Rabbi Silver mentioned that there was opposition to the proposal to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, the audience hissed and booed. "THE NEW YORK TIMES is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish state," Rabbi Silver said, and the audience manifested disapproval with catcalls and hisses.

Rabbi Wise said there could be no justice to the Jew from Britain unless it reached the decision that there be established the Jewish

state of Palestine. He urged also the admission of Palestine to the United Nations Organization as a Jewish state.

Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided.

Great Britain's policy of temporary extension of limited Jewish immigration of 1,500 a month was assailed by most of the speakers as an unsatisfactory stopgap. A cablegram to Prime Minister Clement Attlee demanding that Great Britain "fulfill the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledges given to the Jewish people, that it open the gates to free, unrestricted Jewish immigration and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth" was authorized in a resolution adopted by the meeting.

Also authorized was a telegram to President Truman expressing appreciation for his efforts in behalf of the Jews in Germany and Austria and apprising him of the sentiment expressed for the immediate establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state.

Council for Judaism Objects to Implication That All American Jews Back Zionist Aims

Leading J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, declared in a statement issued last night that attempts were being made by holding mass meetings and other propaganda devices, to foster the erroneous impression that all Jews were united in support of the Zionist plan to establish Jews as a nation and to make Palestine a Jewish commonwealth. "This is simply not true," he said. "No one possesses the authority or the right to speak in the name of all Americans of Jewish faith."

"In behalf of the American Council for Judaism, an organization of Americans of Jewish faith who oppose Jewish nationalism, refuse to participate in a political organization of Jews, and oppose the creation of a Jewish state, we call attention to the divergence of opinions among Jews on this subject. We draw public attention to our program which seeks to maintain the only identity of Jews as individual adherents of a Jewish re-

ligion. We seek one thing only for Jews; a status of equality of rights and obligations throughout the world."

As to Palestine and its status, Mr. Rosenwald said the Council urged aid for immigration into that country divorced from political objectives and consistent with Palestine's sound economic development and political well-being without discrimination or privileges for any group.

"We favor the earliest possible acquisition of self-government in Palestine in which all, Moslems, Christians and Jews, fulfilling the requirements of citizenship shall participate equally."

"We deem it particularly important to draw attention to the fact that an overwhelming body of Americans Jews hold this view by virtue of their principles as Americans of Jewish faith. We reject all those self-appointed spokesmen who presume to make their partisan claims in the name of all Americans of the Jewish faith."

DEWEY BACKS PLEA FOR JEWISH STATE AT BIG RALLY HERE

Old Pledges Should Be Kept, Free Immigration Allowed at Once, He Tells Throng

BRITISH STAND IS ASSAILED

Message to Attlee Demands He 'Open the Gates'—Mayor Wants U. S. to Act

Unrestricted immigration into Palestine and the immediate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth were urged by Governor Dewey and other speakers last night before a capacity audience in Madison Square Garden, and an overflow crowd that jammed West Forty-ninth Street and listened to the address broadcast through several large amplifiers.

The Governor declared the Jews were entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they could live as free and equal men and women. "That place is Palestine, their homeland," he added.

Mayor La Guardia, in an unexpected appearance, brought long bursts of applause when he declared that President Truman and the State Department should insist that Great Britain keep her pledges regarding Palestine, and that immediate action was necessary to solve the problem of the Jews in Europe.

Wants 100,000 Admitted to U. S.

He suggested that Great Britain act at once to let at least 100,000 enter Palestine and that at least as many should be admitted to the United States.

"The time for talk has passed," he said. "Now is the time to act."

The demonstration, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council, of which (Rabbi) Alba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise are joint chairmen, was a protest against the report that the British White Paper policy would be continued in Palestine.

Doors to the Garden were opened at 4:30 P. M., although the meeting was not scheduled to begin until 8 o'clock, and within two hours every seat had been taken. Those who came later were directed into West Forty-ninth Street. By the time the meeting started, the crowd jammed the street and sidewalks almost to Ninth Avenue. The thirty policemen and five mounted officers had difficulty in keeping Fifth Street clear, but there was no disorder.

Dewey Stresses Equality Governor Dewey, emphasizing that this and other countries were

Await Britain's Reply on Jews

WASHINGTON, Oct. 1 (UP) — Britain's answer was awaited today to President Truman's request that the gates of Palestine be opened at once to provide haven for 100,000 Jews in Germany.

As late as the end of August some of the Jews who survived Nazi persecution were still herded into European concentration camps, dying by the thousands from lack of food, medicine, clothing or decent shelter.

Truman, after a month's delay, made public a special report by Earl Harrison, former immigration commissioner and now dean of the University of Pennsylvania Law School, who was sent to Germany to investigate the condition of Jews and other displaced persons.

Harrison concluded that "the main solution, in many ways the only real solution of the Jews, is quick evacuation of as many as wish it to Palestine."

THE WORLD

Jews Told to 'Mobilize' to Win Homeland in Palestine

50,000
Overflow Garden
At Zionist Rally

By BARNETT BILDERSEE
"From here on every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."

This was the call of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, at a Madison Square Garden mass rally last night which became the opening of what Dr. Silver called a "mobilization of Jews" to win fulfillment from Britain of its 28-year-old Balfour Declaration to create a Jewish Commonwealth in the Holy Land.

Fifty thousand supporters of Zionism—Jews and non-Jews—heard the summons which Dr. Silver declared must reach every community in the U. S. A. and be maintained with vigor until the Balfour Declaration is redeemed. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the other joint chairman of the council, gave unqualified indorsement to the call. (Pictures on Pages 10 and 11.)

Huge Overflow

A stamping, cheering, hissing crowd, estimated by police at about 25,000, thundered approval from within the huge Garden and loud-speakers carried the message to an overflow of about 25,000 more who stood in the streets facing the Garden on 49th and 50th Sts., and Eighth Ave.

Spokesmen described the mass demonstration as the most militant note Zionism yet has struck in this country. The theme of speaker after speaker—including Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia—was impatience for action to fulfill the World War I pledge to Jewry.

The climactic moment came when, at the close of the session, the whole crowd rose and read in unison the text of postal cards of protest to British Ambassador Halifax (see reproduction) which they signed and dropped into collection boxes at the exits.

But while the demonstrators were hopefully exclaiming their aspirations, there was evidence overseas that another crisis was developing over Palestine's 10,000 square miles and the Arabs were at least as forceful in their claims.

'Holy War' Threat

In Damascus, Moslem leaders met and threatened a "holy war" against any attempt to let more Jews into the country. In Jerusalem Arab leaders issued a declaration that they would resist Jewish immigration, warning "it would be a grave error to believe that this implies only passive resistance."

On the other hand, Bernard Joseph, political head of the Jewish Agency, declared the "Zionist list" beginning to contract with bitterness.

The British already have put British troops in the place of regular Arab and Jewish constables in Jerusalem and are reported completing plans to absorb all Palestine police into the British Army if violence breaks out.

Both Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise had come to the Garden rally from a

Your Excellency:

For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people. We waited in vain. In the meantime, six million Jews were killed in Europe, while you and your colleagues gave us promises and meaningless words of sympathy. The British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe!

Our patience is at an end! We shall not continue to suffer British injustices silently. As Jews and as American citizens, we will fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized—until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish State is re-established.

Signature _____

Address _____

This was the card signed by 25,000 supporters of Zionism at a rally last night at Madison Square Garden. The address on the front says: "His Excellency, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, The Right Honorable Lord Halifax, The British Embassy, Washington, D. C."

meeting the day before with President Truman at which they had stated the Zionist position that revocation of the 1939 British White Paper, which restricts Jewish immigration to Palestine, was of life-and-death importance to the oppressed remnants of European Jewry, but that it was only a temporary remedy and that a permanent solution—the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth—was necessary.

Dr. Silver called the interview "pleasant and cordial" and Dr. Wise said he came away with hope that he would live to see a Jewish State in the Holy Land.

Boos of the crowd greeted every mention of British leaders—past and present—who were held responsible for blocking full immigration or fulfillment of the Balfour pledge. These included Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, and Lord Halifax.

Again the crowd boomed at mention of American Jews who oppose the Zionist program. They were described by Dr. Silver as "a few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews . . . who attempt to confuse this basic problem . . . who speak for an insignificant section of American Jewry, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish State will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

Cheers for La Guardia

The audience was speckled with the blue and khaki of the armed forces, among them a U. S. Army captain with the silver cross designating a Christian chaplain. Non-Jewish sympathizers also shared the platform, including Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, who declared himself a Zionist, "not because Jews are Zionists, but because I am a Christian."

Twice, La Guardia had to pause for long ovations. Once when he exclaimed: "I say to the State Dept. we demand some display of statesmanship and not of schmoos (talk); again when he applauded the President's recommendation to the British of 100,000 certificates of admittance to Palestine and added that the President's hand would be strengthened "if Congress would authorize him to say 'and we, too, are ready to take 100,000.'"

Gov. Dewey declared:

"What is needed today is not

mere sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action."

Sharp focus was given to Gov. Dewey's assertion by the reading of two telegrams reflecting the anguish of Jews still surviving in Europe who are losing hope of escaping. One, from Erich Neuhans, president of the Jewish Gemeinde (community) in Berlin, ended with the plea: "Please rescue us."

The other came to Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Council, from Maj. Judah Nadich, Jewish chaplain serving as adviser to Gen. Eisenhower on the problem of Jewish displaced persons. Maj. Nadich cabled:

Peril to Friendship

"After survey visits all Jewish displaced persons camps American zone Germany, find overwhelming majority desire immigration Eretz Yisroel (Palestine). Conservative estimate eighty percent. These remnants European Jewry live only for day Palestine doors open."

Besides the mass protest to Lord Halifax, telegrams were sent from the rally to President Truman and to British Prime Minister Clement Attlee.

The message to the President concluded:

" . . . If the present British policy regarding Palestine is allowed to continue, it will not only perpetuate the Jewish tragedy in the world but it will also damage the cause of Anglo-American friendship so essential to the maintenance of peace in the world . . . We ask you unreserved support for the immediate opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the announcement of an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

To Attlee:

" . . . As in the past, we prefer to be friends of Britain. We do not want our youth in Palestine to come to regard you as enemies. Unless you act quickly and justly, irreparable damage will be done to Britain's name and prestige in the world. In this, we speak the minds of vast number of Americans of all faiths and all walks of life."

70,000^{NY Journal American}
Rally for
Palestine
10-1-45

APPEALS FOR JEWS . . . Gov. Thomas E. Dewey told a crowd of more than 25,000 in Madison Square Garden that the situation in Palestine did not need mere sympathy but action. "The conscience of civilization must find expression. It can wait no longer. It is estimated 45,000 stood outside of the Garden during the rally. (Other pictures on Page 7 and in Picture Section.)

Journal-American Photo.

A thunderous call went forth to Great Britain from New York today in the name of merciful humanity.

It was a call to open the gates of Palestine immediately to the stateless and homeless Jews facing a Winter of misery in Europe.

It was a call to increase President Truman's request for 100,000 certificates of admittance to 500,000, or more if necessary.

It was a reminder of the President's disclosure on Saturday of appalling treatment of Jews in German concentration camps today, long after V-E Day.

It was, finally, a challenge to Britain to redeem its declared pledge to establish a Jewish state in Palestine.

CROWD IN STREET.

America's political and religious leaders issued the call and the challenge in a Madison Square Garden rally which filled the auditorium last night with a

record of 25,000 attendance, while 45,000 stood massed shoulder to shoulder on the streets outside.

Christian leaders joined with Jewish leaders in the demand for action now.

Gov. Dewey, Mayor LaGuardia, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Daniel A. Poling were among the distinguished speakers.

"In Europe today there are hundreds of thousands of Jewish people to whom peace and liberation have brought little or nothing by way of comfort or

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cont. from p. 4

even hope," Gov. Dewey declared.

"They live in desperation, filled with bitter recollection of past horrors, badly clothed and tragically underfed.

"Actually, tens of thousands of them still live in the same concentration camps where they saw their families and their fellow men murdered.

"These people ask simply for the right to have a home of their own. That home was promised them a quarter of a century ago by the nations of the world.

"I can understand no legitimate reason for its continued denial. I cannot believe that the British people or the American people or the other peoples of good will in the world will remain deaf to the cries of these suffering hundreds of thousands.

CALLS FOR JUSTICE.

"As I have said repeatedly, the homeless and persecuted Jews of Europe are entitled to life and dignity and the right of self-determination. They are entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they can live as free, equal men and women.

"There is one place they can call their own—their very own—and to which they should be entitled to go as their right, to live in peace and security, to develop their genius—to be free forever from all the horrors of the dreadful past.

"That place is Palestine, the homeland.

"What is needed today is not mere sympathy. What is needed today is action.

"We call for the free right of immigration into Palestine, and for its establishment as a Jewish State now. The conscience of civilization must find expression. I can wait no longer."

MASS DECLARATION.

Perhaps the most solemn moment of the rally came when the entire assembly rose, and recited in unison a declaration addressed to the British Ambassador in Washington, Lord Halifax.

Henry Monsky, presiding for the American Zionist Emergency Council, which sponsored the rally, led the recital of this message:

For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great

Britain's pledge to the Jewish people. We waited in vain. In the meantime, 6,000,000 Jews were killed in Europe, while you and your colleagues gave us promises and meaningless words of sympathy.



DR. DANIEL A. POLING
Gives Christians' Views.

Journal-American Photo.

"The British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe!

"Our patience is at an end! We shall not continue to suffer British injustices silently.

"As Jews and as American citizens, we will fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized—until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish state is re-established."

The message was printed on thousands of postcards. The audience signed them, depositing them in numerous mail boxes especially set up in the Garden corridors.

MAYOR SLAPS BRITISH.

Mayor LaGuardia opened his address by remarking that he would not address his words to the British people, even though, he added, Lord Halifax "only a week ago talked to the American people."

"The British Ambassador was not talking about an ideal; he was talking about another loan," said the mayor.

"I want to say to Lord Halifax, as one business man to another, the best way to establish credit is to give an indication that the borrower knows how to keep his word.

"Let Britain give just a little bit of lend-lease of justice for the people of Palestine." LaGuardia's words stirred the rally to an ovation.

URGES NATION ACT.

The Mayor continued: "Let me say the President's request for 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine would be re-enforced if he would be authorized by Congress to say we, too, will take 100,000 in the United States. The problem could be solved without diffi-

culty if Canada, Central and South America, Australia and Africa would join."

In closing, LaGuardia called upon the State Department to show some statesmanship toward seeing the pledge for a Jewish homeland is fulfilled, and asserted:

"We will hold the President of the United States responsible."

DR. WISE VOICES HOPE.

Dr. Wise, reporting that he and Dr. Silver had been in conference Saturday with President Truman, sounded a note of optimism.

"I believe in the American people; they are with us," the Rabbi, 50 years as Zionist leader, declared.

"I believe in the English people; they are with us. I do not give up hope as to Prime Minister Attlee.

"I predict to you I will live to see the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine."

His prophecy to thousands who had started to form in line at 4:30 p. m. for the meeting that opened at 8 o'clock, and to thousands bare-headed in an unexpected cold wind, created a roar of amen.

Earlier he had warned:

"Justice to the Jew does not mean a Jewish ghetto in an Arab empire. The only status

for a free and great people is the status of statehood."

Dr. Silver addressed his opening remarks to the British Prime Minister:

"The doors of Palestine will be opened, Mr. Attlee. British bayonets will not bar the way of our survivors. Nor will British tanks crush the hope of our people.

"Do you recall when your armies fled, beaten from Europe, at Dunkirk? They had a home to return to. Our people, too, had to flee from Europe because of Nazi terror and slaughter. But the home which they prepared for themselves, fearing just such an eventuality, was closed tight against them by your country.

"You now propose to continue to keep these doors shut against our survivors, after 6,000,000 of our people perished, for whose death your country is not without blame. You will not succeed, Mr. Attlee. The conscience of mankind and of your own people will not permit it."

Dr. Silver called on Winston Churchill, too, to raise his voice in the emergency.

GRATEFUL TO TRUMAN.

To President Truman he expressed the profound gratitude of the assembly for the written request to Prime Minister Attlee for 100,000 certificates of admission.

to Palestine, but added that unrestricted immigration and a Jewish State of Palestine were the basic goals required.

The Garden assembly then joined in addressing a telegram to President Truman, alluding to the directive to Gen. Eisenhower to ameliorate conditions for refugees, and the request to Attlee for certificates as "noble humanitarian actions."

"We ask your unreserved support for the immediate opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the announcement of an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth," the telegram concluded.

POLING WARNS BRITAIN.

Dr. Poling, president of the World Christian Endeavor Union, declared:

"The British Government invites a major tragedy by failing to redeem its unequivocal pledge of May, 1915.

"The administration of Palestine as a Jewish State would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all other freedoms of a truly democratic government.

"I must live with my conscience and my conscience makes me speak. In the present crisis I could not remain silent without denying my science and without betraying my faith."

Dr. Herbert S. Goldstein, president of the Synagogue Council of America, and Mrs. Judith Epstein, president of Hadassah, the Jewish women's Zionist organization, were among other speakers demanding

immediate action in the emergency.

A cable to Prime Minister Attlee, from the audience, read in part:

"We are here to express our deepest protest and indignation at the continuing policy of cruelty and betrayal displayed by your government toward the Jewish national home.

"Unless you act quickly and justly, irreparable damage will be done to Britain's name and prestige in the world."

In the flag-bedecked auditorium, Miss Olga Paul led the assembly in singing the National Anthem.

Jewish Leaders Hail Hearst Papers For Espousing Rally on Palestine

Following are the messages sent to William Randolph Hearst, from the leaders of the American Zionist Emergency Council, expressing appreciation for cooperation of the Hearst newspapers in the Madison Square Garden Rally last night:

Dear Mr. Hearst:

Please accept my sincere thanks for the magnificent coverage given our demonstration for a Jewish Palestine. Mr. Harry Schlacht's editorial deeply stirred us all.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Dear Mr. Hearst:

Let me express the deep satisfaction of all Zionists for your magnificent espousal of our cause.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

W. R. Hearst,

San Simeon, Cal.:

I am gratified for your forthright espousal of the cause of the Jewish people in its difficult hour. Your support of

the Zionist program voices the mind and heart of America.

Israel Goldstein,

President, Council of Synagogues of America.

William Randolph Hearst,
San Simeon, Cal.:

We deeply appreciate the help the Journal-American extended to us to make our Madison Square rally the success it was.

Harry L. Shapiro,
Director, American Zionist
Emergency Council.

W. R. Hearst,
San Simeon, Cal.:

The fine courage and magnificent editorial treatment given our rally by your papers are deeply appreciated. Accept our heart felt gratitude.

Dr. Emanuel Newmann,
Member of the Executive Council,
American Zionist Emergency Council.



DR. WISE . . . "I believe in the English people, they are with us," the noted rabbi told the rally at the Garden.

Journal-American Photo.



DR. SILVER . . . Appealed to ex-Prime Minister Winston Churchill to take up the cudgels for Europe's oppressed Jews.

As 50,000 Rallied to Urge Redemption of Zion Pledge



this was the scene inside Madison Square Garden last night. The Zionist Emergency Council meeting was so packed that doors had to be closed at 5:30 p.m. . . .



Dr. Stephen S. Wise (left) conferred with Mayor La Guardia as the rally began. Both were speakers.



Gov. Dewey told the meeting: "We have a right to insist . . . that these victims of Nazi oppression be given justice."



... These people waited on 49th St. all evening to hear the program over loud speakers. An estimated 30,000 were outside.

Photos by William H. Blanche and Arthur Looney, FBI



Silver declared: "From here on, every loyal Jew in the Army of Jewish Liberation."



At the conclusion of Dr. Silver's dramatic plea for a "mobilization of Jews" to secure British fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the audience arose and applauded at length—including people in the press row. (Story on Page 3.)

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

Oct 1 - 1945

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN JEWRY CALLED TO MOBILIZE IN FIGHT FOR PALESTINE AS JEWISH STATE

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MORE THAN 70,000 ATTEND MOST MILITANT ZIONIST MASS DEMONSTRATION

IN HISTORY AT MADISON SQUARE GARDEN IN NEW YORK CITY.

- - - - -

New York — "From here on, every Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation!"

With this rallying cry sounded by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council before one of the most militant Zionist mass demonstrations in history, American Jewry last night was mobilized in the battle for Palestine as a Jewish State.

More than 70,000 men and women — Jews and non-Jews alike — jammed New York's gigantic Madison Square Garden and packed the streets outside to cheer Dr. Silver's call to action, and to cheer again as Governor Dewey of New York, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairman with Dr. Silver of the Council, Mayor La Guardia and Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, demanded that Great Britain redeem the Balfour Declaration, open the gates of Palestine, and reconstitute it now as a Jewish Commonwealth.

Loud speakers carried the addresses to the vast crowds outside, and the thundering applause from the hall as speaker after speaker hammered home the keynote of the meetings: "Our patience is at an end!" echoed for blocks through midtown New York.

Stirring climax of the meeting came when the entire audience, led by the chairman, Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish

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Conference, rose as one and in one voice pledged themselves "as Jews and American citizens" to "fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized -- until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish State is re-established." The pledge, printed on postal cards and addressed to British Ambassador Lord Halifax, was signed on the spot by the audience and mailed in batches of thousands.

"Mr. Attlee!" declared Dr. Silver, addressing himself in his speech to the now Prime Minister of Great Britain and the leader of the British Labor Party which before election pledged itself to open the gates of Palestine, "Mr. Attlee, the doors of Palestine will be opened!

"British bayonets will not bar the way of our survivors. Nor will British tanks crush the hope of our people. Do you recall when your armies fled, beaten from Europe, at Dunkirk? They had a home to return to. Our people, too, had to flee from Europe because of Nazi terror and slaughter. But the home which they prepared for themselves, fearing just such an eventuality, was closed tight against them by your country.

"You now propose to continue to keep these doors shut against our survivors, after six million of our people perished, for whose death your country is not without blame.

"You will not succeed, Mr. Attlee! The conscience of mankind and of your own people will not permit it!"

The audience cheered then, as it did when Dr. Wise declared solemnly, "I tell you that I believe that I shall live to see the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish State!"

The audience booed the names of American Jews who oppose the Zionist program, who were described by Dr. Silver as "a few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews, befuddled and befuddling, who attempt to confuse this basic problem...who speak for an insignificant section of American Jewry -- those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish State will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

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Governor Dewey charged that the independent Arab states which oppose "this sacred right" of the Jewish people were denying the very principles on which these Arab states were founded at the end of World War I. Governor Dewey also reminded Prime Minister Attlee that the Labor Party last May had urged the reopening of Palestine to the Jews and called for the "redemption of this and all the other pledges.

"We call for action in accordance with our own traditions of justice and humanity. We speak on behalf of the survivors of Nazi terror who still live in misery. We call out in their name that they must not be left to die in camps. We say that those outside the camps must not be forced to remain in an atmosphere poisoned by the memory of unbelievable horrors and the all-pervasive aftermath of years on anti-Semitic propaganda."

Declaring that the Jews are entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they could live as free and equal men and women, the Governor asserted emphatically: "That place is Palestine, their homeland!

"What is needed today is not mere sympathy: what is needed is action. We have a right to ask -- we have a right to insist -- that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action!"

Governor Dewey's words were made the more impressive by the reading of two cabled pleas received by Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise. One came from Erich Melhans, president of the surviving Jewish community in Berlin, which pleaded that "Eretz Yisrael is our only hope," and begged, "Please rescue us!" The second came from Maj. Judah Nadich, Jewish chaplain who is advisor to Gen. Eisenhower on the problem of displaced Jewish persons. It read: "After survey visits all Jewish displaced persons camps American zone Germany find overwhelming majority desire immigration Eretz Yisrael conservative estimate 80 percent these remnants European Jewry live only for day Palestine doors open."

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Mayor La Guardia, who made an unscheduled appearance as a speaker, drew repeated ovations from the audience by his terse, challenging statements.

"I address myself to our State Department and I say: We demand some display of statesmanship and not of schmooz!" he declared, and again, speaking of the visit to this country of Lord Keynes, British financial expert, he drew applause and laughter when he said:

"I would like to remind my good friend, Lord Halifax, who made a speech to the American people indicating he wanted to borrow some money for his government, that the best way to establish credit is to convince people that the borrower knows how to keep his word!"

Dr. Silver in his address paid tribute to President Truman for "performing an admirable service to the cause of humanity by dispatching a letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates be made immediately available to our people," but added:

"You realize, of course, that your request of Great Britain, even when granted, is not the solution of the Jewish problem which existed long before the war and which is continuing after the war. It is not a refugee problem. It cannot be solved by palliative relief measures. It is the age-old problem of Jewish national homelessness, which has been the fontal source of our tragedies throughout the ages."

Referring to those anti-Zionist Jews who called upon the President Saturday to explain to him that there was a difference between rescue and a Jewish State, Dr. Silver exclaimed:

"Oh yes, indeed, they said better than they thought when they said there was a difference between rescue and a Jewish State! We know rescue. Have we not rescued and rescued again throughout the years? Now we want a Jewish State to put an end to that endless need for rescue of Jews!

"Who does not want a Jewish State?" he demanded, and as he replied to his own question, he greeted the names:

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"The American Jewish Committee does not want a Jewish State. The Council for Judaism does not want a Jewish State. The New York Times does not want a Jewish State.

"But who does want a Jewish State...?"

"The 600,000 Jews of Palestine want a Jewish State! You want a Jewish State!"

The audience leaped to its feet and the speaker was unable to continue for a few minutes as men and women broke out in the words of "Hatikvah."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise declared in a stirring address:

"Justice to the Jew does not mean a Jewish ghetto in an Arab empire. The only status for a free and great people -- and we, my friends, are a free and great people -- is the status of Statehood! We dare say to Britain -- Britain cannot end or destroy the Jewish State. It can do much to inaugurate and establish it speedily and -- as our Father said -- in our own day.

"We must not forget that it was England which wrote the Balfour Declaration, and not other country. We ask England to remember this and to end its repudiation of the Balfour Declaration. The continuance for another hour of the White Paper as the basis of British rule in Palestine is the utter repudiation of Balfour and Lloyd George and Churchill. As long as the White Paper stands the Balfour Declaration is nothing more than a scrap of paper,

"We cry to England tonight: 'Open unto us the gates of righteousness.' If England does, and if these be gates of righteousness and justice, then will England have obeyed the command: Justice, Justice shalt thou pursue -- Justice to England, Justice to the Jew."

In his address, Mr. Monsky recalled the San Francisco Conference which he attended as consultant to the United States delegation, and called attention to the stated purpose of the San Francisco Charter: "To establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained,"

He asserted:

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"In the light of present experience, we pose the questions: Are these but empty phrases? What about the Balfour Declaration and the League of Nations Mandate and the treaties relating thereto? What about the obligations that have admittedly arisen therefrom? Or are we, after having expended the awful cost in lives and matériel to make such Charter and its implementation possible, going back to the tragic policy of the days of Munich? Will the larger influential nations determine what is righteous, what is just, what is humanitarian, what is essential for the decent regard of human personality and a decent respect for the solemn covenants, and having thus determined, proceed to implement their decisions? Or will the policies of appeasement, expediency, their considerations and all of the iniquitous and immoral considerations which brought on the war be followed once again? In this case will justice determine the fate of the Jew in relation to Palestine, or will it be determined by the whim and the threat of the Arab League?"

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, noted churchman and editor of the "Christian Herald," another speaker, told the audience:

"It has been suggested that in the grave matter bringing us together tonight, a Christian should not speak because, as to Zionism there is a difference of opinion among Jews. To that suggestion there are at least two replies: First, this difference of opinion among Jews is numerically, if not financially, negligible. While I do not question the good faith of the minority, I do believe that it is terribly mistaken. But overwhelmingly all Jews are Zionists. And over the world, among those Jews to whom Palestine is the irreducible minimum for life and hope, I have found the verdict for Zion unanimous. But the second answer to the suggestion that as a Christian I remain silent, that second answer is to me more important. Indeed it is final. I must live with my conscience and my conscience makes me speak. I do not judge any man of my faith who is not a Zionist, but I do judge myself. I am a Zionist not because Jews are Zionists, but because I am a Christian."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America declared:

"England's great hour was when she stood alone against the armed might of Hitler and did not flinch. Her meanest hour would be now if after having emerged victorious she would betray the Jewish people when her own peril is behind her. There are reports that the new Labor Government is about to slide into the Tory Colonial Office groove of appeasement. According to these reports, the British Cabinet is thinking of a new immigration schedule for Palestine which would, in effect, continue the principle of the iniquitous White Paper — that Jews should be unable to become the majority in Palestine, that land purchase by Jews shall not be free from restrictions, and that a Jewish State in Palestine is 'verboden.'

"If the alarming reports which have come out of London prove to be authentic the Labor Government would be guilty of a compounded sin besides which even the grievous sins of the Tory Government would pale. Not only would it be a stab in the back of hundreds of thousands of Jewish survivors in Europe, now in German camps and in lands where they have been repatriated in name only. Thousands of Jews in despair are committing suicide. Scores of thousands refusing to yield to despair have been sustained by the hope of Palestine. To destroy that hope would mean murder in the second degree only one degree removed from Hitlerian murder."

He added: "Two months ago I was in Germany and saw thousands of Jews in the camps for displaced persons. I can still hear their cries, 'Tell the Jews of America they must get the gates of Palestine opened for us! We have had enough of camps, we want home. The lands from which we came are no longer home to us. Our families were slaughtered there. Home to us means Palestine where we are wanted by our fellow Jews. For God's sake get us to Palestine quickly!'

"We raise our voices tonight in their behalf and in behalf of hundreds of thousands of other Jews who have left the camps but are repatriated in name only."

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Mrs. Moses R. Epstein, president of Hadassah, in her address to the rally, asserted:

"The war was not started by the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941. The war in Germany began with the Nazi hordes marching into Poland in September 1939. History is made in moments of decision when men have the freedom of choice. At such times failure to follow moral directives, and to bend to expediency bring about results which cannot be changed. Thus when the persecution of the Jews of Germany began in 1933, the signal was given that there were abroad forces which had to be curbed before they got so strong that they could threaten the whole civilized world.

"We are now in another period of decision. If men are once more to bend moral directives to expediency, we will once more be involved in situations which may bring tragedy in their wake. In 1933 the Jews were a test case and a symbol. The Jews once more become that test case and symbol. We trust that the American people, that the British people, and that the governments of these two great countries which have so successfully waged this great war will see that to fail to enforce justice and right at this moment of decision would be the defeat of the great moral course that won the war on the battlefield."

Other speakers included Chaim Greenberg, noted Labor Zionist, editor of the Jewish Frontier, who speaking in Yiddish declared that although he was a socialist he was criticizing the socialist government of Britain because it deserved criticism, and Rabbi Joseph H. Lockstein, vice-president of Mizrahi, who memorialized the massacred Jews of Europe and pointed out that Palestine was promised to the Jews not only in the Balfour Declaration but thousands of years ago in the Bible.

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A telegram to President Truman and a cable to Prime Minister Attlee were sent off in the name of the thousands present at the rally. Text of the message to the President reads:

"Tens of thousands of American citizens, both Jews and non-Jews, are assembled tonight in Madison Square Garden to demand justice for the Jewish people. In conveying to you the sentiments of this great gathering, we express our deep appreciation for your recent acts in behalf of the suffering Jewish survivors in Europe. Both your directive to General Eisenhower regarding conditions in American-controlled refugee camps and your letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting 120,000 certificates into Palestine for Europe's Jews are noble humanitarian actions in the best tradition of Democratic America.

"We feel, however, that it is our duty to inform you of the predominant sentiment of American Jewry, shared by vast numbers of Christian Americans of all walks of life. Philanthropic and relief measures alone, commendable and long overdue as they are, cannot solve the Jewish problem. It can be solved only by the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, where men of all races and creeds will enjoy full equality of rights and opportunity. This was the meaning of the Balfour Declaration, of the Palestine Mandate and of all the pledges given to the Jewish people by Great Britain--pledges in which America has shared and which America has repeatedly endorsed. If the present British policy regarding Palestine is allowed to continue, it will not only perpetuate the Jewish tragedy in the world, but it will also damage the cause of Anglo-American friendship so essential to the maintenance of peace in the world.

"Speaking for the people which suffered most in this war, and speaking as Americans who have contributed our full share in making this land of ours free, democratic and strong, we ask your unreserved support for the immediate opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the announcement of an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

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The cable to Prime Minister Attlee reads;

"This message is being sent to you from Madison Square Garden in New York City, a place which during the long years of war held many a gathering assembled to express sympathy and offer help to Great Britain at a time when she stood alone in the war against the Axis, or later to help cement and strengthen British-American friendship. It is sent to you from the same people who sympathized with Britain's difficulties, who contributed to British War Relief, who, at a crucial moment in the history of Britain and of the civilized world, helped to swing America from distrust of imperialistic Britain to an all-out friendship with your country.

"Tonight, Madison Square Garden is once again filled to capacity, but the multitude of Americans assembled here have no words of sympathy and confidence to offer to Britain. We are here to express our deepest protest and indignation at the continuing policy of cruelty and betrayal displayed by your Government towards the Jewish National Home. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of European Jews could have been saved during the war years if your Government had not kept the doors of Palestine closed to the Jewish people, and tens of thousands are doomed today as a result of your Government's brutal policy.

"We are here to demand that Great Britain shall fulfill the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledge given to the Jewish people; that it open the gates of Palestine to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration, and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

"As in the past, we prefer to be friends of Britain. We do not want our youth in Palestine to come to regard you as their enemies. Unless you act quickly and justly, irreparable damage will be done to Britain's name and prestige in the world. In this, we speak the mind of vast numbers of Americans of all faiths and all walks of life."

Complete text of the pledge taken by the audience and mailed to Ambassador Halifax reads;

(more)

"Your Excellency:

"For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people. We waited in vain. In the meantime, six million Jews were killed in Europe, while you and your colleagues gave us promises and meaningless words of sympathy. The British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe!

"Our patience is at an end! We shall not continue to suffer British injustices silently. As Jews and as American citizens, we will fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized --until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish State is re-established."

Letter boxes were placed throughout the great hall and the signed postal cards were dropped in these as the audience filed out.

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N E W S

10.1.45

A M E R I C A

70,000 IN NEW YORK'S DEMONSTRATION AGAINST PALESTINE

NUREMBERG LAWS, FOR JEWISH STATE

by William B. Saphire

Independent Jewish Press Service Staff Writer

New York (JPS) — Twenty-five-thousand cheering people, packed Madison Square Garden here while an estimated 45,000 more massed outside, on streets roped off from traffic, to hear Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia and other Christian and Zionist leaders demand that Prime Minister Attlee, his government and his party, fulfill their solemn pledges on Palestine. The demands were voiced at a demonstration for a Jewish Palestine and for opening the doors to Europe's Jews, held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The demonstration called on President Truman for his "unreserved support for the immediate opening of Palestine." The entire audience rose and read in unison a declaration addressed to British Ambassador Lord Halifax and His Majesty's Government, demanding immediate recognition of a free independent Jewish State in Palestine.

Other speakers at the rally included Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Minister of the Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, Henry Monsky, co-chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, Hayim Greenberg of Paale Zion, Rabbi J.H. Lookstein of Mizrahi, and Mrs. Judith Epstein, president of Hadassah, and others.

Honor Your Pledge, Dewey Tells Britain

Governor Dewey, in a twenty-minute address, recounted the deplorable condition of surviving European Jewry and declared "There is no excuse for leaving unrelieved, the greatest human tragedy of this war, the plight of the first victims of Nazi terror, who still, five months after the fall of Germany, remain victims. There is no problem which calls in such clarion tones for the sympathetic and effective action of an aroused people.

Continued on Page 2)

"These people ask simply for the right to have a home of their own. The home was promised them a quarter of a century ago by the nations of the world. I can understand no legitimate reason for its continued denial. I cannot believe that the British people or the American people or the other people of good will in the world will remain deaf to the cries of those suffering hundreds of thousands. Since their voice cannot be heard, it is our privilege and our duty to make sure, that we voice their pleas in clear and unmistakable terms.

"Whatever argument which might properly have been advanced during the war to justify the continuation of the exclusion policy from Palestine, those arguments no longer apply. As I have said repeatedly, time and again, the homeless and persecuted Jews of Europe are entitled to life and dignity and the right to self determination. They are entitled to live free from the fetters of persecution... There is but one place they can call their own, their very own, and to which they should be entitled to go as a matter of right, to live in peace and security, to develop their genius, to be free forever from all the horrors of the dreadful past. That place is Palestine, the homeland.

"There has already been demonstrated in Palestine what men can do impelled by the force of an inspired ideal. The desert and the marsh have been transformed. A land long fallen into decay has been restored into a blooming, fruitful, happy country. Even more striking has been the change in the immigrants themselves. They have created a vigorous productive society. They are sturdy and self-reliant. Despite all obstacles they have in fact laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth... Moreover, let us get this point clear, too. Palestine's great economic development has not been achieved at the expense of the Arab inhabitants. On the contrary, the facts show that the Arabs have increased in numbers while their standards of living, of education and of health have improved greatly in these last 25 years. The rights of the Jewish people in Palestine are not a local problem. These rights have wide historic human and political implications... What is needed today is not mere sympathy. What is needed is action. We have a right to ask, we have a right to insist that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action. They are entitled to insist, and because they cannot be here to speak out we must insist on their behalf, that solemn international covenants shall be respected and carried out.... We call for the free right of immigration into Palestine and for its establishment now. The conscience of civilization must find expression. It can wait no longer."

Lend-Lease Justice, La Guardia Proposes

Unexpectedly appearing at the rally, Mayor La Guardia demanded "some show of statesmanship" from the State Department. "Let them ask Great Britain for some reverse lend-lease of justice for the

people of Palestine.

"The British Ambassador spoke to the American people recently. He spoke of some new loans. As one businessman to another, I say to Lord Halifax, the best way to establish credit is to indicate that the borrower knows how to keep his word," the Mayor said.

"Millions of innocent men, women and children were murdered waiting for the fulfillment of promises. The situation now is critical, far more important for immediate decision than anything else that is under discussion. The American people refuse to wait any longer for a decision on Palestine. We must make it clear to the President, and through him to the State Department, that we expect fulfillment of the solemn pledges made by the British Government to the Jewish people. All the beautiful rhetoric of Winston Churchill must be translated into action. We hold the President of the U.S. responsible for the pledges they made."

The rally addressed resolutions to President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador to the United States. The statement addressed to Attlee read:

"We express our deepest protest and indignation at the continuing policy of cruelty and betrayal displayed by your Government towards the Jewish National Home. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of European Jews could have been saved during the war if your Government had not kept the doors of Palestine closed to the Jewish people, and tens of thousands are doomed today as a result of your Government's brutal policy.

"We demand that Great Britain shall fulfill the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledges given to the Jewish people; that it open the gates of Palestine to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Arabs, Jewish Anti-Zionists Launch Campaign

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Co-Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, revealed that Jewish anti-Zionists sought to have Governor Dewey tone down his speech. The Arab League and Jewish anti-Zionists appeared to have launched a campaign to coincide with the Madison Square Garden rally as was discernible from reports in the New York Times, which featured anti-Zionist statements, letters to the editor and radio speeches by Lessing Rosenwald, Dr. Elmer Berger, Dr. Morris Lazaron and a reiteration by Arab League secretary general Azam Bay of his attacks on Zionism.

MASS DEMONSTRATION FOR A JEWISH PALESTINE, MADISON SQUARE GARDEN, NEW YORK CITY AS REPORTED BY THE NEW YORK PRESS OCTOBER 1, 1945

New York Journal-American - October 1, 1945



IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY . . . Christian leaders joined members of the Jewish faith in a gigantic rally at Madison Square Garden to demand action now

by Great Britain to redeem its declared pledge to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. More than 25,000 jammed the huge arena while another 45,000 stood in the

streets to demonstrate their sympathy with the plight of the Jews in Europe. Distinguished speakers included Gov. Thomas E. Dewey, Mayor LaGuardia, Dr. Stephen

S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Daniel A. Poling. All received ovations.

Photo by Arthur

New York Journal-American Mon., Oct. 1, 1945—31

New York Times - October 1, 1945

DEWEY BACKS PLEA FOR JEWISH STATE AT BIG RALLY HERE

Old Pledges Should Be Kept,
Free Immigration Allowed
at Once, He Tells Throng

BRITISH STAND IS ASSAILED

Message to Attlee Demands He
'Open the Gates'—Mayor
Wants U. S. to Act

Unrestricted immigration into
Palestine and the immediate estab-
lishment of a Jewish common-
wealth were urged by Governor
Dewey and other speakers last

night before a capacity audience in Madison Square Garden, and an overflow crowd that jammed West Forty-ninth Street and listened to the addresses broadcast through several large amplifiers.

The Governor declared the Jews were entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they could live as free and equal men and women. "That place is Palestine, their homeland," he added.

Mayor La Guardia, in an unexpected appearance, brought long rounds of applause when he declared that President Truman and the State Department should insist that Great Britain keep her pledges regarding Palestine, and that immediate action was necessary to solve the problem of the Jews in Europe.

Wants 100,000 Admitted to U. S.

He suggested that Great Britain act at once to let at least 100,000 enter Palestine and that at least as many should be admitted to the United States.

"The time for talk has passed,"

he said. "Now is the time to act." The demonstration, sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council, of which Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise are joint chairmen, was a protest against the report that the British White Paper policy would be continued in Palestine.

Doors to the Garden were opened at 4:30 P. M., although the meeting was not scheduled to begin until 8 o'clock, and within two hours every seat had been taken. Those who came later were directed into West Forty-ninth Street. By the time the meeting started, the crowd jammed the street and sidewalks almost to Ninth Avenue. The thirty policemen and five mounted officers had difficulty in keeping Fifth Street clear, but there was no disorder.

Dewey Stresses Urgency

Governor Dewey, emphasizing that this and other countries were beset with internal and external difficulties calling for the best in leadership, said:

"But none of them is an excuse for leaving unrelieved the greatest

human tragedy of this war, the plight of the first victims of Nazi terror, who still, five months after the fall of Germany, remain victims. There is no other problem which calls in such clarion tones for the sympathetic and effective action of an aroused community.

"These people ask simply for the right to have a home of their own. That home was promised them a quarter of a century ago by the nations of the world. I can understand no legitimate reason for its continued denial. I cannot believe that the British people or the American people or the other peoples of good-will in the world will remain deaf to the cries of these suffering hundreds of thousands. Since their voices cannot be heard, it is our privilege and our duty to make sure that at this mighty meeting we voice their plan in clear and unmistakable terms.

"Whatever the arguments which might properly have been advanced during the war to justify the continuation of the exclusion policy from Palestine, those arguments no longer apply. As I have said repeatedly, the homeless and persecuted Jews of Europe are entitled to life and dignity and the right of self-determination. They are entitled to live free of the fetters of persecution. They are entitled to live away from scenes haunted by

memories of loot, torture and murder. They are entitled to the fundamental rights of free men, a home of their own, in a land where they can live as free, equal men and women.

"There is one place they can call their own—their very own—and to which they should be entitled to go as their right, to live in peace and security, to develop their genius—to be free forever from all the horrors of the dreadful past. That place is Palestine, the homeland."

After recalling the work already done in Palestine to make it a homeland, the Governor said: "The rights of the Jewish people in Palestine are not a local problem. These rights have wide historical human and political implications, as we have learned at such bitter cost. The attitude of nations to the problem of minorities is a touchstone to their approach to other and wider problems. Unless a society bases itself on a sincere acknowledgment of its responsibilities to the weak as well as to the strong, it will, in the inexorable process of the passage of time, perish.

"What is needed today is not more sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given

not pity, not words, but justice by action. They are entitled to insist and we insist on their behalf that solemn international covenants shall be respected and carried out.

"Our own Government and people are deeply involved. It was the common victory of ourselves and our allies in World War I which made possible the British Mandate of Palestine—which made possible that mandate expressly granted for the purpose of promoting the development of a Jewish homeland. It was to that victory, incidentally, that the independent Arab states were also obligated for their creation. The text of the Palestine Mandate is incorporated in the convention between our country and Great Britain. It has been confirmed by every President since 1920, and both our great political parties are publicly committed to bring it to fruition."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, president of the World Christian Endeavor Union, said that pledges made by Great Britain to the Jews should be kept; that the British Labor Government invited a major campaign to redeem its campaign promise of last May.

"The administration of Palestine as a Jewish state would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all other freedoms of a truly democratic

government," he declared.

Rabbi Silver called on Prime Minister Attlee to open the doors of Palestine to Jews and urged President Truman to continue his efforts for unrestricted immigration and Jewish colonization in Palestine.

Commenting on the activities of those Jews who oppose establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state, Rabbi Silver said: "They speak for an insignificant number of our people, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish state will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

He added that the American people had given evidence in many ways that it approved the reconstitution of the Jewish commonwealth. He said the Jewish people were striving to achieve only that which every other people on the face of the earth possesses—a country and a homeland.

Each time Rabbi Silver mentioned that there was opposition to the proposal to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, the audience hissed and booed. "The New York Times is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish state," Rabbi Silver said, and the audience manifested disapproval with cat-calls and hisses.

Rabbi Wise said there could be no justice to the Jew from Britain unless it reached the decision that there be established the Jewish state of Palestine. He urged also the admission of Palestine to the United Nations Organization as a Jewish state.

Henry Moskowitz, co-chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided.

Great Britain's policy of temporary extension of limited Jewish immigration of 1,500 a month was assailed by most of the speakers as an unsatisfactory stopgap. A cablegram to Prime Minister Clement Attlee demanding that Great Britain "fulfill the letter and the spirit of the solemn pledges given to the Jewish people, that it open the gates to free, unrestricted Jewish immigration and that it announce an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth" was authorized in a resolution adopted by the meeting.

Also authorized was a telegram to President Truman expressing appreciation for his efforts in behalf of the Jews in Germany and Austria and appraising him of the sentiment expressed for the immediate establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state.

As 50,000 Rallied to Urge Redemption of Zion Pledge



This was the scene inside Madison Square Garden last night. The Zionist Emergency Council meeting was so packed that doors had to be closed at 5:30 p.m. . . .



... These people waited on 49th St. all evening to hear the program over loud speakers. An estimated 30,000 were outside.



Dr. Stephen S. Wise (left) conferred with Mayor La Guardia as the rally began. Both were speakers.



Gov. Dewey told the meeting: "We have a right to insist . . . that these victims of Nazi oppression be given justice."



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver declared: "From here on, every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."



At the conclusion of Dr. Silver's dramatic plea for a "mobilization of Jews" to secure British fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the audience arose and applauded at length—including people in the press row.

Jews Told to 'Mobilize' to Win Homeland in Palestine

50,000
Overflow Garden
At Zionist Rally

By BARNETT RILDERER
"From here on every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish Liberation."
This was the call of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, at a Madison Square Garden mass rally last night which became the opening of what Dr. Silver called a "mobilization of Jews" to win fulfillment from Britain of its 28-year-old Balfour Declaration to create a Jewish Commonwealth in the Holy Land.
Fifty thousand supporters of Zionism—Jews and non-Jews—heard the summons which Dr. Silver declared must reach every community in the U. S. A. and be maintained with vigor until the Balfour Declaration is redeemed. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, the other joint chairman of the council, gave unqualified endorsement to the call.

Your Excellency

For years we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledge to the Jewish people. We waited in vain. In the meantime, six million Jews were killed in Europe, while you and your colleagues gave us promises and meaningless words of sympathy. The British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe.

Our patience is at an end. We shall not continue to suffer British injustices silently. As Jews and as American citizens, we will fight back relentlessly until the legitimate rights of the Jewish people are recognized—until Palestine is opened wide to free Jewish immigration and a Jewish State is re-established.

Signature: _____

Address: _____

This was the card signed by 25,000 supporters of Zionism at a rally last night at Madison Square Garden. The address on the front says: "His Excellency, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, The Right Honorable Lord Halifax, The British Embassy, Washington, D. C."

Huge Overflow

A stamping, cheering, hissing crowd, estimated by police at about 25,000, thronged approval from within the huge Garden and loud-speakers carried the message to an overflow of about 25,000 more who stood in the streets facing the Gar-

den on 49th and 50th Sts., and Eighth Ave.

Speakers described the mass demonstration as the most militant note Zionism yet has struck in this country. The theme of speaker after speaker—including Gov. Thomas E. Dewey and Mayor Fiorello H. La Guardia—was im-

patience for action to fulfill the World War I pledge to Jewry.

The climactic moment came when, at the close of the session, the whole crowd rose and read in unison the text of postal cards of protest to British Ambassador Halifax (see reproduction) which they signed and dropped into collection boxes at the exits.

But while the demonstrators were hopefully exclaiming their aspirations, there was evidence overseas that another crisis was developing over Palestine's 10,000 square miles and the Arabs were at least as forceful in their claims.

'Holy War' Threat

In Damascus, Moslem leaders met and threatened a "holy war" against any attempt to let more Jews into the country. In Jerusalem Arab leaders issued a declaration that they would resist Jewish immigration, warning "it would be a grave error to believe that this implies only passive resistance."

On the other hand, Bernard Joseph, political head of the Jewish Agency, declared the "Zionist list is beginning to contract with bitter-

The British already have put British troops in the place of regular Arab and Jewish constabiles in Jerusalem and are reported completing plans to absorb all Palestine police into the British Army if violence breaks out.

Both Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise had come to the Garden rally from a meeting the day before with President Truman at which they had stated the Zionist position that revocation of the 1939 British White Paper, which restricts Jewish immigration to Palestine, was of life-and-death importance to the oppressed remnants of European Jewry, but that it was only a temporary remedy and that a permanent solution—the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth—was necessary.

Dr. Silver called the interview "pleasant and cordial" and Dr. Wise said he came away with hope that he would live to see a Jewish State in the Holy Land.

Boos of the crowd greeted every mention of British leaders—past and present—who were held responsible for blocking full immigration or fulfillment of the Balfour pledge.

These included Prime Minister Clement R. Attlee, Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin, and Lord Halifax.

Again the crowd boomed at mention of American Jews who oppose the Zionist program. They were described by Dr. Silver as "a few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews . . . who attempt to confuse this basic problem . . . who speak for an insignificant section of American Jewry, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish State will endanger their own comfortable existence here."

Cheers for La Guardia

The audience was speckled with the blue and khaki of the armed forces, among them a U. S. Army captain with the silver cross designating a Christian chaplain. Non-Jewish sympathizers also shared the platform, including Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the *Christian Herald*, who declared himself a Zionist, "not because Jews are Zionists, but because I am a Christian."

Twice, La Guardia had to pause for long orations. Once when he exclaimed: "I say to the State Dept. we demand some display of statesmanship and not of schismatry (talk); again when he applauded the President's recommendation to the British of 100,000 certificates of

admittance to Palestine and added that the President's hand would be strengthened "if Congress would authorize him to say 'and we, too, are ready to take 100,000.'"

Gov. Dewey declared:

"What is needed today is not more sympathy. What is needed today is action. We have a right to ask—we have a right to insist as we do here tonight—that these victims of Nazi oppression be given not pity, not words, but justice by action."

Sharp focus was given to Gov. Dewey's assertion by the reading of two telegrams reflecting the anguish of Jews still surviving in Europe who are losing hope of escaping. One, from Erich Melhorn, president of the Jewish Gemeinde (community) in Berlin, ended with the plea: "Please rescue us."

The other came to Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Council, from Maj. Judah Nadich, Jewish chaplain serving as adviser to Gen. Eisenhower on the problem of Jewish displaced persons. Maj. Nadich culled:

Peril to Friendship

"After survey visits all Jewish displaced persons camps American zone Germany, find overwhelming majority desire immigration Eretz

Yisroel (Palestine). Conservative estimate eighty percent. These remnants European Jewry live only for day Palestine doors open."

Besides the mass protest to Lord Halifax, telegrams were sent from the rally to President Truman and to British Prime Minister Clement Attlee.

The message to the President concluded: "... If the present British policy regarding Palestine is allowed to continue, it will not only perpetuate the Jewish tragedy in the world, but it will also damage the cause of Anglo-American friendship so essential to the maintenance of peace in the world . . . We ask you unreserved support for the immediate opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the announcement of an immediate decision to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

To Attlee: "... As in the past, we prefer to be friends of Britain. We do not want our youth in Palestine to come to regard you as enemies. Unless you act quickly and justly, irreparable damage will be done to Britain's name and prestige in the world. In this, we speak the minds of vast numbers of Americans of all faiths and all walks of life."

Photos by William H. Blanchard and Arthur Leipzig, PM

Giant Zionist Rally Blames Britain for Jewish Deaths

New York Herald Tribune - October 1, 1945

Dewey Exhorts Britain to Open Palestine 'Now'

Bids Labor Party Redeem Pledge to Jews; 50,000 Flock to Garden Rally

Governor Thomas E. Dewey, addressing a cheering crowd of more than 21,000 persons at a Zionist rally in Madison Square Garden, called last night for the free right of Jewish immigration into Palestine and for its establishment "now." An estimated 25,000 more outside the Garden heard the Governor, by means of loud-speakers.

Urging the British Labor party to redeem a pledge made before it came into power, the Governor declared that hundreds of thousands of Jews are still living in want and desperation in Europe and that war-time arguments for excluding them from their national homeland no longer exist.

"The conscience of civilization must find expression," he said. "It can wait no longer."

The Governor was the featured speaker at a demonstration sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and called as a protest against reports that the British White Paper policy would continue to bar Jews from Palestine. Of the 21,000 in the Garden, 2,000 were standing. Police, who barred the doors an hour before it started, estimated the crowd on Eighth Avenue and Forty-ninth and Fiftieth Streets at 25,000 to 40,000.

Mayor Gets Ovation

Mayor F. H. La Guardia made an unscheduled appearance after the Governor and received almost as great an ovation. He told the demonstrators it would be "very easy" for the Big Four to settle the Palestine situation.

The demonstration followed by a day President Truman's disclosure that he had appealed to the British government to open Palestine to such of Europe's displaced persons as wish to go there.

Governor Dewey did not mention by name the Balfour Declaration of 1917, indorsed by the United States and other nations, on which Zionists base their claim for British support of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. But he reminded Prime Minister Clement Attlee that the Labor party last May had urged the reopening of the country to Jews, and called for "the redemption of this and all the similar pledges."

"We call for action in accordance with our own traditions of justice and humanity," he added. "We speak on behalf of the survivors of Nazi terror who still live in misery. We call out in their name that they must not be left to die in camps. We say that those outside the camps must not be forced to remain in an atmosphere poisoned by the memory of unbelievable horrors and the all-pervasive aftermath of years on anti-Semitism."

Recalls Own Prophecy

The Governor recalled that seven years ago, before the outbreak of war, he had risked the role of prophet in saying that the outrages against Jews in Germany and Austria bore "the unmistakable earmarks of an organized plot to wipe out the Jewish people."

"Today, as we look back," he

said, "it is clear that in all history there has never been a more skillfully designed and cold-blooded effort to slaughter an entire people. More than 6,000,000 Jews lived on the Continent of Europe outside of Russia before the war. Today less than 2,000,000 survive. It is the most tragic chapter of sheer brutality in history."

"Civilized humanity has scarcely yet grasped the horror of the murder of 4,000,000 helpless people. Nor has the conscience of mankind yet been fully aroused to the meaning of that frightful crime."

"If there had been full realization, it is possible that the doors of Palestine would not have been closed to the hunted Jewish people of Europe in the hour of their bitterest need. It is possible that millions now dead might still be living. That unbelievable lazard will stand out as a mark against our civilization of the twentieth century for years to come."

Commenting that Palestine's recent economic development actually has benefited its Arab population and that our own government is deeply obligated in promises for development of a Jewish homeland, he declared that the rights of the Jewish people "have wide historic and human implications."

"The attitude of nations to the problem of minorities is a touchstone to their approach to other and wider problems," he said. "Unless a society bases itself on a sincere acknowledgment of its responsibilities to the weak, as well as to the strong, it will, in the inexorable process of the passage of time, perish."

Mayor La Guardia, calling attention to President Truman's request that Britain grant certificates for 100,000 European Jews to enter Palestine, suggested that the United States offer to receive another 100,000.

"We must make it very clear to the President," the Mayor added, "that we expect the fulfillment of pledges. We can't address the British people directly, but we can direct our pleas to the President, and we will hold him responsible."

Says Delay Doomed 6,000,000

Dr. Abba H. Silver, joint chairman with Dr. Stephen S. Wise of the American Zionist Emergency Council, told the meeting that "because a political decision was delayed in the days before the war, 6,000,000 of our people perished during the war." He urged former Prime Minister Winston Churchill to go to the support of the Zionist movement, and, while praising President Truman's action as "the first forthright act by a Chief Executive of our country in many years," added that the Jewish problem is not a refugee problem but a problem of "national homelessness."

Dr. Wise declared that "justice to the Jew does not mean a Jewish ghetto in an arid empire—the only status for a free and great people is the status of statehood." And the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of "The Christian Herald" and minister of the Baptist Temple, Philadelphia, said that administration of Palestine as a Jewish state "would insure to Arab, Christian and Jew alike religious freedom and all the other freedoms of a truly democratic government."

Henry Monsky, of Omaha, Neb., co-chairman of the interim committee of the American Jewish Conference, presided and read a cable to Prime Minister Attlee and telegrams to President Truman and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador, setting forth the Zionist position and asking immediate action.

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

The campaign for a free Jewish state in Palestine stepped up today, inspired by a giant rally at which Britain's policy of drastic restrictions on immigration to the Holy Land was condemned as imperialistic and inhumane.

The mass meeting, announced six days ago when Britain revealed her decision not to open Palestine's doors to homeless, destitute Jews, brought throngs to Madison Square Garden last night.

While an overflow crowd of 45,000 listened through amplifiers in blocked-off streets, 22,000 people in the packed Garden solemnly chanted in unison a demand that Palestine be "opened wide to free Jewish immigration."

While "we waited patiently for the fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges to the Jewish people," they said, "six million Jews were killed in Europe. The British government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe."

"Our patience is at an end," the huge audience said in one voice. "We shall not continue to suffer British injustice silently." They read from printed postcards which were then signed and mailed to Ambassador Halifax.

A Mobilization Call

Their pledge was an answer to the call issued at the rally by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, for "total mobilization" of world Jewry in the fight for Palestine.

"From here on," he said, "every loyal Jew becomes a soldier in the Army of Jewish liberation."

At the rally, sponsored by the Emergency Council, speaker after speaker demanded State Dept. intervention and recalled Britain's unredempted promises to the Jew.

Mayor LaGuardia declared that Britain first promised to establish a Jewish Commonwealth 28

years ago, while Gov. Dewey and several other speakers pointed out the British Labor Party, shortly before it won power, adopted a resolution saying: "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unpeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe."

Dewey and Poling Speak

"We call tonight for the redemption of this and all the similar pledges," Dewey said. "The conscience of civilization must find expression. It can wait no longer."

Mayor LaGuardia demanded that the State Dept. make "some display of statesmanship and not of schism" on the Zionist problem and also warned that "we will hold the President of the U. S. responsible" if the gates of Palestine are not opened.

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald and New York Post columnist, warned that

the failure to keep the pledge made in the Balfour Declaration, "which failure has already cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of Jews, now threatens the lives of yet other tens of thousands."

Although the rally was scheduled to start at 8 p. m., the audience began arriving before 5, the auditorium was filled by 6:30 and the meeting was under way at 7:30, while thousands of people tried vainly to gain entrance.

Both 49th and 50th Sts. were so crowded, it was impossible to get through.

"Attlee a Chamberlain"

Inside, Mr. Garden was decorated with militant slogans, such as: "Is Attlee Another Chamberlain?" "Is Britain Planning Another Munich?" "No American Aid for British Betrayal." "When Will the 'Var Be Over for the Jewish People? Aren't 6,000,000 Jewish Lives Enough?"

Two huge photographs hung from the rafters. One showed a group of Jews in a concentration camp, their faces gaunt, their eyes haunting. The other showed a group of smiling, healthy Jewish pioneers in Palestine.

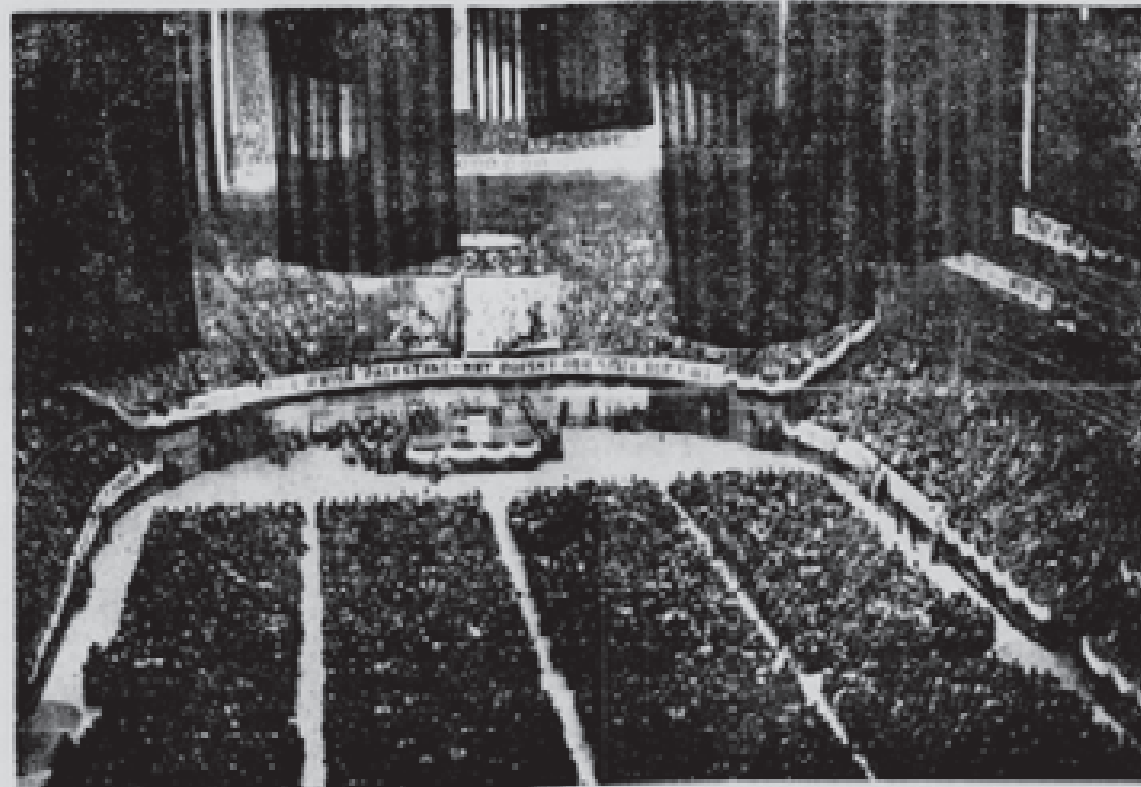
The audience was, for the most part, solemn and stern. But it hissed and booed when mention was made of the "few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews" who oppose Zionism. And it cheered mention of President Truman and of Jewish hopes in Palestine.

Wise Praises Truman

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Rabbi Silver, praised Mr. Truman's request that the British grant the Jews 100,000 entry certificates into Palestine, but stressed that this was just a "first step."

He said that, after a meeting with Mr. Truman Saturday, he was "not without hope." And Wise, at 79, the grand old man of American Zionism, brought the audience to its feet when he said: "I shall live to see the establishment of a Jewish National Home."

Messages were sent to President Truman, Prime Minister Attlee and British Ambassador Halifax after the need for swift action was emphasized by a cablegram from the Jewish community of Berlin saying: "Life seems futile. Eretz Yisrael (Palestine) our only hope. Please rescue us."



THIS OVERHEAD view shows some of the 22,000 persons who jammed Madison Square Garden last night to demand that England make good her pledges for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine. The rally was sponsored by American Zionist Emergency Council. Story on Page 13.

New York Daily Mirror - October 1, 1945

22,000 at Garden Rally Hear Dewey Ask Open Palestine

Wartime arguments for exclusion of Jews from Palestine no longer hold good, Gov. Dewey declared last night in calling on the British Labor Government to redeem its pre-election pledge and remove White Paper restrictions barring Jewish immigration to the Holy Land.

Addressing a solemn and purposeful crowd of 20,000 who thronged Madison Square Garden to protest the British limitation, Dewey charged that the independent



Mayor LaGuardia raps Lord Halifax on "keeping word" in Garden speech. (Mirror Photo)

Arab states which oppose "this sacred right" of the Jewish people were denying the principles on which these Arab states were founded at the expiration of World War I.

In addition to the 20,000 in the Garden, an additional 2,000 outside on 49th St. heard the addresses over a loudspeaker system. The crowd was orderly and quiet. Those unable to gain admission to the Garden accepted the situation philosophically, and remained to hear the last word of the last speaker.

Warning to Halifax

The meeting dispatched messages to President Truman and Lord Halifax, British Ambassador, complimenting the former for his "recent acts in behalf of the suffering Jews of Europe" and warning the latter that he Jews "will not continue to suffer British injustices silently." "The meeting informed Halifax," the British Government bears a great share of the responsibility for the Jewish tragedy in Europe."

A cable was sent to British Prime Minister Attlee from the Garden, reminding him that the Jews of the world had contributed materially to the victory which saved Britain from Nazi domination and expressing the meeting's "deepest protest and indignation at the continuing policy of cruelty and betrayal displayed by your Government towards the Jewish national home." The message called on Attlee to "open the gates of Palestine to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration" and "establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth."

Dewey told the Garden audience that, contrary to British and Arab propaganda, Palestine's economic development had not gone at the expense of the Arabs.

"On the contrary," he said, "the Arabs have increased in numbers while their standards

of living, education and health have greatly improved in these last 25 years."

"We call for the free right of immigration into Palestine and for its establishment now. The conscience of civilization must find expression."

The Governor declared "our own government and people" are deeply involved.

Another speaker at the meeting, which was under auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the "Christian Herald." He said failure to implement the Balfour pledge threatens the lives of tens of thousands of Jews.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, appealed to former Prime Minister Churchill to "speak up" as a "member of the opposition" and make good his declaration of 1939 when he declared the White Paper as "a plain breach of trust."

Mayor LaGuardia, who arrived at the meeting toward the end, said:

"I would like to remind my good friend Lord Halifax, who made a speech to the American people indicating he wanted to borrow some money for his government, that the best way to establish credit is to convince people that the borrower knows how to keep his word."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of the Free Synagogue, who is joint chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, said that "justice" to the Jews means not only "certificates of admission to Palestine," but the admission of Palestine to the United Nations Organization as a Jewish State.

Dewey Demands Jews Be Admitted To Palestine Now

La Guardia and Others Assail British Policy At Mass Meeting

Citing the desperate plight of hundreds of thousands of Jews still in Europe, Gov. Dewey last night urged unrestricted immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth immediately.

The Governor stated before 21,000 in Madison Square Garden and an overflow crowd estimated at more than 25,000 which heard him through loudspeakers that Jews were entitled to a homeland at their own where they could live as free and equal men and women. That place was Palestine, he said.

Mayor La Guardia said Great Britain should let at least 100,000 Jews enter Palestine immediately,

and that the same number should also be allowed to enter this country.

Protest Over White Paper

The meeting was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council as a protest against the report that the British White Paper policy as regards Palestine would continue.

Gov. Dewey said that the United States was deeply involved in promises for development of a Jewish homeland, and called for "not pity, not words, but justice by action."

The Mayor called on President Truman and the State Department to insist that Great Britain keep her pledges regarding Palestine, and insisted that immediate action was necessary to solve the problem of the Jews in Europe.

Prewar Delay Condemned

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, addressing the British Prime Minister, asserted that "British bayonets will not bar the way of our survivors."

He said that "because a political decision was delayed in the days before the war 6,000,000 of our people perished during the war."

Dr. Daniel A. Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, also spoke.

New York World-Telegram - October 1, 1945

פארדנער טאג

די נאכפאלגער
פון די ארבייטער
ווערן זיך און די
ארבייטער אליין

ארבייטער
פון אלע לענדער,
פארמיטלעך
זיך

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8 Pages

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פארדאנדלען מיט דר. ווייזמאן

שטורם פון פראטעסט
גענו, „ווייסע פאפיר“
ביי ציון-מיטלנג

גאנצערנאר דורא, מעיאר לא-
גוארדיא, דר. סילוער, דר.
ווייז, דר. פארלנג האלטע
שטארקע רעדעס; אנטייל-
נעמער פון רייזע דעמא-
סטרעציע ווענדען זיך צו פרע-
סיער עטלי, פרעזידענט מרד-
סאן און צום ענגלישע אג-
באטארא און וואשינגטאן;
אן אייפאדעוונג איז צו
שטידטשילד.

22,000 אין נארדען;
50,000 אין דרויסען
ביי פראטעסט-מיטלנג

פאליציי-מאכט צום
ארום 75 מיליאנען און
זיינען געשטען געקויפט צום מאס

נייטאדזשע רעדער ביי ציון-מיטלנג



דעניעל פאלנג



גאנצערנאר דורא

מיטלנג אין ניו יארקער טעראסאן
פאליציי גארדען צו פארשטען אז
דאס „ווייסע פאפיר“ וואל אפגע-
שאפט ווערען און די טויערען פון
ארץ ישראל וואלען געשטענען ווע-
רען פאר די היימלאנד אידישע וואג-
דעקער און אייראפע.
עס איז געווען איינע פון די

גרעסטע און איינרוקספולסטע
דישע דעמאנסטראציעס אין ניו
יארק.
העכער 22 מיליאנען מענטשן הא-
בען אנגעפילט דעם רייזען סענ-
טראן סקווער גארדען. אבער די טי-
רען וויינען געשלאסען געווארען
ארום 15 מינוט נאך ווערן און

ערשט דאן האט זיך אפגעשלאסן
דער רייזען שטראם סענשען.
אויבער דעם רייזען געשטאנען
האל פון טעראסאן סקווער גארדען
זיינען געהאנגען דריי רייזען פלא-
קאטען, וואס האבען זיך געלייגענען:
„וויינען 6 מיליאן אידישע חרונים
נישט גענוג“ „ווען וועט זיך עס
דינען דער קריג פארן אידישען
פאלק“ „וואס מוז פאר אי-
דען אונזער סעקס דעפערמי-
טעס?“

פון האלב נאך דריי ביטאן ווי-
נען שוין געגאנגען „לאינא“ מיט
סענשען פון בירע וויטען טעראסאן
סקווער גארדען אויף דער 19-סטער
און אויף דער 30-סטער סטריט. די
טויערן וויינען געשטענען געווארען א
סענשעל נאך פינף און און א פאר
מינוטען און דער גאנצער רייזע-
וואל געווען פול און מ'האט שוין
אריינגעלאזט נאך אויף די בעלי-
קאנים.

גאנצערנאר ווי די טויערן וויינען נע-
וואלטען געווארען, ארום 20 מינוט
נאך ווערן האבען די פאליצייס
אנגעהויבען שיקען דעם אנקומענדי-
גען מולס אויף 40-סטע סטריט, צווי-
שען אבער און פאטע עוועניו. עס

Cont. on next page

לעיבאר פארטי וועט
פארטיטלען צווישען
ציוניסטן און רעגירונג

עקסעקוטיווע פון ענגלישער לע-
באר פארטי וועט צערשט
פארהאנדלען מיט ציוניסטען,
דערנאך מיט דער לעיבאר
רעגירונג; אייטען טינע-
טער בעזונדן וועט זיך נאך
דיינטיגע וואל ערן מיט
ווייזמאן.

צייטונג אין ענגלאנד
ווארענט מיט מלחמה
אין ארץ ישראל

פון אסאך שיי-
אויסגעזען פון דער ארבעט
אויסגעזען פון דער ארבעט

לאנדאן, סעפט. 30 (א.פ.א.)—
די עקסעקוטיווע פון דער ענגלי-
שער לעיבאר פארטי וועט די האר-
אויסגעזען א פאליציי-רעדע-
נאכטען פון דער ציוניסטער

וועלט עקסעקוטיווע און וועט מיט
איהר פארהאנדלען ווענען דער
גאנצער ארץ ישראל-וועג פראג-
איינשליסענדיג דעם ברוך, וואס
פרעזידענט מרדסאן האט געשיקט
צו פרעזידענט טאלי ווענען אריינלא-
זען 100,000 אידען פון אייראפע
טון ארץ ישראל, און דא היינט
באריכטעט געווארען.

דער באריכט זאגט, אז נאך דער
באראנטונג צווישען דער ציוניסטי-
שער רעגירונג און די טויער פון
דער ענגלישער לעיבאר פארטי,
וועט די עקסעקוטיווע פון דער פאר-
טי אויסגעשטען די פראגע ווענען
ארץ ישראל מיט דער רעגירונג.
די באראנטונג צווישען דער עקס-
קוטיווע און דער רעגירונג וועט
פארקויפט איידער עס וועלען בא-
זייען ווערען די ווענען פון ענג-
לישען פארלאמענט און פרעזידע-
נט טאלי וועט מאכען זיין ערשטער
שטען ספייכענע ווענען ארץ
ישראל.

עס איז דא אויך באקאנט גע-
ווארען, אז די עקסעקוטיווע פון
דער לעיבאר פארטי האט מאכענדיג
ביטוואל אפגעשלאסען א וועג
און פארהאנדעלט ווענען דעם בא-
ריכטענע פלאן פון דער רעגירונג
אין פאנצט צו ארץ ישראל.
עס איז דא היינט באריכטעט גע-
ווארען, אז דר. הייט ווייזמאן וועט

זי ווארן זיך באגעגענען מיט קינעס
פאליציי, אויסגעזען פון ענג-
לישען

זיינען דאָרט איינגעשטעלט געוואָרן
דעם „לאנד ספיקערס“ און דער גאנצער
צער בלאק איז געוואָסען געוואָרן
דעם סאָר פּרעסידענט. אָבער ב'האָט
לאנג נישט געקומען און דער אָנגעקער
בלאק איז געוואָרען אַזוי אָנגעקער
פאָקס, אַז ב'האָט זיך נישט געקענט
אַ ריזער מאַכן.

די סאָליציט האָט געשאַצט, אַז
אויף דעם בלאק אליין זיינען געווען
15 מיליאָנען מענטשן. מיליאָנער
און מיליאָנער זיינען געשטאנען
אויסגעשטעלט אויף די סאָליציטעס
אויף ביידע זייטען פון אָבער ערד,
אויף קעמליכע בלאק אַהיים גאָרדען,
און דער קולם האָט געהאַלטען
אין איין קומען. יעדער סאָליציט
אריינגאנג, אַזוי ווייט ווי צווישן פאָר
איז געווען פאָלגערס מיט בעסן
שען. און דאָס אליין אַ פון מיליאָנער
זיי אָכט אַזיגער, ווען דער בימינא
האַט זיך געוואָלט ענטפערן.

דער גרעסטער טייל פון קולם,
האַט איז געקומען פרייט, און פאָר
שטאנען פון יונגע מענטשען, פילע
אין די יוניטאַרס פון דער אַרבעט
און בערזע און יונגע פאָר סאָליקער
מיט קינדער. ערשט שפעטער צו,
ווען ב'האָט שוין נישט געקענט אריינגיין
נעקטן אין האַל, האָבען זיך אָנגעקער
הילפן באַהייזען עלטערע מענטשען:
אידען מיט פאָר אין יוניטאַרדיגע
קליידער און עלטערע פרויען גען
פיהרס פון קינדער און אייניקלעך.

די עלטערע האָבען אָבער נישט
געקענט אַהייז און פילע פון זיי
נען געבליבען שטענדיג אין דער ענג-
שאַפּט אויף דער 49-סטער סטריט צו
הערקען די דערקס אויף די „לאנד
ספיקערס“.

צוויי יונגע ביידלאך, קענטיק
אייניקלאך, זיינען געשטאנען אויף
ביידע זייטען פון אַן עלטערער פרוי
און פרויפּרס זי שיצטן גענען דעם
געדרענג. זיי האָבען זיך, קענטיק,
געערינגערט, אָבער די אַלטע פרוי
האַט זיי פאַרהויבט: „פלאז נישט
אַהייז, פלאז נישט אַהייז. וואָס האָט
פאָר גענישטן קומען. אַמאָר וועט
עס קענס העלפן“.

אַ ברודער צייטשנישט אינגלאך
און ביידלאך אָנגעפיהרס פון אַ
באָרל אין אַ סאָלאַטישען יוני-
סאָרס, זיינען אָנגעקומען זינגענדיג
העברעאישע לידער, אָבער זיי האָ-
בען אויך נישט געקענט אַהייז און
זיינען געבליבען אויף דער גאָס און
זייטער געוואָנען אַריינשראָלן לי-
לי-

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נאך דעם פראטעסט-מיטינג

דער מעדיסאן קווער גארדען איז געווען פול, די נאכטן ארום דעם נרויסען וואל זענען געווען געפאלן מיט צענדליגער פויגענעסער, וואס האבען איבערגעלעבט נישט געקענט ארויסקומען. דער פראטעסט קענען דער הארצעלאוויקייט פון דער ברויטישער לעיבאר-רעגירונג לויט די לעצטענע בלייבענדיגע אידען אין אייראפע, פאר וועמען די וויל נישט עפע-נען די טויערען פון ארץ ישראל, איז געווען שטארק. אלע רעדנער, נישט-אידישע ווי אידישע, האבען אנגעוויזען אויף דער שוידערליכער נעגאטיווענאטיוויקייט, וואס דאס ווייטע פאפולערע אנטפלעקט, אלע האבען זיך פארמיידעט אין דעם דורף.

עפענט די טויערען פון ארץ ישראל פאר די, וואס קאנען נישט לע-בן, סידען די איינפיראציע פון אידען קיין ארץ ישראל וועט נישט ווערען פריי.

גיס ווייניגער שטארק פון אידן געווען די פאדערונג, אז ארץ ישראל וואל ווערען די נעגאטיווע אידישע נאציאנאלע היים און אז דאס אידי-שע פאלק וואל זיך יעדעס פאלק, ענדליך באקומען די געלעגענהייט צו לעבען אויף אן אייגענעם אידישען באדען.

איצט קומט די קילדעק די מער געלאפענע פראגע:

צי וועלען די פראטעסטער און דעמאנסטראציעס פועלען? צי וועט פון דעם אידישען ווייניגער איבער דער נאכער וועלט ארויסקומען דער רעוועלטאן וואס קאן נישט און פאר נישט אפגעלייגט ווערען?

אויב עס איז געווען א געמיינע צייט דערפאר, איז עס איצט, פאר יעדען איינעם איז עס אפגאנגען שוין קלאר, וואס ארץ ישראל און די מעגליכקייט פאר אידען אהין ארוינצוקומען מיינט איצט פאר דעם לעבען פון דעם אידישען פאלק, עס ווייסען דאס אידען און נישט-אידן.

די אינטעליקטע געפירדיגע פליטים פון אייראפע קאנען מער נישט ווארטען, יעדער פאל, וואס גייט פארביי, איז אין בוכשטענליכען וועג פון דעם ווארט א פויגליכע פאל פאר זיי. האנדלען דארף מען שווער, נישט פארנעם, נאר היינט, האנדלען דארף מען מיט דעם באוואוסטן זיין גיס אין זינען, אז מען קאן נישט אפלייגן, אז עס איז א פשוט גרויסע פארברעכען צו פרוואדען אפלייגן און פארשליעסן.

דערווייל פאר מען נישט באנוגענען זיך מיט דעם שטורמישען פרא-טעסט-מיטינג לעצטען וואסאן וועלט.

עס דארף געטאן ווערען ווייטער און געטאן ווערען די נאכער צייט, ביז די ענגלישע רעגירונג וועט אפשאצן דאס ווייטע פאפולער, ביז די מיינען פון ארץ ישראל וועלען זיין אפגען פאר אידען.

דער קאפ פאר דער אידישער רעגירונג דארף איבערגעפראגען ווע-רען קיין וואשינגטאן, דערמיט וואו עס וועט די אפטיקאנער רעג-ירונג מיר ווייסען, אז פיערענעס פרוסאן איז סיפ'ן גאנצען הארץ פאר דער אפשאצונג פון דעם ווייטען פאפולער, מיר ווייסען, אז נרויסען קרייזען אין דעם אפטיקאנער קאנגרעס קענען פאר דעם אידישען היימלאנד אין ארץ ישראל.

פון היינט אן און ווייטער דארף געטאן ווערען אלץ, אז אס דער נאכער ווילען וואל איינפירטווערס ווערען און פארשאפן אלץ גרע-סער גרויסע אין דער אפטיקאנער פראגע, דער אפטיקאנער קאנגרעס, הי א גאנציקע, דארף וואנען זיין ווארט און עס וועט זיכער האבען א מיינונג.

אז דער שטורעם פון פראטעסט, וואס האט ארויסגעקאפט די גאנצע אידישע וועלט אויף ביידע זייטן פון דעם אפלאנטיק, הייבט שוין אן צו ווירעלען, קאן מען זעה דערמיט, וואס די ברויטישע לעיבאר-רעגירונג פילט זיך געצוואונגען צו קאנצעדירען מיט דער ציוניסטישער ארגא-ניזאציע, דער ענגלישער אויסלאנד-מיניסטער ערנעסט בעווין האט איינגעלאדען היים וויינצאנען אויף דורכשטום.

עפעס רירט זיך אין לאנדאן.

פארט איז די לעיבאר-רעגירונג נישט קיין פאריי-רעגירונג, פארט מווען געוויסען און געפיל שפילען א גרעסערע ראולע ביי א קאבינעט, וואס איז געקומען צו דער סאכס אויף א פלאטפארמע פון יושר און מעגליכקייט ווי אין א קאבינעט, וואס פארמערע קאלמבארטען מיינען אין פראטעסט-האנדלען פאנאמען, פארט פון א רעגירונג, וואס באשטימט פון באציעליכע, זיך רעכענען נישט בלויז מיט הומאניזם, נאר אויך מיט דער עקאנאמישע מיינונג פון דעם בעסטען מויל פון דער מענטשהייט.

אבער — די הויפט-איינים איז אונזערע, דער עיקר געווענער זיך אין אונז אליין, אין אידען, אין דעם אידישען פאלק.

נאך דעם נרויסען פראטעסט אין מעדיסאן קווער גארדען פון מען ארבייטען ווייטער, פון מען די סענאטענעם פון אפטיקאנער, די סיט-פאפולער פון איינפירטווערס, אנטשטענדיגע מענטשן אומקומען ווערן צו פארזאנדלען אין דעם בוח, וואס וואל אויפפראלען די טויערען פון ארץ ישראל און באשאפן א אידיש היימלאנד דארטען.

ראביי סילווער'ס רעדע איבער דער ארץ ישראל פאליטיק

Kenedas Adles
Oct 2 1945

(א מידע פון סילווער)
פון נתן סטאלניץ

די פונקטליכע שטעלונג סעד דער נייטער ברויטישער ליבאר רעגירונג זיך צו שטיר צען דורכאויס אויס'ן שווארץ-ווייסען פאפול פון 1939, וואס ציילט למדי צו ארטיסטישען פאר אונז די טויערען פון אונזער אידיש היימלאנד און אפגאנגען אפאראפערט די אלע ציוניסטישע פאר רעגירונג.

ראביי סילווער האט אין א וועהאמאלי-טען אויסשפרייטענען טאן אויסגעפארעט אלע אידען גיט צו פארבלייבען בלייבנדי-גן אין אונז נאציאנאליסטישען פאר סענאט, נאך, פראטעסטירען אפטיקאנערס סען און שרייבען יעדער באזונדער צו זיין קאנגרעססאן אדער סענאטאר און פארערען אפטיקאנערס ערנסטע און אויס-ריכטיגע שטעלונג אין דער דאזיגער אויסטרייטלעכער שעה.

אויב ענדלאנד פארלאנגט איצט פון אפטיקאנערס הילף פאר איהר נאך סלחמה רעקאביליטאציע קען און דארף אפטיקאנער זיכער אויסאפגען איהר ווירטונג און דרום אויף ענדלאנד אנצונעמען א מעהר-דינע האנדלונג צו אונזער פארשפראכט נער אידישער היימלאנד.

„אין א זעהר פארשטאנדישען טאן האט ראביי סילווער געשילדערט דעם שטענדי-גען פאסט, בעט ער איז ערוועהלט געווא-רען אין לאנדאן פון דער ציוניסטישע-רעגיר אין א רעלענאציע צו נעמן ווערן דעם ניי-דערוועהלטען פרעמיער מי-סטרי אויף ארץ ישראל, מיט איהם פה אל פה סלאדע דבריים ווענען דער גרץ ישראל לאנד, האט מען זי אפילו נאר גיט דיר געלאזען אין אומפארשטעט געענטשערט.

אויב א ספעציעלען סאפען מיטינג פארדעמט פון סילווער'ס עמירדורשענ-ען צו וויאזויט קאנסטאנץ אינ'ם נרויסען-סע-דערעם האט (די היים פון היינער סיט-סאני) צו באריכטען דער אידישער פהלה פון אלעס וואס איז דיסטורט געווארען און פון די רעוועלטאציע פון לאנדאנער ציוניסטישענען, האט ראביי סילווער אין א צוויי שטונדענער רעדע אויסגע-שטורמט די טויערענער צווערער איבער דעם שרעקליכען פארשטאן וואס געהט אן איצט סעד דער ניי דערוויילטער ענגלי-שע ליבאר רעגירונג בונען דער אידן ישראל פאליטיק.

דאס איז איינעמאליך געווען דער ער-שטער באריכט פון דער איצטיגער לאנד אין ציוניזם און ווענען די דערגרייכונגען זון דער לאנדאנער קאנסענצען.

ווי. גאדאואוס, איז ראביי סילווער מיט א ספעציעלע צייט צו צוויי ווידער ערוועהלט געווארען צוואנצן טאג ראביי סילווער ווייז אלס קאנצעדירט צום אפטיקאנער נער געווייטענען עמירדורשענען פאפול סיל פון אלס סטערטאן פון איהר עטער-טורט קאסיכע, אויף דער לאנדאנער קאנסענצען און ער איז ערוועהלט גע-ווארען אלס מיטגליד פון דער אידישער אנגעפאר פאר ארץ ישראל און איז בכלל פארשטענען פאר אן אויסשטענענער נאציאנאלע מינור אין דער פיערשטעם פון ציוניזם, איז נאך קיין וואונדער גיט וואס זיין באריכט האט געמיינט א נרויסע-נעטענענע אינ'ם לעבען פון די סילווער לאנדער ציוניסטען, האבען סאפען מיט נרויס גייער געשראפט אידען פון אלע עקען שטאט צום דאזיגען פאסענציווא-סענאט, און נאך מיט שטונדען פריהער פון דער אפאנטישער צייט איז דער נרויסער וואל שוין איבערגעפולט געווען.

אויב דער פלאטפארם האבען זיך אויך געפונען פראטעסטער פונדען פון דער פויגליכער פרא-פאליטישן קאסיכע, וועלכע זיינען אויך מיטגלידען געווארען מיט פייטען ערנסט פון ראביי סילווער'ס אנאליטישער רעדע איבער דער איצטיגער לאנד אין ציוניזם.

„סיד זיינען שוין קאנאט און מיר — האט געוויסען אנדערעס ראביי סילווער אויסגעשרייען מיט צא-רן און פארביטער-רונג — פון סעד'דיגע כלומר'שטע סימפאטיקס און איינשטעהנדיגנענען זון אבזעך לאנד פאליטיקער . . .

„וואס עס איז איצט צו טאן פאר אונז היינער פון אפטיקאנער, איז צו ווערן דען דיריגענער צו אונזער רעגירונג און צו אלע פיהרער וואס האבען אינאדער-סירט די ציון-פראגראם און פארערען איינמאל פאר אלע פאל אן ענדע צומא-רען פון די אלע פארזיידעט פארשפרי-בונע און טאן וואס סטעט'דיג איצט ווענען דעם, די געסטעט עסליכע וואנען וועלע באווייזען דאס אנטשיידענעם ווענדט פונקט אין אונזער באוועגונג.

ראביי סילווער האט אונז פארטרוט פאר'ן נרויסען פאלק, אז ער איז די לעצ-טע סען 2 פאל פארטרוט געווארען טע-לעמאניש פון לאנדאן פון דר, וויינצאנען איבער דער נאך ערנסט געשאפענער לא-נד פון ס'אין ארויסגעקומען אזוי פולט

אז דער מיניסטער איז „סיד בייז'ן, אין דער וועלכער צייט מען מיט א מינערע-וויכטיגען אראפשישן פרינצעל, וואס קומט קיין לאנדאן, עפענעט מען זיך מיט איהם ווי מיט א אבן טוב און מען סאכט איהם, עניינליכע אויפנאמען און פארדען, פארנעמענדיג זיך נאך אינגאנ-צען אין דער שרעקליכער פיינשליכער פארשטייטער ראל, וואס די וועלכענע אראבער האבען געשפילט לויט ענדלאנד אין צייט פון דער סלחמה, מיט זייער מוסטי בראש, ווען זיי האבען אומגע-שטערט געדינט אלס שפיאנען פאר הייט-לער'ן און סטאלניץ' . . . ס'האט געג-ען נאך איינלייגען וועלטען אז ס'וואל דעם וועלכען פארשטענדישען גראנד מוס-טי, איינעם פון די געשטענדיגסטע סלחמה פארברעכער צווישן פריינלאזען קיין פאר-לעסטיגע, און אזוי ארום איהם ווידער געבען פרייע הענט פארטווענען זייע-נעפלאנטע פאנראס-אפאנאטורעס . . .

אין דער צייט ווען מיר אידען האבען אין דער סלחמה קענען פארבאטן גע-גען דעם געסטען פרינץ; ווען ס'האט א העלט פון אונזער פאלק איז פארניכטעט געווארען אויס'ן נרויסענעסען, שטיינער, דעקלעט פון אפילו גיט אונזער שארית הפליטה פון דער תרוב'ער אייראפע זיך צו ראטעווען אין אונזער אייגען לאנד, וועלכע שטעהט מיט אפגען ארעסט גייט אויסצונעמען די אומפאליכע ליידענער.

עס האט שוין געפלאנצט דער שטארק איינגעקלאמערט אידישער געוואלד און אז ענדע פון עס געטען צום דאזיגען אומגעוויינען פארשטאן און פארברעכע-ן מיט וועהאמאליכען פארשטאן האט דער ביי סילווער זיך אויסגעדייט אויך ווע-רען פרעזידענט טרוסאן'ס פולזעלונג פאר פאלענער „שרעף" צו דארטען שיקען א האלבען מיליאן אפטיקאנער סאלדאטען אויף באשיצען די אידישע אינטערעסען אין ארץ ישראל; אין דער וועלכער צייט ווען סטארטור פארייכערט אונז אן פאר דער אומפאליכע סונ'ם רייזען נרויסען פיינליכען לאנד יאפאן וועט גענוג זיין בלויז צוויי הונדערט פויגענעס פאל . . .

און אזוי האט ראביי סילווער מיט א ביי-סענדרען טאן און וועהאמאליך געפיהל גע-ווארען איין באשולדיגונג נאך דער צווייטער, אויסגעקענדיג די באשיינערי-שע ארץ ישראל-פאליטיק וואס עס שפינט זיך היינטער אונזערע וועקעס.

דער דינאמיש-אראטישער כוח פון רא-ביי סילווער האט פשוט עלעמנטירט דעם נאכערען עולם און אלע ווי איינער זיינען באהערשט געווארען מיט א טיף רירענדיג געפיהל פון אויספרייטענען פראטעסט און ערנסטע גרייסיטיק פאר מעשים.

דער וואל האט לאנד, לאנד געווענערט סונ'ם שטורמישען אפלאז אויף ראביי סילווער'ס רוח אינ'ם איצטיגען טרויערי-גען און אנטשיידענדיגען סאפענעם.

די ענגלישע פרעסע איז סילווער'ס האט אפגעגעבען פיל פראטענען פאר'ן רא-ינען אלארמירענען סאפענציוואסען סום און אויף פארנען אויף די ערשטע אייטען ברייט ציטירט די שטורמישע רעדן פון ראביי סילווער.

NEWS - AND - VIEWS

The Day

Two Jewish Delegations:
One Too Many. 10-2.
The Underbidding Tactics.
The Ermine and the Pushcart.

By DR. S. MARGOSHES

The great doors of the Chief Executive's reception room in the White House swung open and two men were ushered in to face the President of the United States. They were Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver, both Co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and the urgent business that brought them to Washington was the indicated course of the British Government with regard to Palestine. If the alarming reports about the decision of the British Government to adhere to the vicious Chamberlain White Paper, despite the definite promises given by the British Labor Party against the continuance of the atrocious document, were true, then the fate of the Jewish National Home as well as of the hundreds of thousands of Jews still confined to concentration camps in Europe five months after VE-day, is sealed. Can and will America stand idly by and watch a whole people go into the valley of the shadows? Both America's major political parties had pledged, as late as a year ago, to use their good offices for the abolition of the White Paper and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. That was a solemn understanding, or wasn't it? Doctors Wise and Silver, believing in the great heart of America, came to appeal to the President of the United States to redeem the American pledge and save an ancient people from destruction.

History will record the exact arguments adduced by the representatives of the Jewish people to bolster up their plea and the reply made by the President of the United States. At this anxious moment, while the fate of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews as well as that of the Jewish National Home still hangs in the balance little is known of what actually transpired in those thirty-five minutes, so heavily freighted with destiny, that our emissaries spent in the White House. What is known occurred a split second after they left, and its enough to break the heart of every true Jew in the United States.

For no sooner did the doors of the Executive mansion close behind Doctors Wise and Silver than they opened again for Messrs. Proskauer and Blaustein, similarly bent on Jewish business and on Palestine as well. In the same room and practically within the same half an hour the President received two Jewish delegations, each speaking a different language on the very same Jewish question.

Note that Messrs. Proskauer and Blaustein represented the American Jewish Committee which split from the American Jewish Conference because of the resolution adopted calling for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The American Jewish Committee, a self-styled non-Zionist organization, had been willing to go on record as opposing the Palestine White Paper but to join the masses of American Jewry in supporting the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine had been altogether too much to expect from the oligarchy. Evidently to make this position clear to the Government of the United States that Messrs. Proskauer and Blaustein now came to see President Truman.

They selected the very lay on which representatives of all Zionist groups in America had called on the President of the United States to appeal to him to save

the Jewish National Home from complete collapse. They had no time to wait. A moment after the representatives of the Zionist movement had left his presence the President had to be informed that of "the great division that exists in Jewry over the Zionist aims", that the American Jewish Committee, along with other sections of Jewry, was not at all in sympathy with the idea of a Jewish State, and that, in asking for a possibility of Jewish immigration to Palestine, it does so "on purely humanitarian grounds and none other."

Now consider the spectacle. Two Jewish delegations coming to the White House within the half hour, one trying to undo the other, one trying, so to speak, to forbid the other. To me that's a revealing show. At the moment

the important thing is not which delegation had the greater popular backing, which was more representative of the mood of American Jewry, though it must be evident to every unbiased observer that Messrs. Proskauer and Blaustein represented chiefly themselves. The very fact that there were two delegations and that, instead of supporting each other, they were really competing and at loggerheads, demonstrates the whole crassness and vulgarity and cheapness of our divided councils.

Consider finally what was the President to think after the American Jewish Committee's delegation left him and he was finally rid of the whole Jewish feud? Wasn't he a little bit tired of all these squabbles of a people which, rather than compose its own differences, runs to the Government laden with the whole burden of its own divisiveness? Of course, you'll say, Jews are entitled to their share of differences and divisions like everybody else, and God knows everybody else has his full of differences and divisions. The Poles have them and the Greeks and the Romanians and the Italians, not to speak of the Americans, who are divided on every important issue under the sun beginning with labor and ending with literature and our policy in Germany and Japan. But not everybody understands that Jews are just folks entitled to their foibles like everybody else. As a matter of sheer fact this scientific truth is just as much of a mystery to most people as is the principle underlying the atomic bomb. The late Roosevelt understood it. But there are few Roosevelts left, and President Truman is no Roosevelt.

Often in the silence of the night I say to myself, we Jews sometimes exhibit very little tact. Thus Judge Proskauer, an estimable citizen, most certainly was entitled to have his point of view and that of his organization presented to the White House. Why not? The Zionists want a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine while he is thoroughly content with a great deal less, say, with a trickle of Jewish immigration to Palestine. Fine. But why the hurry? Why couldn't he wait? The underbidding tactics remind one of the pushcart and I, for one, cannot help recalling that old saw that the oldest and most aristocratic Yahudi, for all his plush and ermine, is only two generations removed from the pushcart peddler. Good enough. But why, oh why, show it to the President of the United States?

ished to such a point that such construction could properly begin. The House concurrent resolution declares as a fact that we have reached the point where we can proceed with the road work without detriment to any other activity.

Yesterday the Senate Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, including myself, unanimously voted to report the concurrent resolution; indeed, I think I made the motion to report it—

Mr. McKELLAR. The Senator did.

Mr. REED. And all members of the minority, as well as of the majority, of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads favored the concurrent resolution. I hope there will be no objection.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Is there objection to the present consideration of the concurrent resolution?

There being no objection, the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 81) was considered and agreed to.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, a year ago, the senior Senator from New York (Mr. WAXNER) and I introduced a resolution calling on our Government to take up with the British Government the solution of the Palestine problem. We asked that the British be requested to carry out the Balfour declaration, to repudiate the white paper of 1937, to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration, and to resume the policy leading to an independent commonwealth with a majority of Jewish citizens. The administration then opposed the passage of such a resolution, and promised to take quiet steps to accomplish its purpose. Such steps, if taken, however, proved a complete failure.

Now I wish to express my strong approval, and I think that of a majority of the Senators, of President Truman's action in suggestion to the British Prime Minister that 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine be issued to the homeless Jews of Europe. If the British Government follows this suggestion of the President, it will provide relief for many of the Jews who survived the horrible persecution and torture of the Nazis.

I may add, too, that such a step would be some atonement for what we have failed to do during the war, for during the war period we did little more than express a polite sympathy for the Jews in Germany and in the occupied countries. They were Hitler's first victims, and more than half of them were exterminated. We sent them hearty messages on their holidays, we convened conferences and formed governmental boards to discuss the refugee problem, but the number of those whom our War Refugee Board and other governmental agencies saved in Europe was insignificant, not only in comparison with the overwhelming numbers of Jewish victims in Europe, but even in comparison with the numbers we might have saved if there had been a determination to do so, carried through with ability and careful planning. There was a time when thousands of Jews could have been rescued from Rumania, Hungary, and other countries in Europe. But whenever such a possibility arose, it was invariably linked with Palestine, for only Palestine offered a safe

haven for those Jews. And whenever the question of Palestine arose, we refused to tackle the problem, or even urge its solution on the British.

I think we should realize, however, that President Truman's request, even if acted upon by the British Government, will not solve the problem. It is still a belated emergency measure. The problem of the surviving Jews of Europe will not be solved by a hundred thousand immigration certificates. There are, perhaps, 1,000,000 Jews left in central and eastern Europe. They face a terrible aftermath of war in a continent still imbued with bitter Jewish hatred. Palestine is still closed to them.

Both England and the United States are pledged to establish Palestine as a Jewish national home. It cannot be that if it is ruled by a majority of an anti-Jewish population, and so this pledge can only be fulfilled by permitting immigration which will create a majority of Jewish citizens. Great Britain pledged itself to this policy by the Balfour Declaration. As long ago as 1922 the Congress endorsed the same policy, and it has been repeatedly endorsed by American Presidents. We became a party to Great Britain's mandate in Palestine, which was based upon the Balfour Declaration.

Now is the time to carry out these obligations. If they are not carried out in this postwar settlement, they probably never will be carried out.

Thus far we have received no indication that the new Government of Great Britain is determined to alter British policies in Palestine. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the British Labor Party is officially committed to a Zionist solution of the Palestine problem, it is reported that the Labor Government intends to continue, with slight modifications, the policy of excluding further Jewish immigration into Palestine. I believe we should continue to exercise our influence, as President Truman has begun to do, toward securing from Great Britain a pledge to carry out the Balfour Declaration. We are in constant touch with Great Britain. They are asking us for assistance and support in various matters where their vital interests are at stake. It seems to me that we have the right, and in view of the historical position of both nations, the duty, to insist that Great Britain do justice to the long-suffering Jewish people and that Palestine be opened to them without any reserve or restriction.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I am unanimous content that there may be printed at the end of my remarks the report made by Mr. Earl G. Harrison on the conditions among refugees in western Europe, for the most part Jews, and the letter of the President to General Eisenhower dated August 31, 1945.

There being no objection, the report and letter were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(From the New York Times of September 8, 1945.)

REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY EARL G. HARRISON ON CONDITIONS AMONG REFUGEES IN WESTERN EUROPE

Pursuant to your letter of June 22, 1945, I have the honor to present to you a partial report upon my recent mission to Europe to

inquire into (1) the conditions under which displaced persons, and particularly those who may be stateless or nonrepatriable, are at present living, especially in Germany and Austria, (2) the needs of such persons, (3) how those needs are being met at present by the military authorities, the governments of residence and international and private relief bodies; and (4) the views of the possibly nonrepatriable persons as to their future destinations.

My instructions were to give particular attention to the problems, needs, and views of the Jewish refugees among the displaced people, especially in Germany and Austria. This report, particularly this partial report, accordingly deals in the main with that group.

On numerous occasions appreciation was expressed by the victims of Nazi persecution for the interest of the United States Government in them. As my report shows, they are in need of attention and help. Up to this point, they have been liberated more in a military sense than actually.

For the reasons explained in the report their particular problems to this time have not been given attention to any appreciable extent; consequently, they feel that they, who were in so many ways the first and worst victims of nazism, are being neglected by their liberators.

Upon my request the Department of State authorized Dr. Joseph J. Schwartz to join me in the mission. Dr. Schwartz, European director of the American joint distribution committee, was granted a leave of absence from that organization for the purpose of accompanying me. His long and varied experience in refugee problems as well as his familiarity with the Continent and the people made Dr. Schwartz a most valuable associate. This report represents our joint views, conclusions, and recommendations.

During various portions of the trip I had, also the assistance of Mr. Patrick M. Malin, vice-director of the intergovernmental committee on refugees and Mr. Herbert Katmak of the war refugee board. These gentlemen, likewise, have had considerable experience in the refugee matters. Their assistance and cooperation were most helpful in the course of the survey.

1. GERMANY AND AUSTRIA—CONDITIONS

1. Generally speaking, 3 months after VE day, and even longer after the liberation of individual groups, many Jewish displaced persons and other possibly nonrepatriables are living under guard behind barbed-wire fences in camps of several descriptions (built by the Germans for slave laborers and Jews), including some of the most notorious of the concentration camps, amid crowded, frequently unsanitary and generally grim conditions, in complete idleness, with no opportunity, except surreptitiously, to communicate with the outside world, waiting, hoping for some word of encouragement and action in their behalf.

2. While there has been marked improvement in the health of survivors of the Nazi starvation and persecution program, there are many pathetic malnutrition cases, both among the hospitalized and in the general population of the camps. The death rate has been high since liberation, as was to be expected. One Army chaplain, a rabbi, personally attended, since liberation, 22,000 burials (90 percent Jews) at Bergen Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, 14,000 displaced persons are still living, including over 7,000 Jews. At many of the camps and centers, including those where serious starvation cases are, there is a marked and serious lack of needed medical supplies.

3. Although some camp commandants have managed, in spite of the many obvious difficulties, to find clothing of one kind or another for their charges, many of the Jewish displaced persons, late in July, had no cloth-

ing other than their concentration-camp garb—a rather hideous striped pajama effect—while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German SS uniforms. It is questionable which clothing they hate the more.

4. With a few notable exceptions, nothing in the way of a program of activity or organized effort toward rehabilitation has been inaugurated, and the internees, for they are literally such, have little to do except to dwell upon their plight, the uncertainty of their future, and, what is more unfortunate, to draw comparisons between their treatment under the Germans and in liberation.

Beyond knowing that they are no longer in danger of the gas chambers, torture, and other forms of violent death, they see—and there is—little change, the morale of those who are either stateless or who do not wish to return to their countries of nationality is very low. They have witnessed great activity and efficiency in returning people to their homes, but they hear or see nothing in the way of plans for them, and consequently they wonder and frequently ask what liberation means.

This situation is considerably accentuated where, as in so many cases, they are able to look from their crowded and bare quarters and see the German civilian population, particularly in the rural areas, to all appearances living normal lives in their own homes.

5. The most absorbing worry of these Nazi and war victims concerns relatives, wives, husbands, parents, children. Most of them have been separated for 3, 4, or 5 years and they cannot understand why the liberators should not have undertaken immediately the organized effort to reunite family groups. Most of the very little which has been done in this direction has been informal action by the displaced persons themselves with the aid of devoted Army chaplains, frequently rabbis, and the American Joint Distribution Committee.

Broadcasts of names and locations by the Psychological Warfare Division at Luxembourg have been helpful, although the lack of receiving sets has handicapped the effectiveness of the program. Even where, as has been happening, information has been received as to relatives living in other camps in Germany, it depends on the personal attitude and disposition of the camp commandant whether permission can be obtained or assistance received to follow up on the information. Some camp commandants are quite rigid in this particular while others lend every effort to join family groups.

6. It is difficult to evaluate the food situation fairly because one must be mindful of the fact that quite generally food is scarce and is likely to be more so during the winter ahead. On the other hand, in presenting the factual situation, one must raise the question as to how much longer many of these people, particularly those who have over such a long period felt persecution and near starvation, can survive on a diet composed principally of bread and coffee, irrespective of the caloric content.

In many camps, the 2,000 calories included 1,200 calories of a black, wet and extremely unappetizing bread. I received the distinct impression and considerable substantiating information that large numbers of the German population—again principally in the rural areas—have a more varied and palatable diet in their requisitions with the German burghermeister and many seemed to accept whatever he turned over as being the best that was available.

7. Many of the buildings in which displaced persons are housed are clearly unfit for winter use and everywhere there is great concern about the prospect of a complete lack of fuel. There is every likelihood that close to a million displaced persons will be in Germany and Austria when winter sets in. The outlook in many areas so far

as shelter, food and fuel are concerned is anything but bright.

II. NEEDS OF THE JEWS

While it is impossible to state accurately the number of Jews now in that part of Germany not under Russian occupation, all indications point to the fact that the number is small, with 100,000 probably the top figure; some informed persons contend the number is considerably smaller. The principal nationality groups are Poles, Hungarians, Rumanians, Germans and Austrians.

The first and plainest need of these people is a recognition of their actual status and by this I mean their status as Jews. Most of them have spent years in the worst of the concentration camps. In many cases, although the full extent is not yet known, they are the sole survivors of their families and many have been through the agony of witnessing the destruction of their loved ones. Understandably, therefore, their present condition, physical and mental, is far worse than that of other groups.

While SHAEF (now combined displaced persons executive) policy directives have recognized formerly persecuted persons, including enemy and ex-enemy nationals, as one of the special categories of displaced persons, the general practice thus far has been to follow only nationality lines. While admittedly it is not normally desirable to set aside particular racial or religious groups from their nationality categories, the plain truth is that this was done for so long by the Nazis that a group has been created, which has special needs. Jews as Jews (not as members of their nationality groups) have been more severely victimized than the non-Jewish members of the same or other nationalities.

When they are now considered only as members of nationality groups, the result is that special attention cannot be given to their admittedly greater needs because, it is contended, doing so would constitute preferential treatment and lead to trouble with the non-Jewish portion of the particular nationality group.

Thus there is a distinctly unrealistic approach to the problem. Refusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect, in this situation, of closing one's eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which has already made them a separate group with greater needs.

Their second great need can be presented only by discussing what I found to be their wishes as to future destinations.

1. For reasons that are obvious and need not be labored, most Jews want to leave Germany and Austria as soon as possible. This is their first and great expressed wish and while this report necessarily deals with other needs present in the situation, many of the people themselves fear other suggestions or plans for their benefit because of the possibility that attention might thereby be diverted from the all-important matter of evacuation from Germany.

Their desire to leave Germany is an urgent one. The life which they have led for the past 10 years, a life of fear and wandering; and physical torture, has made them impatient of delay. They want to be evacuated to Palestine now, just as other national groups are being repatriated to their homes. They do not look kindly on the idea of waiting around in idleness and in discomfort in a German camp for many months until a desired solution is found for them.

2. Some wish to return to their countries of nationality, but as to this there is considerable nationality variation. Very few Polish or Baltic Jews wish to return to their countries; higher percentages of the Hungarian and Rumanian groups want to return, although some hasten to add that it may be only temporarily, in order to look for relatives. Some of the German Jews, especially those who have intermarried, prefer to stay in Germany.

3. With respect to possible places of resettlement for those who may be stateless or who do not wish to return to their homes, Palestine is definitely and preeminently the first choice. Many now have relatives there while others, having experienced intolerance and persecution in their homelands years, feel that only in Palestine will they be welcomed and find peace and quiet and be given an opportunity to live and work. In the case of the Polish and the Baltic Jews, the desire to go to Palestine is based in a great majority of the cases on a love for the country and devotion to the Zionist ideal. It is also true, however, that there are many who wish to go to Palestine because they realize that their opportunity to be admitted into the United States or into other countries in the Western Hemisphere is limited, if not impossible. Whatever the motive which causes them to turn to Palestine, it is undoubtedly true that the great majority of the Jews now in Germany do not wish to return to those countries from which they came.

4. Palestine, while clearly the choice of most, is not the only named place of possible emigration. Some, but the number is not large, wish to emigrate to the United States, where they have relatives, others to England, the British Dominions, or to South America.

Thus the second great need is the prompt development of a plan to get out of Germany and Austria as many as possible of those who wish it.

Otherwise the needs and wishes of the Jewish groups among the displaced persons can be simply stated: Among their physical needs are clothing and shoes (most sorely needed), more varied and palatable diet, medicines, beds and mattresses, reading materials. The clothing for the camps, too, is requisitioned from the German population, and whether there is not sufficient quantity to be had or the German population has not been willing or has not been compelled to give up sufficient quantity, the internees feel particularly bitter about the state of their clothing when they see how well the German population is still dressed. The German population today is still the best dressed population in all of Europe.

III. MANNER IN WHICH NEEDS ARE BEING MET

Aside from having brought relief from the fear of extermination, hospitalization for the serious starvation cases and some general improvement in conditions under which the remaining displaced persons are compelled to live, relatively little beyond the planning stage has been done, during the period of mass repatriation, to meet the special needs of the formerly persecuted groups.

UNRRA, being neither sufficiently organized or equipped nor authorized to operate displaced persons camps or centers on any large scale, has not been in position to make any substantial contribution to the situation. Regrettably there has been a disinclination on the part of many camp commandants to utilize UNRRA personnel even to the extent available, though it must be admitted that in many situations this resulted from unfortunate experiences Army officers had with UNRRA personnel who were unqualified and inadequate for the responsibility involved. Then, too, in the American and British Zones, it too frequently occurred that UNRRA personnel did not include English-speaking members and this hampered proper working relationships.

Under these circumstances, UNRRA, to which has been assigned the responsibility for coordinating activities of private social welfare agencies, has been in an awkward position when it came to considering and acting upon proposals of one kind or another submitted by well-qualified agencies which would aid and supplement military and UNRRA responsibilities. The result has been that up to this point, very few private social agencies are working with displaced persons, including the Jews, although the situation

cries out for their services in many different ways.

It must be said, too, that because of their preoccupation with mass repatriation and because of housing, personnel, and transport difficulties, the military authorities have shown considerable resistance to the entrance of voluntary agency representatives, no matter how qualified they might be to help meet existing needs of displaced persons.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Now that the worst of the pressure of mass repatriation is over, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the next and perhaps more difficult period those who have suffered most and longest be given first and not last attention.

Specifically, in the days immediately ahead, the Jews in Germany and Austria should have the first claim upon the conscience of the people of the United States and Great Britain and the military and other personnel who represent them in work being done in Germany and Austria.

2. Evacuation from Germany should be the emphasized theme, policy, and practice.

(A) Recognizing that repatriation is most desirable from the standpoint of all concerned, the Jews who wish to return to their own countries should be aided to do so without further delay. Whatever special action is needed to accomplish this with respect to countries of reception or consent of military or other authorities should be undertaken with energy and determination. Unless this and other action, about to be suggested, is taken, substantial unofficial and unauthorized movements of people must be expected, and these will require considerable force to prevent, for the patience of many of the persons involved is, and in my opinion with justification, nearing the breaking point. It cannot be overemphasized that many of these people are now desperate, that they have become accustomed under German rule to employ every possible means to reach their end, and that the fear of death does not restrain them.

(B) With respect to those who do not, for good reason, wish to return to their homes, prompt planning should likewise be undertaken. In this connection the issue of Palestine must be faced. Now that such large numbers are no longer involved, and if there is any genuine sympathy for what these survivors have endured, some reasonable extension or modification of the British white paper of 1939 ought to be possible without too serious repercussions. For some of the European Jews there is no acceptable or even decent solution for their future other than Palestine. This is said on a purely humanitarian basis with no reference to ideological or political considerations so far as Palestine is concerned.

It is my understanding, based upon reliable information, that certificates for immigration to Palestine will be practically exhausted by the end of the current month (August, 1945). What is the future to be? To anyone who has visited the concentration camps and who has talked with the despairing survivors, it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that the gates of Palestine should be soon closed.

The Jewish Agency of Palestine has submitted to the British Government a petition that 100,000 additional immigration certificates be made available. A memorandum accompanying the petition makes a persuasive showing with respect to the immediate absorptive capacity of Palestine and the current, actual manpower shortages there.

While there may be room for difference of opinion as to the precise number of such certificates which might under the circumstances be considered reasonable, there is no question but that the request thus made would, if granted, contribute much to the

sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria and even other displaced Jews, who do not wish either to remain there or to return to their countries of nationality.

No other single matter is, therefore, so important from the viewpoint of Jews in Germany and Austria and those elsewhere who have known the horrors of the concentration camps as is the disposition of the Palestine question.

Dr. Hugh Dalton, a prominent member of the new British Government, is reported as having said at the Labor Party conference in May 1945:

"This party has laid it down and repeated it so recently as last April . . . that this time, having regard to the unspeakable horrors that have been perpetrated upon the Jews of Germany and other occupied countries in Europe, it is morally wrong and politically indefensible to impose obstacles to the entry into Palestine now of any Jews who desire to go there. . . ."

"We have also stated clearly that this is not a matter which should be regarded as one for which the British Government alone should take responsibility, but as it comes, as do many others, in the international field, it is indispensable that there should be close agreement and cooperation among the British, American and Soviet Governments, particularly if we are going to get a sure settlement in Palestine and the surrounding countries. . . ."

If this can be said to represent the viewpoint of the new Government in Great Britain, it certainly would not be inappropriate for the United States Government to express its interest in and support of some equitable solution of the question, which would make it possible for some reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews, now homeless under any fair view, to resettle in Palestine. That is their wish and it is rendered desirable by the generally-accepted policy of permitting family groups to unite or reunite.

(C) The United States should, under existing immigration laws, permit reasonable numbers of such persons to come here, again particularly those who have family ties in this country. As indicated earlier, the number who desire emigration to the United States is not large.

If Great Britain and the United States were to take the actions recited, it might be more readily be that other countries would likewise be willing to keep their doors reasonably open for such humanitarian considerations and to demonstrate in a practical manner their disapproval of Nazi policy which unfortunately has poisoned so much of Europe.

3. To the extent that such emigration from Germany and Austria is delayed, some immediate temporary solution must be found. In any event there will be a substantial number of persecuted persons who are not physically fit or otherwise presently prepared for emigration.

Here I feel strongly that greater and more extensive effort should be made to get them out of camps, for they are sick of living in camps. In the first place, there is real need for such specialized places as (a) tuberculosis sanitariums and (b) rest homes for those who are mentally ill or who need a period of readjustment before living again in the world at large—anywhere. Some will require at least short periods of training or retraining before they can be really useful citizens.

But speaking more broadly, there is an opportunity here to give some real meaning to the policy agreed upon at Potsdam. If it be true, as seems to be widely conceded, that the German people at large do not have any sense of guilt with respect to the war and its causes and results, and if the policy is to be "to convince the German people that they have suffered a total military defeat and that

they cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves," it is difficult to understand why so many displaced persons, particularly those who have so long been persecuted and whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed, should be compelled to live in crude, overcrowded camps while the German people, in rural areas, continue undisturbed in their homes.

As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of SS troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following or at least condoning Nazi policy.

It seems much more equitable, and as it should be, to witness the very few places where fearless and uncompromising military officers have either requisitioned an entire village for the benefit of displaced persons, compelling the German population to find housing where they can, or have required the local population to billet a reasonable number of them.

Thus the displaced persons, including the persecuted, live more like normal people and less like prisoners or criminals or herded sheep. They are in Germany, most of them and certainly the Jews, through no fault or wish of their own. This fact is, in this fashion, being brought home to the German people, but it is being done on too small a scale.

At many places, however, the military government officers manifest the utmost reluctance or indolence, if not timidity, about inconveniencing the German population. They even say that their job is to get communities working properly and soundly again, that they must "live with the Germans" while the DPs (displaced persons) are a more temporary problem.

Thus (and I am ready to cite the example) if a group of Jews are ordered to vacate their temporary quarters, needed for military purposes, and there are two possible sites, one a block of flats (model apartments) with conveniences and the other a series of shabby buildings with outside toilet and washing facilities, the burgomaster readily succeeds in persuading the town mayor to allot the latter to the displaced persons and to save the former for returning German civilians.

This tendency reflects itself in other ways, namely, in the employment of German civilians in the offices of military government when equally qualified personnel could easily be found among the displaced persons whose repatriation is not imminent. Actually, there have been situations where displaced persons, especially Jews, have found it difficult to obtain audiences with military government authorities because, ironically, they have been obliged to go through German employees who have not facilitated matters.

Quite generally, insufficient use is made of the services of displaced persons. Many of them are able and eager to work, but apparently they are not considered in this regard. While appreciating that language difficulties are sometimes involved, I am convinced that, both within and outside camps, greater use could be made of the personal services of those displaced persons who, in all likelihood, will be on hand for some time. Happily, in some camps every effort is made to utilize the services of the displaced persons, and these are apt to be the best camps in all respects.

4. To the extent that (a) evacuation from Germany and Austria is not immediately possible and (b) the formerly persecuted groups cannot be housed in villages or billeted with the German population, I recommend urgently that separate camps be set up for Jews, or at least for those who wish, in

the absence of a better solution, to be in such camps. There are several reasons for this: (1) A great majority want it; (2) it is the only way in which administratively their special needs and problems can be met without charges of preferential treatment or (oddly enough) charges of "discrimination" with respect to Jewish agencies now prepared and ready to give them assistance.

In this connection, I wish to emphasize that it is not a case of singling out a particular group for special privileges. It is a matter of raising to a more normal level the position of a group which has been depressed to the lowest depths conceivable by years of organized and inhuman oppression. The measures necessary for their restitution do not come within any reasonable interpretation of privileged treatment and are required by considerations of justice and humanity.

There has been some tendency at spots in the direction of separate camps for those who might be found to be stateless or non-repatriable or whose repatriation is likely to be deferred some time. Actually, too, this was announced some time ago as SHAEF policy, but in practice it has not been taken to mean much, for there is (understandably, if not carried too far) a refusal to contemplate possible statelessness and an insistence, in the interests of the large repatriation program, to consider all as repatriable. This results in a resistance to anything in the way of special planning for the "hard core," although all admit it is there and will inevitably appear.

While speaking of camps, this should be pointed out: While it may be that conditions in Germany and Austria are still such that certain control measures are required, there seems little justification for the continuance of barbed-wire fences, armed guards, and prohibition against leaving camp except by passes, which at some places are literally granted. Prevention of looting is given as the reason for these stern measures, but it is interesting that in portions of the Seventh Army area, where greater liberty of movement in and out of camps is given, there is actually much less plundering than in other areas where people, wishing to leave camp temporarily, do so by stealth.

3. As quickly as possible the actual operation of such camps should be turned over to a civilian agency—UNRRA. That organization is aware of weaknesses in its present structure and is pressing to remedy them. In that connection, it is believed that greater assistance could be given by the military authorities, upon whom any civilian agency in Germany and Austria today is necessarily dependent, so far as housing, transport, and other items are concerned. While it is true the military have been urging UNRRA to get ready to assume responsibility, it is also the fact that insufficient cooperation of an active nature has been given to accomplish the desired end.

4. Since, in any event, the military authorities must necessarily continue to participate in the program for all displaced persons, especially with respect to housing, transport, security, and certain supplies, it is recommended that there be a review of the military personnel elected for camp commandant positions. Some serving at present, while perhaps adequate for the mass repatriation job, are manifestly unsuited for the longer-term job of working in a camp composed of people whose repatriation or resettlement is likely to be delayed. Officers who have had some background or experience in social-welfare work are to be preferred, and it is believed there are some who are available. It is most important that the officers selected be sympathetic with the program and that they be temperamentally able to work and to cooperate with UNRRA and other relief and welfare agencies.

7. Pending the assumption of responsibility for operations by UNRRA, it would be desirable if a more extensive plan of field visitation by appropriate Army group headquarters be instituted. It is believed that many of the conditions now existing in the camps would not be tolerated if more intimately known by supervisory officers through inspection tours.

8. It is urgently recommended that plans for tracing services, if on open postal card only, be made available to displaced persons within Germany and Austria as soon as possible. The difficulties are appreciated but it is believed that if the anxiety of the people, so long abused and harassed, were fully understood, ways and means could be found within the near future to make such communication and tracing of relatives possible. I believe also that some of the private agencies could be helpful in this direction if given an opportunity to function.

V. OTHER COMMENTS

While I was instructed to report conditions as I found them, the following should be added to make the picture complete:

1. A gigantic task confronted the occupying armies in Germany and Austria in getting back to their homes as many as possible of the more than 6,000,000 displaced persons found in those countries. Less than 3 months after VE-day, more than 4,000,000 of such persons have been repatriated—a phenomenal performance. One's first impression, in surveying the situation, is that of complete admiration for what has been accomplished by the military authorities in so materially reducing the time as predicted to be required for this stupendous task. Praise of the highest order is due all military units with respect to this phase of postfighting jobs. In directing attention to existing conditions which unquestionably require remedying, there is no intention or wish to detract one particle from the preceding statements.

2. While I did not actually see conditions as they existed immediately after liberation I had them described in detail sufficient to make entirely clear that there had been, during the intervening period, some improvement in the conditions under which most of the remaining displaced persons are living. Reports which have come out of Germany informally from refugees themselves and from persons interested in refugee groups indicate something as a tendency not to take into account the full scope of the overwhelming tasks and responsibilities facing the military authorities. While it is understandable that those who have been persecuted and otherwise mistreated over such a long period should be impatient at what appears to them to be undue delay in meeting their special needs, fairness dictates that, in evaluating the progress made, the entire problem and all its ramifications be kept in mind. My effort has been, therefore, to weigh quite carefully the many complaints made to me in the course of my survey, both by displaced persons themselves and in their behalf, in the light of the many responsibilities which confronted the military authorities.

3. While for the sake of brevity this report necessarily consisted largely of general statements, it should be recognized that exceptions exist with respect to practically all of such generalizations. One high-ranking military authority predicted, in advance of my trip through Germany and Austria, that I would find, with respect to camps containing displaced persons, "some that are quite good, some that are very bad, with the average something under satisfactory." My subsequent trip confirmed that prediction in all respects.

In order to file this report promptly so that possibly some remedial steps might be considered at as early a date as possible, I have

not taken time to analyze all of the notes made in the course of the trip or to comment on the situation in France, Belgium, Holland, or Switzerland, also visited. Accordingly, I respectfully request that this report be considered as partial in nature. The problems present in Germany and Austria are much more serious and difficult than in any of the other countries named and this fact, too, seemed to make desirable the filing of a partial report immediately upon completion of the mission.

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all nonrepatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. In order to be effective, this plan must not be long delayed. The urgency of the situation should be recognized. It is inhuman to ask people to continue to live for any length of time under their present conditions. The evacuation of the Jews of Germany and Austria to Palestine will solve the problem of the individuals involved and will also remove a problem from the military authorities who have had to deal with it.

The Army's ability to move millions of people quickly and efficiently has been amply demonstrated. The evacuation of a relatively small number of Jews from Germany and Austria will present no great problem to the military. With the end of the Japanese war, the shipping situation should also become sufficiently improved to make such a move feasible.

The civilized world owes it to this handful of survivors to provide them with a home where they can again settle down and begin to live as human beings.

— AUGUST 31, 1945.

MR. DEAR GENERAL EISENHOWER: I have received and considered the report of Mr. Earl G. Harrison, our representative on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, upon his mission to inquire into the conditions and needs of displaced persons in Germany who may be stateless or nonrepatriable, particularly Jews. I am sending you a copy of that report. I have also had a long conference with him on the same subject matter.

While Mr. Harrison makes due allowance for the fact that during the early days of liberation the huge task of mass repatriation required main attention, he reports conditions which now exist and which require prompt remedy. These conditions, I know, are not in conformity with policies promulgated by SHAEF, now combined displaced persons executive. But they are what actually exists in the field. In other words, the policies are not being carried out by some of your subordinate officers.

For example, Military Government officers have been authorized and even directed, to requisition billeting facilities from the German population for the benefit of displaced persons. Yet, from this report, this has not been done on any wide scale. Apparently it is being taken for granted that all displaced persons, irrespective of their former persecution or the likelihood that their repatriation or resettlement will be delayed, must remain in camps—many of which are overcrowded and heavily guarded. Some of these camps are the very ones where these people were herded together, starved, tortured, and made to witness the death of their fellow inmates and friends and relatives. The announced policy has been to give such persons preference over the German civilian population in housing. But the practice seems to be quite another thing.

We must intensify our efforts to get these people out of camps and into decent houses until they can be repatriated or evacuated. These houses should be requisitioned from the German civilian population. That is one way to implement the Potsdam policy that

the German people "cannot escape responsibility for what they have brought upon themselves."

We quote this paragraph with particular reference to the Jews among the displaced persons:

"As matters now stand, we appear to be treating the Jews as the Nazis treated them, except that we do not exterminate them. They are in concentration camps in large numbers under our military guard instead of SS troops. One is led to wonder whether the German people, seeing this, are not supposing that we are following, or at least condoning, Nazi policy."

You will find in the report other illustrations of what I mean.

I hope you will adopt the suggestion that a more extensive plan of field visitation by appropriate Army group headquarters be instituted, so that the humane policies which have been enunciated are not permitted to be ignored in the field. Most of the conditions now existing in displaced persons camps would quickly be remedied if through inspection tours they came to your attention or to the attention of your supervisory officers.

I know you will agree with me that we have a particular responsibility toward these victims of persecution and tyranny who are in our zone. We must make clear to the German people that we thoroughly abhor the Nazi policies of hatred and persecution. We have no better opportunity to demonstrate this than by the manner in which we ourselves actually treat the survivors remaining in Germany.

I hope you will report to me as soon as possible the steps you have been able to take to clean up the conditions mentioned in the report.

I am communicating directly with the British Government in an effort to have the doors of Palestine opened to such of these displaced persons as wish to go there.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I may say that since that report the conditions have been considerably improved. I offer it only as evidence of what they were some months after our occupation.

Mr. KNOWLAND subsequently said: Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a United Press article published in the New York Times of today relative to the Harrison report. The senior Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft) today placed in the Record the Harrison report dealing with alleged conditions in the camps in Germany where some of the displaced persons were still being kept. I think in fairness to the military authorities in Europe—and I have the greatest confidence in General Eisenhower and the men conducting the military government there—that the facts as brought out by this press report should be included in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD so that the entire picture may be before the Senate and the military authorities.

Mr. LUCAS. Mr. President, I should like to make an inquiry of the Senator from California. Does the Senator from California request that the article be placed in the Record following the remarks of the Senator from Ohio today?

Mr. KNOWLAND. Yes; I should like that to be done.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

The report is as follows:

[From the New York Times of October 2, 1945]

Jews in One United States Camp Rimovul Charged of Abuse by Americans

FRIDLAND CAMP, BAVARIA, GERMANY, October 1.—The ragged inmates of this sprawling home for Jewish displaced persons ridiculed today the Harrison report to the White House that Jews in American-occupied Germany were treated almost as badly as they had been under the Nazis.

They said that until 2 weeks ago their camp had been crowded and unpleasant but that the conditions could not be put in the same category as the filthy Nazi concentration camps where they had been beaten and tortured.

Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower visited this and other Bavarian camps 2 weeks ago and immediately ordered Gen. George S. Patton, Jr., American commander in Bavaria, to seize many neighboring German residences to relieve the congested condition at the camp.

"Things have been better for Jews since our liberation," red-bearded Rabbi Ezekiel Ruttner told correspondents who flew here on an inspection trip.

"Now, today, it seems even more things are being done to make things better."

Until General Eisenhower's visit, however, it appeared that General Patton had taken little interest in Jewish welfare. The camp commander, Col. James H. Polk, of El Paso, Tex., admitted that "the heat has been turned on" in the past 14 days.

"I have been getting orders fired at me so fast since then that I have been unable to keep up with them," he said. He was unable to recall having received specific directives from General Patton's headquarters ordering improvements in camp conditions until after General Eisenhower's visit.

Colonel Polk said that General Patton had visited the camp earlier today and had seemed to be pleased with results that had been accomplished in the past 2 weeks.

Jews Found Well Treated

Here is the situation found during a brief inspection of the rain-soaked camp this afternoon:

The Jews are unhappy but they are not being victimized.

They are living in crowded quarters but they are not dangerously overcrowded.

Every effort is being made to improve their living conditions before winter.

They perhaps are not getting the best food, but their diet of 2,600 calories daily is twice that of the average German.

They are well cared for medically and hundreds are being nursed back to the health they lost in concentration camps.

About 20 percent of the camp's total of 4,300 inmates have some form of tuberculosis. A Jewish doctor said they were being carefully cared for and that most were recovering.

The majority of the Jews here live in bleak apartments, but they are well protected from the cold. Some rooms are occupied by 12 persons sleeping in bunks. Other large rooms have been turned into dormitories that hold 40 persons—admittedly crowded but still liveable.

They are relatively free people. There is no barbed wire and no Gestapo-type guards confining them. They have their own synagogues.

They appear to be living better than many Americans in slum areas, and the conditions here are similar to every other displaced persons camp throughout Germany.

This camp was chosen at random for inspection only 2 hours ago and there has been no time to change things to make a false showing for the inspection.

It was chosen by a group of correspondents interviewing Lt. Gen. Walter B. Smith, General Eisenhower's chief of staff, at his headquarters in Frankfurt on the Main. General Smith offered his personal plane to the newsmen for an immediate inspection tour of the "worst known camps" in the American zone.

General Smith had nothing to say on the report by Earl G. Harrison, American representative on the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, which said conditions were appalling among Jews in American camps, but he offered to let the newsmen "visit the camps immediately and make their own report."

Rabbi Ruttner summed up the situation in these words:

"We are still living in camp. We are without a place we can call home. We hope the doors of the world will open to us—just some land where we can live together in peace. Until then we are making the best of it here, where conditions are improving at the time."

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. I wish to supplement what the Senator from Ohio has just said by reading evidence adduced at the hearings which we held in Augsburg, Germany, during June of this year. In the evidence which I have in my hand, given by the burgomeister of Augsburg, a city of some 300,000, selected to be under our occupation, he testified that he had been burgomeister there or a high-ranking alderman throughout the past 20 years, having in charge in recent years both the police and finance.

His name is Dr. Ott. He said:

I had the police until 1929, that is, from 1919 to 1929, and then I was in charge from 1929 on, of all personnel of the city administration.

I read further from the testimony:

Dr. Ott. I myself, as oberburgomeister, am the police president now.

Senator Brewster. How many police have you here now?

Dr. Ott. One hundred and seventy.

Senator Brewster. How many of them have had previous police experience?

Dr. Ott. I am not certain but I believe 140 of the 170 have had previous police experience.

Senator Brewster. Under the city or the state?

Dr. Ott. Under the state.

Senator Brewster. So that 140 of the present city police were former state policemen?

Dr. Ott. Yes; that is correct.

I asked him who was the chief of the state police during the service of these 140 out of 170 men, and he replied:

Dr. Ott. Heinrich Himmler.

Senator Brewster. He was chief of the state police?

Dr. Ott. Yes.

Senator Brewster. And he was chief of the Gestapo, also?

Dr. Ott. Yes.

Senator Brewster. So that he had both under his jurisdiction?

Dr. Ott. Yes.

In other words, of the 170 police in Augsburg under American occupation, 140 of them had been serving under Heinrich Himmler as chief of the state police during the period immediately preceding our occupation.

It is little to be wondered at that we read the stories which we do of the misunderstandings in Germany as to the course of our occupation.

We visited Dachau, the prison concentration camp, and at that time, 1 month after our occupation, more than 10,000 persons were still herded there. And going to the crematory we saw stacked up the bodies of 60 individuals who had died during the preceding 24 hours. The bodies were stacked up exactly like cordwood. That was the treatment accorded to the poor unfortunates who had died a month after our occupation.

I do not charge that we were responsible, but certainly the care which had been provided for their mortal remains was far at variance with the Christian character which we would contemplate would be provided.

So it has seemed to me, supporting the suggestions made by the Senator from Ohio, that we may commend the effort to give 100,000 permits for Jews to enter Palestine, even if we place it on no higher a level than the very practical one that we are obligated to the support of these displaced persons under our occupation. They are in the care of our Army. They are under guard. We have to provide for them. If we permit them to go to Palestine in accordance with the pledge of the Balfour Declaration and with the Coolidge convention of 1923, both of which were absolutely at variance with the so-called white paper as denounced by Winston Churchill himself as a back bencher before he became Prime Minister, then not only does a great vista of hope open to them, but we incidentally are relieved of the responsibility of their care, as they are offered home and hospitality there. Under the Lowdermilk report made by our Assistant Commissioner of Irrigation, it is demonstrated there is ample opportunity there to provide for these people, with the vineyards and the cultivation which has been carried forward in such an amazing way.

So I join with the Senator from Ohio in commending what has been done, but urge that we go much farther in redeeming our solemn pledge.

Mr. GUPPEY. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. GUPPEY. I wish to say that I am entirely in sympathy with the declaration and aims of the resolution discussed informally by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft). We had that question before the Foreign Relations Committee, but action on it was postponed at the request of the military authorities because the British said it would raise a very troublesome problem for them in the Far East. Now that the war is over I hope we can take some action that will bring relief to the long suffering Jews in Europe.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. To the statement just made by the Senator from Ohio on this very serious problem, I want to add my own word, and a word on behalf of many of my constituents in New Jersey

who feel very strongly that President Truman should be supported in his recommendation that the British immigration restrictions be lowered to the end that at least 100,000 more Jews may be permitted to enter Palestine immediately.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. FERGUSON. I desire to join in the statement made by the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft) and the Senator from Maine (Mr. Bagworth). I particularly join in what the Senator from Maine said as to conditions in Germany, as I saw some of the conditions at the time I was there.

I think our great mistake at that time was to try to determine who was a Nazi, or who would carry out Nazi principles, by simply asking individuals to fill in a questionnaire. I think it is clear that those who served as police and S. S. troopers had shown by their acts that they were in sympathy with and were carrying out the provisions of the Nazi doctrine; that no questionnaire was necessary to determine that fact, and a questionnaire would not determine it.

I join the Senators who have spoken today in urging that at least 100,000 or more permits be granted so that at least that many individuals can be saved. I hope we can do many things all over Europe to preserve the rights of all peoples there. I hope we may establish freedom of news and expression so as to be able to determine just what is going on, and how the people of Europe are being treated.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, will the Senator from Ohio yield?

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, a parliamentary inquiry.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator will state it.

Mr. McMAHON. Can the Senator from Ohio turn out the floor for a couple of hours?

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The morning business has not been concluded. Debate is not in order now, upon objection.

Mr. McMAHON. I understand the rule to be that the Senator can yield for a question. He has yielded now for three or four speeches. There are other Senators who wish to speak.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The morning business has not been completed, and the morning hour is not ended. The point of order is sustained.

The Chair recognizes the Senator from Massachusetts.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. I should like merely to add my word of commendation of what the Senator from Ohio has said. As one who has received many communications on this subject, and who has done considerable reading concerning it, I heartily commend what the Senator from Ohio has just said, and I join with him in his statement.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The routine morning business is concluded.

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I am not taking the time of the Senate for the purpose of discussing the pending bill. I had earlier in the day expected to make a statement on a matter of universal interest to all of us here and throughout the

country, but unfortunately the Senate got into a parliamentary snarl on account of the morning hour not having been completed, and it was impossible for me to address myself earlier than at this time to the subject upon which I now wish to make a very brief statement. It has reference to the predicament of Jews in Europe, with particular reference to Palestine as a possible home refuge for them.

Mr. President, I have no intention to repeat the horrible things which have been said to have existed and which we know have existed in regard to the treatment of the Jews throughout Europe by Hitler, by the Nazis, and by all those who were associated with them. It has been reliably estimated that more than five million Jews were absolutely exterminated in Europe during the Hitler regime. In the report of the committee which went to Europe to observe the atrocities in the concentration camps we touched upon that subject. There cannot be any dispute about the facts. One of the things which Hitler did his best to carry out was his threat to exterminate the Jewish people, and upon his rise to power he came nearer to accomplishing that threat than any other threat he made.

There are now remaining in Europe probably between one million and a million and a half Jews, most of them homeless, most of them wandering around from place to place seeking a haven of refuge. I am glad to note that the Army of the United States in its occupation of that area of Germany under its control has materially improved the conditions which they found in that area with respect to the treatment of the Jews. Vast improvements may yet be made, and I hope they will be speedily made. I commend the President of the United States upon the prompt steps which he has taken to bring about the necessary improvement and alleviation in the conditions which were found there, and which were without dispute.

There are two phases of this question: One is the immediate relief and rescue of Jews who under present conditions are homeless, many of them afraid or unwilling to go back to their original homes because they will find no homes there and that their families have all been murdered, and therefore they are in some respects almost as helpless today as they have been at any time within the last 12 or 13 years. That is an immediate problem which faces the world and appeals to the generous humanitarian sentiments of all men and women everywhere.

The other problem is that of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. I shall not now discuss that phase of the Jewish problem except to say that it is a hope and an ambition which has been cherished not only by Jews in Europe who might inhabit such a commonwealth, but I think by a vast majority of the Jewish people all over the world, and that is especially true of those in the United States.

It had been my hope and expectation that when the war ended and the nations should assemble somewhere to write the peace, that the question of an independent Jewish commonwealth might be

given the consideration to which it is entitled and that it might be worked out in a way that would be satisfactory to the Jewish people and to the people of Palestine as well as to the people of the world.

Whether there will be an over-all international peace conference such as there was after the last war, I do not know. This war has been so vast and has covered so great a territory, and has involved so many nations that I am informed that serious consideration has been given to the question whether all of them should be assembled in one body in order to try to rewrite the map of the world and remake the nations and the peace. But whether it comes about by an over-all international convention undertaking to deal with the world as a whole, or whether by regional peace conferences such as those which have been provided for under the Potsdam arrangement, it is my belief that serious consideration should be given to the question of establishing an independent homeland in Palestine for the habitation of the Jewish people, and of establishing there a self-governing nation.

But the immediate problem which faces Christendom, as I see it, is that of providing a refuge and a haven for the displaced, distressed, and distraught people of that great race who even yet are wandering over the face of Europe looking for homes.

When Lord Balfour pronounced what has come to be known as the Balfour Declaration, it was hailed everywhere in the world as a wise, statesmanlike act on his part. It undoubtedly had the approval of the English people. Time and time again it has been endorsed by the American people. Every President from that day until now, the Congress of the United States, and all branches of our Government endorsed it as a happy augury of peace and accord among not only the Jewish people of the world, but all the people and all the nations with whom they have contact.

More recently the British Government issued what has been called a white paper, limiting the restricting migration into Palestine to 75,000 people. Recently the suggestion has been made that it be modified so as to embrace 100,000 people. That question is now pending not only before the Government of Great Britain, but before the international mind, and before our Nation as a nation. Our Government has expressed itself in terms which cannot be misunderstood with respect to the advisability and justice of either modifying or nullifying entirely the so-called white paper under which Jewish migration into Palestine is restricted.

Mr. President, I am not unmindful of the delicate international situation which exists everywhere as a result of this war. I have no desire to utter any sentence or any sentiment which would embarrass our Government, and I have no intention of doing so. I do not wish to be understood as in any way undertaking to dictate—if I had the power to do so, which, of course, I have not—to any of the governments involved in this delicate situation. But I express my belief as an American citizen as well as a United States Senator, and as a friend of

the great Jewish race which has come down to us from antiquity, which has contributed so much to the civilization of the world, and which has enriched every land where its blood has flowed, that from the standpoint of humanity and justice, from the standpoint of Christianity, the plight of the Jews in Europe cries out now for the pursuit of such a course on the part of those responsible as will permit the Jews to go into Palestine and find homes there free from oppression, free from hunger, free from want, and free from the fear of further pogroms which may be visited upon them. They are entitled to peace and comfort, and to homes.

It is my belief, from the knowledge which I have of that country, that it can absorb many more Jews than are there now. I believe there are now about 600,000 Jews in Palestine. It is estimated by those who are familiar with the situation that it could absorb and support 3,000,000 people. A marvelous work has been done in Palestine in the development of that country, through reforestation, irrigation, reclamation, and the building of industries. As a result of the productivity of the people of that section, nearly all the nations of the world, even as far away as India and China, have received implements of warfare produced in Palestine by the work of Jews.

So, Mr. President, I join all those who, here or elsewhere, express the hope that this restrictive measure will be modified, and the unreserved belief that it ought to be modified, regardless of what may ultimately come from the hope for a permanent independent Jewish homeland in Palestine. That question will no doubt have to be settled by international conference, conciliation, and agreement. At the moment there is a great crying need that this place, of all places in the world, shall be reopened as a refuge and home for those who are seeking escape from the intolerable conditions which have been brought about by the cruelty and brutality under the leadership of the Nazi power. I express that fervent wish here on the floor of the United States Senate in the hope that through our cooperation, through our realization of the problem, and through our intense interest in its proper solution, the Christian world will no longer be justly chided for negligence and indifference toward this great human problem of rescue and salvation.

Mr. President, I have no personal or political interest which could be served in any way, shape, or form by the nature of the solution which may come to this problem. But I am a human being, and I feel that I have in my heart humanitarian sentiments. I do not believe that the civilized nations of the world ought to be content to see a great race of people hunted like beasts of the field and denied the ordinary comforts, the ordinary safety, and the ordinary dignity which mankind is entitled to enjoy. The Jews are no less created in the image and likeness of God than are we ourselves. Those who would deny that impugn our own good faith and our own vaunted generosity and tolerance.

So, Mr. President, I am glad to share in the sentiments which have been expressed today, and which I have heretofore expressed, here and elsewhere, and the hope that there may be no further delay in solving this great problem which knocks at the door of every civilized nation and every Christian home in all the world.

sue, made by the distinguished Senator from Kentucky (Mr. Baucus), it would perhaps seem superfluous for me to speak further upon the subject. I would not do so if it were not for the fact that for a long time I have been deeply concerned about this great and paramount issue.

President Truman has proposed the greatest single act of humanitarianism since the outbreak of World War II, but the British Government, I am shocked to say, is seeking to prevent its execution.

The President has advised Prime Minister Attlee, through Secretary of State Byrnes, of his desire to remove 100,000 Jewish refugees from concentration camps in occupied Germany so that they may begin life anew in Palestine. It is a magnificent gesture the President proposes, one which produces an applauding echo throughout the length and breadth of this land. But the British, who have endeavored for the past 30 years, with one excuse after another, to make Palestine a ghetto of the Arab world, are willing to admit only 1,500 refugees a month—a mere 18,000 during the next year.

This seems difficult, Mr. President, to believe, but Reuter's, the official British news agency, says it is so.

How tragic this is.

Instead of trying to cooperate with the Government of the United States in salvaging some of the survivors of the greatest mass tragedy of the ages, the British, it would seem, are endeavoring to prolong this tragedy.

It is indeed unfortunate that a people who, all alone, stood off Hitler for more than 9 months, and whose magnificent courage during the darkest days of the blitz proved them to be a people who will willingly die in the cause of justice, are permitting their escutcheon to be blotted because of their attitude toward Palestine.

From the advent of Hitler back in 1933, more than 5,000,000 Jews have been victims of his mad determination to wipe out an ancient people. Of approximately 7,000,000 Jews who lived in Nazi-occupied Europe and Russia before the war, not more than 1,400,000 now survive.

Had the war in Europe continued another 4 months, it is a fair assumption that Hitler would have succeeded completely in his diabolical scheme.

Of those who survived more than 100,000 are still in concentration camps in Germany, and 65,000 in camps under the supervision of the American Army.

These people have no place to go. They are a destitute, homeless people, afflicted with memories of a tragic past. Most of them have lost all of their loved ones, and all their earthly possessions. They are alive today only because Eisenhower, Bradley and Patton got to Germany before they, too, were removed from concentration camps to the crematoriums. Otherwise, their bones, also, would have been included in the piles of human ashes discovered by the onrushing American armies.

It is these survivors whom President Truman, reflecting the unquestioned wishes of the American people, wants to help right now by getting them to Palestine, the only place on God's green earth where they can again live as free men

and women. But Britain does not want them to go there.

I have said that nearly 5,000,000 Jews lost their lives under Hitler. Many of them—I do not know how many, but surely many hundreds of thousands, and perhaps more than a million—could have been saved but for the rigid, tragic application of the British white paper.

The white paper was a part of the British policy of appeasement promulgated by the late Prime Minister Chamberlain as a part of his futile endeavors to appease Hitler. In those days Hitler's anti-Jewish propaganda was being industriously circulated in the Near East. He found a fertile field among Arab politicians who saw in the presence of the Jews in Palestine a substantial betterment of the condition of the lowly and poverty-stricken Arabs. The Jew brought to Palestine vision, medicines, schools, modern living and more employment at higher wages. Naturally, the Arab peasants welcomed the Jew, but by the same token, the Arab politicians viewed with horror and with apprehension the magnificent physical and cultural development which followed the Jew into that ancient and barren land.

Those politicians and Hitler had much in common and the politicians, like Hitler in Europe, set up a hue and a cry against the Jews. They did not want any more Jews in Palestine. Thus, when Prime Minister Chamberlain, back in 1939, promulgated the white paper limiting immigration into Palestine to a mere 75,000 during the course of the succeeding 5 years, and none at all after that time, Mr. Chamberlain and the British Government were following sheeplike behind Hitler's leadership.

Mind you, Mr. President, Chamberlain imposed this restriction on Jewish immigration into the one country which had been set aside by the Versailles Treaty as a Jewish homeland at a time when it was more necessary than ever in the world's history for the unfortunate Jews of Europe to find a haven of refuge. A few months after promulgation of the white paper, Hitler proved to Chamberlain the futility of all his appeasement policies. The need for unrestricted immigration into Palestine then was greater than ever before because with the advent of the formal state of war, Hitler's atrocities against the Jews increased one-hundredfold. Protests against the application of the white paper were renewed but the British excuse then was that tampering with the white-paper policy might inflame the Arabs and upset the progress of the war in Africa and the Near East. Mind you, Senators, at that time hundreds of thousands of Jews, caught like rats in a trap, were endeavoring to escape from Hitler. They could have gotten to Palestine, not only from Germany, but from Poland and from all of the satellite countries, but the British Government through the white paper said, "No, you must remain where you are." They did—and more than 5,000,000 of them were exterminated.

Even after the Germans had been driven from North Africa, and all prospects of war in that area had disappeared, the British continued to remain adamant in the enforcement of the white

paper. They still found excuses to prevent homeless Jewish refugees from going to Palestine.

In the meanwhile, because of the brutal application of this immigration policy, hundreds of thousands of Jewish lives were needlessly sacrificed. Hundreds of thousands of these people might have been saved.

Now the war is over. There has been peace in Europe since May 8, and still Britain enforces the white paper.

Mr. President, let us look at another aspect of the situation. As a part of the deliberate policy of the United States and the British Government, Palestine was legally designated during 1917 as a national homeland for the Jews. There were prolonged negotiations between President Woodrow Wilson and Prime Minister David Lloyd George, and the Government policy, since known as the Balfour Declaration, was proclaimed. According to all of the writings of Mr. Wilson and Mr. David Lloyd George, it was the full intent of our Governments at the time to make Palestine eventually into a free and independent state in which the rights of all peoples would be equal under the law, but in which a majority of the population would be Jews. There is no question about this. It is as factual as any historic record can be.

At the Versailles Treaty, His Majesty's Government was given a mandate over Palestine to continue until such time as a sufficient number of Jews had arrived in Palestine to establish a proposed commonwealth.

The United States Government was not a signatory to the Versailles Treaty but we were very much a factor in the British mandate over Palestine, because in 1924 the Coolidge administration negotiated a treaty with Great Britain in which the British administration of the mandate was confirmed. This treaty, however, specifically stipulated that Britain would make no change in the immigration policy into Palestine without prior consultation with the United States. But Britain has, as the record shows, completely ignored the United States in all matters pertaining to Palestine. On March 9, last year, President Roosevelt asserted in the White House that the United States had never given its approval to the white paper of 1939. Despite this strong hint from an Allied and Associated Nation, Britain continued to enforce the white paper, and it is doing so to this day. In the meanwhile, last year the Democratic and Republican National Conventions went on record favoring the immediate creation of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. The majority of Members of this Congress have gone on record favoring this policy, and insofar as I know, none of us differ on the question of relief to those unfortunates whom President Truman would transplant to Palestine.

During its long climb up the political ladder, the British Labor Party espoused the cause of the free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. During all this time the Labor Party challenged the Churchill government's application of the white-paper policy. Only a few months ago, in May 1945, the

British Labor Party—the same party which now rules the destinies of the British Empire—adopted an official declaration on Palestine which reads:

There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a "Jewish national home," unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the sold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. * * * The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must now claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine less than the size of Wales.

Mr. President, that was the statement of the Labor government before it came to power.

When the Labor government came into power, we in the United States who believe in the validity of the Jewish claims to Palestine had the right to think that at long last the pledges of the British and the American Governments would be carried out. But once more we were doomed to further and more bitter disappointment and disillusionment. Not only is the Labor government ignoring its pledges, but, of even greater distress, it is seeking to block President Truman in his efforts to furnish relief to 100,000 people who are in such dire distress.

This attitude of the British Government is a horrible commentary and a great shock to those of us who had always admired the British for their traditional belief in fair play. This is anything but fair, and it cannot help but lessen the prestige of the British in this country.

I hope the British Government will appreciate the depth of American feeling on the subject of Palestine, and take immediate steps, not only to comply with President Truman's great humanitarian objectives but also to carry out the historic pledges of our Governments.

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, this morning while the Palestine question was under discussion I had intended to express some thoughts on the subject, but was precluded from doing so by the intrusion of the bill, which has been under discussion during the day. I should now like to submit some brief remarks in connection with that matter.

Mr. President, when we review the history of the Palestine problem we find that there was hardly another instance in the memory of our generation where promises have been so lavishly made and so consistently violated. Between 1918 and 1939 most governments of the world, including our own, gave careful consideration to the future of Palestine. After much soul-searching a decision was arrived at in the light of the needs of the Jews, of the position of the Arabs, and of the interests of the entire civilized world.

The Arabs, until then subjects of the Turkish Empire, were put on the road to freedom. In the case of the Jews it was recognized that this group of people, living scattered all over the world, who found equality of rights and decent treatment in some countries, but unending sorrow and persecution in others, also deserved to have a country where those of them who wished to emigrate would be

truly at home. Palestine, because of its historic connection with the Jewish people, was recognized as the place which should become the national home of the Jewish people.

This was the basis on which the nations of the world decided to entrust the mandate over Palestine to England, with the understanding that Great Britain would use its position to further the immigration and settlement of Jews in Palestine. It was understood, of course, that all inhabitants of Palestine, whatever their race or religion, would enjoy perfect equality of rights and that particular attention should be paid to guaranteeing religious freedom and the protection of the holy places in that country, which is holy to so many faiths. But it was clearly understood at the same time that the Jews should be enabled to immigrate to Palestine in large numbers, so that its Jewish inhabitants would ultimately become a majority of its total population, and so that, in this sense, the state that would one day be established in Palestine would be a Jewish state.

Let me make it plain that the term "Jewish state" was never meant as a state in which Jewish religion should be controlling but simply a state in which the majority of the population were Jews. All this is very clear from the diplomatic correspondence surrounding the Palestine mandate. The American peace delegation in Versailles, President Wilson in person, British leaders such as Mr. Lloyd George and General Smuts, all made clear that this was their understanding of the purpose of the Palestine mandate.

A large number of governments, then united in the League of Nations, gave their formal approval to this policy, which became incorporated in the League of Nations mandate. The United States of America fully subscribed to that understanding by entering into a treaty with Great Britain in 1924. This treaty, which can be found on the statute books of the United States, gives our country the same rights to supervise the faithful execution of the provisions of the Palestine mandate as we would have had were we a member of the League of Nations. In addition, the treaty stipulates that no modification of the terms of the mandate by Great Britain could affect the validity of our treaty.

The legal position with regard to Palestine and the commitments which the nations of the world have undertaken with regard to the Jews who desire to enter Palestine were, therefore, quite clear 20 years ago. What happened since then that would have made the breach of these commitments and a change of policy justifiable or at least excusable? Has it been demonstrated that the Jews in Palestine were unable to do the job of settling the country? Has it been demonstrated that they have, in doing so, oppressed or contributed to the impoverishment of their Arab neighbors? Has the position of the Jews in the world become so much better that their need for a national home has become less than it was in 1917?

Mr. WHEELER. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. MURRAY. I yield.

Mr. WHEELER. As chairman of the committee of four which visited Palestine last June, I was very much surprised to see the great improvement which had taken place in that area since I had been there before. We stayed overnight at Tel Aviv, which is one of the cleanest and finest cities to be found there, much cleaner than any other city in the vicinity. It is a very beautiful place, built up entirely by the Jewish people. I can see no excuse for anyone saying the Jews should not be permitted to go to Palestine if they wish to go and buy land. I do not undertake to tell the British government what it should do, but I see no reason why, if the Jews desire to come to Palestine and stay there, they should not be permitted to do so.

Mr. MURRAY. I thank the Senator for his comment. I appreciate that he has made a very careful study of this problem on the ground, and that he is familiar with the facts. I am sure he is qualified to approve and corroborate what I am now saying.

Have the Arab peoples lost their chance at independence in other countries so that they could have looked only to Palestine as the one place where they could have a national state of their own?

Nothing of the sort. Quite the contrary, the Jews have shown remarkable success in peacefully colonizing Palestine. Their example and cooperation have resulted in a tremendous rise both of the numbers and of the economic standards of the Palestine Arabs. The Arabs in Palestine today enjoy a far higher economic standard than they did before the coming of the Jews and a far higher standard than that of Arabs in most neighboring countries. So beneficial did Jewish colonization prove to the Arabs that, far from leaving the country, as they used to in the days before the First World War, large numbers of Arabs from neighboring countries immigrated into Palestine in order to share in the prosperity brought by the Jews.

And what about the Jewish situation in the world? If it was bad in 1917, it has become immeasurably worse in the years since. All during the 1920's, anti-Semitism became stronger in one European country after another, in the 1930's the Nazi rule of Germany resulted in a world-wide campaign of hatred against the Jews, and in the early 1940's about 6,000,000 Jews in Europe were slaughtered, gassed, brutally murdered. Their survivors have lost all, and are finding it almost impossible to start life anew in the countries where they have met and are still meeting with so much hatred. If it was necessary to have a Jewish national home in 1917, how much more has this necessity been demonstrated in 1945?

And what about the situation of the Arab-speaking peoples as a whole? They have progressed on the road to independence. They are rapidly freeing themselves from the last traces of foreign control. Five of the Arab countries—Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and the Lebanon—have become members of the United Nations. A sixth Arab State, Yemen, is also almost fully inde-

pendent. The Arab position in the world has tremendously improved. The Jewish position in the world has tremendously deteriorated. If it was wise and just to facilitate the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine in 1917, it is far more wise and just to do so today.

The American people, and its qualified representatives, time and again gave full expression to this point of view. As early as 1922, Congress went on record in a joint resolution as favoring the Jewish national home, and President Harding approved the resolution and made it part of the law of the land. Presidents Coolidge and Hoover expressed their approval of this policy. Both the Democratic and Republican Parties reaffirmed this policy most emphatically at their recent national conventions in the summer of 1944. In these conventions, they pledged themselves to a policy of large Jewish immigration and of a Jewish majority in Palestine that would result in the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. President Roosevelt publicly concurred in this policy, and pledged himself to carry it out. President Truman likewise has declared that he will pursue the same policy.

Mr. President, the chapter of British rule in Palestine contributes nothing to the honor of the British Government. It is a blank chapter in English history. It is a chapter full of evasion and duplicity. After having received the trusteeship over Palestine mainly in order to help the Jews establish their national home, British administrators did their best to prevent the Jews from doing so. For the present, and as it has been ever since 1939, Palestine is ruled under the notorious British document known as the Chamberlain white paper of 1939, under which no more Jews may enter Palestine, and under which, in this so-called national homeland of the Jews, Jews are not even permitted to live or to own property anywhere except a tiny part of the territory of Palestine.

This document is reviled and repudiated even in England. Winston Churchill, the man who pulled Great Britain through the war, called the white paper a unilateral breach of promises and a violation of international obligations.

But on the part of Mr. Churchill, too, just as on the part of many others, these were only words. For 4 long years Churchill was Prime Minister of England, and he had it within his power to right the wrong that was done. He did not do so. For most of those 4 years there was an explanation—the critical war situation. But for the last year and a half this explanation no longer held true.

During the past year and a half it would have been easily possible to abrogate the white paper, to open Palestine to the Jewish refugees of the Old World, and to lay the foundations of the Jewish state.

It was not done by Mr. Churchill's government, and now we hear that Mr. Attlee's government does not intend to do so, either. It is said to wish to maintain the white paper intact, with but slight and insignificant concessions. It is said to intend to "pass the buck" for

the future of Palestine to a United Nations organization which has not yet started operating and which, God knows when, will be able to start operating effectively.

An overwhelming majority of the Members of both Houses of Congress, both political parties, the administration are publicly pledged to support the policy of a Jewish commonwealth, and yet in practice we are failing to carry this policy into execution. It is reported that the President of the United States has asked that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted to Palestine at once. This is, indeed, an elementary requirement of the mandate. The victims of our enemy's brutality who by some miracle survived in his concentration camps and who desire to go to the country that was promised to them should be enabled to go without the least delay.

But this is only the first step. Without shirking responsibility, our Government and the Government of Great Britain, who have made so many far-reaching decisions in the international field in the interest of peace and humanity, must not shirk this responsibility, either—the long-overdue responsibility of redeeming and carrying out a sacred obligation.

67,000 PEOPLE PARTICIPATED IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN DEMONSTRATION FOR JEWISH PALESTINE

NEW YORK, Oct. 1. (JTA) -- At least 67,000 people participated in the demonstration for a Jewish Palestine at Madison Square Garden last night, arranged by the American Zionist Emergency Council, police estimated today. About 22,000 crowded into the auditorium, while approximately 45,000 filled the streets outside, listening to the proceedings through loudspeakers.

The Garden filled up so fast that the Fire Department ordered the doors closed a half-hour before the meeting was scheduled to begin. The auditorium was hung with American and Zionist flags and banners reading: "Is Attlee Another Chamberlain?" "When Will the War Be Over for the Jewish People?", "Aren't Six Million Jewish Dead Enough?" and "America Is For Palestine. Why Doesn't the State Department Act?"

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, told the audience that his interview with President Truman on Saturday occurred in a cordial, pleasant atmosphere. He expressed the hope that the President would "not be misled by a few high-placed, shell-shocked Jews who reach you from time to time and attempt to confuse you on this basic problem and its sound solution. They speak for an insignificant number of our people, those who are afraid lest the establishment of a Jewish State will endanger their own comfortable existence here." Dr. Silver called on all American Jews for a total mobilization "in the war which has been called against us." As he finished, the entire auditorium arose and spontaneously chanted the Hatikvah.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey pointed to the sufferings of the Jews now confined to camps in Europe, to the magnificent achievements of the Jews in Palestine, and to their contributions to the war effort, and declared that they were entitled to a homeland. He called for the immediate redemption of the pledges made to the Jews and urged the immediate establishment of free immigration. The Governor, however, refrained from demanding the creation of a Jewish state or commonwealth.

Justice for the Jews, Dr. Stephen S. Wise said, did not mean mere certificates of admission to Palestine, but the admission of Palestine to the United Nations as a Jewish State. He said that he doubted that Prime Minister Attlee wanted to go down in history as "another Ramsay MacDonald." He predicted that he will live to see the establishment of a Jewish State and added that after his interview with the President on Saturday, in the company of Dr. Silver, he was not "without hope."

Other speakers included Mayor Fiorello La Guardia, Hayim Greenberg, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Joseph Lookstein, Mrs. Moses Epstein, and Dr. Daniel Poling. Henry Monsky presided.

American Council for Judaism Says Demonstration Did Not Represent All U.S. Jews

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 1. (JTA) -- Lessing J. Rosenwald, president of the American Council for Judaism, charged last night that "an attempt is being made by the holding of mass meetings and other propaganda devices to foster the erroneous impression that all American Jews are united in support of the Zionist plan to establish Jews as a nation and to make Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth."

"This is simply not true," he declared. "No one possesses the authority or the right to speak in the name of all Americans of Jewish faith. In behalf of the American Council for Judaism, an organization of Americans of Jewish faith who oppose Jewish nationalists, refuse to participate in a political organization of Jews, and oppose the creation of a Jewish state, we call attention to the divergence of opinion among Jews on this subject."

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

LEADING U.S. SENATORS DEMAND IMMEDIATE FULFILLMENT BRITAIN'S PLEDGES TO JEWISH PEOPLE

**DELIVER ADDRESSES ON SENATE FLOOR STRESSING RIGHT OF U.S. TO INSIST UPON
OPENING PALESTINE'S DOORS TO UNRESTRICTED JEWISH IMMIGRATION**

Washington, D. C. - October 2 — Ten of the nation's outstanding Senators today rose on the floor of the United States Senate to demand immediate fulfillment of Great Britain's pledges of a Jewish Palestine. Participating in this demonstration of American support for Jewish aspirations in Palestine were Senators Alban W. Barkley (D), of Kentucky; Owen Brewster (R), of Maine; Homer Ferguson (R), of Michigan; Joseph F. Guffey (D), of Pennsylvania; Edwin C. Johnson (D), of Colorado; Brien McMahon (D), of Connecticut; James E. Murray (D), of Montana; Leverett Saltonstall (R) of Massachusetts; H. Alexander Smith (R), of New Jersey; and Robert A. Taft (R), of Ohio.

Keynote of the day was sounded by Senator Taft, who, beginning the discussion early in the morning session, stressed America's right to insist that Great Britain carry out her pledges to the Jewish people at once, and declared:

"A year ago the Senior Senator from New York and I introduced a resolution calling on our Government to take up with the British Government the solution of the Palestine problem. We asked that the British be requested to carry out the Balfour Declaration, to repudiate the White Paper of 1939, to reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration, and to resume the policy leading to an independent commonwealth with a majority of Jewish citizens. The Administration then posed the passage of such a resolution and promised to take quiet steps to accomplish its purpose. Such steps, if taken, however, proved a complete failure.

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"I wish to express my strong approval, and I think that of a majority of the Senators, of President Truman's action in suggesting to the British Prime Minister that 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine be issued to the homeless Jews of Europe. If the British Government follows this suggestion of the President, it will provide relief for many of those Jews who survived the horrible persecution and torture of the Nazis. May I add, too, that it would be some atonement for what we have failed to do during the war. For during the war, we did little more than express polite sympathy for the Jews in Germany and in the occupied countries.

"I think we should realize, however, that President Truman's request, even if acted upon by the British Government, will not solve the problem. It is still a belated emergency measure. The problem of the surviving Jews of Europe will not be solved by 100,000 immigration certificates. There are, perhaps, 3,000,000 Jews left in Central and Eastern Europe. They face a terrible aftermath of war and a continent still imbued with bitter Jewish hatred. Palestine is still closed to them.

"Now is the time to carry out our obligations. If they are not carried out in this post-war settlement, they probably never will be carried out.

"Thus far," Senator Taft continued, "we have received no indication that the new government of Great Britain is determined to alter British policies in Palestine. On the other hand, in spite of the fact that the British Labor Party is officially committed to a Zionist solution of the Palestine problem, it is reported that the Labor Government intends to continue, with slight modification, the policy of excluding further Jewish immigration into Palestine. I believe we should continue to exercise our influence, as President Truman has begun to do, towards securing from Great Britain a pledge to carry out the Balfour Declaration. We are in constant touch with Great Britain. They are asking us for assistance and support in various matters where their vital interests are at stake. It seems to me that we have the right, and in view of the historical position of both nations, the duty,

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to insist that Great Britain do justice to the long-suffering Jewish people and that Palestine be opened to them without any reserve or restrictions."

During the course of his address he was interrupted several times as Senators Brewster, Guffey, Smith, Ferguson and Saltonstall asked his permission to take the floor and endorse his views and expand upon points he made. Senator Brewster told the attentive chamber of his horror and indignation upon visiting the notorious Dachau concentration camp, one month after its occupation by the allies. "More than 10,000 people were still herded there," he asserted, "and we all saw 60 bodies stacked like cordwood. This was the treatment accorded to unfortunates who died a month after our occupation!..Certainly the care which had been provided for them is at variance with the Christian character which we would contemplate would be provided."

He urged immediate admission into Palestine of 100,000 displaced European Jews, saying that this would not only open up a vista of hope for the homeless Jews of Europe, but would relieve the United States of the responsibility of their care inasmuch as they are offered home and hospitality in Palestine. He added: "We should go much further than this in redeeming our solemn pledge."

After Senator Brewster concluded, Senator Taft received permission to include in the Congressional Record the text of the Earl G. Harrison Report on the appalling treatment of Jews in camps under American supervision, as well as President Truman's letter to General Eisenhower ordering these conditions to be corrected at once.

Recalling that when the Palestine resolution had been pending before the Foreign Relations Committee, action had been postponed at the request of the military authorities "because the British said it raised a very troublesome problem for them in the Far East," Senator Guffey declared: "Now that the war is over, I hope that we can take some action that will bring relief to the long-suffering Jews of Europe."

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Senators Smith, Ferguson and Saltonstall made equally strong statements in support of Senator Taft's remarks.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson in a ten minute address also emphasized this country's right to speak to Great Britain about Palestine. Charging that Britain had made the Jew "a political football," since the Balfour Declaration was issued, he declared: "Britain is determined to pursue this (White Paper) policy to the bitter end...it is time for the Senate and for the United States Government to face realities in Palestine. The determination to establish in Palestine a homeland for the Jews in which Jews would eventually have nationhood status in common with other peoples, was a joint policy of the United States and the British Government during World War I...an equitable and just resolve should not be abandoned now.

"How long are the American Government and the American people going to remain callous to the suffering of the homeless Jews of Europe?" he demanded. "How long will the American people remain indifferent to the imperative need to set up the long contemplated Jewish State in Palestine? Patience has ceased to be a virtue. The time is at hand to put an end to the suffering and persecution of the survivors and enable the Jewish people to re-establish themselves in the independent and dignified status of ancient days.

"Surely, our people are in no mood to have President Truman's recommendations vetoed by the British. Surely, the Balfour Declaration is not a scrap of paper. Surely, Britain is not going to waltz on her solemn pledges," Senator Johnson exclaimed.

Senator Brien McMahon then rose to address the Senate but he was repeatedly interrupted by Senator Theodore Bilbo (D), Mississippi. Senator McMahon declared that Senator Bilbo was attempting to prevent further discussion of the matter. The chair ruled Senator Bilbo out of order, but the discussion in the meantime had been side-tracked to other subjects.

The question of Palestine was therefore not raised again until later in the afternoon, when Senate Majority Leader Alben W. Barkley rose and delivered an

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impassioned plea for immediate action to rescue the Jewish survivors in Europe. Declaring that the Jewish Commonwealth is a hope cherished by the vast majority of the Jewish people all over the world, especially in the United States, Senator Barkley said that he hoped that the question of the Jewish Commonwealth will be given the consideration to which it is entitled at the Peace Conference.

Declaring that he is not unmindful of the "delicate international situation" with regard to Palestine, Senator Barkley asserted that the United States Government has made its position unmistakably clear on the White Paper and added:

"As a friend of the great Jewish people who have contributed so much to world civilization, as a Senator, and from the standpoint of humanity and justice, the plight of the Jews cries out for the opening of Palestine's doors." Senator Barkley demanded that there be no further delay in the solution of this great human problem.

Senator McMahon then delivered a ten-minute address in which he charged that "the British have endeavored for the past twenty years, with one excuse after another, to make Palestine a ghetto of the Arab world."

"This attitude of the British Government is a horrible commentary and a great shock to those of us who had always admired the British for their traditional belief in fair-play," Senator McMahon declared. "It is anything but fair and it cannot help but lessen the prestige of the British in this country. I hope the British Government will appreciate the depth of American feeling on the subject of Palestine and take immediate steps, not only to comply with President Truman's great humanitarian objective, but also to carry out the historic pledges of our Government."

Senator James Murray made the last formal address in the Senate. After assailing both the Churchill and the Attlee governments of Great Britain for their failure to redeem Great Britain's pledges on Palestine, Senator Murray asserted:

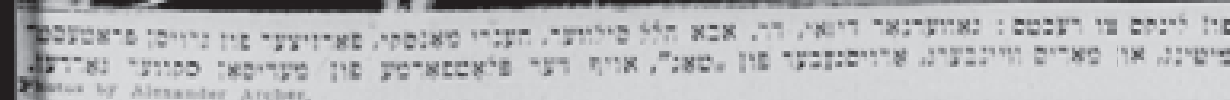
"I am sorry to say that our own government is failing to carry out its policies. An overwhelming majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, of both political parties, the Administration, are publicly pledged to support the policy of a Jewish Commonwealth, and yet in practice, the executive agencies of our

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Government do not seem to be supporting this policy. It is reported that the President of the United States had asked that 100,000 Jewish refugees be admitted to Palestine at once. This is indeed an elementary requirement of the Mandate...but this is only the first step. Our Government and the Government of Great Britain, who have made so many far-reaching decisions in the international field, in the interest of peace and humanity must not shirk this responsibility either — the long overdue responsibility of redeeming and carrying out a sacred obligation."

#180 - 10/3/45





An Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee

OCT 3 - 1945 WYT

Seven thousand Jews in liberated Czechoslovakia committed suicide in the last few weeks. They returned from the concentration camps to find their homes gone, their families massacred and opportunities for employment closed to them. They made repeated attempts to build a new life for themselves in Czechoslovakia or to emigrate overseas, but all doors were closed. They chose the only possible way out—out of unending misery and out of life.

This is only one of many such reports that reach us almost daily from the countries of Europe. Do they reach your ears, too, Mr. Attlee?

Perhaps you were not greatly impressed. What, after all, is the snuffing out of seven thousand lives in a world grown accustomed to the violent death of millions? But we were not only impressed, Mr. Attlee. We were badly shaken. It is not only the number of these latest victims, but the timing of this mass-suicide—after "liberation"—that we find so tragic.

Who Is Responsible?

It was our very unhappy conviction all along that the responsibility for the extinction of six million Jews in Europe was not Hitler's alone. The entire Christian world shares that responsibility. By their failure to take a strong stand the great democratic powers gave Hitler the green light to destroy European Jewry. And when hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Jews could have been saved from the claws of the Nazi beast, it was Great Britain which refused to admit them to Palestine—their only haven.

When we voiced these accusations, official British spokesmen invariably took cover behind "the exigencies of war." These flimsy excuses for a brutal policy, unprecedented in the history of human misery, were always morally offensive. But now the war is over. Hitler is gone, Europe is free, democracy is triumphant—and thousands of Jews prefer death to the type of "liberation" which has come to our people in Europe.

The Labor Party's Promise

This is happening, Mr. Attlee, at a time when your Labor Government is

in power in Britain. Your party is now in direct control of Palestine's destiny. It is the Party which as recently as May, 1943, adopted a resolution declaring:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter his tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irrefutable case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe . . . the Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales."

A magnificent declaration, Mr. Attlee! You will agree, no doubt, that it entitles us to expect a full measure of justice from your regime.

The Lord President of the Council and Labor Party Leader at the House of Commons, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, declared while denouncing the Chamberlain Government's White Paper in May, 1939:

"If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover it will not work . . . the Government must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

The Promise Has Not Been Kept

You are the "successor in office," Mr. Attlee. But in place of the fulfillment of these oft-repeated pledges, we have received word that your Government plans to continue with slight modifications the brutal White Paper policy. While the remnants of European Jewry are massed in concentration camps, morally and physically exhausted, still under violent anti-Semitic attacks, hungry and penniless, with nothing to return to but the graves of their loved ones, you are planning to keep the doors of Palestine practically closed. Despite the pledges of your Party, the anti-Semitic policies of the Colonial Office are being implemented with the same vigor and determination as in the days of the old Government.

Britain can no longer hide behind "the exigencies of war." So now we are told of the many pre-occupations of the new Government, which prevent it from taking action to fulfill its promises with regard to Palestine. We venture to say

that, despite your many pre-occupations, one of the first acts of the new Government should have been a sweeping abrogation of all measures restricting Jewish enterprise in Palestine, the opening of that country's gates to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration and an official declaration re-establishing Palestine as a Jewish State. Nothing else and nothing less was rightfully expected of you and your Government. Nothing else and nothing less could restore our faith in the sincerity of Britain's pledges, in the good will of Britain's people and in the progressive spirit of Britain's new Government.

We waited hopefully for an historic pronouncement consistent with your Party's program. Instead, you offered us a mere trickle of immigration certificates which fairly make the tragic needs apparent to all. What did you expect us to do with this "gift"? Did you, perhaps, mean that we were somehow to divide these certificates among the hundreds of thousands of our people who must migrate to Palestine or be doomed?

This Is Our Stand

We refuse to accept any such miserable "gifts" based on the White Paper of 1939. We demand full recognition of Jewish rights to Palestine. We are at the very end of our patience, Mr. Attlee, and no palliative solution will be accepted by American Jewry or by what is left of European Jewry. As for the Jews of Palestine, what can they do but resist to the bitter and the policy which you propose to continue in that country? America is today called upon to deal with your Government in order to help in the solution of our country's financial and economic difficulties, to the end that the British working masses may maintain a fair standard of living. They are entitled to it. But we say to you: the same rule of life should apply to the surviving Jews of Europe. You cannot expect sympathy for the social advancement of Britain's masses when you withhold the right to a life of self-support on self-respect from the true victims of our age. You cannot tell a social and economic program, and at the same time shelter the reactionary, pre-Jewish, feudal Arab rulers in the Middle East, including the pro-Axis Mufti. Justice, too, is indivisible.

In this eleventh hour we urge you not to drive Jewish youth to Palestine and elsewhere in regard to you and your people as enemies and betrayers of a sacred trust. We call on you to restore Britain's pledge to the Jewish people now!

NOTHING ELSE AND NOTHING LESS WILL DO.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, STEPHEN S. WISE, Joint Chairmen

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 Madison Ave.

New York 17, N. Y.

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AN OPEN LETTER TO DR. STEPHEN S. WISE

On Thursday, September 27, the New York Post published "An Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee" in the form of a paid advertisement of the American Zionist Emergency Council signed by you, Dr. Wise, and by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. The opening paragraph of it reads as follows:

"Seven thousand Jews in liberated Czechoslovakia committed suicide in the last few weeks. They returned from the concentration camps to find their homes gone, their families massacred and opportunities for employment closed to them. They made repeated attempts to build a new life for themselves in Czechoslovakia or to emigrate overseas, but all doors were closed. They chose the only possible way out — out of unending misery and out of life."

You proceed then with a demand to Mr. Attlee to abolish the restriction of the British White Paper and to open the doors of Palestine for unlimited Jewish immigration.

We are thoroughly sympathetic with your demands. Together with you we are horrified that not even the terrible sacrifices of millions of Jewish lives in German extermination camps could overcome the shameful hypocrisy of the British Government — Tory or Labor — which pays lip-service to the Jewish cause and simultaneously closes the doors of Palestine to the remnants of European Jewry. We wish we might be able to help your people. It would be human only, if such an attitude would drive you, Zionists, who try to persuade the world that your cause is just, to some exaggerations — though the plight of Jews could hardly be exaggerated. But why, looking for a club to beat Mr. Attlee, did you choose Czechoslovakia? Where did you get the seven thousand Jewish suicides in the few weeks after the liberation of the country? What kind of reporters do you have, Dr. Wise?

You know, Dr. Wise, as well as we do, that there was no Jewish question in pre-war Czechoslovakia. You know, that not even the United States are as free of all kinds of anti-semitism as pre-war Czechoslovakia was. You know that Jews could mix with absolute freedom with the Czech population, pursue their religion, have their own schools, be Zionists or Conservatives or Communists, or whatever they pleased. You know that there were Jewish ministers of state, Jewish writers, musicians, doctors and lawyers, teachers and businessmen, workers and farmers. You know that thousands of Jewish youths from Poland, Rumania, Hungary and the Baltic States studied on Czech universities. You know that between 1933 and 1938 more Jewish refugees relatively to the entire population entered Czechoslovakia from Germany and Austria — and have been welcomed and helped — than any other country in the world, the United States not excluded. Why, you yourself told it to us, when you spoke to gatherings of Americans of Czech descent commemorating the memory of the man, who made the Czech people such a people, the memory of T. G. Masaryk.

Then came Hitler. Your people paid a terrible price. But so did the Czechs. There is no use — at least not among Czechs and Jews — to argue as to whose sacrifices have been greater. But do you know, Dr. Wise, that there were many Czechs who lost their lives on German galleys because they tried to help their Jewish neighbors? Do you want names and statistics? Do you know that letters are coming now to America from our Jewish friends and relatives in Czechoslovakia, telling how they hid all these terrible years with Czech friends, and saved their lives in such a manner? Do you know that a Czech hiding a Jew risked not only his life, but also the lives of his parents and his children?

We do not boast of such things. We consider them to be natural.

Do you know, Dr. Wise, that when after the liberation typhus broke out in the infamous ghetto of Terezin, Czech doctors and nurses volunteered to rescue the unfortunate, and that many of them were infected and died? Do you

know that when they brought the first party of former inmates from Terezin to a Prague hospital workers from the suburbs of the city and peasants from villages 40 miles distant brought their last food, in order to improve the diet of the liberated Jewish prisoners? We don't boast of this, either. We consider it a natural thing for a people which remained true to the memory of its great teacher.

Do you know that the new Czech regime banned the old parties, which were to a certain extent antisemitic before the war — the Agrarian, the National Democratic and the Slovak Hlinka party? Do you know, that many Jews who returned from concentration camps and from exile hold now high government positions in Czechoslovakia?

Some Jewish and Zionist newspapers in America ascribed to Dr. Beneš an assertion that Jews in Czechoslovakia will have to assimilate themselves, or else, and that even religious freedom is not going to be tolerated. It was, of course, untrue. Dr. Beneš never said such things, and people who knew him would have never believed that he did.

On September 2. and 3. the first Congress of Jewish religious societies (Kultusgemeinden) took place in Prague. The Congress has been welcomed to Prague by representatives of the Czechoslovak government, the Central National Committee in Bohemia and by representatives of Czech organizations. Mr. Václav Kopecký, Minister of Information, greeted the Congress in the name of the government. Prague newspapers quoted him as follows:

"The Minister reminded the Congress of the great educational work of T. G. Masaryk among the Czech people. Masaryk's influence was the reason why the Germans were not able to force the "protectorate government" or the Czech people to decree anti-Jewish laws. The Czech people consider the sufferings of the Jews as a part of their own national disaster. Mr. Kopecký emphasized how heroically Czech soldiers of Jewish faith fought in the Czech armies of liberation. It was for us a matter of course that we liquidated the barbaric racism and restored the democratic Czech laws, also as far as Jews are concerned. It is a question whether citizens of Jewish descent will remain a national group, or will assimilate with the

Czech and Slovak peoples. Nobody, however, is going to influence such a decision by means of political pressure."

The president of the Congress, Mr. A. Frischer, whom you, Dr. Wise, probably know personally, declared — that altogether 8012 Jews came back to Bohemia and Moravia from concentration camps. How could anyone say that 7 among them committed suicide in the last few weeks?

There are American papermen in Czechoslovakia, some of them of Jewish faith. There is no question of their dispatches. Did any American correspondent report mass suicides of seven eighths of the present number of Jews in Czechoslovakia? Why, it would have made front-page news in American newspapers!

True, there have been a few cases of antisemitism in Slovakia. There have been similar cases in France, in Belgium and elsewhere. Some people who received from the Germans Jewish property did not want to part with it. You have the word of Dr. Beneš and of Jan Masaryk — and you have no reason to doubt their word — that such cases would not be tolerated. And do you know, Dr. Wise, that the same Slovakia, which allegedly tolerates cases of antisemitism, accepted now two to four thousand Polish Jews, who sought in Slovakia refuge after antisemitic explosions in Poland, and who are cared for by the Czech government — at a time, where there is not enough food for Czechs and Slovaks?

We are sorry, Dr. Wise, that you used a report of alleged 7000 Jewish suicides in Czechoslovakia, which is obviously untrue and slanderous to the good name of the Czech people, in order to fight the bad faith of the British government. You did not help your own just cause and you did hurt the good name of a people, whose conscience toward the Jews is cleaner than the conscience of any other Christian people.

EDITORS OF THE
NEW-YORSKÉ LISTY.

PERSONAL STATEMENT—PALESTINE

Mr. JOHNSON of Colorado. Mr. President, as in legislative session, I desire to make a very brief statement. Yesterday a representative of the United Press, Mr. Allan Drury, propounded this question to me, and told me that the United Press at New York had asked him to do so. He asked:

Would you favor armed intervention to put down a revolt in Palestine?

I would not take an oath that that is the exact question he asked me, but I would take an oath as to my answer to him. This was my answer:

Our plans—

Meaning the plans of the United States—

Our plans for a peaceful world include Palestine.

That is as much as I told him. That is all I told him. Yet, the United Press carries a story today that I favor sending our boys to Palestine to put down a revolt in Palestine. I do not think a revolt has occurred yet, but I wanted to make that statement. It does not happen very often that I am misquoted by the United Press. This is the first time in a long, long time. I do not remember ever before being misquoted. But this is such an important question that I could not pass up the opportunity for correcting the statement officially.

I feel certain that Mr. Drury reported my answer as I gave it to him, and that the error occurred in the New York office.

FREE PALESTINE

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, I am constrained once more, by present circumstances abroad, to speak in behalf of a free Palestine. Members of Congress and the American people have been led to believe for some time past that this question would be settled, yet obstacle after obstacle has been interposed to prevent an equitable settlement.

Winter is approaching in Europe and with it is bound to come distress and social upheavals. War refugees and political outcasts, driven from pillar to post for no other reason than their race and faith, still remain spread throughout Europe in large numbers, shut out from possible migration to countries where they might find security and safety.

In order to forestall continued suffering by these groups who have been pilloried and persecuted with such brutal fury, the doors of immigration to Palestine should be opened and a free Jewish state should be established in that country which would permit refugees and persecuted people a haven of safety and a

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place where they may renew ordered, civilized living.

It is said that this is purely a domestic question which is of no concern to the rest of the world. This argument is also used to justify the enslavement and oppression of many other peoples and can carry no great weight with those who have fought and died for freedom and independence of nations and individuals. I believe that the rank and file of our British allies recognize and respect the widespread sentiment among the American people for the establishment of a free democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. It is no answer to say that organized brigands would assail such a settlement and promote political and social disorder in the Near East, because the decent opinion of mankind will never tolerate for long any situation which permits organized minorities, or even powerful tyrannical groups or nations, to block the establishment and peaceful, orderly development of free representative government and democratic institutions.

I raise my voice in protest, therefore, against the further delay in executing previous solemn commitments which have been made to the Jewish people to enable them to carry out their aims for relief, self-government, and a homeland of their own. I wholeheartedly approve of and commend the efforts which our President is exerting to assist in settling this question, and I urge that our Government take additional steps at once through vigorous diplomatic representations and good offices to open the door of Palestine and prevent the privation and suffering which lie before our unfortunate Jewish brethren this winter unless an early-satisfactory settlement of this question is found. In my opinion, the early effectuation of a free Palestine is not only of great moment to very many worthy human beings, but, indeed, to the realization of our war aims. As a people, we cannot remain silent or unmoved in the face of continued persecution and possible destitution of millions of our fellow men, women, and children, whether they are Jews or gentiles.

It is unfortunate to note in this connection that many peoples in many lands of various races and creeds are suffering from persecution, exploitation, unwellcome and detested political domination, and denial of their God-given right to free government. We cannot and will

not be immune to their pleas for deliverance. In keeping with the traditions of our own free Nation, we must hold out the hand of succor, declare our sympathy for their plight, our resolution to relieve their hardship, support their just aims, and work as vigorously and straightforwardly as we can to encourage and help them to achieve self-determination.

I sincerely believe that this Congress should go on record at once as favoring the immediate abrogation of the infamous white paper and the establishment of a free Palestine, and we should unhesitatingly go on record as favoring freedom through justice for every nation desiring and seeking it.

Cong. Record - House 10 8
GREAT BRITAIN REMEMBERS THE
BALFOUR DECLARATION

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an open letter to Prime Minister Churchill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, in 1923 the United States Congress unanimously adopted a resolution supporting the Balfour Declaration and this same course was followed by 53 nations throughout the world. No formal action was ever taken by Great Britain to effectuate the Balfour Declaration. Today 100,000 Jews live in concentration camps throughout Europe with no homes to go to and their only haven of refuge is Palestine who can absorb them without any cost or burden to world society and I appeal to the leaders of Great Britain who seek justice for their people now to apply it to the stricken Jews of the world and permit the immediate immigration of these 100,000 Jews to Palestine. I include an open letter to Prime Minister Attlee:

AN OPEN LETTER TO PRIME MINISTER ATTLIE

Seven thousand Jews in liberated Czechoslovakia committed suicide in the last few weeks. They returned from the concentration camps to find their homes gone, their families massacred, and opportunities for employment closed to them. They made repeated attempts to build a new life for themselves in Czechoslovakia or to emigrate overseas, but all doors were closed. They chose the only possible way out—out of unending misery and out of life.

This is only one of many such reports that reach us almost daily from the countries of Europe. Do they reach your ears, too, Mr. Attlee?

Perhaps you were not greatly impressed. What, after all, is the snuffing out of 7,000 lives in a world grown accustomed to the violent death of millions? But we were not only impressed, Mr. Attlee. We were badly shaken. It is not only the number of these latest victims, but the timing of this mass-suicide—after "liberation"—that we find so tragic.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE

It was our very unhappy conviction all along that the responsibility for the extinction of 6,000,000 Jews in Europe was not Hitler's alone. The entire Christian world shares that responsibility. By their failure to take a strong stand the great democratic powers gave Hitler the green light to destroy European Jewry. And when hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Jews could have been saved from the claws of the Nazi beast, it was Great Britain which refused to admit them to Palestine—their only haven.

When we voiced these accusations, official British spokesmen invariably took cover behind "the exigencies of war." These flimsy excuses for a brutal policy, unprecedented in the history of human misery, were always morally offensive. But now the war is over.

Hitler is gone, Europe is free, democracy is triumphant—and thousands of Jews prefer death to the type of liberation which has come to our people in Europe.

THE LABOR PARTY'S RECORD

This is happening, Mr. Attlee, at a time when your Labor Government is in power in Britain. Your party is now in direct control of Palestine's destiny. It is the party which as recently as May 1943 adopted a resolution declaring:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish national home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irrefutable case now, after the unrepeatable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. . . . The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than one-tenth of Wales."

"Magnificent declaration, Mr. Attlee. You will agree, no doubt, that it entitles us to expect a full measure of justice from your regime."

The Lord President of the Council and Labor Party Leader of the House of Commons, the Right Honorable Herbert Morrison, declared while denouncing the Chamberlain Government's white paper in May 1939:

"If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is discredit to our capacity to govern, and which is dangerous to British security, to peace, and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work. . . . The Government must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

Cong. Rec. 10-4-45

You are the "successor in office," Mr. Attlee. But in place of the fulfillment of those oft-repeated pledges, we have received word that your Government plans to continue with slight modifications the brutal white paper policy. While the remnants of European Jewry are massed in concentration camps, morally and physically exhausted, still under violent anti-Semitic attacks, hungry and penniless, with nothing to return to but the graves of their loved ones, you are planning to keep the doors of Palestine practically closed. Despite the pledges of your party, the anti-Zionist policies of the Colonial Office are being implemented with the same vigor and determination as in the days of the old government.

Britain can no longer hide behind the exigencies of war. So now we are told of the many preoccupations of the new government, which prevent it from taking action to fulfill its promises with regard to Palestine. We venture to say that, despite your many preoccupations, one of the first acts of the new government should have been a sweeping abrogation of all measures restricting Jewish enterprise in Palestine, the opening of that country's gates to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration and an official declaration reestablishing Palestine as a Jewish state. Nothing else and nothing less was rightfully expected of you and your Government. Nothing else and nothing less could restore our faith in the sincerity of Britain's pledges, in the good will of Britain's people, and in the progressive spirit of Britain's new government.

We waited hopefully for a historic pronouncement consistent with your party's program. Instead, you offered us a measly winkle of immigration certificates which fairly mocks the tragic needs apparent to all. What did you expect us to do with the "wink"? Did you, perhaps, mean that we were somehow to divide these certificates among the hundreds of thousands of or

people who must migrate to Palestine or be doomed?

THIS IS OUR STAND

We refuse to accept any such miserable gifts based on the white paper of 1939. We demand full recognition of Jewish rights to Palestine. We are at the very end of our patience, Mr. Attlee, and no palliative solutions will be accepted by American Jewry or by what is left of European Jewry. As for the Jews of Palestine, what can they do but resist to the bitter end the policy which you propose to continue in that country.

America is today called upon to deal with your Government in order to help in the solution of your country's financial and economic difficulties, to the end that the British working masses may maintain a fair standard of living. They are entitled to it. But we say to you: The same rule of life should apply to the surviving Jews of Europe. You cannot expect sympathy for the social advancement of Britain's masses when you withhold the right to a life of self-support and self-respect from the first victims of nazism. You cannot talk of social and economic progress and at the same time bolster the reactionary, pro-Fascist, feudal Arab rules in the Middle East, including the pro-Axis Mufti. Justice too, is indivisible.

In this eleventh hour we urge you not to drive Jewish youth in Palestine and elsewhere to regard you and your people as enemies and betrayers of a sacred trust. We call on you to redeem Britain's pledge to the Jewish people now.

Nothing else and nothing less will do.

Thursday, October 4, 1945

JTA

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TRUMAN DENIES BRITAIN HAS ASKED U.S. TO SEND TROOPS TO PALESTINE, OR SHARE RESPONSIBILITY

WASHINGTON, Oct. 3. (JTA) -- President Truman today ¹⁰⁻⁴⁻⁴⁵ categorically denied that the British Government has requested the United States to send troops to Palestine, or that any request has come from Britain asking the United States to assume partial or joint responsibility for Palestine.

Queried at his press conference about the reply from Prime Minister Attlee to his request for the admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe to Palestine, the President said that he would confer with Secretary of State James E. Byrnes, en route here from London, before commenting on that question.

Earlier in the day, Charles Ross, the White House press secretary, said that President Truman received a cable from Attlee last night, but that its contents will not be revealed at present, because the whole matter is still under discussion. He emphasized that the Palestine issue is in the diplomatic stage and that there is nothing he can or should talk about.

(Sen. Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado, said last night that Attlee's telegram was a rejection of President Truman's request for the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. He did not reveal the source of his information, but declared that the British Government will announce next week a plan to admit 1,500 Jews a month.)

Jewish Post
10-5-45

Zionists Only Beginning To Fight

THERE is little that can be added from an editorial standpoint to the news and developments in the fight of the Zionists to forestall Britain's contemplated upholding the White Paper of 1939. It is obvious however, that the utmost in efforts to bring to bear so much public opinion on Great Britain is being expended and that these efforts are meeting with the greatest success.

U. S. Zionists, for once in recent history, can be proud of their leadership. That Rabbi Silver

is in great part responsible for the inspired activity is unquestionable, but it seems to be true that he is getting the cooperation of all Zionists.

Britain has become callous to public opinion, and it may be that she will refuse to budge in the present crisis. In this connection it might be said that Great Britain will find that the Zionists, what with right so overwhelmingly on their side, are only beginning to fight.

Jewish Post 10-5-45
Between You and Me
By BORIS SMOLAR



PRESIDENT TRUMAN will soon receive American Jewish leaders in connection with the Palestine situation. . . . All indications point to the fact that he still supports his demand for the admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe, even though this request has irritated official circles in Britain. . . . Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is now in constant telephonic trans-Atlantic communication with Dr. Weizmann. . . . We learn that it is not true that Britain offered the United States a share in the administration of Palestine and that American authorities rejected the offer. . . . On the contrary, Secretary of State Byrnes during his conference last week with Dr. Weizmann in London displayed great interest in certain projects for the development of Palestine. . . . Especially in the so-called Lowdermilk Plan, the execution of which would require American assistance. . . . It can now be revealed that Mr. Byrnes received Dr. Weizmann after he was advised by Washington to do so. . . . It can also be revealed that Mrs. Roosevelt was ready to issue a public statement denying that the late President Roosevelt promised King Ibn Saud not to support the Zionist demands for Palestine. . . . Her statement would have emphasized that this allegation could not be true, because her husband told her all the details of his meeting with the ruler of Saudi Arabia, and never mentioned that he made any anti-Zionist promises, as reported by Arab circles. . . . President Truman's statement to the same effect made it unnecessary for Mrs. Roosevelt to speak.

Funds, and other groups whom will now be in a position to air their problems. . . . The interim committee of the American Jewish Conference has formed a commission to study the structure and organization of the Conference and report its recommendations to the Third Session. . . . With the ZOA convention the matter is much more simple. . . . Everybody agrees that should Dr. Abba Hillel Silver choose to run for president, he will meet with no opposition whatsoever. . . . He is today the acclaimed leader of the American Zionists. . . . Even his former opponents are compelled to recognize his authority. . . . He has definitely won his point with the World Zionist Executive that Zionist political activities in Washington vis-a-vis Congress and the Government must not be conducted by the office of the Jewish Agency there, but by the American Zionist leadership. . . . And it looks as if his followers may succeed in convincing him that it is in the best interests of the world Zionist movement that he become the official head of the ZOA in these critical times when America is to play a leading role in deciding the destiny of Palestine.

Some extreme non-Zionists in this country are trying to influence the non-Zionist members of the Jewish Agency to ZIONIST utilize the present political difficulties in Zionism to resign from the Agency. . . . The remarkable thing is that this idea emanates from one who is the head of an organization which is raising funds for Palestine. . . . However, it does not look as if this idea is meeting with any response among the non-Zionists. . . . On the contrary, practically all the non-Zionist leaders in New York are definitely supporting the demand of the Jewish Agency for 100,000 immigration certificates, and intend to go on supporting it. . . . It looks as if the British Government is ready to increase its offer of 1,500 Palestine certificates a month to 2,400 on condition that the Jewish Agency postpone all its other demands for the time being. . . . But the American Zionist Emergency Council agrees with those leaders of the Jewish Agency who ad-

vocate rejection of even this increase. . . . There is talk that a very important leader of the Jewish Agency may resign his position as an expression of protest against the policy of the present British Government. . . . And it would not be Dr. Weizmann this time. . . . Should such a resignation take place, it will signalize serious anti-British activities by Jews in Palestine. . . . Sumner Wells may soon take an active interest in an organization which is trying to help the Zionist cause politically.

500 COMMUNITY LEADERS ATTEND NATIONAL EMERGENCY CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE IN WASHINGTON

10-5-45
WASHINGTON, Oct. 4. (JTA)—A national emergency Zionist conference was held here today, with more than 500 leaders of Jewish communities from 40 states and hundreds of cities gathered to denounce Britain's policy toward Palestine, and to call for U.S. insistence that Britain fulfill her obligations.

Delegations of representatives attending the meeting visited their Senators and Congressmen during the day. A massing of several thousand people concluded the conference. Among those scheduled to speak (but who had not yet spoken when the Bulletin went to press,) were Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, David Wertheim, Dr. Joshua Liebman of Boston and Rabbi Leon Feuer of Toledo.

President Truman's press secretary Charles Ross said today that the White House made this statement in reply to a question about a report from London that the President has sent another letter to Prime Minister Attlee concerning the admission of Jews to Palestine.

Senator Edwin C. Johnson, of Colorado, told the Jewish Telegraphic Agency today that a news agency report quoting him as advocating the sending of U.S. troops to Palestine was untrue.

Momentous Message to be Delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at Jewish National Fund Testimonial Dinner
10-5-45

The stirring events of recent days in connection with the release by President Truman of the Earle G. Harrison report, revealing the terrible plight of the homeless Jews in Europe, aroused the local committee of the Jewish National Fund to greater effort in making the function on October 17 a practical as well as a moral demonstration of Pittsburgh Jewry in support of the Jewish Palestine. As revealed in the Harrison Report over 100,000 Jews in the "liberated Europe" still lingering in camps have only one hope — to settle in Palestine. For these scores of thousands of refugees, land must be provided for in Palestine to build new houses new farms, new schools and public institutions. To meet this need, the Jewish National Fund, long recognized as the effective agency of the Jewish people for the acquisition and reclamation of the soil of Palestine as national property, must now be greatly extended.

The address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who will be the guest of honor at the Testimonial Dinner is expected to be momentous in its content as Dr. Silver now leads in the nationwide campaign for the recognition of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. A large number of individuals and organizations have already pledged substantial gifts in honor of Dr. Silver for inscriptions in Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem, which makes possible the acquisition of new acres of land in Palestine. The Dinner Committee, headed by Judge Henry Ellenbogen is

preparing a beautiful album, which will record the historical occasion and which will be presented to Dr. Silver. In this Album will be engraved the names of all, who are making gifts for inscriptions in the Golden Book and for "family settlements" through the Jewish National Fund. In view of the limited space at the hotel, early reservations are urged especially since those who are making gifts for Golden Book inscriptions must have their names sent in early so that their names can be engraved in the Album, which will be presented to Dr. Silver. The headquarters of the Dinner Committee are at the Jewish National Fund Office, 901 Keystone Building, Court 6138.

Among the synagogues, who have made gifts in the sum of \$250.00 to \$1,000.00 are Congregation Beth Shalom, Congregation Adath Jeshurun, Congregation Poale Zedeck and Beth Hamedrosh Hagadol. The gifts of others will be announced next week. Mr. Harry Rice has been named treasurer.

Judge Ellenbogen has announced the appointment of an Advisory Committee of the following rabbis: Rabbi A. M. Ashinsky, Rabbi Solomon B. Freshof, Rev. Dr. Herman Hallperin, Rabbi M. A. Levin, Rabbi B. A. Lichter, Rabbi Bernard Pincus, Rabbi Goodman A. Ross, Rabbi Joseph Shapiro. The full list of the entire Executive Committee will be announced next week.

Greatest Mass Meeting in Modern Jewish History Zionists See Truman Saturday; Silver Lauded As Great Leader

By M. Z. FRANK

I AM writing this on Monday evening, Oct. 1, the evening after the great mass meeting in Madison Square Garden. I am writing this after a day of discussing the event with dozens of people and gathering impressions, after looking through every New York newspaper to see the impression the meeting had made.

By now the whole Jewish world must know Madison Square Garden was jammed to capacity and that thousands of people were milling outside. The contents of the main addresses must have also been conveyed to my readers by now.

I want to give my own personal impressions.

I had a press ticket and I came to the Garden at 7:45, that is, 20 minutes before the scheduled opening. As we got nearer 50th street, the subway was crowded and it was almost impossible to get out of the station at 50th street and to walk over to 8th avenue.

I elbowed, almost fought, my way through 49th street to the stage entrance where the press people were supposed to go in. When I got to the door, I was stopped by a policeman—no one was permitted to enter. The meeting was already in progress—though it was before 8 o'clock. As I found out later, I missed hearing Daniel Poling and possibly Mayor La Guardia.

I heard Henry Monsky's voice over the loudspeaker—I knew he was to be chairman and I recognized his voice—asking the working press people who had not entered yet to go to the front entrance on 8th avenue. It was impossible to go back to 8th avenue the same way I had come. So I made my way, with some difficulty, to 9th avenue and went around the block to 50th street and then to 8th avenue.

Nothing doing. Police and management were busy shoving the large billowing mass of Jewish humanity away from the main entrance.

"Move on, move on, don't block the traffic," they kept on saying. Whenever the crowd threatened to become disobedient, there was a mounted policeman ready to push it away with his horse.

"The fire department closed down the doors," they told me. "Try 49th street again." So I tried—I went over to 49th street and tried to walk through the Belvedere Hotel which occupies the whole block between 48th and 49th. But as soon as I reached the 49th street entrance of the hotel, I saw every door blocked by people standing and listening to the loudspeakers. It was only shortly before eleven when I saw crowds streaming out of the main entrance that I managed to get in—to find not a single seat left for me: that is how crowded it was.

The figure of 25,000 inside and 45,000 outside is probably correct. I was there when the resolutions and the telegrams were read and when the hymns were sung. And I stayed to gather remarks and impressions.

The crowds began gathering at 4:30, according to the press. By 6:30 the place was full. The young people—and there were many of them—came first. The old folks had to stay outside. It was the greatest Jewish gathering in modern times. It was a meeting of bitter indignation, of exasperated patience. The mood of the people found its proper leader—in Abba Hillel Silver. His drive, his organizing ability, his militant, dignified anger, his bold demand for the complete fulfillment of the Zionist program, his scathing, scornful denunciation of the "shell-shocked befuddled and befuddling Jews" who fear for their personal comfort if a Jewish state is established and their contemptible habit of running to the authorities to warn against the full Zionist program—and his defiant attitude and refusal to accept sympathetic messages instead of deeds—these are his contributions to the cause of which he alone of all Zionist leaders in America is capable to the same degree, and which reflect the true attitude of the vast Jewish public in this country.

When he announced that from now on every Jew is mobilized in the struggle for Jewish liberation, the vast crowd was with him.

Governor Dewey's address was strong and effective. He reminded Britain of her obligations and voiced his strong faith in the need to provide a real Homeland for the Jewish people.

I must confess that Dewey's and Silver's are the only addresses I really heard. When Hayim Greenberg began speaking, the loudspeaker refused to register his words clearly. Stephen Wise's luck with the mechanism was not better. But I am told that the high point at the meeting was provided by LaGuardia, who was this time at his inimitable best and who said to Halifax that if he wants to get a six billion dollar loan from the United States (which is what he came to this country for), then speaking as a businessman to a businessman, LaGuardia reminds him that a man who seeks credit must have a good record that he keeps his pledge. I heard that and then I saw it reported in the Journal-American. I did not see it in any other paper. LaGuardia, I am told, spoke of Lord Passfield, Lord Halifax and "Lord" Attlee. Whether the last slip was just a slip or a bit of sarcasm nobody knows.

Rev. Daniel Poling, editor of the Christian Herald, said that people tried to influence him against speaking at the rally, but he felt that as a Christian he must speak. He knew that the anti-Zionists were an insignificant minority among the Jews and besides, he is a Zionist because he is a Christian, not because there are Jewish Zionists.

Who tried to influence Dr. Poling? Perhaps the editors of Christian Century, a strong anti-Zionist weekly edited by many former missionaries in the Near East. They used that argument in some of their editorials, trying to dissuade Christian ministers from lending their support to the Zionist cause. But the attempts may have come from Jewish sources. In the Sunday edition of the New York Times there appeared a vicious letter by Rabel Morris Lazaron in which he frankly states that his group are afraid that a Jewish state would jeopardize their position and that his group adhere to the principle proclaimed at the Jewish emancipation in France that the price of equal rights is the renunciation by the Jews of their nationality.

The Times featured the letter prominently—on the Sunday of the big rally. Truman published Earl Harrison's report that day (which must have helped swell Madison Square Garden) and the Times published Lazaron's letter that day. No wonder the audience booed when Silver mentioned the Times as opposed to a Jewish state!

It all seems to be part of a concerted conspiracy. Neither Rabbi Lazaron nor Lessing Rosenwald (who published a statement in the press after the rally to counteract its effect) would dare oppose Jewish immigration into Palestine, at least not in public. But they are anxious to impress upon the President and their Christian fellow-citizens in general: a) that not all Jews are Zionists and in favor of a Jewish state; b) that rescuing refugees into Palestine is one thing and the political question is another; c) that Jews are not a nationality. The American Jewish Committee would not dare take as open a stand as the Council for Judaism, because among its members are some Zionists and some sympathizers, and because it is a body which appeals to public opinion. But Judge Proskauer is as vicious and as cold-blooded an anti-Zionist and callous assimilationist snob as the worst of the

members of the American Council for Judaism. He and Blaustein rushed to the President on the same day—Saturday—when the President received Wise and Silver to impress upon him that there is that difference between political Zionism and rescuing refugees into Palestine. And they were in a hurry to rush into print.

Truman Not Well Informed On Zionism

I was told by Silver several weeks ago that Truman seems to have been impressed by the anti-Zionist Jews and that he is afraid that Zionism means a theocratic state. Last Saturday was the first time a Zionist delegation had a chance to have a real talk with Truman and to enlighten him. It was a frank and cordial conversation. It transpired that the Bergson boys also managed to put across some of their dastardly unscrupulous propaganda. According to them, they are in favor of equal rights for Jews and Arabs and the Zionists are not. Truman had to be disabused of that nonsense, too.

I understand that Truman hinted to Silver and Wise that they need not be too sure that Attlee's statement in Parliament on Palestine is necessarily going to be unfavorable. I heard and I read similar views at the Forward, where the boys are a bit peeved at the sharp tone Silver and Wise took in their Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee. They argue that Attlee stepped into a mess created by his predecessors and that he could not clear it away as fast as we might wish. I am giving this opinion as a matter of information. Personally I think that even if they are right, we've got to holler—or Attlee's best intentions will die away.

Incidentally, the Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee, which appeared in the form of a paid advertisement in the New York Post on Thursday last, is supposed to appear in some fifty newspapers all over the country, but so far the New York Times and the New York Herald Tribune have not carried it. Whether they shy at such strong language or the Bergson boys have discredited all paid advertisements in behalf of the Zionist cause or they really have no space—I cannot tell. But there seem to be difficulties.

One more bit of Zionist political gossip of one kind and I pass to the other kind. On Sunday (yesterday) before going to the meeting I telephoned Mr. Isaac Naiditch. "I have been getting good news the last two days," he said, "and I am more optimistic." I asked him for details. "That I won't tell you," he said, and he evidently enjoyed the idea of having a secret that he won't tell to a newspaperman. Whenever good old Isaac Naiditch becomes secretive, he likes to recall his great friend Baron Edmond Rothschild who, as he so often told me, hated newspaper people. "He couldn't stand your kind," Mr. Naiditch told me. But don't worry about Mr. Naiditch himself. He likes newspapermen and he likes what they say about him. However, we shall leave Mr. Naiditch for another occasion.

Silver Ripe For Zionist Presidency

As for the situation within the Zionist ranks, thank God for Silver. I recall what Mr. Dingal, managing editor of the Day, said to me during the controversy: "I don't think Silver is the man who can give it." He has given it, and it looks as if he is going to give it. The rally at Madison Square Garden is merely the beginning. And there is a foregone conclusion that Silver is going to be the next president of the Zionist Organization of America.

That day is not too far off. He will step into a situation which will need some clearing up, but which is basically a wholesome situation. The membership has grown tremendously and the Zionist public has matured. I think Silver understands pretty well that the Zionists of America are not his blind followers but that they follow him because of his policies and if he gives them not only dynamic leadership but also an opportunity to unfold those intelligent democratic urges which have for so long been ignored and suppressed, he will be the greatest American Zionist leader yet, barring not Louis Brandeis.

וואשינגטאן האט געבטען געקאכט מיט דער פראנע וועגען אידען און ארץ ישראל

Forward 10-5-45

ציוניסטען האלטען אפ דרינגענדע קאנסעקענציעס מיט דעלעגאטען פון גאנץ אמעריקע. — אראבישער פראפאגאנדע אפיס אין וואשינגטאן האט ערשטע פרעסע-קאנסעקענציעס. — דעלעגאטען פון 36 סטעיטס האבען געשפרעכען מיט סענאטארען און קאנגרעסלייט. — די נעקסטע עטליכע טעג וועלען באשטימען צי די טוערען פון ארץ ישראל וועלען געעפענט ווערען. — וויכטיגע איינצעלהייטען ווענען די פארהאנדלונגען צווישען ענגלאנד און אמעריקע.

באריהמטע און איינפלוסרייכע פערזאנען העלפט איצט די ציוניסטען; ויין ערשיינט ווערט פארגליכען צו דעם מאמענט ווען בראנדיס איז געווארען א ציוניסט

דער זעלבער פראמינענטער פאן האט איר געזאגט, אז די אידען אין אמעריקע וויינען א פיל גרעסערע פאליטישע קראפט ווי די ווייזעס פון אלליי. און אז אידען קאנען איינפלוסען פיל מער ווי זי שטעט לען ווי פאר.

דאס מיינט נישט, אז עס וועט ויין לייכט צו ליינען די פראפאגאנדע ווען אריינלאזען איצט 100 ניווענט אידען קיין ארץ ישראל און ווענען דער ציוניסט פון ארץ ישראל כולל, די קומענדע עטליכע טעג וויינען די פרייטשטעט.

איר האב דא היינט איינסטעלונגען. אז איז ויין געשפרעכט פארייניקט שבת מיט ראבאי ויין. און ראבאי פיל ווער, האט פרעזידענט טרומפן גע' לאזט סאלע א ווארט, אז עס איז פאגליד. עס וואל איינזיכען ויין גאר טיטע נייטס פאר אריינלאזען איצט 100 ניווענט אידען קיין ארץ ישראל.

ניאזציע אין דוד ווערט היינט, ספעציעל פון די פרעלי בית.

אלץ האט געארבייט פינקסלייך ווי א וויינער, און פונקט האלב גאר צעהן וויינען די דעלעגאציעס אויפ' צעפאלען צו קעמפאל-היל, דעם באריינענע געגענד אין וואשינגטאן, וואו עס געפינט ויר דער קאנגרעס און וואו זיי האבען שוין געהאט אפצוהאלטענעס אין די אפיסעס פון סענאטארען און קאנגרעסלייט.

האלב גאר צוויי נאכמיטאג הא' בען ויר די דעלעגאציעס ווידער פארהאטעלט. היינטער פארמאכטע טירען צו בארייכטען ווענען ווידער געשפרעכען מיט די מיטגלידער פון קאנגרעס.

פרעזידענט טרומפן, וועלכער פאר' לאנגט פון ענגלאנד, אז 100 טויזענט הייטלאזע אידען פון אייראפע וואלען באלד אריינגעלאזט ווערען קיין ארץ ישראל.

אבוואל די דרינגענדע ציוניסטישע קאנסעקענציעס אין אפגעהאלטען דער און די פרעסע אין אפיציעל נישט צוגעלאזען געווערען. בית איר איינסטעלונג צו בארייכטען, אז די קאנסעקענציעס און געווען איינע פון די מערקווארדיגסטע, וואס איז ווען עס איז פארגעשטען.

פון פינקסלייך וויינער פ' בית פינקסלייך האלב גאר פון אינדר' טריוו, האבען די פיהרער פון דעם ציוניסטישען עמירדאטענסי קאנ' סיל אנטיידיקט א פון קלאס אין אמעריקאנער פאליטישען ציוניזם פאר באלדיגע פראקטישע צוועקען. נאכדעם ווי עסאנעל ניומאן האט געזעכען א טירען איבער זיכט איבער דער איינזיגער לאגע אין ציוניזם און האט בארייכטעט ווי עס האלט מיט דער שארפער און וועהטאנדיגער פראנע ווענען אריינברענגען הייטלאזע אידען פון אייראפע קיין ארץ ישראל, האט ראבאי אנא הלל סילווער ריסט' טירע מיט די דעלעגאטען וואס פאר א פראנע ווי זאלען איינסטעלען מיט די סענאטארען און קאנגרעסלייט

אראבער געשטעלט ווער פראפא' גאנצע אפיס אין וואשינגטאן און האבען אפגעהאלטען א פרעסיקאנ' פערענץ, ביי וועלכער זיי האבען אטאקירט דעם ציוניזם אין גע' מאכט א שארפע טריסטאנע געזען ווייטערדיגע איראשעל איינווא' דערויג קיין ארץ ישראל.

די אפצוהאלטענעס פאר די דעלע' גאטען מיט די סענאטארען און קאנגרעסלייט וויינען געמאכט גע' ווארען אין פאראויס, און די טרעס טע צאהל מיטגלידער פון קאנגרעס האבען אפגעגעבען שטונדען נאכדעם איינסווארען וואס די ציוניסטישע פארשטעהען פון ווידער סטעיטס און דיסטריקטע האבען ווי צו זא' גען אין דעם איינציגען קריטישען מאמענט, כמעט אלע קאנגרעסלייט און סענאטארען האבען פארגעדינט די דאזיגע געשפרעכען מיט א צו' זען בארד צו שטעלען ווי-אין פארבינדונג מיט דעם סטעיט'דער פארשטעלט אדער טרייבען דעם פרעזידענט צו שטיצען די ציוניס' טישע פארגענוגען.

די ציוניסטישע דעלעגאציעס פון די מארידענע סטעיטס האבען אונטער די אויסשטענדען געהאט א פארהעלטניסמאסיג גרינגע אויפגא' בען. זיי האבען אויסגעטאדערט מיטגלידער פון קאנגרעס צו שטי' צען מיט אלץ ווידער קרעכטען

גאטען פון 176 סטעיטס אין 36 סטעיטס, אין די אפיסעס פון צענ' דליגע סענאטארען און פון הונדער' טער קאנגרעסלייט וויינען די פרא' גען ווענען אידען און ארץ ישראל גענען ארוםגעזעט געווארען, ווייל די ציוניסטישע דעלעגאציעס צו דער עמירדאטענסי קאנסעקענציע האבען ויר געזעהן מיט די סענא' טארען און קאנגרעסלייט פון וויי' רע סטעיטס.

אין דעם זעלבן טאג האבען די

וואשינגטאן דאנערסטאג, אקט. 4. — ארץ ישראל און אידען וויינען היינט געווען די וויכטיגסטע פרא' גען אין וואשינגטאן. דער אמערי' קען ציוניסטישער עמירדאטענסי קאנסעקענציע האט היינטער פארמאכטע טירען אפגעהאלטען די דרינגענדע קאנסעקענציע פון איבער 500 דעלע' קאנסעקענציעס.

עס איז א פאקט, אז פרעזידענט טרומפן איז דערמאנען, אז דער קאנ' טרעס וואל אויסגעטען און אנגעטען די ציוניזענע ציוניזם, וואס וויינען לעצטען יאָר אפגעלעגט גע' ווארען צוויי מאל צוליב דער מלחמה, דער פרעזידענט איז איינ' פארשטאנען, אז אפזעכע רעזאלי' ציעס וואלטען געווען א סט'צע פאר איהם אן ויין פארלאנג פאר א באל' דיגענע גרויסער אידישער איינווא' דערויג אין פאלעסטינע, אבער ער וויל, אז די רעזאליציעס וואל אריינ' געבראכט ווערען אין דעם איינציגען מאמענט, ווען זיי וועלען קענען ברענגען די געסטע געזען.

די קאנסעקענציע פון עמירדאטענסי קאנסעקענציעס אין פארגעקומען אין דעם גרויסען זאל פון דעם וואשינגטאנער ריזשואיש קאסיניטי סענטער. אין דעמאלטען זאל איז אין אווענט גע' ווען א טאקסיטינג מיט דר. סילווער און דר. האזי אלס די הויפט-דעקער.

איין פארגלייך פון טאג האב איך אויסגעטען די פאלגענדע וויכטי' גע איינצעלהייטען:

ראבאי סילווער איז געלונגען צו פאראינטערשטעלען אין ציוניזם איינעם פון די בארייכטעס און איינפלוסרייכסטע פערזאנען אין אמעריקע. צו וועמען דער פרעז' דענט און די גאנצע רעגירונג הע' רען ויר געוועהנליך צו מיט דעם גרעסטען רעספעקט און מיט ווע' מעס מיינען די רעגירונג רעכענט ויר ווער שטארק ביים באשטימען אירע פאליסיס ווען די פאקט וויכ' טיגסטע פראנע.

דער דאזיגער איינפלוסרייכער פאן האט אין די לעצטע פאר ווא' בען ווער פיל געטאן פאר ציוניזם און עס איז ערשט אן אנווייב, אבער פארלויפנדיג וויל ער נישט אז ויין גאר מער וואל פארגעשטעלט ווערען, איר היינט ווער ער איז, אבער איר האב געמאכט געבען דאס ווארט ויין נאמען דערווייל נישט אויסגעגעבען, איר קען גאר זאגען, אז דער פאן איז א איד, וועלכער איז ביו איצט מיט אידישע באזעטונגען נישט גע' ווען פארבינדען. דאס איינציגע וואס איר קען גאר צוגעבען איז, אז ויין ערשיינט צו העלפען דעם ציוניזם קען אין א געוויסע ווען פארגליכען ווערען מיט דעם מא' טענט, ווען לואיס ד. בראנדיס איז געווארען א ציוניסט, און וויכטיג איז די פערזאן וועמען וועמען נאמען טאר צוליב דיפלאמאטישען איראז' בען דערווייל נישט ארויסגעגעבען ווערען, אויב דער לעזער שטייט ויר אלליין אז ווער דאס איז, און געוויס נישט.

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ראבאי סילווער'ס פאר' שלאגען און אנווייזונגען צו די דער לעגאציעס וויינען אלע אויס' שטעל אנגענומען געווארען, אום צו בא' ווייזען אז עס הערשט איצט איי' נויקייט אין די ציוניסטישע רייען אין אמעריקע, וויינען ביים הויפט' טיש געזעסער ראבאי ישראל גאלדי שטיין. דער פרעזידענט פון דער אפערקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגא' נעוויס נישט.

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Jewish Post 10-12-45

NEW YORK

By M. Z. FRANK

ON Friday afternoon when I was at the Forward I ran into Leon Crystal who is the news editor. He came from Washington where he reported on the Emergency Zionist Conference.

"Congratulations!" I said to him. "Why?" he asked. "First," I said, "because you reported the Conference so well; second, because it was a good Zionist report, and third, because you were the only one to report about X.Y."

"How did you know it was X.Y.? I didn't mention the name, did I?" "Well, I knew it yesterday, and I checked up on it today."

Now, let me explain the conversation. The Forward is not officially a Zionist paper, although the key men in the editorial offices are, if not out-and-out Zionists, certainly pro-Zionists. There was a time—a very long time ago—when the Jewish Daily Forward was intensely anti-Zionist, and some Zionists with long memories still look upon the Forward as anti-Zionist. And yet Leon Crystal has often made the front page news of the Forward read like good Zionist propaganda. (Good, not canned). This time, he excelled. His report from Washington on the Emergency Zionist Conference was the clearest and best, gave the fullest information and was Zionist in tone. "It was the finest, the most remarkable Jewish gathering I have ever seen," he wrote, and proceeded to describe how well-disciplined it was.

NOW AS FOR the scoop about Mr. X.Y.

Mr. X.Y. is one of the most famous figures in American life—and a Jew. Until very recently he was totally disinterested in Jewish matter. Mr. X.Y. had something to do with the fact that in London Mr. James Byrnes found time to see Dr. Weizmann. These details are not given in any Yiddish paper, but I got them on pretty good authority. The Forward headline read that the appearance of Mr. X.Y. on the Jewish scene is as important today as was Louis Brandeis's appearance in his day.

I myself heard the story from two people before I saw it in the headlines (and I wasn't in Washington). And yet I am not going to tell. But it isn't Lessing Rosenwald.

At lunch time in Washington on Oct. 4, every restaurant was full of Zionists and Congressmen and Senators. The appointments had been made far in advance. The delegates gathered in the morning, discussed—or rather were instructed in—the coming interviews and at about 10:30 walked up to Capitol Hill to see the legislators from their constituencies. In the afternoon they gathered to report. The reports were encouraging.

"THE ZIONISTS are all for Silver now," Crystal said. He came in to Lang's office to tell the story as I sat there.

I recall a talk I had with Crystal during the Silver-Wise controversy. I asked him why he had taken such a strong stand for Silver. He told me then that he knew enough about Roosevelt and the political situation in Washington to feel strongly that Silver's line was the correct one (Crystal traveled with Roosevelt during his campaign tour). Besides, he was in Washington during the public hearings on the Palestine Resolution. He was tremendously impressed by the manner in which Silver and Neumann conducted the Jewish case. "What's the matter with American Zionists?" he asked me, "have they so many men like Silver and Neumann that they can afford to treat them that way?" (Incidentally, these are the two men against whom Nahum Goldmann has plotted most in America.)

At that time I reported my conversation with Crystal to the only two men on the anti-Silver side with whom I could talk freely and whose criticism of Silver I took seriously — Bernard Joseph and Hayim Greenberg. To both men I voiced the suspicions I began to entertain about the peculiar part played by Goldmann in impressing the Agency Executive in Palestine with the idea that Silver's course was ruinous to the Zionist cause. Subsequent developments have amply justified Silver's course and the views held by practically every Jewish journalist.

BUT LET US go back to Crystal's report.

He told us orally that he attended the press conference of the Arab League. The conference was held on the day of the Zionist Emergency Conference. The gentleman from Arabiy flew in just in time. Crystal asked him whether the press conference was timed for the day of the Zionist conference. He was embarrassed. "What is the Arab League going to do about war criminals?" Crystal asked. "What do you mean?" "Well, the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who worked for the Axis and lived in Berlin." "We are here to discuss problems, not personalities" said the Arab press attache. "But War Crimes are a very important problem today," Crystal insisted. "Well, I suppose the President of every Arab country will take that up separately," the Arab P. R. man tried to parry. "Will you please give us the names of the Presidents of the Arab countries?" Mr. Crystal asked. There was loud laughter in the room and no reply.

When I asked Daniel Frisch in the morning about the Conference he told me that he was too busy with his own Indiana delegation to observe much of the general picture. Mr. Brown of South Bend arranged a luncheon at which were present Congressmen and Senators from Indiana. All were enthusiastic. Especially Senator Capehart who visited Palestine recently and who spoke most vigorously in favor of the full implementation of the Balfour pledge.

Jews in Czechoslovakia 10/11

Editor Plain Dealer—Sir: In 1936

"Open Letter to Prime Minister Attlee," which was signed by Dr. Wise and myself, and which appeared in the Plain Dealer on Wednesday, Oct. 3, there is included a paragraph based upon a dispatch which was sent out by a news agency from Prague on Sept. 19 in which it was stated that 7,000 repatriated persons, of whom the majority were Jews, had committed suicide.

It has been brought to my attention that this report, as far as it applies to Czechoslovakia, is not based on facts, and I hasten to make public this correction lest an injustice be done to the people and the government of Czechoslovakia.

The government of Czechoslovakia has been exemplary in its consistent liberal and friendly attitude towards all of its citizens. There have been few leaders of progressive democratic thought and liberalism in Europe in the last few decades more inspiring than President Masaryk and President Benes, both of whom I had the privilege of knowing. I have personally, through the years, joined the hosts of friends of Czechoslovakia in the United States in championing its just cause.

There have been sporadic outbreaks in Slovakia since the termination of the war, inspired by the remnants of the Fascist elements, and a full measure of security has not yet been restored to the Jews in that part of the country. But the central government in

Prague has been to stamp out these acts and their acts.
ARBA HIL
Cleveland.

In fact, he spoke like La Guardia at the Madison Square Gardens and said that if Britain wants credit she should keep her word. I had a report from Jacques Torczyner on the meeting in general, which bears out the impressions of others. I also understand that Sol Bloom was not in a very good mood when he was seen by a Zionist delegation and that he resented the fact that Jews go to authorities over his head. Besides, he thinks we ought not to make too many demands, but go "wie neblchs," pleading for mercy. But Mr. Bloom is a very unpredictable and impressionable gentleman.

NOR IS IT FAIR to judge my quotation of Mr. Dingal of the Jewish Day by what appeared in the Post last week. A line or two must have fallen out. Dingal said to me: "I am not an adherent of Dr. Silver, but what Zionism means is dynamic leadership and Silver is the man who is Silver's place to be the chairman and I am going to criticize him."

and I am sure there will be plenty to criticize." I am giving a fuller quotation of Mr. Dingal's remarks than I did last time. It was the most sensible comment I heard then about the subject. I was interested at the time to find out why the whole Yiddish press was so strong for Silver. On the anti-Silver side I was told it was high pressure press agency and even less worthy motives. But my canvas among Jewish newspapermen convinced me that they were genuinely convinced Silver's line was the right one. The history of the world in the past twenty-five years has proven that, by and large, the journalists could judge people and events better than the statesmen.

Before finishing this article I spoke to Emanuel Neumann and I learned that Dr. Weizmann, during his conversation with Byrnes in London, discussed the Lowdermilk Plan, (to which, incidentally, Emanuel Neumann contributed a great deal, probably as much as J. J. Schwartz of the J. D. C. contributed to the Earl Harrison Report). This morning (Sunday, Oct. 7) there is a news report in the Times by Sukberger from London, according to which Truman and Attlee have discussed the possibilities of United States financial assistance in the settlement of Jews in Palestine. There is also in the Times a very dignified and effective reply by Milton Steinberg to Morris Lazaron's underhand attack last Sunday.

LAST THURSDAY I attended a press luncheon of the J. D. C. at which the situation in Europe was discussed. It transpired that Earl Harrison had asked the J. D. C. for assistance and they gave leave of absence to J. J. Schwartz and to Katzki of their staff. (Harrison himself, at the very opening of his Report recognizes the contribution of Schwartz). It transpired that the J. D. C. during the war had done the very things of which its critics accused it of not doing, but which it could not, publicize without jeopardizing its work and the safety of thousands of Jews. It transpired that at the same time that the J. D. C. spent 15 million in Europe the World Jewish Congress spent 300,000 dollars on relief. It also transpired that the situation in Europe in the camps is still unsatisfactory. The camp visited by American journalists a short time ago where Jews were supposed to have ridiculed the charges, was always one of the best camps. Jewish chaplains and Jewish soldiers had done a remarkable piece of work, but it is easier for a man in uniform to get into a military camp than for a civilian organization. Some improvement is due shortly.

It was the best attended J. D. C. press conference I know of. The story of Sally Mayer of Switzerland who negotiated with the Gestapo for nine months and kept them from deporting thousands of Jews while trying to gain time is told in a release which the Post probably received.

Rut. Mr. Speaker, I resent, and every decent American ought to resent, the communistic attacks that are now being made on the DAR. When a Member of this House goes into the Associated Press and refers to Mrs. Truman as "the last lady" of the land for having taken dinner with the Daughters of the American Revolution, we have come to a terrible pass.

Mrs. Truman is one of the finest women who ever graced the White House; and to all decent patriotic Americans she is the First Lady of the land.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Mississippi has expired.

THE DAR AND RACE PREJUDICE

Mr. COFFEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Washington?

There was no objection.

Mr. COFFEY. Mr. Speaker, I am happy at this time to congratulate the gentlewoman from Connecticut (Mrs. Luce) for having written to the chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution with which she is affiliated urging that that chapter condemn the action of the national DAR in refusing the use of Constitution Hall to one of the leading artists in America, who also happens to be the wife of one of our colleagues in the House of Representatives.

I commend the President of the United States, Harry Truman, also for his action in criticizing the act of the DAR and taking issue with them for drawing the color line in the use of a tax-free auditorium in the Capital City of the Nation.

I join with the Washington Post also in editorially attacking this stand once again taken by the Daughters of the American Revolution.

I recall with pleasure that President Franklin D. Roosevelt said at the time that Marian Anderson was denied the use of the hall that that, too, should be denounced. Later the DAR did permit Marian Anderson to sing at Constitution Hall for a charity benefit. I am shocked to learn now that this great patriotic order has reverted to its original attitude.

Mr. Speaker, we have just concluded a war caused in no small measure by racial pogroms and bigotry inculcating Hitler and the Nazis. We repeatedly inveighed against that illogical and indefensible policy when practiced by our enemies. Let us not encourage it here. To many of our people are consciously or unwittingly swayed by prejudice and hatred of fellow Americans. Who is there among us who may justly arrogate to himself superiority over fellow citizens because of a difference in race or religion? We must rise above such tendencies. They sow the seeds of destruction. They are harbingers of chaos and disaster. I urge the DAR to repent. Welcome artists of all races and religions. Encourage cultural attainment and knowledge in our people. Open the doors. Let us reread the immortal words on the Statue of Liberty. Let us rededicate ourselves to the Bill of Rights in our Constitution and to the Declaration of Independence. There is no room in our be-

loved country for first-class and second-class American citizens.

PALESTINE

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute, and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from New York?

There was no objection.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, it seems rather unfortunate that the gentleman from Mississippi would again say that we are waving a red flag at the British Empire just because we are going to consider the condition of the helpless, hapless, and homeless Jews of Europe seeking entrance into Palestine. It is the gentleman's habitual process of red smearing and witch hunting. The one situation has nothing to do with the other—that is, Palestine has nothing to do with the Daughters of the American Revolution, except that Britain has forgotten her pledged justice to the Jew, and the DAR, by its action, has denied justice and equity to the colored people. I deplore the action of the Daughters of the American Revolution denying the use of Constitution Hall to a very celebrated and renowned artist, Miss Hazel Scott. The Daughters of the American Revolution only repeated their very tragic action with reference to Marian Anderson. Certainly there is no monopoly on artistic talents. Surely it cannot be said that only white people can play as beautifully as Miss Hazel Scott or sing as gloriously as Miss Anderson. The certificate of incorporation of the Daughters of the American Revolution, which certificate we adopted in this very Chamber, provides that there shall be equality to all. They deny that certificate and the provisions therein. Refusal of Constitution Hall, the citadel of the DAR, to colored artists is a violation of the certificate of incorporation of the DAR. I shall offer a resolution dissolving that certificate. Congress created the DAR. Congress must now cancel out the DAR because of its outrageous violation of the tenets of decency and fair play.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. BROOKS asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include therein an editorial entitled "The Constitutionality of the FEPC" from the Shreveport Times.

Mr. BIEMILLER asked and was given permission to extend his own remarks in the Appendix of the Record in two instances, and to include in one a radio speech and in the other a resolution of the Milwaukee Common Council.

Mr. HALE asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an editorial from a Jacksonville paper on the subject of statehood for Territories.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES—PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE

The SPEAKER laid before the House the following message from the President of the United States, which was

read and referred to the Committee on Insular Affairs and ordered to be printed:

To the Congress of the United States:

It is the settled policy of this Government to promote the political, social, and economic development of people who have not yet attained full self-government, and eventually to make it possible for them to determine their own form of government.

It is our pride that this policy was faithfully pursued in the case of the Philippines. The people of the Philippines determined that they desired political independence, and the Government of the United States made provision to this effect.

It is now time, in my opinion, to ascertain from the people of Puerto Rico their wishes as to the ultimate status which they prefer, and, within such limits as may be determined by the Congress, to grant to them the kind of government which they desire.

The present form of government in the island appears to be unsatisfactory to a large number of its inhabitants. Different groups of people in Puerto Rico are advocating various changes in the present form of government.

These advocated changes include different possibilities: (1) The right of the Puerto Ricans to elect their own Governor with a wider measure of local self-government; (2) statehood for Puerto Rico; (3) complete independence; and (4) a dominion form of government.

Each of these propositions is being urged in the island, and each has its own advocates. Uncertainty has been created among the people as to just what the future of Puerto Rico is to be. These uncertainties should be cleared away at an early date.

To this end, I recommend that the Congress consider each of the proposals, and that legislation be enacted submitting various alternatives to the people of Puerto Rico. In that way, the Congress can ascertain what the people of Puerto Rico themselves most desire for their political future.

However, in the interest of good faith and comity between the people of Puerto Rico and those of us who live on the mainland, Congress should not submit any proposals to the Puerto Ricans which the Congress is not prepared to enact finally into law. We should be prepared to carry into effect whatever options are placed before the people of Puerto Rico, once the Puerto Ricans have expressed their preference.

I hope that this problem can be considered by the Congress at an early date, and that appropriate legislation be enacted designed to make definite the future status of Puerto Rico.

HARRY S. TRUMAN,

The White House, October 16, 1945.

PALESTINE

The SPEAKER. Under previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. EBERHARTER) is recognized for 1 hour.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I take pleasure in yielding to our majority leader the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCormack) 5 minutes.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a splendid article published in the Washington Star of last Saturday, written by one whom I respect very much, Lowell Mellett.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, this is not the first time I have spoken in behalf of righting the ancient wrong against the Jewish people. Before I proceed I want it emphatically understood that I do not consider that anyone who speaks here today in this past cause is waving a red flag at the British Empire. It is about time we stopped hearing remarks of that kind. A Member should be permitted to take the floor and speak in the cause of humanity without being accused of waving a red flag against anybody.

When the Wright-Cameron resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 24, 1944, I told the House that if there was ever a time when the need was great for a national home for the Jewish people the time was now.

I asserted then that I was persuaded "that as soon as the military situation permitted the Palestine resolution now pending in the United States Congress will be passed overwhelmingly."

Later when hearings were conducted before the House Foreign Affairs Committee I appeared before that body and I strongly urged enactment of the pending resolution. At that time I testified before the Foreign Affairs Committee as follows:

I know that every decent-minded person, without regard to race, color, or creed, has a deep feeling not only of sympathy but far beyond sympathy, for the unfortunate plight of all persecuted peoples, of peoples who have been maltreated by the Nazi horde, and particularly those of the Jewish faith who have undergone vicious persecution in the past several years. It is the cry of humanity that I have referred to, the cry of justice, and particularly a challenge to Christian nations, that this problem be met. They are human beings just like you and I. They have their hopes and their aspirations. They have their little families, the men have their wives, and the wives have their husbands, and they have their children as God has blessed them. They are human beings seeking a home, some place where they can live without fear of future persecution.

Nothing has occurred since to cause me to change my opinion about the crying need for a national home for the oppressed Jews of Europe. I am, as a matter of fact, more convinced than ever that the only solution of that tragic problem is through the creation of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Because I feel so strongly on this subject, it was my pleasure to cooperate wholeheartedly in the incorporation by the resolutions committee of the Democratic National Convention last year, of which I had the honor to be chairman, of a plank pledging our party to creation of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

It was all well to speak of a Jewish national home. It said:

We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

The Republicans did not use the word "Jewish" before "commonwealth," but unquestionably their intent was the same as ours. The Republican platform said:

In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women, and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth.

Later during the campaign, both President Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey, the Republican candidate strongly endorsed the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. In a historic letter to the annual convention of the Zionist organization in Atlantic City on October 13 last year, President Roosevelt declared:

Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if reelected I shall help to bring about its realization.

A few days earlier, Governor Dewey accepted in a formal statement that, if elected President:

I would use my best efforts to have our Government working together with Great Britain to achieve this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind.

Thus, ladies and gentlemen of the House, there was no political division among Americans last year on the question of justice for the Jews through the establishment of at least one place on this earth where they could go and live as freemen, untroubled either by economic or social or political restrictions and inhibitions.

But long before our political conventions took cognizance of the unhappy plight of these victims of Hitler's barbaric persecutions, this Government and the Government of Great Britain, and later this Congress took cognizance of the need for the establishment in Palestine of a safe, legally created home for the Jews wherein that small people would enjoy peace and tranquility and the good will of the more powerful nations of this world.

On October 2, 1917, the British Government, in a statement known as the Balfour Declaration pledged itself to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Prior to the issuance of this declaration, Great Britain sought and obtained the approval of the Government of the United States. There was, in fact, prolonged negotiations between President Woodrow Wilson and Mr. David Lloyd George, the then Prime Minister of Great Britain in reference to the issuance of the

Balfour Declaration.

There was no question at that time either in the minds of Mr. Wilson or of Mr. Lloyd George or of any of the statesmen and diplomats who had a hand in the promulgation of the so-called Balfour Declaration that as soon as it was humanly possible to transport the necessary number of Jews to Palestine and to establish an orderly economy, that this small tract of land at the end of the Mediterranean Sea would be constituted as an independent nation by, of, and for the Jews, and with, obviously, the majority of the population Jewish people. There was no intent to deprive any other people of any right to which they were entitled, and it was set forth in the Balfour Declaration that the rights of all minority peoples, both religious and economic, would be scrupulously observed. And I might say here, there has never been a contrary thought in the minds of those who are advocating the belated fulfillment of this pledge of the United States and the British Government.

At a peace conference at San Remo on April 23, 1920, the Allied Supreme Council affirmed the mandate for Palestine to Great Britain for the express purpose of putting the Balfour Declaration into effect. There was correspondence between the United States and the British Government on this subject and it is of interest to note here and it is very significant, too, that although the American Government did not participate in the ratification of the Versailles Treaty, this Government did give its approval to the Palestine mandate.

On June 30, 1922, Congress adopted a joint resolution which was signed by President Harding on September 2, 1922, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national Jewish home. This resolution was sponsored by a very distinguished citizen of my State, the late Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who was then the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. In 1924, in a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, the terms of the Palestine mandate were formally ratified. In this treaty the United States consented to the administration, mind you, administration, of Palestine by the British Government pursuant to the articles of the mandate. This treaty set forth that no modification whatsoever should be made in the terms of the mandate unless such prior modifications "shall have been first assented to by the United States." It was very clear that the assent of the United States of America, as one of the World War Allied and Associated Powers was necessary for the validity of the administration of Palestine by Great Britain, and that the United States, on its part, had not relinquished the right to a voice in the disposition of Palestine to which we, as an associated power, not only were entitled to, but which we, as a foremost participant in World War I helped to create.

Unfortunately and most tragically, in the light of developments, Great Britain saw fit to violate the provisions of the mandate. Great Britain undertook without prior consultation of the United

States, to impose what has since become known as the Chamberlain white paper, wherein, arbitrarily, Great Britain undertook to shut off Jewish immigration into Palestine, the only place on earth where victims of Hitler's persecutions could find asylum at a time when the need for Palestine was greatest in its history. Had not Great Britain imposed this policy as a part of the then prevailing appeasement policies of the British Government, Palestine would have been available for hundreds of thousands, perhaps more than a million, of homeless Jews seeking to escape from Germany and the satellite countries where Hitler's anti-Jewish laws had been imposed.

It should be noted here that President Roosevelt stated on a number of occasions that the American Government never gave its consent to the Chamberlain white paper. We were completely ignored in this British assumption of complete authority over the fortunes of a people.

The tragic experiences of the Jews through the long years of the World War are all too poignant to discuss in detail here. Never in all history have a people been more sadly and cruelly abused. It has been estimated by competent authority that approximately 6,000,000 Jewish lives were snuffed out by Hitler and his henchmen during the years of the World War. The disclosures from the various prison camps are still all too fresh in our memory and Hitler's work continues, because although liberation has come to the inmates of the prison camps, their sufferings and their weakened condition is such that hundreds of them are dying daily because of sheer inability to recuperate. I heard over the week end that in 1 prison camp alone, 21,000 emaciated Jews have died since their liberation from their German captors.

We are discussing Palestine today because of the splendid action just taken by President Truman in an effort to persuade the British Government to immediately admit 100,000 of these refugees into Palestine. The prompt admission of these homeless people into Palestine is the immediate objective. The long-time objective—and I hope it will soon come to pass—is the creation, as was contemplated, of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. We must understand that the Jew who escapes with his life from the concentration camp has almost no hope whatsoever of reestablishing himself in his old home. For the most part, their families have been killed and all of their friends have been killed. In addition, they find themselves without property, without businesses, and without the means of rebuilding their lives. They just cannot pick up where they left off. It is necessary that they begin life anew in an environment where there are friendly faces and no tragic memories.

The feeling of the American people on the question of justice for the Jew, through their establishment in a land of their own in Palestine, is very intense. It is deep-rooted, and it is widespread, and it permeates all classes of our people. Sermons have been preached on this subject in thousands of American churches by clergymen of all faiths. Resolutions have been adopted by State legislatures,

municipalities, hundreds of civic organizations. Petitions have gone to the President signed by 44 governors of our land and by the majority of the Members of this House and of the Senate. The American people are great believers in fair play, and they do not think the Jews have gotten a square deal.

The British Government, which, we are informed by the press, is objecting to the fulfillment of President Truman's request that 100,000 refugees be admitted immediately into Palestine, will make a great mistake if they do not appreciate the depth of American feeling on this subject. During the war years, this Congress and our Government acquiesced to the British request that action on Palestine by this Congress and by our Government be postponed because it might interfere with the war effort. We realized that every day of delay in the opening of Palestine meant the loss of Jewish lives; but, nevertheless, in our efforts to further the joint efforts of the war, we heeded the British request.

The war in Europe has been over for more than 6 months, but the white paper restricting immigration is still prevailing. This, in my opinion, is not playing fair either with our Government or with the Jews or with the American people.

Millions of innocent persons, simply because they were born Jews, have been ruthlessly persecuted, murdered, and violated. Only a handful, literally, of Jews remain in Europe. I am told that hardly more than a million and a half Jews are still alive throughout all of Europe. In many communities, the barbaric Nazis wiped out every Jewish child, thereby reducing to the lowest possible number the future Jewish population of those areas.

Every effort should be made by our Government and by other governments of good will to save the remnants of this historic people who have contributed so much to this world's cultural, economic, scientific, and religious welfare. The saving and the rehabilitation of these people constitutes a challenge to mankind. The challenge should be met, not ignored. It should be met immediately.

The suggestion of President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee that these refugees be transported immediately to Palestine is a fair one, a sound one, a necessary one. It is aimed to meet the immediate problem of saving human beings. It is not the long-time solution, but it is the one that is most pressing at the moment.

Certainly every decent man and woman in this country and throughout the world wants every effort made to save these lives and to remove them from the category of hopeless, helpless, homeless wanderers. These people, unhappily and tragically, find sympathy everywhere, but they are wanted nowhere. This constitutes a sad commentary on our civilization and our vaunted Christian generosity. Under the circumstances, Palestine is a natural, as well as a national, homeland. Certainly there should be no objection to permitting these people to go there to re-create their lives as useful men and women.

Let me say again that I have spoken in behalf of Palestine on many occa-

sions in this House, and before committees of the Congress and at mass meetings and on other occasions where the subject of Palestine was under discussion. I hope that as long as the good Lord gives me the strength and the breath to do so, that I will continue to raise my voice and whatever influence I may have either as a Member of this Congress or as an individual citizen in behalf of the righting of one of the greatest crimes in all recorded history. Let me say again that I think President Truman's initiative in this matter is magnificent, and I will be grievously disappointed if our British friends fail for any cause whatsoever to heed his generous humanitarian suggestion.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Massachusetts has expired.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield one additional minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, the question we are discussing today is one of paramount importance to decent men and women, and I emphasize decent-minded men and women. I view the human race as one family. We may be of different racial origins, our consciences may prompt us to entertain different religious beliefs, we may by accident of birth be born of different colors, but so far as I am concerned without regard to the view any other person may take, in my journey through life I entertain the view that the human race is one family and that we have got to view this question from that angle, the angle given to us by God himself, that the human race is one family.

The problem we are discussing today is a challenge to mankind, and the request of President Truman for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine should be granted by the British Government. Such steps will meet the immediate problem. The long-range problem can only be solved by the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

[From the Washington Star of October 10, 1945.]

"ON THE OTHER HAND"—BRITISH APPLIED TO TAKE NOTICE OF FEELING CONCERNING PALESTINE

(By Lowell Mellett)

It is inconceivable that those who make British policy know the extent of the ill-will developing in this country as the result of their behavior in the matter of Palestine. Word has come that President Truman's proposal for the immediate removal of 100,000 Jews from the concentration camps and makeshift miseries of Germany to Palestine, has met with an unfavorable reception in London. And there is no indication that the new labor government will alter the policy established by the Chamberlain government toward the Jewish homeland.

Now in this country is a British financial mission, seeking a \$5,000,000,000 loan. Negotiations with our State Department are said to have progressed satisfactorily and very soon an agreement on terms may be presented to Congress for its approval. Whatever the merits of the proposal, and however well it may be argued that assistance to our late ally would work to the benefit of our own country, it might be worth while for the British mission to examine the strength of some of the existing prejudices against Britain.

They will find that the popular revolting from the British default on its moral commitment in the matter of the Jews, is a very strong projection, one capable perhaps of upsetting their hope of monetary aid. It is deeply seated in Congress.

The last formal action on the subject occurred a year ago, when a resolution was offered asking the British Government to make good the Balfour Declaration, approved by President Wilson, reopen Palestine to Jewish immigration and permit the building of the contemplated Jewish commonwealth. This resolution was held up at the request of the administration because of the war. The thing for the British to note, however, is the authorship of the resolution—Senators Wagner and Taft, two men ordinarily as far apart as the poles. When these two agree on any important policy it can safely be labeled American policy. They still agree in this instance and both are pressing for action, as are many other Members.

If other evidence is required to prove the depth of American feeling, it can be found in a letter to President Truman, signed by a majority of the Members of the Senate and House. It can be found in a petition from the governors of 49 States and in resolutions adopted by 48 State legislatures during the past 2 years; likewise in resolutions of the AFL and the CIO and the individual pronouncements of 818 labor leaders and 2,000 university presidents and professors.

There is no point in discussing the merits of the issue. Rightly or wrongly, opinion in this country has settled. The case for the Arabs has been discounted in the light of the showing they made during the war, both as friends and as enemies, and their obvious impotence in these days of mechanized warfare. Judding Congressmen, after visiting the Near East, are convinced that the Arabs never could have been more than a minor nuisance even when the British situation was really precarious.

The case for the Jews has been made as eloquently by British statements as by American. Churchill's charge that Chamberlain's repudiation of the Balfour Declaration was "a plain breach of a solemn obligation," is well known in this country. So, too, is the position taken by the Labor Party before the recent election. "There was a strong case before the war," said a party resolution. "There is an irreducible case now, after the unrepentable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe. . . . The Arabs have many wise tribulations of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales."

So, the financial mission might better start to have this American "prejudice" removed by action in London, before the question of the loan reaches Congress. If any such loan should carry a condition that the British first be required to keep their word to the Jews of the world—and to the American Government—a small would thereby be attached to British statesmanship likely to last a long, long time.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may take.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, in a world faced with many grave problems that of the Jews of Europe does not, in terms of numbers, loom very large. Of the six or seven million Jews in Europe before the war, the Nazi butchers have left alive no more than 3,000,000. But in terms of our approach to the problems of the postwar world as a whole, there are few issues by which the statesmanship and the sincerity with which we

make the peace, can be better measured.

It was with deep satisfaction that we have learned of the action of our President in supporting the proposal for the immediate grant, as an interim measure, of 100,000 certificates for Jews to enter Palestine. I am sure that the British will have not received this intervention with unmitigated satisfaction; I am sure they will not object if I recall that Britain was granted authority over Palestine for the purpose, and that was the main purpose, of establishing there a Jewish National Home for the Jewish people. If Britain is in Palestine today, it is because she accepted that trust and that obligation. In that behalf she entered into a covenant, not only with 36 nations of the League of Nations but also in 1924 with our own country, in which the terms of that trust were clearly specified.

Great Britain undertook, and I quote, "to facilitate Jewish immigration into Palestine." Great Britain undertook, and I quote, "to facilitate Jewish settlement on the land in Palestine." These obligations, the Palestine white paper repudiates unilaterally, and without the authority of those by whom Great Britain was entrusted with the administration of the Holy Land.

If we are to have a world in which law, order, and justice among men are to prevail, it is intolerable that pledges solemnly given should, if convenience so dictates, be treated as scraps of paper. I am aware of the many anxieties which today confront the people of Britain, whose cities have suffered the onslaught of Nazi guns and planes, and whose economy has been subjected to an immense strain in behalf of the common war effort, but I cannot believe it is in her own interest or in the interest of the world at large that she should deny her obligations or fail to carry out her duty in regard to this great humanitarian issue.

We all know, of course, of the pressure which has been brought by the different Arab countries to bring about this decision to continue the Palestine white paper. We have heard threats, on the one hand, that the whole Arab world will rise in flames if another Jew enters the gates of his national home. We have read statements, on the other hand, only this week by the Premier of Iraq, that the establishment of a Jewish state in tiny Palestine would be a "great menace to the neighboring Arab states which are undeveloped along modern lines." I believe that both of these statements are utterly without foundation.

The Arab world has, in the long run, a great future before it, and a great part to play once again in the history of mankind. But today and for many years to come, it is dependent economically, politically, and militarily on the western powers. The threats which some of the more belligerent of the Arab spokesmen—spokesmen who were far from belligerent while the war was on—as liberally dispense today are, realistically speaking, empty threats. If proof is required, let me remind the House that in the worst period of the war, when Britain had neither men nor planes to spare, two battalions of British and Indian troops—less than 3,000 men—put a stop to the holy war declared in Iraq by the

Grand Mufti and the support of the Iraqi Prime Minister and Iraqi Army.

Now, this Arab bogey has no more reality than has that Jewish bogey which has suddenly been invoked by the Prime Minister of Iraq. Does anyone who knows the Arab mind seriously believe for a moment that this Jewish state, when it comes into existence, located in a land no larger than the State of New Hampshire, will dare or will desire to offer a military threat to the neighboring Arab countries occupying vast areas more than 100 times that of Palestine and inhabited by a numerous population. A Jewish state in Palestine can be a bridge between East and West and a fruitifying influence for the whole of the backward and poverty-stricken Middle East. I am convinced that once that state is firmly established the interplay of mutual interests with its Arab neighbors will lead to constructive developments of the utmost importance to mankind.

But one thing is certain: the hands of Great Britain and our own hands in this matter should not be tied by any consideration of hollow and unworthy threats. On the question of the future of the Jewish people of Europe and their homeland in Palestine, the world faces a grave moral responsibility. It is a responsibility which cannot be avoided by postponement. The issue is one which must be faced now. I hope and I believe that not only opinion in our country, but the opinion of the men in the street in Great Britain, will unite in pressing for an immediate decision to do away with this infamous white paper and to open the gates of Palestine. We owe it not only to these pitiful victims of Nazi persecution; we owe it also to ourselves as human beings and as members of a civilized society.

Mr. Speaker. I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. BENNETT).

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. Speaker, I am rising to speak on one of the most important issues before the world today. It is a comforting truth that great moral causes lie at the root of the greatness of nations. The assistance and friendship which our great country has extended to the world cannot be measured in terms of dollars and cents. Our record of aid to Cuba, to the Philippines, to the starving nations of Europe after the First World War, to the reestablishment of Czechoslovakian independence, to the creation of a Polish Republic, yes, even to the victims of earthquake and flood in Japan, has been a glorious chapter in world history. We stand challenged today by a cause no less great than any we have championed before in our history.

In the Middle East for 28 years the world has been witnessing an experiment of regeneration. A small part of the little land of Palestine has been reclaimed from the desert by the devotion and the back-breaking toil of Jewish immigrants. They have come from every corner of the earth to restore the Holy Land to fertility after hundreds of years of neglect. As a result of their work, they have made Palestine's 10,000 square miles the most attractive spot in the entire Middle East. Let us remember that in 1918 no one wanted Palestine—neither the Arabs nor the Turks, nor the

British. The only people who hungered for it and loved it were those to whom it was denied—the Jewish people.

What is the issue today in Palestine? It is time for us to cut through the double talk and speak plainly. The meaningless formalities of diplomatic conversation have no application to Palestine. For here is an issue which is not a pleasant academic subject. It is not something which can be pushed into the back-ground and postponed for some future day. The plain unalterable fact is that in the past 10 years 6,000,000 Jews have been slaughtered, starved to death, or driven into a state of physical and mental despair for which there is no cure. Of an original population of perhaps seven and a half million living in Europe outside of Russia, there remain fewer than one and a half million Jews alive today. These remnants have found neither welcome nor refuge anywhere in Europe. The countries of their origin have been poisoned against their return. They have become wanderers on the face of the earth, hopeless and helpless. The doors of almost every nation are closed to them. The only country which offers the slightest prospect for them is this little land of Palestine.

Why then are they barred from Palestine? Is it for some logical and justifiable reason? Are the boundaries of the country too small for them? Is there some prime consideration of political necessity which stands in the way?

I say that the answer to these questions is clear and unmistakable. There is nothing which can be justified in logic, in justice, or in the name of humanity, to prevent the return of the Jewish people in Palestine in unrestricted numbers.

To those who say that the land cannot be restored to fertility, I say that the Jewish colonists have demonstrated that nothing is impossible in Palestine. On the shores of the Dead Sea where the water is mingled with salt they have established a colony, inch by inch, and foot by foot, draining the soil of its salt. They have irrigated it dozens and dozens of times.

The desert of the south was once a blooming valley. Our own Agricultural Department's soil expert, Dr. Lowdermilk, reported only last year that the land of Palestine is potentially one of the most fertile in the world. He compared its possibilities to those of our great State of California. He reminded us that once there were orchards of figs and dates in this ancient land. Palestine in the time of the Roman Empire supported a population of at least two millions without modern agricultural methods, without industrialization, without the enthusiasm and self-sacrificing devotion of a people dedicated to the rebuilding of their ancient soil.

In 1939, the British Government issued another white paper. That document declared that Palestine could not support a single additional Jew. It was repudiated by the British Government. More than three hundred thousand Jews have gone to live in their ancient homeland since that date. There is clearly room for hundreds of thousands more. For these are no ordinary people. They go to Palestine, to give of themselves

fully and wholeheartedly, to build, to hope, and to dream.

If the land can support them, why all the obstacles? The Arabs are in opposition, we are told. Yet every inch of Palestinian soil which is occupied by Jewish families today was sold to them by Arab land owners. What Arabs are opposing Jewish colonization? Are the Arabs whose children have been saved by the clinics and hospitals of Hadassah opposing it? Are the Arab peasants who have been able to earn a living for the first time in their lives in Palestine opposing it? The Arabic population of Palestine has increased two and a half times since the appearance of Jewish colonists.

There is no such record of increase in any other Arabic country. We know which of the Arabs oppose a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They are the political Arabs who see their ability to exploit Arabic workers vanishing before their eyes. They are the members of the Arab League, an instrument created by the British to stimulate a Pan-Arabic nationalism, which would maintain British supremacy in the Mediterranean world.

What justification then is there for the Arabic fears of domination by a Jewish Commonwealth? There is no intention on the part of the Jewish leadership in Palestine to injure in any way the Arabic population. There is every evidence that the blessings of better health, better living, better education for the Arabs are available in Palestine above every other country in the Middle East.

There are Arab states in Egypt, in Saudi-Arabia, in Iraq, in Iran, in Syria, with tremendous lands available for colonization and development.

What possible reason is there for our hesitancy in saying to the Arab world, "This is a matter of humanity which must transcend every other consideration. It is more important than oil; it is more important than imperialism; it is more important than any other single consideration." A chain of circumstances has been forged which makes it possible to repatriate the Jewish people in our generation without injury to any other group.

If we fail in this, the blood of the Jewish millions who died in Europe will cry from the soil. We shall have made a mockery of all the fine phrases, of all the protests of humanity and friendship which we have uttered so freely in these years.

This is the time for action in Palestine. The day of talk is over. The nations of the earth, including our own, have endorsed the Balfour Declaration of 1917. They have fixed the mandatory authority of Palestine. They have encouraged, directly and indirectly, the expenditure of millions of dollars in Palestine, the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Jewish men, women, and children.

In our own self-interest, for the sake of our own self-respect, our Government must recognize that a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine would be a lighthouse in the Middle East. It would be an example of the devotion of our country and of the world to the principles of jus-

tice and righteousness which were first proclaimed to the world by the prophets of this people whom we have deserted in their hour of need. Let us not fail this time. The day of appeasement is over. The Arabs have not fought and died for the cause of human freedom in this war. They have no claim on our generosity or our good will. The martyrs of Israel have both.

We are the descendants of pioneers who came to this country seeking a refuge from religious persecution. We cannot say to those who seek the same salvation today that America has forgotten. I urge every American to join with me in this effort to restore an ancient people to its homeland. They will preserve the holy places sacred to all of the great religious faiths which have sprung from that soil. They will make the land of Palestine bloom once more as a land flowing with milk and honey. In this crucial moment of Jewish history, let us not do what Hitler did. Let us raise our hands to lift these helpless men and women from the abyss to which our indifference and blindness have condemned them. History sits as our judge, and posterity as our witness. We must not fail those who cry to us for help.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. O'TOOLE).

Mr. O'TOOLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. O'TOOLE. Mr. Speaker, as the distinguished majority leader has so well said, the Jewish-Palestinian problem is not peculiar to the Jewish people, but is the problem of all humanity. It is the problem of all people whether they be Christians, pagans, Moslems, atheists, or agnostics. For thousands of years the Jewish people have been persecuted. The treatment that they have received at the hands of Hitler is nothing new. For centuries and centuries they have been driven from land to land, from country to country, and across the multitudinous seas that cover the earth. They have seen their families torn asunder. They have seen their aged and infirm killed. They have been deprived of education, deprived of the right of making a living, deprived of the right of freedom of movement, but above all deprived of the right of freedom of worship. Yet they have toiled on, wishing, hoping, and dreaming that some day they would have a country or a land that they might call their own.

Wherever they went in their forced travels they established and kept alive the laws of the Old Testament, preaching love of God, respect of mankind, love of liberty, and above all the love of the rights of man as an individual. Whenever they stopped they created institutions for the benefit of their fellow men without regard to their color or creed. Not only in the last century but through the ages, they have built institutions for the aged, the blind, the poor, and for all these less fortunate. In the dark days of Europe when civilization seemed to be tottering they did as much as any other people, through their love of the arts and the development of sciences and their

utilization of the land.

Comrade, as I do from a people who for over 200 years were persecuted by the English and who, too, were denied education as well as the right to worship God in the manner that their own consciences dictated. I can feel the plight and sufferings of these unfortunate people.

Sir Walter Scott very well expressed it when he said:

Breathes there the man
With soul so dead,
Who never to himself hath said,
This is my own, my native land?

It is the natural instinct of all people to have a home. A home that is more than an asylum—a home that is a guaranty for freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of worship. A home where man is taught to respect not only himself but his fellow humans. A home where the dignity of man is paramount.

As I said before, having Irish blood in my veins, I well know the chicanery, instability, and fluctuating course of the English Government's foreign policy. A policy where human rights and human liberties are always superseded by the needs, desires, and greed of the Empire. A policy where the commercial aspect of any question is always placed above the human equation. A policy that needlessly sacrifices human lives and looks without pity upon human suffering if commercial gain is to be attained.

The Jewish people through natural and moral reasoning are entitled to a homeland. They are entitled to a larger domain than they already possess in Palestine and they are entitled to determine for themselves the number of immigrants who may come to their country. Palestine should not be a vassal state, not having the right to determine its own future without interference from outside powers. It must be given the dignity of an independent nation and the protection that is afforded today to all smaller nations from aggression from stronger powers be they England or any other nation.

It is my sincere hope that our Government may be an instrumentality to the guaranteeing of perpetual freedom to the Jewish people in their desire to establish Palestine as a free and independent nation. It is my hope that this question may be settled in the near future so that the flag bearing the star of David may take its place alongside of the other distinguished banners that recognize freedom and that guarantee its perpetuation.

Mr. EUGENHAUTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. DEMERY).

CHICAGO

Mr. DIRIGEN. Mr. Speaker, why so much concern about Palestine? It is smaller than Maryland and has 200,000 fewer people. The Sinai Peninsula is desert, soil in other areas is wasted, it is a land of friction and bloodshed, and it lies far away. But wait!

LONG ISLAND

It is 4,000 years since Moses looked upon it from a hill mountain beyond the Jordan and heard it said that it was

a land of wheat, barley, vines, figs, pomegranates, olive oil and honey where there would be bread without scarceness and nothing would be lacking.

WASHINGTON

Much happened to its people since then. They wandered to Egypt for food and were placed in bondage. They were exiled when Babylon conquered that area of the earth. They were driven out by the Romans. They were persecuted by the Ottoman Turks and delivered in 1817 by the British. They came under a League of Nations mandate. For 23 years and as late as 1939, there were riots and disturbances which wrecked buildings and bridges, border stations and communications and left death in their wake. In that time, seven British commissions investigated and reported. Ten other commissions reported on other matters in that time. Eight white papers were issued dealing with Palestine policy.

THE LAND

Much has happened to the land. It was a good land in the days of Abraham. It was gradually eroded and wasted. The forests were destroyed and the rich red loess for centuries discolored the blue Mediterranean as it washed away. Once it was prosperous, self-supporting and healthful. It descended to poverty and dependence where the fellah risked out a miserable existence and malaria took a heavy toll.

BRITAIN HAS NOT BEEN

But in all the centuries, one thing never eroded or died. It was the dream of Zion and the zeal to make fruitful the very land for which Abraham paid. That desolation hope was rekindled in 1917 when Lord Balfour gave assurances that Britain looked with favor on a homeland for Jews and would facilitate the attainment of that objective. In this very Chamber in 1922, the Congress in a resolution expressed its favor for a national home for Jewish people. That hope was incorporated in the League of Nations mandate. In January of 1944 a similar resolution was considered by committees of the House and Senate but for military reasons, its consideration was postponed. In June of 1944, both major political parties expressed themselves in support of a free Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. In November 1944, the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House reported a similar resolution but for political reasons action was deferred. And there it stands.

DISPERSION STILL CONTAINS

After 4,000 years, the great dispersion still obtains. But the dream has not diminished; the vision of a homeland has not perished; the hope has not abated. These have withstood conquest, friction, and persecution. But this is a time for action. The efforts to find a solution for the Jewish-Arab-British problem in Palestine have failed. The longer it remains unsolved, the more complicated it will become.

FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM

Now comes a more fundamental aspect of the problem. Millions have died in a war in which freedom was the issue.

Freedom to the Jew and to the Arab may not enter except in limited numbers and under a quota that now expires; the only country star than Germany where explicit anti-Jewish laws exist; the only land where the Bible is still canonized when quoted in the Hebrew press; where strict censorship prevails and where thousands of informed and noninformed police patrol the whole land. Shall this remain the bitter fruit of Zionism and a Jewish idealism.

ENDLESS PROBLEM

The historical controversy between Jew and Arab over who has prior rights in Palestine is an endless fabric studied with argument and counterargument and furnishes no clue for a solution. The political problem, with its many implications involving the whole Moslem world, the existence of oil, trade balances, import controls, exchange barriers, and other factors, is equally devoid of hope for a solution.

FRANCHISE OF MEN AND STEWARDSHIP OF LAND

We must turn back to the solemn promises of men in authority and to the stewardship of the land where people dwell for the answer. A solution must spring from common sense and from the basic right of a people to dwell peacefully in a land with which they have historic, religious, and spiritual ties. It must come from the right of a dispersed minority to dwell in a land to which it does have some valid claim, free from censorship and persecution, free from indefensible restrictions on immigration and land purchase, free from espionage and threat, where an ardent hope can find fruition and where a proven seal for the land will enable it to enrich and bless all who live therein and definitely elevate the living standards, the health, and the well-being of all who live there.

PROOF OF CAPABILITY

Where is the proof that this can be done? One need but journey from Day to BeerSheva, from Gaza to Tyre, from Jericho to Tiberias to see the living proof. Rural electrification is there. It is a monument to Pechas Huttenberg who made that his life's work. Industry is there as a testimony to Baron Rothschild, to Dr. Weizman, to Novomysky and others. Hundreds of millions of private funds have been invested to prove that a homeland can be established.

LAND IS THE FRANCHISE GIFT

But the land is the most persuasive exhibit. It can be made the land that Moses saw, a good land where there shall be bread without scarceness. There are hundreds of rural cooperatives and collectives. The annual export production of delectable oranges, grapefruit, and lemons has reached 15,000,000 boxes. Improved strains of cattle, sheep, and fowls have been developed to increase enormously the production of milk, cheese, wool, and eggs. Broad acreage of wheat, barley, and rye in the plain of Sharon and the valley of Esdrachon will improve yields attest the devotion to the land. In the stony Jordan Valley one sees evidence of what zeal, courage and irrigation can do to dispel malaria and make the previous soil produce as

abundance. There has been a relentless search for new methods, new techniques, new processes, and all of these have served not only to make the land more fruitful but to benefit the Arab farmers as well.

ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY

What does it all mean in terms of a homeland? Simply this. Even as Palestine once supported a million more persons than the 1,600,000 who now dwell there, so it can do so again. Forty years ago, there were but half a million people there. Today there are more than three times that number. The Jewish people occupy but 6 percent of the whole area of Palestine and but 14 percent of the cultivated lands. The devotion and zeal of the people to the land determines what can be done and how many more may be absorbed. It can take hundreds of thousands of people who today seek safe haven, refuge, and peace. By the test of accomplishment, by the standard of contribution to human welfare, by the measure of historic attachment, by the yardstick of freedom, and by the dictates of common sense, why should not this land be reopened to unrestricted immigration and colonization that it may again become a good land where there shall be bread without scarceness and no lack of anything.

(Mr. DIRKSEN asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. DE LACY).

Mr. DE LACY. Mr. Speaker, the active military phases of the peoples' war against fascism have been brought to a victorious conclusion. In that war, 6,000,000 Jews, one-third that people's total number in the world, were gassed, poisoned, burned, had air bubbles injected in their blood streams, were starved, shot, suffocated, had their heads smashed in with clubs, were boiled down for fat, or murdered in some other slow and ingenious way by the Fascist gangsters who all but conquered the world.

Hitler's armies have been defeated; Hitler himself is reported dead. Yet Hitler's voice is strong in America: Hitler's chief weapons for conquering democracy from within—red-baiting and Jew-baiting—have their echoes even in the halls of Congress, and Hitler's chief means of dividing the nations—a cunningly inspired hostility toward the Soviet Union—is once again urged, this time by native Americans, as "justification" for rebuilding German industry.

The plain truth is that there is no democracy unless it is democracy for all, for the Jew and the gentile, for the Catholic and the Protestant and the non-believer, for the black and the white, and for the various political shadings, the reds, the whites, and the blues.

The plain truth is that there will be no freedom from imperialism or from the wars which imperialism breeds as long as we permit the Dutch and the British to use Japanese troops against natives rising for an end to all colonial rule. There will be no free, new world as long as the British divide Moslem and

Hindu and use that manufactured division as a pretext for withholding freedom from India. There will be no united and democratic China as long as America keeps gunboats and planes and marines there to reinforce the Chinese faction which has held not a single election nor tolerated a single basic land or tax reform in all the territories under its military rule.

There will be no end, either, to imperialism while powerful groups within the United States and Britain for the sake of oil concessions and commanding positions on trade routes, are permitted to play Arab against Jew and Jew against Arab in Palestine, making contradictory sets of promises to each and keeping neither.

The plain truth is that the British created the Arab league and control it. The Arab kings and pashas are willing to give Britain concessions in oil and communications as long as their dictatorial rule over the Arab people is maintained.

It seems to make no difference, either, to some of these hireling princes who pays them. The Arab Brigade, which fought American and British soldiers in Africa, was furnished by Arab chieftains, reportedly paid by the Nazis. And at the San Francisco Conference, it was freely said that these same gentry were living at hotels and riding in limousines paid for by Standard Oil.

There is no inevitable antagonism between the Arab and Jewish peoples. Anti-Semitism in the mouth of an Arab is the plainest evidence of divisive propaganda, for both peoples are of Semitic origin. Both trace a portion of their religious tradition to Palestine. Each can profit from free association with the other. And both have the same reason for demanding of Britain that her mandate over Palestine be brought to an end, that a congress be convened to frame a democratic constitution which will ensure free elections and representation and cultural autonomy for all.

Either we believe in democracy or we do not. Either we encourage its practice, or we surrender the field to its enemies. If the great American melting pot has proved anything, it has proved that there is room in a democratic Palestine for both Arab and Jew.

We need not fear that the Arab people themselves will resort to large-scale armed violence. Their hot heads can freely expand into 1,000,000 miles of sparsely settled territories indisputably their own. And it is precisely to prevent the settlement of political questions by force that the United Nations organization has so hopefully and after such suffering been born into the world.

We certainly need not fear any lack of devotion to democracy by the Jews in Palestine, for the citizens of the Jewish National Homeland were democrats' only arsenal in the dark days when the Nazis had all but overrun northern Africa. When General Montgomery and his hard-pressed Eighth Army had been driven almost to the waters of the Suez, 30,000 hardened Jewish combat troops, volunteers, carried their full share of the fighting in that heroic army.

When the German and Italian Fascists controlled the whole Mediterranean, 600,000 Jews in Palestine manufactured munitions, optical instruments, precision instruments, chemicals, sending badly needed supplies to the British armies and their young women as nurses and hospital workers and into the fields as laborers to insure care and food for wounded and hungry soldiers.

Is there any way to do justice now to 6,000,000 Jews murdered, scientifically and calculatingly murdered, as a necessary part of the plan of the Nazi "master race" for German control of the peoples and markets of the earth?

Is there any way now to take the mark of the lash from the backs, and the anguish from the hearts, of 12,000,000 Jews alive in other lands?

We cannot help the dead, but we can extend simple tolerance at home and equal opportunity in the things that count to all our fellow men.

We can also hold out a helping hand to all those Jews who wish to build their own monument to human freedom in a Jewish national homeland in Palestine.

The American people, through countless prominent citizens, public figures, and newspaper editorials, have shown their desire for the abrogation of the British white paper.

The British people, for centuries the guardians of liberty, have every reason in justice and in humanity to urge their Government to abrogate a decision made when Chamberlain was still appeasing Hitler.

The multi-national peoples of the Soviet Union, having passed from the bitter anti-Jewish pogroms of the Czar to the elimination of all discrimination, are known to be friendly toward Jewish aspirations to develop their life and culture freely in a homeland of their own.

Here is one issue, therefore, in which the Big Three should have no differences. An early solution backed by America, Russia, and Britain and bringing democratic government, cultural autonomy, and suitable and equal economic opportunity to Jew and Arab alike in Palestine, would be the means of satisfying the legitimate dreams of two peoples and stabilizing an important area of the world. It would deal a strong blow at these evil forces still hoping to divide and rule, and it would establish a sound pattern for handling other actual or potential trouble zones.

Mr. DE LACY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. LEWIS).

Mr. LEWIS asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEWIS. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to raise my voice in behalf of the oppressed and starving people of the Jewish race in Europe. Since the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany, the world has witnessed one of its great tragedies in the deliberate slaughter of this oppressed people. The pictures that we have seen of the infamous German concentration camps have been the most revolting spec-

lacks that people of this generation have ever witnessed. That these pictures are authentic has been attested to over and over again by newspaper publishers, by the members of our armed forces, and by Members of this Congress who have visited these horror camps.

The remainder of the Jewish peoples of Germany and of the German satellite nations are now wandering exiles in the lands of their birth, homeless, and without any place to go unless the land of their fathers is opened to them. Palestine, the ancestral home of the Jews, it seems to me, is the natural and the logical place for these displaced Jews of Europe to find at last a home and some measure of peace.

Under the former policy of Great Britain, who was entrusted with the mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations, many Jews migrated to Palestine in the period between the two great World Wars, and by their thrift and industry they transformed a barren and inhospitable land into a land of irrigated and watered fields in that portion where they settled and the squalid village which they found into the modern, sanitary, and beautiful city of Tel Aviv. Now Britain has changed her policy and apparently, unless an aroused world opinion changes it again, the Jews are to be excluded from Palestine. Where in the world shall they go? They cannot remain among the hostile populations once dominated by Nazi Germany and no land is open to them. Certainly the only possible place for these miserable and persecuted people is the land of their fathers, and those who are in authority in this country should raise their voices in behalf of these people and their yearning desire to return to the land of Abraham—to the Palestine homeland.

I need but mention the fact that this solution to the Jewish problem settles apparently forever many problems arising through the presence of the dispersed Jewish peoples throughout the world. It is said by some that Palestine will not support the increased population that would enter there if the prohibition of immigration to the Jews were abolished, but the answer to this, I think, is the remarkable transformation of that land under the industry and intelligent planning of the Jews who have gone there in the last 20 or 25 years. They have shown that it is entirely possible by the application of modern methods of irrigation and industry for Palestine to support a population several times larger than that now there. It is, therefore, entirely possible for Palestine to be open to the Jews and at the same time for the Arab population that is now there to remain, and certainly the Jews, with their thrift and industry and their introduction of modern methods of sanitation, building construction, irrigation, and agriculture can, and will, if given an opportunity, raise the entire standard of living for all the people of Palestine—Arab and Jew alike. The Arabs should welcome them, and in expediting the cause of Jewish immigration to Palestine, we can be sure that we are helping to solve not only the problem of the Jews but also the problems of the Arabs who live in Palestine. I sincerely trust that those who are en-

titled to speak for the people of the United States shall make it clear that we in America, Jew and Gentile alike, support the legitimate claim of the Jews for a national home in their ancestral homeland.

THE SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Ohio has expired.

Mr. FERNHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut (Mrs. Woodhouse).

Mrs. WOODHOUSE. Mr. Speaker, it is my belief that the House of Representatives is discharging the tragic duty of the Jews in Europe and the possibility that Palestine offers to relieve their situation. The United States has always stood for a policy of equal opportunity. We have opened our doors to the peoples of the world. We now have in this country people of practically every race and religion living together in peace and prosperity. We are only asking other nations to do in a small way what we have done ourselves in a much broader way.

The best estimate indicates that more than 1,500,000 Jews lost their lives in Europe under the Hitler terror. How many of these people could have been saved had the doors of Palestine been opened to them, as was promised in the Balfour Declaration, is, of course, problematical. There is every reason to believe, however, that many hundreds of thousands of homeless, hunted, and unwanted Jews in Hitler Germany and its satellite countries could have found their way into Palestine and been saved had it not been for the liberal restrictions of the Chamberlain white paper. This was another example of a "Munich agreement," an appeasement with no moral foundation and with tragic consequences.

During the war efforts were made to repeal the white paper and to make it possible for some of the victims of Hitler to escape with their lives into Palestine. But, it was claimed by the British Government that admission of Jewish refugees into Palestine during the war years would retard the war effort and endanger our Allied position in the Middle East. We bowed to this decision. But again, after the British and Americans had cleared the Middle East and north Africa of the Nazi forces, the road to Palestine remained blocked.

The promises made to the Jews by the Balfour Declaration are promises made to all decent people of the earth. They are promises which have been broken. The British people have always held to their contracts. They were not truly represented by Chamberlain. Today we are facing the shaping of a new world—a world in which there must be justice, tolerance, and good faith if any of us are to live in peace and prosperity. There is still a possibility of saving the lives of some of the unfortunate Jews whom Hitler failed to eradicate. Neither we nor the British people will forget that it was a Jewish woman scientist, a refugee, who gave us a vital link in the research which led to the perfection of the atomic bomb.

The war is over. There are, of course, still problems in the Middle East. But they can be solved. The presence of the Jews in Palestine has been an asset in the development of that country. They

have given more to the world than any other people.

The President of the United States, with his usual direct forthrightness, has requested that immigration certificates for 100,000 refugees be issued immediately in order that the Jewish people still in the concentration camps of Germany, with no homes to which they can return, may go to Palestine and there live as decent hardworking men and women. We have a right to ask this of the British Government. There still exists a treaty of 1924 between the United States and Great Britain, wherein Great Britain agrees to make no change in immigration regulations pertaining to Palestine without the prior consent of the United States. This treaty still exists. But the United States was not consulted prior to the promulgation of the immigration restriction law.

But let us not be content merely with blaming Great Britain. Has our Government done everything it could in order to carry out the pledges made to the Jews? Support has been pledged to them by both political parties and by a majority of Members of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. And yet I understand that the Department of State answers inquiries to the effect that it has received no instructions from the White House as to what the policy of this country is in regard to Palestine.

People who came back from the Middle East report that there is no realization among either the Arabs or the British of how overwhelmingly this country supports the case for entrance of the Jews into Palestine and how deeply it would value foreign concurrence with this policy. The State Department and American representatives abroad should be instructed that the policy as laid down in public statements is in truth the policy favored by the people of the United States and the policy which every member of our foreign service is committed to further.

The President has taken the first step. We in the Congress will know the feeling of the people of America. I am very certain that the people of my district are in favor of opening Palestine to the Jewish refugees in Europe. We should make this feeling of the American people vocal. We should ask that our Government officials charged with administering our foreign affairs be instructed as to this feeling.

There was pending before the last Congress a resolution which declared that the United States shall use its good offices to the end that the gates of Palestine should be opened for free entry of Jews and that Palestine might ultimately become a free and democratic commonwealth with Jew and Arab living together in peace. I understand that the Congress was about to pass this resolution but that for war reasons requests were made that it not do so.

The fighting phase of the war is now over. We are facing the great and difficult task of building a world based on peace. But can we have peace if we do not have justice? We cannot. The time has come when we in the Congress without further delay should pass such a resolution and put ourselves squarely and

officially behind this great project of doing justice to a stricken people, of saving thousands of human lives by opening the gates of Palestine to the Jews.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Maryland (Mr. D'ALESSANDRO).

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, these are sad days in history. When nations do not carry out their solemn obligations, hope for permanent peace cannot be strong. Great Britain solemnly pronounced the famous Balfour Declaration, and in 1939, even though this Nation and most other nations of the world had already agreed to the Balfour Declaration, Great Britain by its own act had decided to abrogate and nullify the Balfour Declaration.

How much better it would be if today we could rise and say that Great Britain, a democratic nation, had kept its solemnly pledged word? How can we speak of the sanctity of treaties when nations, for the sake of expediency, repudiate their solemnly pledged word?

A promise was made by Great Britain to open the gates of immigration into the Holy Land so that Jews could establish there a national homeland. Had that promise been kept, then thousands upon thousands of Jews whose bones litter the fields of Europe, and thousands upon thousands more whose ashes have been scattered to the four winds, might be living today in peace in Palestine.

No nation can escape its share of the dreadful responsibility for what has happened in Europe. Millions upon millions of Jews were killed, many after horrible tortures, for no reason whatever except their religious belief. It was impossible for us even to believe or imagine that such dreadful acts could be perpetrated on such a large scale by maniacs led by a diseased mind. Today, we plead for the lives of a hundred thousand Jews—who are no more than living skeletons—whom we have liberated in Europe. They can find no peace in the places they once called home. Germany, the Balkan countries, central Europe are not places of refuge for them. They look to Palestine, and what do they find?

In the face of this tragedy Great Britain dares to shut the gates to their immigration, in spite of its solemn promise.

The Arabs were liberated from Turkish rule by the Allies after World War I. Five Arab states have been set up. Their area comprises over a million square miles—an enormous underpopulated area. And Palestine constitutes not even 1 percent of this total space.

In 99 percent of Arab territory they enjoy national sovereignty. Less than 1 percent has been reserved for the Jewish people in the land of their fathers.

The Arabs who live in Palestine have prospered and multiplied. They are far better off there than even in the states where the Arabs are ruled by their own leaders. They have learned to live side by side with the Jews in Palestine.

Once there were millions of Jews living in Europe; today only a few hundred thousand, perhaps not even that many. None of these is well. What an indictment of the whole world that this could happen in our generation, and how much

more horrible it is to contemplate keeping these men, women and children in Europe when they want to go to Palestine, the only place that will receive them, so that they can live decent lives.

It seems incredible that Great Britain should delay granting the hundred thousand immigration certificates that President Truman has asked them to grant. Who is it that seeks to keep them out of Palestine? Is it our allies who fought side by side with us, whose blood was spilled with ours on the battlefields of Africa and Europe in our battle against the Fascist world? On the contrary it is the people whom we freed in 1918, who either cooperated in the recent past with Hitler or who stood by passively even when Rommel stood at the gates of Alexandria.

Winston Churchill denounced the infamous white paper, the repudiation of the Balfour Declaration. On May 23, 1939, his voice rang out, crying:

What will the world think about it? What will our friends say? What will be the opinion of the United States of America? What will our potential enemies think? What will those who have been stirring up these Arab agitators think? Will they not be encouraged by our confession of recoll? Will they not be tempted to say "they are on the run again, this is another Munich"; and be the more stimulated in their aggression?

The Labor Party under Prime Minister Attlee has been just as strong in its denunciation of the white paper. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party in their national platforms have spoken out in favor of Palestine and the establishment there of a national homeland.

What is it that keeps nations from carrying out their solemn obligations? Can it be said that Great Britain is today fearful of the effect on Arab states which are dependent upon the democratic nations for their economic upbuilding? Are the nations that were able to destroy the greatest armed forces in the world afraid now to speak up for what is right?

Great Britain must not refuse to grant this request of our President for immigration certificates for these dying Jews of Europe. The blot on British conscience would be so dark that not even a thousand years would serve to lighten it.

We in the United States owe a duty. We in Congress must pointedly and frankly tell Great Britain we expect that nation to keep its solemn pledged word. We are determined that our voices shall be heard—even in London.

BALTIMORE, Md., October 11, 1945.
HON. THOMAS D'ALESSANDRO,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR: I know that you receive a tremendous amount of mail, and ordinarily I would not burden you with this note. However, I cannot let the opportunity go by without thanking you and your colleagues for the very sympathetic hearing you extended me and our committee when we called on you last Thursday.

Your promise of unequivocal help is tremendously encouraging, and I am sure will help us to carry on in our difficult task of providing a permanent home for those Jews who have no place in the war-torn countries of Europe.

Respectfully yours,

ISAAC FORT.

SENATE OF MARYLAND,
ANNAPOLIS, Md., October 12, 1945.
HON. THOMAS D'ALESSANDRO,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR TOMMY: Your handling of the meeting of the Zionist and Jewish organizational groups was splendid.

Everyone spoke highly in praise of your manner and attitude.

Cordially,

E. MILTON ALTYVEL.

(Mr. D'ALESSANDRO asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks and include two letters.)

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. GOODWIN).

Mr. GOODWIN. Mr. Speaker, both the United States and Britain are pledged to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. These pledges ought, in justice and good conscience, to be fulfilled without further delay.

Since the Balfour Declaration and American congressional endorsement of the policy enunciated therein 23 years ago, very little progress has been made toward keeping faith. The treatment of Jewish minorities continues to constitute a dark blot on the face of civilization.

Let us grant that Palestine is a problem for the British on account of the Arabs, but it certainly is not insurmountable. The Arabs can hardly have any justifiable complaint if asked to give over to the Jews what amounts to less than 1 percent of Arab lands in Asia alone. Without counting their large possessions in north Africa, the Arabian possessions in Asia are almost a million and a quarter square miles of territory. The Jews, on the other hand, have no territory at all which, as a people, they can call home.

Four million Jews have been murdered in the short span of 3 years. Mass annihilation by violent death, the gas chamber, and unspeakable forms of torture constitutes one of the darkest pages in all the volumes of human history.

Out of all the misery, persecution, and suffering of the past comes the augmented cry for justice to the Jews. The cry has now swollen to such proportions that it cannot longer be disregarded. As we search for a proper pattern for lasting peace this cry rings in our ears.

American Palestine policy is definitely woven into the very fabric of world peace. Unfortunately anti-Semitism still exists.

The frictions resulting from the last world war, unless alleviated, may well be a contributing factor in the making of another world war.

It is the duty of Britain to repudiate the white paper of 1937 and make good on the promises of the Balfour Declaration. It is the duty of the United States to press vigorously to that end and help bring about the establishment of a Jewish homeland in a free Palestine.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. LANE).

(Mr. LANE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

THE JEWS ASK FOR JUSTICE

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, we have poured out our blood and our treasure to

best back the fury and the hate which almost conquered us. The battlefields are quiet. Our men are coming home. With a sigh of relief we turn our backs on the war which has been won.

Or has it?

The terrible sights and sounds are gone. The dead are buried. The screams of the wounded and the tortured no longer ring in our ears. We think the war is over.

Even the hideous murder factories at Beirsen are quiet. The fires which furnished human beings are out. Instead of preparing the victims for death we have established displaced persons camps on these horror sites, preparing them for what?

We are trying the Nazis for their crimes against humanity, but what solution do we offer to the victims who wait? What victims? The Jews, who were the first and the most appalling sacrifice exacted by the Fascist terror. Over 1,000,000 of these victims wait, suffer, and starve while we, the victors, dally with diplomacy.

These victims are not wanted even in the countries we helped to liberate. They must move on, to somewhere. That refuge is their ancient homeland—Palestine. By every historical, cultural, and religious claim it belongs to them. But the door of escape remains closed. And we are helping to keep it closed, in spite of our conscience, in spite of the moral leadership which we owe to the world. On the one hand, we sympathize with the Jews; on the other hand, we keep an active interest in the private oil lines which run through Arab countries adjoining Palestine.

We are compromising ourselves by this shameful hypocrisy.

Britain temporarily controls Palestine under a mandate from the old League of Nations. She holds it in trust, as a guardian. But for whom? Arabs or Jews? The Arabs have several independent countries, the Jews none. They have no place else to turn to. I submit that we cannot stand aside and let these unfortunate people suffer and die. After all these years of common effort against a common foe, we have the right to expect that our ally, Britain, will work with us to achieve a solution to this problem, and not an evasion. For the problem is not alone one of entire security, it has been an age-old problem that now becomes a world problem, the first test of our purposes as we face the task of making a fair and durable peace.

The Balfour pledge of 1917 said that His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment of a home for the Jews in Palestine. Later, the British white paper qualified this to provide for the stabilization of Palestine's population in the proportion of one-third Jews and two-thirds Arabs. Where, then, is the meaning in this promise of a home if the doors are closed to the majority who are seeking sanctuary?

In principle, we, the United States, have endorsed the claims of the Jews. Every President has supported them. Our own Democratic and Republican Parties have committed themselves to this. President Truman has asked the British to admit 100,000 of the homeless.

The British have agreed to admit 1,000 a month, a token compromise that falls far short of justice and mercy.

Our intentions have been good. Our performances have been empty. If this be a measure of our approach to the solution of great problems, it is high time that we overhaul our diplomatic machinery. We cannot afford to fail on our promises. Our integrity stands challenged and must be redeemed.

The rise to power of a Labor Government in Britain gives us hope that a solution to this problem may be nearer than we think. The Tories, holding fast to a policy of "no change," have been replaced by a government that more truly reflects the conscience and the conscience of the people. And the common people of Britain know, as we know, that some limitation of national sovereignty, some abdication from yesterday's wrongs, is necessary to gain the true peace which all of us need.

At the peace conference, when it comes, the nations which brought death and suffering to millions, will be represented. The criminals will have a voice. But the victims? The bones of 4,000,000 Jewish civilians, starved, beaten, and murdered in their homes and their synagogues, these bones will have no voice except in our uneasy conscience.

Remembering our Christian martyrs of old, we cannot forget the Jewish martyrs of our time. They stood and died in the name of our common human dignity.

The prayers they offered to God even as they were being butchered, ring in humanity's ears.

That is the voice of the Jew calling upon us for atonement to make sanctuary for the pitiful few who survived.

This is our responsibility.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. Halleck).

Mr. HALLECK asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Connecticut spoke of a resolution and the desirability of action by the Congress by resolution. The gentleman from Illinois who preceded me spoke of promises. I want to speak for a moment about resolutions and then for a moment about promises; some of them broken.

This matter has been before the Congress for quite some time. Resolutions upon which the Congress could act have been introduced. On October 15, 1944, the then Democratic candidate for President, Mr. Roosevelt, addressed a letter to Senator Wadsworth of New York in which he used these words:

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if selected I shall help to bring about its realization.

I have been reacting from a supplemental report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives. That report also refers to a promise made by the Republican candidate for President, Mr. Thomas E. Dewey. Incidentally, the report also

contains a statement that after the vote of 18 from Secretary of War Stimson to Senator Tamm withdrawing his opposition to the resolution.

What happened? Acting upon that evidence the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House reported a resolution on November 31, 1944, declaring the Congress favoring the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. That resolution in due course came before the Committee on Rules, of which I am a member, for consideration and determination as to whether or not it should be sent to the floor for consideration. That was in early December of 1944.

I went to the Committee on Rules ready to vote for that resolution. I am convinced that the majority of the members of the Rules Committee felt the same way about it. Action was had in executive session and, of course, I am not permitted to divulge the details of what happened. But I think I can properly say this, to my utter amazement it developed that the Roosevelt administration did not want the resolution passed and it never was reported out of the Committee on Rules. I am right well convinced, in fact I know, that that opposition is the reason it was not so reported out.

Now I ask: If promises are made, what sort of responsibilities do they create? Are we to be marched up the hill and down again?

I say to the gentlewoman from Connecticut that I was before the Committee on Rules exactly the sort of a resolution to which she refers. I agree with her. If I understood her correctly, that a resolution is the formal, effective way by which the Congress may act.

What happened between October 15, 1944, and December 1944 except an election? Nothing so far as anyone knows.

I rise not in a spirit of political controversy. I have referred to the statement of my candidate for President, who was not elected. I have referred to the things that happened and transpired only because they constitute what seem to me to be clear indications of promises, commitments, and responsibilities.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. HOLIFIELD).

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Speaker, during the latter part of June of this year, I had the opportunity of visiting the Holy Land. I was amazed at the progress and development in the modern city of Tel Aviv and the surrounding area. Here in the midst of a poor, backward country, still using the primitive methods of agriculture and transportation of 30 centuries ago, was a modern city and an agricultural area using the methods of today.

The refugee Jews from Europe's shelter with the aid of financial support from Jewry throughout the world had made this possible. In bringing this development to Palestine, they raised the standard of living as both the original Jewish inhabitants and the native Arabs.

Further increased immigration of refugees, homeless, and stateless Jews will be of further benefit to the Arabs.

The propagandists at this point always raise the bugaboo of conflict between Jew and Arab. I talked with several leaders while there, as well as members of American organizations and it was their opinion that no real foundation existed for this charge. It is true that there are fanatics among the Arabs and trouble-makers among the reactionary original Jewish inhabitants.

There is good reason to believe that these elements have been encouraged and financed by certain British interests, who have consistently refused to comply with the Balfour Declaration or the treaty of Lusitane.

It is time for the Congress of the United States to take a firm stand on this Palestine matter. The compliance by Britain with her pledges and treaties are a matter of world concern.

We ask for humane and simple things in humane and simple language. But above all, they ask for justice—justice for the Hebrew and justice for the Arab.

I would like to add a word of strong approval of the policy of a democratic Jewish Palestine. This seems to be the right policy not only because Palestine was promised to the Jews and because they deserve this reward for all the sufferings they have gone through, but also, if I may be frank, because such a policy seems to me to be most in accord with American interests.

A lot of nonsense is being spoken about the extreme need for this country to prove itself a friend of the Arabs on every question. May I ask why? We certainly should support the Arabs wherever they are in the right, just as we ought to support anyone else who happens to be right. But why are we under any compulsion to embrace the Arab cause, irrespective of whether it is right or wrong?

The Arab peoples are poor and undeveloped. They need money, machinery, and disinterested assistance in raising their cultural and economic standards. We know, and, what is more important, the Arabs know, that we are the only great power able and willing to give them such assistance and guidance without plotting to obtain political control over them. This is why the Arab countries are so anxious to give their oil concessions to us, to invite our teachers and our engineers to help them along on the road to development. To put it shortly, they need us more than we need them. It is preposterous, therefore, to maintain seriously that the attitude of the Arab peoples, whether in Saudi Arabia or in Syria, or in Egypt, or anywhere else, would be seriously affected by our position with regard to Palestine. The Arab peoples invited American cooperation in the first place in their own interests, and not for the sake of Palestine, and they will continue to desire American cooperation above all, however the future of Palestine is decided by the great powers of the world.

It should be evident to anyone who is not a babe-in-the-woods that the attempts of Arab politicians to threaten us with the loss of Arab friendship in case the United States joins Great Britain in

deciding that the pledge to the Jews regarding Palestine be carried out is merely a bluff. We in this House can see through this bluff without difficulty, and I do not see why the experts in the Department of State cannot see through it just as easily.

Even more childish are the threats which we are reading currently in newspapers of the Arabs starting a war against the Jews of Palestine or against the nations which would admit the justice of the Jewish case. I understand that in Palestine proper, despite vicious German and Italian propaganda conducted by that Axis agent who used to occupy the position of a Mufti in Jerusalem, two to three thousand was the largest number of Arabs who ever took any part in the riots against the Jews, and that even of that small number a goodly portion had to be hired by the gang leaders at so much per diem. As for the Arabs outside Palestine, I understand that their armies are ill-trained and ill-equipped; that most of the arms which they possess they got from us on a lend-lease basis—certainly not for the purpose of fighting Jews. And I further understand that a full-fledged attempt to wage war on England which was undertaken by the Arab country of Iraq in the middle of the war was suppressed by the tremendous force of two British battalions. Our Government has participated in some territorial and political decisions in recent months in which the justice of the decision arrived at was much less evident and in which the dangers were far more serious. I do not see why we should permit ourselves to be bluffed out of supporting a solution of the Palestine question which most people in this country consider just and to which our Government and both the Democratic and Republican Parties are pledged.

The Hebrew in Europe, behind the wire of his camp, sees only one future of promise, a free and democratic life in Palestine.

The Arab, in his miserable field, sees himself the victim of the cruelest feudal system left on the face of the earth. He looks forward to the day when he, too, may have fertile fields, prosperity, and good health.

The hopes of these two peoples are not in conflict—they are identical. They can be described in one word—democracy.

The Hebrew people of Europe should have a chance not only for survival but for decent and dignified existence; and give to the Hebrews and the Arabs in Palestine the opportunity to carve a decent future in harmony and amity.

Oil, imperialism, prejudice are walls of desert sand before the mechanized forces of outraged American public opinion. Our duty is simple. We must answer the call of humanity.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 3 minutes to the gentleman from California (Mr. Welch).

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, a great humanitarian principle is involved in the movement to rehabilitate the Jewish race in its historical home, Palestine.

To permit all Jews who so desire to return to their traditional homeland where they can find opportunity for eco-

nomic self-development, establish their own homes unhampered and pursue happiness in their own way, is a right that should not be withheld.

It is my understanding, Mr. Speaker, that those who have been permitted to reestablish themselves in Palestine have laid the ground work of sound economic order that will bring happiness to those who may follow. They have applied modern methods of irrigation to reconvent desert lands into thriving farms.

It is the obligation of civilized nations of the world to remove every restriction and encourage their return to Palestine.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 2 minutes to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. Coffey).

Mr. COFFEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. COFFEY. Mr. Speaker, I join these of my colleagues on both the Republican and Democratic sides of the aisle in support of the pending resolutions as an expression that the House of Representatives of the Congress favors the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish homeland.

In that respect, I am proud to follow on the road laid out ahead of me by such distinguished American statesmen as the late Woodrow Wilson and the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Winston Churchill when he was a member of His Majesty's opposition, Sir Clement Attlee when he was a member of the Labor Party as a minority and before he became Prime Minister, and such distinguished statesmen in American public life as Senator ROBERT TART, of Ohio, Gov. Thomas Dewey, of New York, and President Truman, our present President of the United States.

The Labor Party of Great Britain, when offering itself to the people of the British Isles in the recent elections set forth one of the most decisive and plainly worded planks it has ever been my pleasure to see, in which they pledged to the British people and to the Jews throughout the world that they would actually carry out the pledges that have been made since 1917, or in fact, at least since 1924, that Palestine should become the homeland of the wandering and stateless Jews of the world. I quote the exact words:

Here we have halted halfway, irresolute between conflicting policies. But there is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home, unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish to, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe.

Here, too, in Palestine is the case on human grounds, and to promote a stable settlement for the transfer of populations, let the Arabs be encouraged to move out as the Jews move in. Let them be compensated handsomely for their land and let their settlement elsewhere be carefully organized and generously financed.

The Arab has many wide territories of his own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area—Palestine—less than the size of Wales.

Indeed, we should reexamine also the possibility of extending the present boundaries by agreement with Egypt, Syria, or Trans-

Jordan. Moreover, we should seek to win the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian Governments for the execution of this Palestine policy.

We recently fought a war, one of the main reasons for which was to help the persecuted peoples of Europe emerge from the thralldom imposed by the Hittlers and the Mussolinis.

Mr. Speaker, we should exercise every possible influence on the British foreign office in a sedulous endeavor to make it see the light. We should try our utmost through every honorable means to induce our British Allies to keep the promises made to the Jews that Palestine would be their homeland. It was on that basis that 32 nations signed the agreement whereby Great Britain was given the mandate over Palestine. Over 400 Congressmen and Senators have in writing subscribed to this viewpoint. Thirty governors have likewise urged it. We must not let the subject of oil interfere. The Arabs have vast quantities of oil within their borders. The indications are that the welfare of the Jews and promises made are being subordinated to the scheming whereby this Arab oil may be exploited by British and American oil interests.

Mr. COFFEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.

The SPEAKER. The time of the gentleman from Washington has expired.

Mr. EHRHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. FENNER).

Mr. FENNER. Mr. Speaker, I have spoken here several times in behalf of the establishment of a free Jewish democratic commonwealth. Hardly more than a week ago I urged our Government to take immediate action to resolve this vital question and open the doors of Palestine to the millions of sorely afflicted Jews who are wandering over the face of Europe today seeking a haven and refuge from cruel persecution and destitution.

I am honored once again to join with so many of my distinguished colleagues in urging our President and our State Department to intensify their efforts to solve this vital problem and enable our Jewish brethren not only to enjoy their own homeland, their own free government but what is of greatest immediate concern—escape from a European winter which holds for them nothing but starvation and suffering.

Let us act at once. Let England act at once to keep its pledged word to this great race. Let the plea of humanity be heard. Let Palestine be opened at once as a Jewish homeland and a Jewish refuge from harm and destitution.

Mr. EHRHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I yield the balance of the time to the gentleman from New York (Mr. CUNNINGHAM).

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I desire to thank my colleagues for their compassionate as well as statesmanlike views on the subject of Palestine.

Britain is asking our largesse. Britain asks us to do justice to her. I say to Lord Keynes and Lord Halifax, her representatives now in Washington, before you ask aid from America, let Britain

do justice. It is only just that Britain redeem her pledges with reference to Palestine and help the helpless and stateless Jews get into their homeland of Palestine, as was promised by Great Britain when she received the mandate over Palestine. Tell your Government, Lord Keynes and Lord Halifax, that the American Congress resents the action of Britain in Palestine. Indeed, the perfidy of Britain with reference to Palestine sticks in the eye of the Congress like a splinter.

It is very significant that Herbert Stanley Morrison, in the House of Commons—and Herbert Stanley Morrison is now one of the leaders of the Labor Cabinet—said in connection with opposition to the nefarious white paper, which slams the door of Palestine against the driven Jew:

We regard this white paper and the policy in it as a cynical breach of promise given to Jews and the world, including America. This policy will do us no good in the United States.

Indeed, this policy of the Labor Government is doing it no good in the United States. Mr. Churchill made similar remarks against this damnable white paper when he was in the opposition benches. He called it the "filling of a petition in moral bankruptcy." Mr. Attlee made similar remarks when he was campaigning for election. Those high promises have gone for naught. They have vanished into thin air. Shall we say, as did the savant, "Alas, a friend in power is a friend lost."

Jews are generally law-abiding, but will not abide injustice.

They do not recognize the white paper of 1939, just as they refused to recognize the Nuremberg laws. The white flag that white paper just as the American colonists set as naught the Stamp Act and the tea tax—just as Gandhi rejected the salt tax. The white paper was a bribe—take that—for the Arab aid in the war. That aid was not forthcoming. Instead, the Arabs in Iraq revolted against Britain, and the Arabs in Saudi Arabia would not even give a donkey.

The Jews will not break the law. They will help downtrodden refugees to enter Palestine. There will be shooting. The responsibility is Britain's. Britain will reap a whirlwind.

I doubt whether the enlightened people of the world will stand idly by and see the remnants of a martyred people shot at by British police and soldiers—shot at in cold blood as they approach their historic homeland. The Jews in Palestine have weighed well the consequences. They are willing to make the necessary sacrifices. They will defend to the death their right of asylum in Palestine—their right to make it a homeland for their distressed and displaced brethren.

There is an old Moslem-Turkish law still in effect in Palestine. Anyone who settles on and works on uncultivated wasteland becomes its owner. We shall settle the European Jew on these desert lands. Let the British or the Arabs try to dislodge them. The Jews will accept the challenge of British imperialism. The Jewish DO-day is near at hand. There is great tension. Deceit and justice bid Americans to stand by the brave band of Jewry in Palestine.

We do not want a Laval firing squad to kill the MacDonald white paper of 1939. We want an outright killing of the damnable white paper. Attlee, Devin, and Morrison must be forced to use a revolver of abrogation and aim and shoot it directly at the head of the nefarious white paper.

Britain is pouring wealth into the Levant to stir up Arab animosity to the Jew. Unfortunately, America is lending such aid, although indirect. As of June 30, 1943, we had transferred to Saudi Arabia under land-lease, goods valued at \$9,493,600. These goods consisted of industrial and agricultural commodities. As of the same date we had furnished land-lease aid amounting to \$4,144 to Iraq. If the United States made its position clear, these Levantine countries would not want to escape out of the orbit of the United States good will. The artificially stimulated antagonism between Jew and Arab would evaporate quickly if these countries were firmly advised that we have dropped the role of appeasers.

A letter I received from one Frank I. Hogan makes very interesting reading. It states:

If you want to know the reason why the Jews in Palestine, with the aid of the modern threat (the land, no doubt a limited descendant of that scoundrel), who was also an Arab or Edomite, descendants of Esau, the son of one of the patriarchs from Abraham, from whom the Arabs (really Jews, but Moslems) claim descent will not get home rule under British rule, read this from the morning paper and then form your own conclusions:

" * * * Standard Oil Co. of California today announced definitely that * * * company * * * and the Trans Co. (owned by the former Secretary of the Treasury under Hoover—born in northern Ireland) will build a 1,000-mile Arabian pipe line from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. The cost, estimated between \$70,000,000 and \$100,000,000, will be borne by the two companies without government aid. (Isn't that just too bad.) * * * Clearance has been secured by the British Government (not the Jews, mind you) and * * * documents are ready for signature. These will provide the green light for crossing the Trans-Jordan line country mandated to the Arabs by the British and ruled by the eldest son of the Sand Sherif. * * * On will pour through it from Arabian reserves estimated to total between two and twenty million barrels * * * controlled jointly by the Standard and Trans Co. One the Sand (Sherif) receives 21 wells a barrel and he has granted a concession 60-miles in area as large as California, Oregon, and Washington combined."

Very truly yours,

FRANK I. HOGAN.

GENERAL LEAVE TO EXTEND REMARKS

Mr. EHRHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks on this subject at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

Mr. GRANT of Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I consider it a privilege to have this opportunity to add a few words in behalf of the cause of providing a refuge and a home for the oppressed Jewish peoples, particularly those unfortunate victims

of this war who are suffering so much today on the continent of Europe.

This is not a Jewish problem, one that is to be solved by the Jewish people. It is a problem that lies at the threshold of every Christian community in this Nation. The treatment that has been accorded the Jewish people, particularly in Nazi Europe, is a blight on the picture of a civilized world.

America should use her good offices to assist in the solution of this problem. We should urge that the British Government carry out its promises made long ago to provide a home for the Jewish people.

A year ago the House Committee on Foreign Affairs approved a resolution through which Congress could express its sentiments on behalf of this cause. My colleague (Mr. HALLUCK) has told the House how, following the Presidential election, that resolution was held in the Rules Committee and has never been permitted to receive the consideration of the House. I am sure that it would have overwhelming support from this House if it had not been pigeonholed in that committee a little less than a year ago.

Our hope is that we may have the sincere support of our Government in behalf of this cause. We earnestly plead for the establishment of this homeland. Only in that way can we discharge our responsibilities as a Christian nation.

Mr. IEAC. Mr. Speaker, I have never been able to understand why there should be opposition to the use of Palestine by the Jews of the world. I know of no more logical place for a homeland. For thousands of years that small part of the great continent of Asia has been identified with the Jews; and certainly since biblical times the majority of those living there have been Jews.

Perhaps the economic deficiencies are such that standing alone Palestine can never hope to become as great and powerful a nation as our own. And certainly the territorial limitations are most definite. But there is no good reason why this land should not be made a refuge where the oppressed people from many parts of the world could find a haven and a home.

This Government can well afford to acquaint all the Allied Nations with our feelings in this matter since we cannot possibly be charged with having any designs on that territory. I believe a strong stand by the United States today will obviate turmoil and suffering in the days to come.

Mr. HAND. Mr. Speaker, the time allotted this morning for a general discussion of the Palestine question has been limited to 1 hour. I am not justified in demanding the attention of the House merely to repeat what I said on October 11. The CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for that date, at page A4603, clearly records my position.

Indeed, I made my position clear when I sought election to Congress in 1944. I have never hesitated to make it clear since election. The people of my district have no reason to doubt where I stand.

I am proud to be a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee. I shall continue my fight for a Palestine open without restriction to

Jewish immigration. I am ashamed of the past quarter century of broken promises.

The time for action is now, and toward that action I shall make every contribution which is within my power.

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I hope that this Government will exert its full influence to find asylum for the Jews in Europe who have become entirely displaced through the wanton cruelty of the Nazis. It is difficult to realize what it must be to feel homeless in every sense of the word, as these people must as they wait in camps for some action to be taken in their behalf. Let us do what we can to open Palestine for their immigration.

Let us lend our full effort to the formation of the United Nations Organization, and press it to speed more permanent solutions for the oppressed and hopeless of the world. There are no new continents to be opened up, but there are still new ways of life to be developed. Let us pray and work for a world in which men may live and move about in friendliness and freedom. These barriers have been made by man, and they must be removed by him.

Mr. CHURCH. Mr. Speaker, I have always felt that Great Britain has no moral right to bar the return of the Jewish people to their homeland. I believe that the President and Great Britain should act to accomplish that purpose without further delay. They can and should act now without further promises and delays. I call attention to the following letter I received from one of my distinguished constituents Rabbi Solomon Jacobson and a fine editorial on this subject appearing in the Waukegan News-Sun with which I agree:

CONGREGATION AM ECHOE,
Waukegan, Ill., October 11, 1945.
The Honorable RALPH CHURCH,
United States House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SEN: I wish to express my deepest appreciation for the courtesy of the appointment with you on Thursday last. It was good of you to grant me the time to discuss Palestine with you.

I do hope that you will find it possible to bring your effective support to any and all measures designed to open the gates of Palestine for the unrestricted immigration of the remnant of the Jewish people now left in Europe, and for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine in accordance with Great Britain's pledge in the Balfour Declaration and in accordance with the platform pledges of both our political parties.

To convey to you the sense of our Waukegan community, Jewish and Christian alike, I am enclosing herewith clippings from our local paper bearing upon the reaction of our community to the situation.

With every appreciation, I am,

Respectfully,

SOLOMON JACOBSON.

P. S.—I am indeed sorry I was unable to avail myself of your kind luncheon invitation. It would have been a pleasure.

[From the Waukegan (Ill.) News-Sun of October 4, 1945]

OPEN PALESTINE

While much of the civilized world is watching for British action toward opening Palestine to the Jewish victims of the Hitlerian viciousness of prewar and wartime periods,

the consensus in Waukegan and vicinity is that returning their homeland to the Jewish people is one of the vitally necessary steps toward solution of the postwar problems.

Jewish people have been herded into refugee camps, housed temporarily in German homes, and thousands of them are facing the future with no place to go, no program for living, and little hope for anything but a bare and meager existence. The people have suffered untold horrors at the hands of the Nazis. Their families have been scattered, their homes destroyed, their belongings taken from them, and thousands have been slain simply because they were Jews.

The time is long past due when the Jewish people of Europe are given a chance to live. By far the greater number of innocent victims of the war have been the Jews. In the name of humanity, they must be provided with a place to settle where they can handle their own affairs, create their own government, and revive the culture that has been theirs and which they have given for the enrichment of the civilized world.

The failure of Britain to take action on the opening of Palestine to Jewish settlers has been an enigma to most Americans. The theory that the peoples of Palestine will uprise against the incoming Jews has been repeated time and again. Britain maintains control of the area and is established there to maintain peace. Britain has no moral right to bar the return of the Jewish people to their homeland.

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I rise to record my voice and to give my total support for the objective sought by Jewry throughout the world. In the brief few moments allotted to me, as a Christian and an American, I want to state pointedly that unless we assume our place on the side of right and justice, we, particularly in America, will stand adjudged in history as having failed our conscience in the fulfillment of the prophecy which promised unto the Jew and his progeny the assumption and the fruit of the Holy Land. America fought for the liberalization and the rights of all nations, particularly for the weak and the oppressed.

Palestine, like a score of other countries, is entitled to self-determination, to independence, and to formulate, free of outside interference, her policies while building for the future. She shall shape her own destiny in the world, plan and assume responsibilities in the family of nations. There is no earthly superpower to circumvent or deny what God Almighty ordained and declared in the Bible. The time is here and now. Let us shoulder our responsibility, let us act faithfully, fearlessly, and positively.

Mr. TALBOT. Mr. Speaker, the world's responsibility for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is more obvious and more imperative today than ever before. The historical oppression of the Jewish peoples of Europe became so accelerated in the past several years under the inhuman Nazi policies that the present suffering of these homeless people is now beyond description.

As the natural leaders in a program of world rehabilitation, we have set for ourselves the task of easing the pain of a war-torn world and assisting in great measure in reestablishing these unfortunate people of every race and nationality in their homes with a view toward stamping indelibly upon the entire surface of the earth the Godlike principles of the

Atlantic Charter. We all know that we have set for ourselves a difficult task. Certainly the official insistence of this Government that necessary immigration certificates be issued now to European Jews and that the United Nations lend its complete support to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine would go far toward the realization of that objective.

Measures now being taken by the United Nations in Europe represent at best an honest attempt to bring relief to suffering, homeless people. These attempts are merely temporary stop-gaps and do not represent a full measure of rehabilitation. The suggested establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine would successfully answer the age-long justifiable plea of world Jewry and would immediately decrease the staggering problem of rehabilitation in Europe itself.

As we glance into the pages of history, have we not every reason to believe that our failure to take immediate determined steps in this direction now inevitably would lead to the same problem under which European Jews have suffered for centuries.

Under our sacred principles of democracy, under the Atlantic Charter, under the motives for which we fought and won this great world war, these people, as well as any others, must have the right to determine their own destinies. Today, in its position of world leadership, the Government of the United States if it so chooses, can promptly attain these objectives.

Mr. HAVENNER. Mr. Speaker, the victorious close of the war makes this an appropriate time to test our determination to establish a peace upon the stable foundations of justice and democratic equality.

Other speakers here today have dramatically recited the tragic story of the atrocities perpetrated upon the Jewish people by our inhuman enemies during the long, bitter years of the war. That frightful record need not be repeated by me. It is sufficient to emphasize again the fact that the Jews suffered beyond all other peoples in the terrible world conflict which has finally been terminated, and that they and their problems are entitled to the immediate sympathetic consideration of all civilized peoples, now that peace has been restored in the world.

During the war, while the Nazis were proceeding systematically upon their program to exterminate Jews—a program in which they were horribly successful, and would undoubtedly have carried to completion but for their military overthrow—immigration into Palestine was restricted to a bare minimum, and at times completely shut off. Millions of Jews were massacred during the war, but only a paltry few thousands were permitted to seek refuge in their ancestral homeland. Today the doors of Palestine are closed to hundreds of thousands of wandering Jews whose present lot is still desperate, and who have no future assurance of rest from their wanderings or permanent security of mind and body.

Civilized thinkers throughout the world have long recognized the justice of the Jewish cause in Palestine. They have

joined in a universal demand for an honest fulfillment of the pledges made to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate.

Every President of the United States since Woodrow Wilson has asserted the support of the American Government for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. This Congress, nearly a quarter of a century ago, endorsed that policy, which was reaffirmed by the American-British Conference of 1934. In the last Presidential campaign both of the major political parties of America declared in their national platforms their unqualified indorsements of this policy and three-fourths of the State legislatures of the Union have adopted resolutions in support of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

The time for action is now. With world-wide hostilities at an end, all the powers of our Government should be exerted toward the immediate fulfillment of the policy to which America is so definitely committed.

I earnestly hope that this Congress will use all of its great influence to persuade the Government of Great Britain to open the gates of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization in the immediate future.

Mr. HERTER. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have this opportunity of joining with my colleagues in an expression and reaffirmation of belief that Palestine should be opened to the Jewish peoples of the world as a homeland.

Last year I had the privilege of testifying before the Foreign Affairs Committee in behalf of the Palestine Resolution at a time when the world was at war and the tragic persecution of the Jews offered one of the most concrete and terrible examples of the philosophy against which we fought. It was our avowed purpose in fighting that war to pledge to all peoples and all minority groups the right to live and work in their own lands in freedom from fear and persecution, there being no recognized boundaries to human dignity.

That war is now over, but the principles for which we fought need constant reaffirmation, and it is increasingly necessary that we daily reaffirm those faiths unless they are to become a thing of the past.

I have recently returned from a two-months' observation tour of Europe, during which time I studied the operations of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration on the Continent. As you know, one of the major problems that UNRRA has had to face is the disposition of the hundreds of thousands of displaced persons. At the center of this problem is what might be called a hard core of some one hundred thousand homeless Jews. The reopening of Palestine and the removal of immigration restrictions presents a partial, immediate solution to that problem. Palestine has indicated her willingness and ability to absorb these people. There is already a well-established economy and a large Jewish community. There is room for expansion in both industrial and agricultural development.

I believe that our Government and its representatives should take a firm stand

in advocating the removal of immigration restrictions. In so doing, however, I think it even more important that we do not glady prepose and sponsor such a course merely as an easy answer to a troublesome problem. There is too apt to be something a little dogmatic and a little patronizing about preventing a solution *per se*. What we are emphasizing is the right of the Jewish people to a homeland. We are not delegating them to a corner of the globe. We are recognizing the right of all peoples to work out their own salvations, to cultivate their own lands, and to live in dignity and equality with other peoples of the world.

Mr. NESEA. Mr. Speaker, the administration of the Territory of Palestine was allocated to Great Britain by mandate based upon the assumption by Great Britain of responsibility for placing Palestine under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, the development of self-governing institutions, and the safeguarding of the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. This obligation Great Britain clearly expressed and unequivocally assumed by the Balfour Declaration, the covenants of the mandate, and by the representations made by Great Britain to the United States in the course of extended negotiations which preceded both.

By treaty ratification, official statement, and congressional resolution the United States has placed beyond question its complete reliance upon the obligation thus assumed by Great Britain.

That Great Britain's so-called white paper which ended all Jewish immigration into Palestine on April 1, 1941, is a violation of the obligation assumed by Great Britain with reference to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine is too manifest to require argument. Indeed, Mr. Churchill himself has called it a "betrayal of our declared purpose" and an act of "moral and physical bankruptcy." Regarding this renunciation of a sacred obligation, the United States was never consulted and its consent to it has never been granted.

There is no occasion now to examine the merits of the Jewish claim to a homeland in Palestine. These were conceded and established by the assumption of the obligation of which the white paper is a renunciation and violation. But it is worth bearing in mind that the large import of Jewish capital into Palestine has worked a general improvement on the economic life of the whole country, the expansion and improvement of Arab industry and agriculture have been largely financed by the capital thus obtained, Jewish development and enterprise have increased the employment of Arab labor in urban areas, and particularly in the ports, institutions founded with Jewish funds have also served the Arab population, and Jewish education and development of the country's resources and improvement of living conditions have vastly increased the capacity of the country to sustain a growing population, with the result that the Arab

population has almost doubled under Jewish development of the country.

To say that our insistence upon the fulfillment of Great Britain's obligation with reference to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine is an interference by us with British territory is utter nonsense. Palestine does not belong to Britain. The British have no more rights in Palestine than we have or than anyone else has. Great Britain controls Palestine under a trusteeship which imposes upon Great Britain obligations of a trustee not only for the benefit of the Jewish people but for the benefit of every nation, including the United States, which consented to the mandate upon the assumption that Great Britain's solemn obligations would not be dishonored. The characteristics of a trusteeship do not pertain to any rights claimed by the trustee; the essence of a trusteeship consists in the solemn obligations which the trustee has undertaken to fulfill. An honorable nation having given its word will not reckon the cost of keeping it.

Among the nations entitled to insist upon the performance by Great Britain of its obligations with reference to Palestine, the position of the United States is of special validity. Victory has just been achieved in a great war in which, but for our intervention at great cost of life and blood and treasure, Great Britain would have been destroyed. Our purpose in fighting the war was to establish permanent universal peace. It has always been understood that this peace would be based upon international agreements and cooperation. We may find that we have wasted our substance and our effort if our principal ally in the war just concluded persists in a policy calculated to convince the world that international agreements cannot be relied upon and that international cooperation is a snare for the unwary.

America must insist upon the fulfillment of the Palestine commitment.

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is a great disappointment to one who is sincerely interested in the solution of the so-called Palestine question that an aggressive and definite attitude was not assumed by the President at the recent conference at Potsdam. This whole matter could have been decided with the representatives of Russia and Great Britain and the details could have been left to the respective Secretaries and Ministers of State. It is perplexing to those of us who want something accomplished to have to contend with the rather negative attitude of the British Government. One is forced to the conclusion that inasmuch as Great Britain seems unable to solve this perplexing problem or because of some sinister reason she refuses to grapple with it, the whole question should be thrown into the lap of the United Nations without further delay. Whether this would be a satisfactory solution or not, time alone will tell but it would be an effort to solve the matter from a world-wide point of view and take it out of the control of selfish interests.

There can be no doubt that the Jewish emigrants to Palestine have done and

are doing a remarkable job in transforming that poor portion of Asia into a modern state. This has been accomplished by hard work, self-sacrifice, and a determination which should command the admiration of the world. The Jewish people want to found a Jewish commonwealth which is the natural instinct of a free people. Because of the enthusiasm with which a start of this Jewish commonwealth has been made, it becomes increasingly evident that Palestine as it is now bounded, will not be large enough, which is another reason why this question must be solved by the United Nations gathered around a table in peaceful assembly. The whole matter should be taken out of the control of the British; it is definitely a matter for the United Nations.

A most pressing need for prompt action is the relief of those thousands of stricken and homeless Jews in central Europe. They long to go to a Jewish commonwealth of their own where they may establish themselves and make a definite contribution to their own rehabilitation, and it seems only logical that this desire should be encouraged.

I include as part of my remarks a letter that I wrote to the President of the United States under date of June 29, 1945, shortly before he left this country for the Potsdam Conference. This letter was not prompted by any suggestion from outside sources but was the result of my own intense feelings on the subject of a Palestine commonwealth. In about 3 weeks time I received a reply from the State Department, signed by the then Acting Secretary of State, Hon. Joseph C. Grew. The reply said, in effect, that the State Department knew of the urgency of the matter and would give it thoughtful study and close attention. The truth is that our State Department has no policy on this question and sometimes it is difficult to learn what its policy is on many other grave international problems.

It is much to be desired that a clearly stated and comprehensive American foreign policy will soon be adopted, particularly on such questions as whether the United States will insist that governments established in the former enemy satellite nations shall be representative and that the rights of freedom of speech and assembly shall be guaranteed; whether the United States plans to extend substantial financial aid to England and Russia and any other country and if so, upon what terms, in what amounts and for what purposes; whether the United States plans to allow Russian participation in the occupation of Japan, and there are many other similar questions. I feel, however, that our country's attitude toward the so-called Palestine question ranks among the most important matters to be considered at this time and the sooner a definite attitude is adopted in place of the nebulous, wishy-washy uncertainty of the present policy, the sooner our country will be able to hold up its head high among the nations of the earth.

My letter to the President under date of June 29, 1945, follows:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D. C., June 29, 1945.
The Honorable HARRY S. TRUMAN,
The President of the United States,
WHITE HOUSE, Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: I am taking the liberty of writing you to urge that you discuss the Palestine question at your approaching conference with Prime Minister Churchill and Marshal Stalin. The San Francisco Conference has resulted in a long step toward establishing international peace and understanding, but as yet no workable and acceptable solution of the settlement of Palestine by the Jews has even been proposed.

Appeasement is no longer the order of the day in dealing with matters of international justice, and it is high time that the undoubted will of the American people to end the expediency of the Chamberlain white paper and to enact the provisions of the Balfour Declaration for a Jewish home in Palestine should be consummated.

You are doubtless aware that many of us in the Congress urged this policy on our Government a year or more ago, but our efforts were necessarily restrained because of the statement by the authorities that serious military and diplomatic questions were involved. A lot of water has passed over the dam since then, and now is the time to grapple with the problem and solve it. Further delay would be too late.

You are well aware of the pressure placed on Members of Congress by groups of citizens in matters of this kind, but I want to assure you that this letter is not prompted by any such influence. My stand on this question is well known by my many friends of all religious beliefs, and I am sure that the people whom I represent approve thoroughly of my attitude. I feel confident, Mr. President, that your good common sense and the high standard of statesmanship which you have displayed will guide you in the leadership in this matter to the end that an honest conclusion with justice for all may be reached soon.

Respectfully yours,
JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS,
Member of Congress.

Mr. GORSKI. Mr. Speaker, for over 12 years we have heard on the radio and read in the public press of the persecution and the barbarous treatment of the Jewish people in Germany. This persecution started with the rise to power of Hitler and the Nazi Party. From the time Hitler came into power, he began his inhuman and tortuous treatment of these unfortunate and defenseless people. He not only tortured the Jewish people in Germany, but as his armies conquered other European countries, their first object was to inflict their cruel treatment on those of the Jewish faith.

We know, now, how millions of Jews died. They were starved, tortured beyond human endurance, beaten to death, and executed in gas chambers. This treatment was meted out to men, women, and children regardless of age.

We know that people of the other conquered nations also suffered indescribable tortures, and our heartfelt sympathies go out to them; but of all of those who have suffered from the bestial treatment of the Nazis and their collaborators, the Jewish people were the first to be singled out, upon whom the Nazis inflicted these barbaric tortures which were so gruesome that the thoughts of them shocks the decency of mankind.

These unfortunate people were robbed of their life's savings and belongings, driven and uprooted out of their homes, and thrown into concentration camps. From there, those who were able to work were taken as slave laborers and under the lash of the Gestapo were forced to slave long hours, undernourished and underfed on starving rations, until they became too weak and exhausted to work. Then they were taken to the extermination prisons where they were brutally murdered.

We all hoped that when the Nazis were defeated these unfortunate people would find a place to go where they could earn a living and live in peace, and the hopes of millions of Jewish people was that they might be able to go to Palestine and there settle and make it their homeland. Those who have been fortunate to get to Palestine in the early days of the war have developed the country and made it a thriving community.

I believe there is room for several more millions to settle in Palestine but they are not permitted to enter. I feel that our Government should intercede in behalf of these Jewish people and help those who want to go there to obtain permission to enter, so that they may be able to have a homeland and live a useful and peaceful life.

Under unanimous consent, I insert a resolution passed by the Decalogue Society of Lawyers, of Chicago, into the Record:

Conscious of the spiritual and physical homelessness of the Jewish survivors of Nazism and fascism in Germany and other places in Europe, and responsive to the simple demands of humanity, decency, and justice, the Decalogue Society of Lawyers endorses and vigorously supports the efforts of President Truman to facilitate the immediate immigration of Jewish refugees in Europe to Palestine—the land that wants them and the land to which they wish to go. Palestine alone, of all countries of the world, welcomes them and offers to share with them her bread, her houses, her farms, and factories. Palestine affords them an opportunity to rehabilitate their tortured lives and be restored to mental and physical well-being.

The Decalogue Society of Lawyers, speaking for its 1,200 members of the bar and judiciary, respectfully urges President Harry S. Truman, Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, Senators Scott W. Lucas and C. Wayland Brooks, and all Members of the House of Representatives from Illinois to use all means at their disposal and the great moral influence of the United States to permit all Jewish refugees in Europe desiring to do so to make their homes in Palestine as free men, with full democratic rights for the enjoyment of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Adopted unanimously by the board of managers of the Decalogue Society of Lawyers, October 5, 1945.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the Jewish people have been denied too long the opportunity to immigrate to Palestine, where they have proved to the world that they can develop the resources of the land and establish a free and democratic nation. Since the surrender of Germany they have been left stranded by an arbitrary rule by England that the white paper must be left standing in spite of the fact that the war is over and won by the Allies. What greater proof of independence, industry, willingness to cooperate with all nations

of the world is needed to convince the British that the Jewish people are entitled to free entry into Palestine.

As a member of the American Christian Palestine Committee, I have developed a keen interest and high regard for the Jewish people's case to return to Palestine. The terrible persecution they suffered in Europe during the war years, the suffering they are going through since the war is over, should bring to their aid the respect and regard of all citizens of the United States to help them gain their objective. England with her present liberal government, which is devoted to helping the common lot of mankind, should prove what they stand for, and under Clement Attlee and his party now in power open Palestine to the Jewish people which they have earned and are entitled to.

PALESTINE FOR THE JEWS

Mr. WEISS. Mr. Speaker, a quarter of a century ago the British Government through the Balfour Declaration promised Palestine to the Jews for their homeland. Fifty-three nations of the world, including the United States, joined by resolution in the Balfour Declaration.

In failing to redeem this pledge, the British have violated international law. Consequently millions of Jews became the victims of Nazi brutality. However, there is still time for the Christian world to save the 100,000 Jews now living in concentration camps throughout Europe who face a winter of starvation, misery, and death. I have appealed to Prime Minister Attlee to abrogate the infamous British white paper of 1939 and fulfill the pledge of his party made recently to give Palestine to the Jews. I appeal to my Christian colleagues in this Congress to join with me in my plea to Prime Minister Attlee. These destitute Jewish men, women, and children seek only a home of their own. This can be accomplished without any cost to world society.

As part of my remarks I include a copy of my letter addressed to Prime Minister Attlee under date of October 4, 1945, on the Palestine problem:

CHAMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
WASHINGTON, D. C., October 4, 1945.
The Honorable CLEMENT R. ATTLEE,
Prime Minister of Great Britain,
London, England.

Mr. DEAR Mr. PRIME MINISTER: I am truly disappointed in the policy of the British with respect to Palestine. As a Member of the Seventy-seventh, Seventy-eighth, and Seventy-ninth Congresses, I have heartily endorsed the entire war program, including lend-lease to our allies. I most rigorously supported aid to and cooperation with Great Britain. However, during the war I hesitated to criticize the white-paper policy of the British as I knew that such criticism would give aid and comfort to the enemy.

Now the war is at an end, and I can no longer sit idly by without voicing my protests to the present policy in not opening the gates of Palestine to the Jews. With your Labor Party in control, I had hoped that favorable action would be taken in behalf of the 100,000 Jews now living in concentration camps throughout Europe. I expected favorable action because of the announcement by your party leaders in May 1939 of the Chamberlain government's white paper. At that time the Right Honorable Herbert Morrison declared that:

"If we do this we shall be doing a thing which is dishonorable to our good name, which is detrimental to our capacity to govern, and which is dangerous to British security. It would lead to the economic interests of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work." * * * The Government must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

Mr. Prime Minister, you are the successor in office. Your Labor government is in power in Britain. Your party is now in control of Palestine's destiny. As recently May 1945 your party adopted a resolution declaring:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish 'national home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this fair land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irrefutable case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe." * * * The Arabs have many valid territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small bit of Palestine—less than the size of Wales."

A splendid declaration, Mr. Prime Minister. The American people admired your action. The Jews—at long last—looked with hope for tomorrow.

Yet, the doors of Palestine are closed to millions of stateless and homeless Jews facing starvation, misery, and death in Europe. They live in desperation filled with bitter recollection of past horrors. They are badly clothed. They are tragically underfed. They look to you for relief. They simply ask for a home which is rightfully theirs by tradition, by biblical history, and by the mandate of the Balfour Declaration which was endorsed by resolution of 44 nations of the world a quarter of a century ago. The Christian World demands full recognition of Jewish rights to Palestine. Patience is at an end.

Unless Great Britain practices the equity and justice toward others as she seeks for herself, I assure you, Mr. Prime Minister, that I shall oppose every measure that comes before Congress that would give relief and assistance to the British, and I shall urge my colleagues to do likewise. You cannot expect sympathy or the social advancement of Britain's masses when you withhold the right to a life of self-support and self-respect from the first victims of Nazism. You cannot pledge or talk of social or economic progress and at the same time bolster the reactionary pro-Fascist, feudal Arab rules in the Middle East. I plead with you to keep faith with the Jewish people and with the Nations of the world. I plead with you to redeem Britain's pledge to the Jewish people now. Otherwise, I intend to speak the length and breadth of America and tell the American people the facts.

Very sincerely yours,

SAMUEL A. WEISS.

Mr. HUBER. Mr. Speaker, we have just fought and emerged victorious from the greatest war in the history of the world. Yet can we, or any other nation, say the war has been won as long as millions are suffering untold misery and are denied the promised blessings of the "four freedoms."

Peace on earth will never prevail as long as man fears the aggressor's tread on his threshold.

I have seen the transient and stationary millions in Europe plagued by disease, disaster, and damnation; and I feel that common decency demands that all countries support President Truman's

recommendation that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine. These surviving Jews have been abused, tortured, and degraded, and the civilized nations of the world should offer sanctuary to all oppressed peoples.

We know that the United States could not endure half-slave and half-free. Neither can this now small world endure half-slave and half-free. If nations can be forced into slavery why can they not be encouraged into freedom?

Now is the time to settle the Palestine question. The provision of the Balfour Declaration establishing a Jewish homeland in Palestine should be carried out. Not tomorrow—not in 1965—but today. Such action will prove to all minority groups that their future rights will be protected.

Mr. CUNNINGHAM. Mr. Speaker, I favor the opening of Palestine to the Jewish people. Some 4,000 years ago this land was promised them as an inheritance. There should be no interference with their right of occupancy today. I believe the Congress should go on record asking the British Government to repeal the so-called white paper and reestablish the Balfour resolution so Palestine will again be open to the Jewish people.

Mr. FALLON. Mr. Speaker, on behalf of the Jewish people, I call attention to the wrong perpetrated against them by continuing to bar their immigration into Palestine. Now, that victory has been achieved, it is ironical that great numbers of "liberated" Jews find themselves unable to enter the one land where history records their right to live as free men.

Unqualified praise is due President Truman for his great humanitarian effort in urging Great Britain to allow 100,000 Jews to enter Palestine at once. As an immediate emergency measure, this would provide relief for many Jewish survivors of Nazi atrocities. But it does not constitute a solution of the basic problem.

The right of the Jewish people to establish a National homeland is historically established. The Balfour Declaration enunciates a policy to which the government of Great Britain committed itself without reservation. Our Government has repeatedly expressed its approval of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. Yet the British Government issued in 1939 a white paper in repudiation of its duty as the mandatory power and of its obligations under the Balfour Declaration. Efforts made from time to time to have this white paper set aside were met, during the war years, with the statement that exigencies of military strategy required that it remain in force. Though military considerations no longer apply, the present British Government has shown no intention of dealing justly with the Jewish people in this matter. The British Labor Party officially condemned the white paper and committed itself to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. However, since its accession to power, it has done nothing to redeem these solemn pledges. On the contrary, reports indicate its intention of continuing the present restrictive

immigration policy, with but slight modification.

Our Government has not only the right but the duty to make its position unmistakably clear. Both the Democratic and the Republican Parties, as well as many of our Senators and Representatives, have from time to time expressed themselves in favor of opening the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration. The dictates of simple justice and humanity demand amelioration of the horrors inflicted upon European Jews. The vast majority of American Jews cherish the hope for a Jewish commonwealth.

I urge that our Government announce at once its approval of President Truman's suggestion for immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine; its urgent insistence that the British Government repudiate the white paper of 1939 and permit free entry into Palestine of those Jews who wish to settle there; and, finally, that we exert our influence to the utmost with our British ally, to the end that steps be initiated now and carried forward at the Peace Conference for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine.

Mr. BALDWIN of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, the British white paper of May 1939 has practically closed Palestine to all Jewish immigration. At a time when millions of European Jews have been massacred by the Nazis, the chief and almost the only door to escape will be slammed in the face of those hundreds of thousands who still survive and whom the Nazis have starved, impoverished, uprooted from home and occupation.

The Palestine white paper followed by a few months the Munich surrender. It reflected the same crisis in world statesmanship and international morality. The League of Nations mandate by virtue of which Great Britain governs Palestine made her responsible "for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" and obligated her specifically to facilitate Jewish immigration. By abandoning these obligations to the Jewish national home, Britain hoped to secure the support of the Arab world in the great struggle that was clearly about to begin.

The white paper is not and cannot be the last word on the future of Palestine or of the Jewish people, linked to Palestine by the unbreakable bonds of history, tradition, and international recognition. It remains for the conscience of the democratic peoples, for an enlightened statesmanship in a world which has been through the crucible of a terrible war, fearlessly to face a problem which has challenged mankind through 2,000 years of history. The problem is that of the national homelessness of the Jewish people, a minority everywhere with no land which it may call its own and to which it may turn for escape from the recurrent persecution to which it is subject. In a wise and courageous solution of this problem, the white paper can have no part.

During the six long and bitter years of the war—while the Jews of Europe were being systematically exterminated by

Nazi bestiality—immigration into Palestine was for periods completely shut off by the British administration, and, when permitted, restricted to a bare minimum at best. While millions of Jews were being massacred, not more than ten or twelve thousand were permitted to enter Palestine each year since the promulgation of the Chamberlain white paper in 1939. Today the certificates of immigration have been exhausted and still the doors of Palestine are closed to the hundreds of thousands who are waiting in the desperate hope of at last finding rest from their wanderings and of attaining permanent security of mind and body in the Jewish homeland.

There is no valid economic reason for keeping the Jews out of Palestine. During the last 35 years Jews all over the world have bent their energies toward the upbuilding of Palestine and have poured in great resources of capital, labor, and scientific knowledge to increase the absorptive capacity of the country.

Many people throughout the world have all along recognized the justice of the Jewish cause in Palestine. They have been resolute in their demand for a repudiation of the 1939 white-paper policy and for an honest fulfillment of the pledges made to the Jews in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine mandate.

From the time of President Wilson, who played a creative role in obtaining the Balfour Declaration, every succeeding President has reiterated support for the Jewish national home. In 1922, shortly before the approval of the Palestine mandate by the League of Nations, the Senate and the House of Representatives in a joint resolution expressed themselves, in the language of the Balfour Declaration, in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. Although the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, it became party to the terms of the mandate through the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, in accordance with which our Government consented to the administration of Palestine by Great Britain.

On March 9, 1944, President Roosevelt gave assurance that "the American Government has never given its approval to the white paper of 1939," and expressed the belief that full justice would be done in the matter of the Jewish national home.

The traditional American position on the Palestine question has been reaffirmed and strengthened during the past 2 years by planks included in the platforms of both the Democratic and Republican parties and by President Roosevelt's statement of October 15, 1943—historic pronouncements pledging support for the Jewish people's aim to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

We of Maryland call upon the leaders of the United Nations no longer to neglect the pressing Jewish need, and we appeal for an immediate decision on Palestine on the two minimum requisites of any solution of the Jewish problem:

First. To abolish without further delay all restrictions on free Jewish immigration into Palestine and all limitations on the rights of Jews to purchase and settle the land.

Second. To make simultaneously a definitive announcement, in the spirit and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, of the determination to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

Mr. FISHMAN. Mr. Speaker, hostilities have ceased. Suffering, torture, death, privation, and starvation have been visited upon the many. Surely no one will deny that horrors have been visited upon the Jews, both before and during hostilities.

One need not travel throughout the devastated areas of our war-torn world to realize the chaotic conditions that follow in the wake of the world's misdirected conflagration. The multitude of displaced persons are hungry for food, for habitation, and for freedom. Those who have suffered the hardships of war look hopefully and patiently for a haven of rest, where the wounds of war may be healed, where they and their loved ones may look forward to the opportunity of living out their lives in a world in which they may enjoy the four freedoms.

Not for one moment do I underestimate the gravity and complexity of the problems confronting the leaders, the governments, and the peoples, displaced or not, throughout this troubled world.

It is my firm belief that the provisions of the Balfour Declaration should be fulfilled.

Mr. DOUGLAS of California. Mr. Speaker, never before in human history has the need been so acute for practicing the Golden Rule which is the very heart of Christianity. Never before has the impact of great and shattering forces made so clear the role religious values must play in human life if human life is to survive on this planet. Christianity today faces perhaps the greatest challenge in its history; it must make the Golden Rule work in a world that has grown cynical and callous.

If we are to attempt—and it is young people upon whom the burden of that attempt will fall primarily—if we are to attempt to remake our world in the image of true Christian faith, we cannot fail to see as one of the test problems confronting us, the question of the future of the Jewish people. It was out of Judaism that Christianity grew; it was on the Old Testament as well as the New that this country and democracy throughout the world were based. It was because of their undeviating adherence to their Old Testament heritage that Jews remained a group apart through the ages, and it was because their life was so bound up with the words and the vision of the Book of Books that during 20 centuries of dispersion they continued to see the goal of Jewish history as the restoration of Jewish national life and the renaissance of Jewish ethical and cultural values in the promised land of their ancestors, the land of Israel—Palestine. For over six decades now, Jews have been returning to the land of Israel. They have done noble and extraordinary

things there. A British chaplain, Ronald Grange-Barnett, who served for 3 years with British forces in Palestine, said recently that "The Jews of Palestine are the most fascinating collection of human beings on earth." They are indeed unique; they are in their overwhelming majority workers and farmers, but they have not lost the intellectuality and the esthetic gifts so characteristic of their people. They have their education and their lives upon the ancient writings of their people, but they are evolving a co-operative agricultural and industrial economy which has much to give by way of example to the rest of the world. Writing of the Jewish collective and co-operative villages in Palestine, Sir E. John Russell, England's greatest agricultural expert says:

The Jewish settlers have done far more than making a home for themselves and their community; they have lighted a torch to show the way through some of the obscure and difficult problems awaiting us in the postwar world.

Jews in Palestine today are making the Bible's prophecies come true; they are consciously attempting to build a society worthy of their ethical heritage. Because they know that spiritual values must pervade every aspect of life, they have made a religion of labor and have applied themselves with self-sacrificing zeal and devotion to the reclamation of the neglected soil of Palestine. There is "the greatest ameliorative project of this century," says Dr. Norman Macken, former moderator of the general assembly of the Church of Scotland. "The most remarkable example of soil conservation in the modern world," says Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, assistant chief of our United States Soil Conservation Service. The interests of the Jews of Palestine and those of their Arab neighbors are complementary rather than conflicting; the standards of those Arab neighbors has already been appreciably raised, and the effect of Jewish progress in Palestine is destined, impartial observers feel, to be a force of revolutionary significance in the underdeveloped and underpopulated lands of the Near East.

Palestine—

To quote Dr. Lowdermilk again—

can serve as the example, the demonstration, the lever, that will lift the entire Near East from its present deplorable condition to a dignified place in a free world.

All this is, so to speak, the positive aspect of the Palestine question. There is enough in this positive aspect to make every progressive American an ardent supporter of the great democratic and cultural effort Jews are putting forth in Palestine. Peace and democracy are both indivisible, and peace and democracy will both be imperiled by the continuance in the strategic Middle East of the present semi-feudal, reactionary regimes under which national wealth is concentrated in the hands of some few percent of the population and illiteracy, disease, and grinding poverty are everywhere rampant. What Jewish Palestine has already done by force of example to change these conditions gives us assurance as Americans that it is the key to the de-

mocratization of the Arab lands and that its development is therefore, to America's own interest.

But there is a compelling and tragic and very timely aspect to this Palestine question that I have not mentioned thus far and that is, I am certain, in the minds of every one of you. The unsolved question of the Jewish position in the world has reached a ghastly climax in our day—a climax so inhuman and staggering in its cruelty and complete disregard of moral values that it is still—despite the documentation of newspapers, judicial trials, and testimony by many witnesses—almost inconceivable. No reader of the daily press needs to be told any longer how methodically the Nazis proceeded to exterminate the Jews of Europe, using new scientific and economical equipment carefully prepared for that purpose. They succeeded better in this than in any other of their aims, and the ashes of 5,500,000 Jewish dead fertilize bridges in Poland and Germany. There is no Jewish family left intact in any land from France and Holland in the west of Europe, to Greece, Yugoslavia, and Russia in the east. There are no economic positions, no homes, for the few shattered survivors to come back to. But there is something Hitler left that they return to—a poisonous legacy of anti-Semitic doctrine that is making life in Europe impossible for the million and a half Jewish survivors of Hitler's holocaust. In the Poland Jewish partisans helped to free, the Poland nine-tenths of whose Jews were murdered, Jews must today flee from poison, assassination, intimidation. The ancient urge for a home of their own in the land of their fathers has been invested with a new and terrible urgency for these remaining Jews of Europe. You need only read Earl G. Harrison's report submitted to President Truman on the condition of the hundred thousand Jews still in camps in Germany, to realize how for them Palestine is the magic name, the desired goal, the one place on earth which offers home and refuge. It is the land where most of them have relatives living, eager to shelter them; the land where a new productive civilization with room for millions of more working hands, is being built up; the land sacred in tradition and prayer; the land solemnly promised as the national home of the Jewish people in the Covenant of the League of Nations—a fact too often obscured in the interests of British appeasement politics of Arab chauvinist propaganda.

The Allied statesmen who made the last peace intended to give the Jews the opportunity to reconstitute their national life in their historic homeland. Lloyd George's memoirs make that incontrovertibly clear, as do any number of statements by men like Woodrow Wilson, Arthur James Balfour, Robert Cecil. The spokesman of the Arabs at the Versailles Peace Conference assented to this point of view. It was clear to him, as to the Allied statesmen, that Palestine was no Arab land; it had a universal character as the birthplace of Christianity, a historically Jewish connection as the ancient and never forgotten home of a

people which had never severed its ties, either physical or spiritual, with it.

What was true at the end of the last war is equally true now—equally true and even more essential to human decency and human progress. The case has been put very strikingly in a resolution adopted only last December by the British Labor Party, whose leaders now govern Britain and cannot, it seems, find in themselves the moral strength to carry out the pledge they gave with full understanding of all its implications only a short time ago. Last December a resolution adopted by the annual conference of the Labor Party said:

There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a Jewish national home unless we are prepared to let the Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war, and there is an irresistible case for it now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold-blooded calculated German-Nazi plan to kill all the Jews of Europe.

Last April, reaffirming this pledge, another resolution called upon the British Government "to remove the present unjustifiable barriers on immigration, and to announce without delay proposals for a future Palestine, in which it has the full sympathy and support of the American and Russian Governments."

Will this be done now when a hopeless future stares in the face of European Jewry, when every consideration of mercy, justice—yes, and even political logic—calls for a Jewish Palestine?

I can end only by telling you of a little report from Palestine I saw the other day which left an indelible impression on my mind. It was written by a woman who had gone to meet a train bringing some 1,300 new refugee immigrants to Palestine. She stood with an old man waiting with tears in his eyes for a granddaughter, the only living member of the large family he had left behind him in Europe; with a physician, whose wife had been gassed to death in Germany but whose son had somehow escaped and was coming to him; with hundreds of other trembling, bereft human beings, waiting for some one miraculously rescued relative. Then the newcomers began to descend from the train—an orphaned girl from Italy, an orphaned lad from France, a youth who, when asked from where he came, replied: "What difference does that make? What matters is where I have come to, not where I've come from. I've come home." And he stretched out his hands in joy, and the woman saw the number scorched into his flesh—109223—his slave number in a labor camp. There were such numbers on the hands of all the 1,300 newcomers; on the hands, too, of a little boy of 6, who came shyly up to the woman and told her, in reply to her question, that he had come from a town in Poland. He was 6 years old and his 8-year-old sister was with him. "She and I," he said simply, "are the only Jews left of all the thousands in our town. Just she and I."

And to help to give new life to these children in the land of their people's beginnings is, without question an integral part of our responsibility as Christian

Americans dedicated to the building of a better world.

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I have been shocked and outraged by the stories which have come to me concerning the persisting persecution and killing of the Jewish people in Europe. I blame our inaction on House Resolution 268, which provides for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and hope that we will have the foresight to act upon it in the immediate future.

The United States must make recommendation to Britain to open Palestine to these poor, homeless souls. We will have been a party to the annihilation of the Jews in Europe if we take no action. Our military forces there seem unable to cope with the problem; therefore, I feel it must be done on the diplomatic level.

I note that President Truman has acted on the request of many, including myself, and recommended to Britain that she take the only just action and live up to the Balfour Declaration.

The historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine dates from Biblical times. In our own day, in 1917, Great Britain, recognizing this historic connection, issued the Balfour Declaration pledging the development of Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people.

In July 1922 the League of Nations gave to Great Britain the mandate over Palestine to facilitate Jewish immigration, and close settlement by the Jews on the land, for the purpose of establishing a Jewish homeland. In September 1922 the Congress of the United States, by joint resolution, gave its recognition and approval to the Balfour Declaration. In 1924 Great Britain and the United States signed a treaty ratifying the Balfour Declaration and the mandate, requiring the assent of the United States to any modification of the mandate.

In 1939, contrary to these legal guarantees and in violation of its agreement with the United States, Great Britain issued a white paper nullifying the terms of the mandate, and closing the doors of Palestine to further Jewish immigration and land purchase. As a direct result of this action, hundreds of thousands were barred from the Palestine haven and left to ruthless slaughter by the Nazis. Protests to Great Britain went unheeded. The excuse was always, "Military expediency."

In 1944, however, both the Republican and Democratic Parties, recognizing the great wrong that had been done to the Jewish people, included in their platforms pledges supporting the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth.

With the ending of the war, the Jewish people had every reason to expect that Great Britain would immediately reverse its white-paper policy of 1939.

Six million Jews have perished—victims of the Nazis. A million and a half—100,000 still in concentration camps—remain in Europe. The vast majority of them look to Palestine as the answer to their homelessness.

I feel that these victims of Nazi oppression should be given not pity, not

words, but justice through action. The time for action is now.

Every dictate of law, humanity, and national honor—every principle for which this war was fought—demands that the gates of Palestine be opened to unrestricted Jewish immigration and to the establishment there of a free and democratic nation based on the right of self-determination.

The British Government has proved its incapacity to handle this problem with either justice or discretion. They have secretly armed the Arab people and then fomented riots to create an incident. They have been anything but fair and honest in this matter.

I hope that the Congress will see fit to remind Britain of its former commitments in this regard, and forcefully recommend that the Balfour Declaration be restored and earnestly put into practice.

The alternative to this is that the United Nations Organization take control of the area and allow self-determination of the peoples in Palestine.

I do not feel that we can sit back any longer. In the name of human decency we must act to protect these people who have suffered so at the hands of Fascist tyrants.

Mr. SASSOER. Mr. Speaker, it is difficult for us to conceive of the misery, hopelessness, disaster and despair which has pervaded the world. The wholesale starvation and torture as suffered by the Jews in Europe during the past decade is almost beyond our comprehension. Nothing can be done for the thousands who have fallen under this horrible carnage. The job of restoring the survivors to normal living is being undertaken by Allied military and civil authorities. It is no easy task, but it is an issue that must be met and handled in the same manner as are other international problems. In our attempt to make a permanent world structure, these homeless and hopeless people cannot be temporarily disposed of or overlooked. They were liberated by the joint efforts of the Allies, and, as in all disputes which have arisen and shall continue to arise among the victor nations in their efforts at maintaining a peaceful world, this problem will have to be settled so that prejudice may never again be the springboard of another maniac to ignite the world in flames of hate.

We as individuals have met the challenge and shown our disposition to give succor to these unfortunate people by temporary measures, through UNRRA and other organizations; we as a Nation must soon take a stand as to a fixed policy of restoration leading to self-sustenance. Our Government should take active steps directed toward the opening of Palestine as a homeland for the Jews of Europe. It would be a logical and humane solution and in keeping with the principles and declarations of a civilization based on the "four freedoms."

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, I had expected to obtain time today to express my thoughts and convictions concerning the plight of the Jewish people insofar as the situation in Palestine is con-

I have listened with great interest to the learned and eloquent remarks of the distinguished majority leader the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McClellan) and to the addresses of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Kessinger) and the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. Bassett). I thoroughly concur in their expressions on this subject and am in entire accord with their every remark. They are entitled to public commendation for their forthright views. I trust that President Truman's request of Great Britain will be granted, and that the original intent of the Balfour Declaration will be carried out immediately.

AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?

Mr. BRUNBAUGH. Mr. Speaker, war is a ruthless violator of human dignity and inflicts sorrow and despair on the victor and the vanquished. Shattered bodies and shadowed minds are a grim reminder of the devastation that is visited upon many of those who escape with their lives; while their dead comrades by the tens of thousands are a symbol of the futility of man's uncontrolled desire for world domination. The anguish, sorrow, and death that war brings has been companions are not confined to the battlefield, but are inflicted upon millions of defenseless civilians unfortunate to be caught in its path.

When the history of World War II is written the world will learn of countless atrocities to peoples of all nations, but I venture to assure you that no account of willful persecution and ignominious torture and cruel death will surpass the sufferings of European Jews. It is estimated that from a population of 12,000,000 Jews in Europe at the beginning of World War II and exclusive of the 3,000,000 now in Russia slightly over 1,000,000 persons of the faith of Abraham have survived the cruel persecution bent on complete extermination of the oldest of all human races.

Millions of defenseless Jews have disappeared from the face of the earth as completely as though atomic energy had reduced them to a state of nothingness; while tens of thousands lie forgotten in crude and nameless graves. The depravity of those responsible for these wholesale murders of a defenseless race is beyond description and certainly the God of us all will mete out stern justice when these international murderers make their appearance before the seat of judgment.

Death is a heavy cross to bear even when fortified by the knowledge that it is but the door to the happier state of eternal life. When such a sorrow overwhelms us we are consoled to a degree by the comforting words of our relatives and friends and their presence in the months that follow in counseling us very often is of great assistance in aiding us to become accustomed to the loss of a loved one. With this thought in mind it is not difficult to realize the barbarous treatment accorded adherents of the Jewish faith in being subjected to infamous torture and death and their loved ones unable to learn a shred of knowledge concerning their departure from this life. In countless cases survivors often followed

in quick succession in joining their dead or they were obliged to undergo a living hell in filthy concentration camps where they welcomed death as an escape from their tortured existence. Truly the greater part of this world has been literally a weeping wall to the Jewish race since the crazed brains of world dictators pronounced their doom. Surviving Jews looked confidently to the day when an all-powerful God would hearken to their prayers and restore peace to a troubled world.

Today with the dove of peace figuratively hovering over the international peace table, world Jewry finds that homeless European Jews are certain to die by the thousands this very winter if the Christian nations of the world do not decide to do something practical concerning their plight.

They have looked with confidence to the discrediting by Great Britain of the white paper promulgated in 1939 and whose terms have abrogated the Balfour Declaration to open Palestine to the Jewish people. We are all familiar with the action taken by Great Britain in restricting the number of Jews admitted to Palestine to 1,500 monthly. President Truman's appeal to admit 100,000 has been answered by the plan to admit 1,500 monthly which in terms of the urgent need reveals that a mere handful are to be admitted and the remainder of homeless Jews are to be left to perish as vagabonds without home or country anywhere on the face of the earth.

World Jewry for the past 25 years has contributed money and material things and as a result Palestine has been developed in a remarkable manner with its wasteland reclaimed and other marked achievements that have astonished the world. Given the opportunity to continue the program of reclamation and national development the Holy Land is destined to provide a haven for the oppressed Jews of the world and at the same time guarantee liberty and equality to all other races who may now inhabit Palestine.

Civilized nations who boast of being Christianized have a wonderful opportunity now to raise their voices in behalf of a defenseless race and at the same time to give allegiance in a practical manner to the teachings of the Lowly Nazarene who once trod the hallowed ground of Palestine. The age-old Biblical question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" can be answered in the affirmative by the Christian nations of the world by the use of their combined voices in a sincere effort to aid a stricken and homeless race. Those of us privileged to call the United States our home have a clear concept of liberty for it has been purchased and preserved to us by the blood of American martyrs from the bleak winters of Valley Forge to the burning sands of Chinawa. We speak of Christian charity as being a great virtue and one of the most desirable attributes. In this particular instance we have a splendid opportunity to heed the divine admonition, "Let us not love in word, neither with the tongue, but in deed and in truth."

One of the many exhortations of St. Paul was his appeal for charity in our

daily lives as *e-icided* when he spoke to the Corinthians:

Brethren, if I speak with the tongues of men and of angels and have not charity I am become as sounding brass or a tinkling cymbal. And if I should have prophecy, and know all mysteries and all knowledge, and if I should have all faith, so that I could remove mountains and have not charity, I am nothing. And if I should distribute all my goods to feed the poor, and if I should deliver my body to be burned and have not charity, it profiteth nothing. Charity is patient, is kind; charity envieth not; charity boasteth not; charity is not puffed up; is not ambitious; seeketh not her own; is not provoked to anger; thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, beareth all things; hopeth all things, endureth all things. Charity never faileth away, whether prophecies shall be made void, or tongues shall cease, or knowledge shall be destroyed. For we know in part and we prophesy in part. But when that which is perfect is come that which is in part shall be done away. When I was a child I spoke as a child; but when I became a man I put away the things of a child. We see now through a glass in a dark manner; but then face to face. Now I know in part; but then I shall know even as I am known. And now there remain faith, hope, charity, these three, but the greatest of these is charity.

Then, too, our Christian religion reminds us of the answer Jesus made to a certain lawyer who asked him what he must do to gain eternal life:

The pharisee came to Jesus, and one of them a doctor of the law asked Him, tempting Him: "Master, which is the great commandment in the law?" Jesus said to him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with thy whole heart and with thy whole soul and with thy whole mind. This is the greatest and the first commandment. And the second is like to this: Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments dependeth the whole law and the prophets." And the lawyer wishing to justify himself said to Jesus, "And who is my neighbor?" Jesus took him up and said, "A certain man was going down from Jerusalem to Jericho and he fell in with robbers, who after torn stripping him and beating him went their way, leaving him half dead. But, as it happened a certain priest was going down the same way, and when he saw him, he passed by. And likewise a Levite also, when he was near the place and saw him, passed by. But a certain Samaritan as he journeyed came upon him, and seeing him, was moved with compassion. And he went up to him and bound up his wounds, pouring oil and wine. And setting him on his own beast, he brought him to an inn and took care of him. And the next day he took out two denarii and gave them to the innkeeper and said, 'Take care of him; and whatever more thou spendest, I on my way will repay thee.' Which of these three in thy opinion proved nearest neighbor to him who fell among the robbers?" And he said, "He who took pity on him." And Jesus said to him, "Go and do thou also in like manner."

These references to the need for charity and our understanding of the clear-cut definition of "And who is my neighbor?" are timely reminders that God has revealed the sacred dignity of the human body and it is also referred to in Holy Scripture as "the temple of the Holy Spirit."

The plight of world Jewry is the common problem of all nations and with true Christian charity I am hopeful that the United States will lend its voice in a

sincere effort to rescue a perishing race by assisting in convincing the civilized world that the doors of Palestine should be opened immediately to the Jewish race if we are to practice the tenets of the Christian religion and answer affirmatively the Biblical query: "Am I my brother's keeper?"

Mr. TOLAN. Mr. Speaker, I heartily concur in what is being said here on the House floor in favor of opening the gates of Palestine to the Jewish race.

For years I have been one of the sponsors in favor of this just and humane movement.

We have just finished a victorious world war and millions have died that all men may be free. We did not fight it for all races except the Jews, but for all mankind. If we give freedom to all people except the Jews, who knows what race will be next on the list. It is a terrible threat to democracy itself to ostracize one race.

Promises have been made to the Jewish race and broken. Now is the time for Congress to act and I, for one, am ready to stand up and be counted in favor of the resolution for a free Palestine. We cannot enslave millions of Jewish people and make them wanderers on the face of the earth, homeless and nationless without crippling civilization itself.

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, President Truman has directed the attention of the world to the immediate need of opening the doors of Palestine to 100,000 homeless European Jews. I have myself recently returned from Europe where I studied some of the problems of the so-called stateless persons. The poignancy of their needs today, added to the tragic persecution which they have suffered with growing intensity during the last decade, makes me welcome the hundreds of letters I have received from Illinois, urging support of the President's appeal.

Mr. BROOKS. Mr. Speaker, I have received numerous telegrams and letters within the last few days in reference to the Palestine mandate. The purport of these messages is that the Jewish people from all over Europe should be allowed to enter Palestine and to settle in this land which is under the protection of Great Britain. These are the people who in a large measure were persecuted by the totalitarian powers immediately before and during the Great World War which has just been brought to a conclusion. They are now looking for a place of refuge and a land to call their home.

From the time when the mists of antiquity lifted from annals of history, Palestine has been known as the land of the Jews. Anyone who reads the story of the creation and development as portrayed in the Old Testament must realize that Palestine is the land which the Jewish people can, and should, call their homeland. As indicated by the letters and telegrams reaching me, they now want to return to their heritage in Palestine; and I think the British Government, which has the mandate over this land, should respond to the call and allow free emigration.

Britain has many colonies and much territory. Much of it is well settled and

a large part of it needs settlement and development. I have never been fortunate enough to be able to travel through the Near East, but I am of the firm conviction that Great Britain should listen to the call of these persecuted peoples and grant them free access into Palestine and the right to live and develop this little land which lies on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean Sea.

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. Speaker, I am glad that this time has been secured to give Members of Congress an opportunity of expressing their hopes that the Baldwin white paper may be modified so as to permit immigration to Palestine. I wish that more time had been secured so as to give Members an opportunity of speaking at greater length on the subject.

There is little doubt that the overwhelming majority of the American people and of their Representatives in Congress are insisting on action to relieve the present distressing situation. The blunt facts are that almost 6,000,000 Jews have lost their lives in Europe during the past few years and only about 1,500,000 are left. A large part of these are still living in concentration camps. They have no homes to which to go. They have no opportunity of being restored to a decent life in the countries where they now exist. The doors of all nations are practically closed to them.

The Jewish colonists at Palestine have shown what can be done if they are given an opportunity. It is right and proper that this great Christian and democratic Nation should exert its influence toward giving the Jewish people of Europe aid in finding a new life in Palestine. I hope that early consideration will be given to the resolution now pending in Congress. Furthermore, we should support and applaud President Truman in his position.

I wish to here read a letter I wrote to him on October 6, 1945:

OCTOBER 6, 1945.

THE PRESIDENT,

The White House, Washington, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President: I am enclosing clipping from the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of Friday, which contains a letter to me from George Burke, chairman of the Chattanooga Zionist Emergency Council. Mr. Burke sets forth, in very persuasive language, the justice and necessity of British Government allowing 100,000 homeless Jews to enter Palestine.

I was glad to know the strong position you have taken in the matter. I hope that you will continue to use your influence in the interest of enabling these people to find refuge from persecution and the concentration camps in which so many are still living. I think the people are behind you in the stand you have taken. We should exert every available effort, if for no other than humanitarian reasons, to bring relief to these unfortunate people. Unless they are allowed to enter Palestine there is little hope for the survival of countless thousands of them.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

ELMER KEFAUVER.

Mr. Speaker, this country is a legal party to the mandate over Palestine. The least we can do is to exert every possible effort and influence toward seeing that these unfortunate people have an opportunity for a new life in this

country which has been set aside for them.

Mr. HEALY. Mr. Speaker, one of the most tragic aftermaths of the war which has just concluded in Europe is the terrible dislocation of the Jewish people. It is quite unnecessary for me to relate the crimes which have been committed against these people by the Nazi overlords of Germany. Though these men have been shorn of their power and most of them are now in custody of the Allied War Crimes Commission, the poison of anti-Semitism has spread through the greater part of continental Europe. I was not a little shocked when Edvard Benes, of Czechoslovakia, whose adherence to the principles of democracy cannot be denied, said in effect that Jews would be unlikely to find a haven in Europe for some time to come.

President Truman, recently recommended to the British Government that Palestine should be immediately opened to the migration of 100,000 Jews. It is my understanding that no reply has yet been received from the British Government.

It is entirely proper that the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States take cognizance of this situation. It is extremely doubtful that the Chamberlain white paper promulgated in 1939 restricting immigration to Palestine, is valid under existing international agreements. Palestine is held in trust by Great Britain under the Covenant of the League of Nations. Britain is not a sovereign authority in Palestine. Inasmuch as the United States was not a party to the League of Nations Covenant, a bilateral agreement was entered into by our country and Great Britain and promulgated in December of 1925. Under this agreement Great Britain was obligated to consult with our Government as well as those of League members when any substantial change in this trusteeship was anticipated. The British Government under Mr. Chamberlain sought no such consultation and its action at that time was one of appeasement—a policy which was demonstrated to be tragically fallacious.

We will not be able to obliterate the filthy philosophy of nazism in the immediate future. Germany held control of the greater part of Central and Western Europe for over 4 years. A studied policy of exterminating all decent elements and influences in this territory was practiced during this occupation. Until the results of this policy can be removed we must provide for the protection and refuge of persecuted peoples.

Since the capitulation of Germany I have been informed that over 1,000 Jews have been killed in pogroms in Poland. This in spite of the fact that the fighting elements of the Polish underground were composed in a substantial degree by Jews. None of them dare live in Poland except in the larger cities. Many of them have fled Poland to live in American and Russian-occupied Germany.

This uncivilized and inhuman situation cannot be permitted to continue. Both of the major parties in the United States pledged themselves in their platforms of 1944 to call for unrestricted im-

...to the Jewish people. The Labor Party and many of its leaders have urged the same action. The Labor Party has formed the present British Government and I feel that our Government should continue in its representations to the British Government until action is taken to provide refuge for the harassed Jewish people.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, when the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts, who is our able majority leader on the floor of this great House, stated in substance that he viewed the human race as one family and that we had to face the Palestine question, under discussion today, with that relationship of men of all the world in view, he stated that it is the foundation stone upon which we can choose and have an enduring peace, or we can again have world wars. When, and only when, we view men of all races, creeds, and colors and origins as belonging to the brotherhood of man, will be sufficiently set in motion economic and social thinking and planning which will preserve democracy against devastating attacks from other parts of the world resulting from fear, starvation, poverty, daily hunger, intolerance, and ignorance, superstition, and prejudice.

I am happy to emphatically raise my voice in unison with the other distinguished members in this House who have already spoken or will yet speak in support of the worthy objectives of emphasizing and urging fair and just and humane treatment to the homeless Jewish people of Europe who have been driven from pillar to post and are asking a place of reasonable security in which to live back in their fatherland of Palestine. The whole paper should not be continued a scrap of paper, and the declaration and proclamation of the Balfour document should have immediate opportunity to have practical application in terms of humane and civilized treatment to people of Jewish birth or descent, who ask this reasonable opportunity to enter Palestine.

I commend President Truman for his expressed request of England that 1,000 certificates be granted to the Jewish people at this time that they might enter Palestine and there settle and live. But while this request can only be considered an interim request it will stop hundreds of thousands of people from suffering starvation and further privation.

This war has entangled us into a world neighborhood, and from which we cannot emerge nor apart from which we cannot safely live unto ourselves. No physical or material or artificial boundaries can again cause eradication of our relationships or responsibilities as living in this world neighborhood. Therefore whatever relates to the hunger or security or daily mistreatment or abuse of the masses of people anywhere in the world relates to the safety and security of us folks of the American continent. Therefore, it is soundly and soundly our duty and responsibility to speak up in behalf of and to the end that these Jewish world neighbors of ours, wherever they now are, shall have justice done unto them. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness is fundamentally not less a necessity to the Jews—or to any other

...to the Jewish people. It is not enough that we think that the freedoms and that the justice and that the security of America is made only for ourselves. We must be willing that all people shall have the same for themselves. Enduring spiritual values will never set in motion nor perpetuate as a result of promulgation of prejudice or hatred or ill will against other people on account of their race or creed or color. Neither is material prosperity or progress permanently made as a result of applications of such undemocratic principles or thinking or action. These citizens about whom we are speaking today are neither voters nor residents of the United States. But they are citizens of the world in which we must live. They are a minority people it is true. But only as the rights of the minority are respected and fought for by the majority, will democracy endure. This is true in world thinking and action as well as in the experience of our own nation. My own son and millions of other sons of America were either killed or injured or disabled for life on account of the need and necessity of fighting to preserve the democratic way of life. They have died that such a way of life might have a new birth and renewed vigor. We who live after them; we who live because they died cannot now safely, or at all, refuse or neglect to continue to give our best endeavor by consecrated patriotic thinking and action to the end that these homeless, persecuted minority peoples shall have this place which is their desire; and which should be made available to them.

Mr. MURPHY. Mr. Speaker, some days ago a delegation called on me from my congressional district to discuss the Palestine problem. Among the delegation were some of the leading citizens of my community. They were extremely anxious that everything be done in order to provide a commonwealth for the homeless Jews in Palestine. I heartily agree with this objective. I want to, by my voice, by my vote, and by my every act, do everything I can to persuade those in authority in the United States Government, as well as to persuade those in authority in the British Government, to act, and act quickly, to see that this worthy objective is brought about at the earliest possible moment.

Recently I enjoyed seeing the March of Time, in which was portrayed the excellent work done by the Jewish people in Palestine—great land developments, beautiful homes, beautiful public buildings, the establishment of institutions of learning, the reclamation of what was considered a lost land; altogether, a vast amount of public improvement.

If in the short time allotted to these people such magnificent results can be accomplished, would it not be in the interest of Jewish refugees, would it not be in the interest of the Arabs themselves—yes, to civilization—to reclaim lost land, to put it to good use, and to bring about such remarkable, successful results?

I hope that every Member of this great body will join with me in lending their every aid to see that this problem of Palestine is solved, and solved properly,

and wealth.

Mr. GIBLAN. Mr. Speaker, I include a talk which I delivered at a protest meeting held under the sponsorship of the Zionist Emergency Committee of New Haven at the Commercial High School last Sunday evening:

Nowhere at the present time are the Jews in the majority and the masters of their own fate. Everywhere they are in the minority, easily subject to discrimination, indignities, and even attack. This is not a normal condition for the Jews or for any other people, and this condition must be corrected. This can only be done through national independence.

The Jews are a nation. They possess all the attributes of a nation. They have a history, a national tradition, a powerful urge for nationalized, a language, a common religion and culture. They possess all the attributes of a nation except one—a free land. This is not normal and demands rectification.

Now that the war is over, it will be absolutely necessary to provide opportunity for resettlement of some millions of Jews. No place will be open to them, except as yet wild and undeveloped territories. Only Palestine begins to fill the requirements necessary to meet this problem. It has the room, the basic development, and as far as the Jews of Palestine are concerned, the welcome sign is on the door. These prospective immigrants need Palestine. Palestine needs them for its further growth. But the basic condition for that growth is sovereignty, and it is in this condition which must be established and recognized by the nations. The Jews have proved such excellent nation builders that they have surprised everybody. They have given the lie to the charges of their detractors that they are not planners and creators, but can only utilize the labor of others to make profits as middlemen. They have achieved results in Palestine that have astounded the whole world. They might have achieved results in some other territory, but there can be no question but that Palestine has been the real stimulus for the accomplishment of so much in so short a time.

Jewish devotion of the soil of the ancient homeland, all of its sacred and historical associations in the memory and faith of the Jewish people, the compelling urge to return and reform the land and, not least, the will necessary to bring to the basic factors which have made possible the results. If the Jews are given the opportunity first, and under their own authority to further the development of the country, who can now doubt but that they will ultimately bring a nation, a civilization, a culture, and promise a world order which will be a source of honor and satisfaction to not only themselves but to the world.

The persecution of the Jews under the Nazis and under their governments has made the problem of a Jewish national home urgent. From 1942, when the Nazi extermination began, to June 1944 between 4,000,000 and 5,000,000 European Jews were killed. Even since VE-day injustices have continued to exist and inhuman methods have not been eliminated. In Slovakia many returning Jews are being refused certificates of political and moral reliability, which are needed in order to obtain employment. In innumerable instances returning Jews have not been allowed to register their homes, shops, or factories, and according to Mr. Earl G. Harrison, in his report on conditions in Europe to President Truman, estimated that in February of 1946 there were 1,500,000 Jews still in Europe, and that not more than a third of them would wish to return to their homes.

It is true that there are still thousands of displaced persons in Europe, but I am of the opinion that the Jews among these displaced persons present a much more touching problem than their fellow sufferers, because Jews have always been more severely victimized than the non-Jews and also because many of these Jews are stateless or do not wish to return to their previous homes; as a result, they have seen many instances of quick return of liberated people to their homes, while liberation has meant little improvement in their own position, but rather continuation of their plight as internees living behind barbed wire in concentration camps, in buildings unfit for winter use, wearing their concentration camp garbs, with high death rates continuing, living on a very poor diet, separated from their families and with little or no opportunity to make use of their capacity for productive work.

The main solution, and in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all nonrepatriable Jews in Germany and Austria who wish to go to Palestine.

Some people will ask, but will these Jews want to leave their native land now that nazism is defeated? The answer to this by a number of qualified, realistic observers of the European scene is that the desire will be overwhelming among most of the Jews of central Europe, just as they know that most of the statesmen of Europe will be glad to see them go.

But the Jewish needs come last. Even if physically present, economically the Jew has been expelled. Any and every attempt on the part of a well-meaning government to admit or reintegrate them into the economic community will meet with approximately the same respect that would be accorded to a policy of large-scale physical immigration. We all know how unthinkingly fanatic populations become in time of stress on the subject of immigration and how ill-advised a government would be to disregard these needs. The attempt would never succeed, were it seriously tried.

Another argument advanced by those who oppose further Jewish immigration into Palestine is its limited absorptive capacity. But the absorptive capacity of any country is a dynamic and expanding conception. It changes with the ability of the population to make the maximum out of its land. It is clear, however, that full utilization of the Jordan Valley depression for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least 4,000,000 Jewish refugees, principally from Europe. Therefore, limited absorptive capacity may be looked upon as a red herring drawn across the trail of those who are trying to design a sound policy for the United States to pursue in relation to Palestine. Some arguments are entirely contrary to American tradition for the American people have always believed in the creative ability of man to master his destiny by new economic development through invention and enterprise.

Although there is opposition from the Arab Federation at the present time to the Zionist program, it is nevertheless true that the building up of the Jewish population in Palestine has resulted in economic advancement for the Arabs, and in this connection it should also be noted that at the peace conference held following the last war that the proposals submitted by the Zionist organization were approved by the Arab delegation when, speaking through their chief, Emir Feisal, they stated, "we regard them as moderate and proper." It might be well at this point to review British policy and position on this question because no satisfactory solution of the problem can be reached without full and complete cooperation of the British Government. In 1917 the British Government, by reason of the Balfour Decla-

ration, declared that the establishment of a national home in Palestine was the policy and object of the British Government, and that this privilege should be extended to them without prejudices to the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish residents of the community. In September of 1923, as a result of a previous Allied agreement at the peace conference, Palestine was declared to be a mandated territory with Great Britain as the overlord. The terms of this mandate stated specifically that the mandatory power was to create a national home for the Jewish people. But the British did not pursue firmly the purposes underlying the Balfour Declaration and the terms of the mandate, but whittled down the idea of a national home in order to attempt to satisfy the Arab nationalists. Arabs are more numerous and evidently more important to the British Empire than Jews and oil is thicker than blood. An example of this was when in 1939 the British proposed to limit Jewish immigration into Palestine as a relief for Arab unemployment, and the further instance is the recommendation of Lord Peel's commission in 1937 to partition Palestine and establish an independent Arab government there in order to stem the increasing tide of Jewish immigration, which developed during the years of Nazi oppression.

This policy of appeasement on the part of the British Government encouraged the Arabs to hope that violence would stop Jewish immigration, and Fascist and Nazi sources gave financial aid to the Arabs to carry out their sinister purposes. The climax came, of course, in 1939 with the issuance of the infamous white paper in which the principles of the Balfour Declaration and the mandate's constitution were abandoned, and which further proposed that Jewish immigration end in 5 years unless the Arabs acquiesced to further immigration, and that no more than 75,000 immigrants be allowed in that period, and that Jewish purchases of land be limited.

Neither the United States nor any other member of the League of Nations, by whose authority and consent England was given the mandate, was consulted prior to the issuance of the white paper, which was evidently not only done for the purpose of appeasing the Arabs but to gain for themselves certain special commercial and strategic advantages in the area.

It may be argued that even though all of these contentions are true, just where does the United States fit into that picture? What is our responsibility? Are we not meddling in affairs which do not concern us? The answer is an emphatic "No." Because in 1920 the United States asserted its right as a participant in the First World War to be consulted regarding the terms of the Palestine mandate and the British Government concurred. Congress then, by the adoption of a joint resolution, affirmed this Government's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people without prejudice to the civil and religious rights of the other inhabitants. Further, on November 17, 1930, Lloyd George, in a report to the House of Commons, declared that the United States Government had been consulted and had given its consent to the Balfour Declaration before it was announced. Following the Balfour Declaration and prior to the granting of mandatory powers to Great Britain, President Wilson also stated, and I quote, "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our Government and the people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth." And at an earlier date, in his Fourteen Points Wilson said, and I quote, "The Turkish positions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured of secure sovereignty, but the

other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development."

In 1924 a trade convention was held between the United States and Great Britain as a result of which an agreement was entered into extending equal trade rights to the United States in Palestine which Great Britain and the other members of the League enjoyed under the mandate. This convention quoted the no discrimination article of the mandate and stipulated that nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States, and President Roosevelt told the Zionist leaders on March 9, 1944, that the United States had never given its approval to the white paper of 1939, which abrogated the terms of the mandate and nullified the Balfour declaration. We all are familiar with subsequent events when, as a result of platforms adopted by both major political parties, resolutions were introduced into the last session of Congress which restate the position of the United States regarding Palestine and the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people therein. These resolutions in the last Congress were not passed by reason of a request from the War Department that passage of the resolution would be prejudicial to the prosecution of the war. Subsequently, Secretary of War Stimson stated that military considerations were now not as strong as they had been and that in his judgment political considerations now outweigh the military but at a later date Secretary of State Stettinius appeared before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and requested postponement of consideration of the resolution at that time.

Similar resolutions were before introduced in this session of Congress. One by me, and now that the war is over our representatives are meeting with representatives of the other allied nations of the world, in which boundaries of nations are being established and other matters of vast importance concerning the world of tomorrow are being determined, and I certainly think that the Congress should at this time adopt this resolution and declare to our representatives thereby what the feeling and attitude of the American Nation is toward the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people, and reemphasize our traditional policy that all people should be free and independent to rule themselves in their own land, in a democratic manner.

CAN GREAT BRITAIN CONTINUE TO DENY HER MANDATE OBLIGATION

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am in honor bound to congratulate the majority leader the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCormack) and all of the Members who have spoken today on the unfortunate Palestine situation.

I know that the Jewish people of this country and the world over, as well as all fair-minded men and women, will applaud and be grateful to all of them for their straight-forward reasoning and splendid expressions in behalf of the Jewish people who have dreamed for centuries that many of their brethren might finally reestablish a home in the Holy Land.

There is nothing that I can add to what has been said on this question, but I hope the expression of so many outstanding Members of Congress will strengthen the determination of President Truman to pursue this cause. And

I also hope today's demonstration will have some effect upon Great Britain, who has willfully violated the obligation it assumed under the mandate.

With respect to the statement of the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HANCOCK) on the resolution reported by the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House in the last Congress, I wish to say that the Committee on Rules was ready to set favorably, to provide for its immediate consideration by the House. Only upon the urgent request of the then Secretary of State, Mr. Stettinius, who stated he feared that it would increase the friction between the United States and Great Britain was action deferred. Though vitally interested in the resolution I myself felt that it was my country first and I could not be a party to anything to bring about discord and hamper the war's prosecution or that might delay the defeat of Hitler and the Japs.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. KOFFLEMANN asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an article appearing in PM.

Mr. CHURCH asked and was given permission to extend his remarks in the Record and include an editorial, a letter, and some short excerpts.

Mr. KEPAUVER. Mr. Speaker, in extending my remarks on the Palestinian question, I ask unanimous consent to include a letter that I wrote. I also ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include an article from the Saturday Evening Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

FEDERAL AID AIRPORT ACT

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 371 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3515) to provide Federal aid for the development of public airports and to amend existing law relating to air navigation facilities; that, after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and shall continue not to exceed 2 hours to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the same back to the House with such amendments as shall have been adopted, if any, and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto, if any, to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to reconsider.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, later on I shall yield 30 minutes to the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. ALLEN).

This rule makes in order the bill (H. R. 3515) providing aid and assistance to the States to build and construct airports greatly needed throughout the United States.

If I am not mistaken, the bill was unanimously reported by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

The rule provides for 2 hours' general debate after which it will be taken up for amendment under the 5-minute rule.

The bill is endorsed by nearly every organization in the United States and, as you all know, President Truman is very anxious to have this legislation enacted, because he feels it is needed; that all phases of air service is bound to increase, and that the additional construction, expansion, and improvement of airports will be of great benefit to the commerce of the people of the United States.

The Senate has passed a bill similar to this one. I want to commend the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce for having, after careful consideration, improved the Senate bill. Originally, I was fearful that the Senate bill might restrict and preclude some of the larger cities from being able to obtain the cooperation of the Department of Commerce in expanding or improving their airports. But the House bill eliminates any doubt pertaining to that and makes provision whereby any municipality can, of its own volition, make direct application. If it is shown that expansion and improvements are necessary.

I am not going to explain the provisions of the bill except to say that it provides for \$650,000,000 to be expended within the next 10 years. Three million dollars is provided to be used for surveys and preliminary work. I am of the opinion that within a short space of time many sections of our country, alive to the advantages of having air-service facilities, will be greatly benefited.

I do not know and I hesitate to call attention to one fact, but for the year 1943 we are expending \$18,000,000 for air-mail service; for 1946, it is estimated that domestic air-mail service will be subsidized to the extent of \$43,000,000 and foreign air mail in the amount of \$7,000,000. For 1947 it will be \$50,000,000 for domestic air mail and \$7,000,000 for foreign air mail. I wish to leave the thought with the committee, with the House, and with the country that we have a large number of airplanes which I feel could be used to great advantage to carry our mail, and in all likelihood if properly handled might effect a saving of 50 percent or perhaps even 60 percent of the tremendous amount we are paying to the air lines.

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; I yield to the gentleman from California.

Mr. HINSHAW. I wonder if the gentleman from Illinois is aware of the fact that in the fiscal year 1944 air mail provided a profit to the Government of about \$50,000,000?

Mr. SABATH. It did?

Mr. HINSHAW. Yes; according to the report of the Postmaster General.

Mr. SABATH. At any rate, it was collected from the people because of the increased cost of air-mail service.

Mr. HINSHAW. No; that is not altogether because of the increase. It caused a part of it, to be sure.

Mr. HINSHAW. But it is not entirely responsible.

Mr. HINSHAW. It was a collection by the Government.

Mr. SABATH. Furthermore, because the Department handled the matter economically and gave the country splendid service, savings were made and that amount of profit was shown to the Government, but it was not a direct profit; there was a residue after we had increased the cost of air-mail service. Is not that right? The gentleman is well informed, I know.

Mr. HINSHAW. That is in part correct; yes.

Mr. SABATH. We cannot be 100-percent perfect in everything.

Mr. HINSHAW. I believe the gentleman has stated correctly the amount paid the air lines for carrying air mail, but the Government charged an additional amount of postage which was in excess of that by more than double.

Mr. SABATH. All right. Why do I call attention to it? Because I read in the newspaper only yesterday an article to the effect that efforts are being made or a contract has been entered into, by one company to obtain control of another. Should this continue, instead of having four or five air lines we would have but two or three.

Let me mention the fact also before I yield the floor that an effort was made on the part of some gentlemen, among them being the gentleman from Indiana (Mr. HANCOCK), the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. HATCH), and the gentleman from Virginia (Mr. SARGE), to embody in this bill a provision that would compel the Commission to grant permits to railroads, steamship lines, truck and bus lines. We felt such a provision had no place in this bill, especially in view of the fact that the chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce the gentleman from California (Mr. LEE) and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BROWNELL) who presented the application for the rule to the Committee on Rules, secured the Committee on Rules that his committee has been considering this proposition and that within a short time they would submit to the House legislation to take care of these needed permits for these various shipping, railroad, and transportation companies.

I feel that these opportunities should not be restricted to the four air lines, and that the railroads, the shipping companies or the bus lines to be excluded from obtaining the privilege and the right also to enlarge and increase their facilities through obtaining a permit, because, in my opinion, there will be a tremendous increase in air transportation.

Knowing how thoroughly the gentleman from California (Mr. LEE) and the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. BROWNELL) will explain the bill and its details, I am not going to impose upon the House further and delay consideration of this extremely meritorious proposition. I will conclude my remarks by saying that I hope the resolution providing for the consideration of the bill will be approved and that the bill itself will be passed.

די באשרייאונג
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ציעל 14 קאנגרעסלייט 9 די-
מאטאקאט און 5 רעפובליקאנער
— האבען נישט באוויזן צו האל-
טן ווערען רעדעס, אום מאנעט
אין צייט, און די רעדעס ווערן
אויפגעשויבען געהארגען אין די
דעקארד פון קאנגרעס.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

is expected that the Hotel Bradford Ballroom will be filled to capacity. The banquet will be a testimonial in honor of Elihu D. Stone, founder of the Region, for 35 years of service.

Dr. Silver Banquet Speaker

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, world renowned Zionist leader, an outstanding figure in the American Rabbinate, and in the forefront of American-Jewish leadership for over two decades, is coming to Boston especially to address the Convention banquet. He is co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and former National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal.

Highlights of the Saturday evening session will be the address by the Reverend David R. Hunter, chairman of the American-Christian Palestine Committee of Massachusetts, and a staunch advocate and champion of the cause of Palestine and Zionism; and the report on the Zionist Emergency program by Ralph F. Bass, New England chairman.

The Convention will observe the 25th anniversary of the Region and commemorate 25 years of continued and active devotion to the cause of Palestine and the Zionist movement in the area. At the same time, the Convention will deliberate on the momentous issues confronting Palestine in relation to the British White Paper and the British Labor Government's policy; will survey conditions of world Jewry as they relate to Palestine; and present a program of action to meet these grave problems.

Beginning with the opening session Saturday evening, which will be devoted to the Zionist emergency program and the present critical political issues, and continuing during the round-table discussions Sunday morning and the Sunday afternoon sessions, there will be ample opportunity for open forum discussion.

The banquet session closing the Convention on Sunday evening promises to be a brilliant event. Hundreds of reservations are being received, and it



SAMUEL CAPLOE
President

A record-breaking delegation of Zionists from all parts of New England will attend the Silver Jubilee Convention of the New England Region scheduled in Boston the week-end of November 3 and 4, the Saturday evening session at the Copley-Plaza Hotel, and the Sunday sessions at the Hotel Bradford. They are called to meet in the present critical emergency to

N. E. Zionists Called to Meet in Critical Emergency at Silver Jubilee Convention

demonstrate Zionist strength and solidarity, and according to reports received by Louis E. Brown, Convention chairman, at the New England headquarters, the Districts will be represented by the largest number of delegates in the history of the Region.



AT TESTIMONIAL DINNER—Shown here at the speakers' table of the testimonial dinner for Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver are Edward T. Leech, editor of The Pittsburgh Press; Dr. Silver, and Judge Henry Ellenbogen.

British Would Make Ghetto Of Palestine, Says Rabbi

Zionist Council Leader Assails Policies, Declares Britons, Not Arabs, Real Problem

Present British policies would make Palestine a national ghetto instead of a national home for the Jews.

This was the charge hurled by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver last night as he arrived in Pittsburgh for a testimonial dinner at the Willapa Penn Hotel.

Rabbi Silver, national chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was chief speaker at the dinner, sponsored by the Jewish National Fund Council of Pittsburgh.

British Big Problem

"Our problem has been not so much with the Arabs in Palestine as with the British," Rabbi Silver declared.

"Great Britain is primarily responsible for conditions in Palestine today.

Great Britain has been going back on her commitments in the Balfour Declaration ever since 1922, he explained.

Under the 1939 White Paper, immigration was restricted to 75,000 in a five-year period, and no more after 1944 without consent of the Arabs.

Keep Jews In Minority

"This would keep the Jews always a minority of less than one-third in their own homeland," Rabbi Silver cried. "Instead of a national home, it would create a national ghetto.

"Before the war," he declared in his address, "Britain sought to silence world criticism of her refusal to carry out the terms of the Palestine mandate by saying such course would drive the Arabs into the arms of the Nazis and Fascists.

"During the war they argued we must not disturb the Arab world so as not to endanger our military lines of communication in the Mediterranean.

"Since the war ended, arguments are peddled in Washington, and I am afraid are meeting with considerable success in the highest circles, that we must not anger the Arabs lest we drive them into the arms of the Soviet Union.

"Let us hope our own State Department is not taken in.

"Back of it all is the desire to maintain British political dominion in the Middle East, by the policy of appeasing the Arabs right or wrong.

"This policy proved bankrupt during the war. It might well be called the 'Little Munich' of the Middle East."

1½ Million Destitute

Nearly a million and a half Jews are destitute in Europe and thousands of these are still being held in concentration camps where they were put by the Nazis, Rabbi Silver revealed.

"Sixty-five thousand of these are in the American Zone of occupation," he added.

"They cannot go back to the countries from which they were driven out, and where Jewish persecution is in the air. The very soil is poison for them."

Need No Protection

Answering the plaint that Arabs would declare a "holy war" against the Jews, Rabbi Silver said:

"The Jews don't need British or American soldiers to protect them. They can protect themselves. That is just another bogey.

"Give us a wild land in the south—the Negev—where not a single Arab lives, and we will make it a garden spot by irrigation. We are not asking anybody to give us anything.

"And we're not coming to America for a handout of six billion dollars."

Need Immediate Action

Immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine is absolutely necessary, he pointed out. There is no other place where refugees can go.

Dr. Silver, rabbi of the Temple Shalom in Cleveland, began his ministry 21 years ago in Wheeling, W. Va. He was a college classmate of Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof of Roset Shalom Temple.

Rabbi Silver Scores British Policies in Palestine

Zionist Chairman Addresses 1,200 At Rally Here

British imperialism has prevented the Jews from making Palestine their national homeland, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, charged here last night.

He said the Arabs want the doors of Palestine closed to Jewish immigration and it's to Britain's imperial interests to remain friendly with the Arabs.

Dr. Silver, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was addressing 1,200 Jews in the Hotel William Penn, at the third annual dinner of the Jewish National Fund.

He asserted:

"Our problem has been not so much with the Arabs in Palestine as with the British.

"The picture presented to the world of a well-meaning Great Britain, caught in an unfortunate dilemma not of its own making and trying to do its best, is a pure myth."

PROMISE TO LEAGUE

He pointed out that the League of Nations had given Britain the right to administer Palestine only after Britain had promised to facilitate Jewish immigration there and help the Jews make the country into a national Jewish state.

He also pointed out that the British had broken this promise in 1939 when they limited Jewish immigration to Palestine to 75,000 Jews for the next five years and then barred them entirely unless the Arabs consented to their admission.

Dr. Silver, in a thundering denunciation of British policies since 1939, charged:

"Great Britain wants to control the middle east, she wants the entire Arab world to come under her political control. Anything which displeases the Arabs—she'd like to liquidate—regardless of whether the Arabs are right or wrong.

PRE-WAR POLICY

"Before the war, Great Britain sought to silence world criticism to her refusal to carry out the terms of the Palestine Mandate by saying such a course would drive the Arabs into the arms of Hitler and Mussolini.

"During the war, her argument was that the Arab world must not be disturbed because we might endanger our military lines of communication in the middle east and the American bases in the Mediterranean.

"Now, the argument being peddled around Washington, and I'm afraid it is meeting with considerable success in the highest circles, is that we must not anger the Arabs lest we drive them into the arms of the Soviet Union."

LABOR ATTITUDE

Dr. Silver said the labor party in Britain, before it swept into office, was sympathetic to the Jewish claims but, after it won the elections, it adopted the same policy towards Palestine as had previous British governments.

The Cleveland rabbi said anti-Semitism still was rampant in Europe and the 1,400,000 Jews in Europe who survived Hitler's purges look toward Palestine as a refuge. He asserted:

"In the whole of Poland, there are only 3,000 Jewish children left.

"In Poland today . . . there are pogroms against the Jews. In Czech-Slovakia . . . there are anti-Jewish riots. Sixty-five thousand Jews still are living in concentration camps in the American zone of occupation."

In a press conference earlier, he mentioned the 65,000 still in concentration camps, adding:

"There is no other place for them to go. There is nothing else that could be done. They might have received better



San-Telegram Photo.

AT JEWISH RALLY—

Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, of Rodef Shalom Temple; Common Pleas Judge Henry Ellenbogen, and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, are pictured at last night's third annual dinner of the Jewish National Fund in William Penn Hotel. Rabbi Silver spoke.

treatment—more food—but that's a problem apart.

"The treatment of the Jews in the British zone of occupation is even worse. We can't

get to the Russian zone to find out how they are faring there."

ROOM IN PALESTINE

Dr. Silver also contended that there was plenty of room in Palestine for both Arabs and Jews, that the two groups could live together in peace and that the Jews had brought prosperity to the Arabs in Palestine. He added:

"The Arabs in Palestine are the envy of all of the other Arabs."

He also contended that if the British had opened up Palestine to Jewish immigration, many of the Jews would have escaped from Hitler's reign of terror. He asserted:

"Our problem was one which could be pushed aside by busy statesmen."

Dr. Silver also charged that Palestine—as the British administer it—is the only country where citizens are restricted from owning land on the basis of race. In his press conference, he declared:

"In 10 per cent of the country (about 600 square miles), the Jews can buy land freely; in another 10 per cent they can buy land with the consent of the government and in the other 80 per cent, they can't buy land except by consent of the Arabs."

ARABS UNRESTRICTED

The British, he added, don't restrict Arab immigration into Palestine. He said the population now totals 600,000 Jews and 1,200,000 Arabs.

He also told newsmen:

"We don't want anything from anybody. We only want the barriers removed in Palestine. We're not coming to America to ask for a handout of six billion dollars."

This last was a reference to Britain's request for a six billion dollar postwar loan.

Dr. Silver was introduced by his old school-mate and longtime friend, Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, of Rodef Shalom Temple.

ELLENBOGEN SPEAKS

Judge Henry Ellenbogen, of Common Pleas Court, toastmaster, sounded the keynote for the meeting. He said:

"We ask only justice for the Jews of Europe, or rather for the few hundred thousands of them still alive."

Congressman Herman P. Eberhart and James O. Fulton

promised to support the establishment of a national Jewish homeland in Palestine during the coming sessions of Congress.

Harry Rice, treasurer of the dinner committee announced that \$47,000 had been raised by the banquet for the Jewish National Fund—which buys land in Palestine.

Zionist Leader Scores Britain

Playing Imperialist Game, Dr. Silver Says

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the National Zionist Emergency Council bitterly attacked Great Britain last night for "playing an imperialist game" in the Middle East in barring Jewish immigration from Palestine.

"The important thing," Dr. Silver told 1,200 people at the third annual dinner of the Jewish National Fund Committee in William Penn hotel, "is to preserve British imperial interests." The end result, he declared, could very well lead to a third World War.

The "White Paper of 1939," which provided Jewish immigration to Palestine should close after 75,000 more Jews had been admitted, Dr. Silver said, "condemns us for all time to remain a homeless people." He assailed it as "completely in contradiction" to the Balfour declaration of 1917, on the basis of which Britain received the Palestine mandate from the League of Nations.

Friday, October 19, 1945

JTA

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LAST MINUTE NEWS

BYRNES ANNOUNCES U.S. POLICY ON PALESTINE; SAYS JEWS AND ARABS WILL BE CONSULTED

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18. (JTA) -- Secretary of State James F. Byrnes announced tonight that the United States Government "would not support a final decision which in its opinion would affect the basic situation in Palestine without full consultation with both Jews and Arabs." The Secretary said that this Government intends to continue exploring "every possible means of relieving the situation of the displaced Jews of Europe."

The text of Mr. Byrnes's announcement follows:

"On several occasions this matter (Palestine) has been the subject of oral and written discussions with various Jewish and Arab leaders. The substance of this Government's position has been that this Government would not support a final decision which in its opinion would affect the basic situation in Palestine without full consultation with both Jews and Arabs.

"At a press conference today President Truman referred to his exploration with Prime Minister Attlee of ways and means of alleviating the situation of the displaced Jews in Europe, including consideration of Palestine as a possible haven for some of these homeless Jews. There is general agreement that it is our duty to take energetic measures to assist these unfortunate victims of Nazi persecution. As the President pointed out today, this matter is still under consideration. We shall continue to explore every possible means of relieving the situation of the displaced Jews of Europe.

"Should any proposals emerge which in our opinion would change the basic situation in Palestine, it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders. This policy was stated, for instance, in a letter which President Roosevelt addressed to King Ibn Saud on April 5, 1945, the text of which I have been authorized to make available."

Roosevelt's Letter to King Ibn Saud on Palestine Issue

The letter which the late President Roosevelt sent to King Ibn Saud, dated April 5, 1945, refers to "the memorable conversation" which he had with the ruler of Saudi Arabia, and reads as follows:

"Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews. Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action, in my capacity as chief of the executive branch of this Government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

"It gives me pleasure to renew to Your Majesty the assurances which you have previously received regarding the attitude of my Government and my own, as chief executive, with regard to the question of Palestine and to inform you that the policy of this Government in this respect is unchanged."

U. S. Bars Decision on Palestine Without Consulting Jews, Arabs

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES

WASHINGTON, Oct. 18—The United States Government will not reach final conclusions with reference to any proposals that would change the basic situation in Palestine without "full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders," James F. Byrnes, Secretary of State, announced in a statement of our fundamental policy on the Palestine immigration problem today.

[Texts of Ibn Saud and Roosevelt letters, Page 4.]

Prior to his statement, President Truman at his press conference said he was hopeful that Britain would accept his proposal for Palestine to be opened to the 100,000 displaced stateless Jews in Germany and Austria and that he considered it reasonable.

Asked whether a figure of 1,800 a month for Jewish immigration

into Palestine, as rumored at the capital, was an accurate approximation of Mr. Attlee's counterproposal, Mr. Truman replied that it was fairly approximate but that actually the Prime Minister's suggestion was a somewhat higher figure.

Mr. Byrnes, in announcing the policy, recalled that it was stated by the late President Roosevelt in a letter to Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia, on April 5, soon after their conference at the time of the Yalta meeting of the Big Three. Mr. Byrnes made the text of the letter public for the first time.

At the same time Mr. Byrnes stated that we "shall continue to explore every possible means of relieving the situation of the displaced Jews of Europe."

Mr. Byrnes' statement and his continued on Page 4, Column 4.

ARAB PRESS HAILS ROOSEVELT LETTER

NYT 10/20/45
King Ibn Saud Had Threatened to Publish Pledge When Told No Record of It Existed

By CLIFTON DANIEL

By Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES

CAIRO, Egypt, Oct. 18—The anti-Zionist Arabic press welcomed with great headlines today publication of the exchange of letters between King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and President Roosevelt, which confirmed what had been common gossip throughout the Middle East for weeks, that the President had promised the King that the United States would not take any action regarding Palestine without consulting both Arabs and Jews.

[President Roosevelt said in his letter to King Ibn Saud that no decision would be taken "with respect to the basic condition" in Palestine "without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews" and that he would take no action "which might prove hostile to the Arab people."]

Annoyed by statements in Washington that there was no record of President Roosevelt's promise, the King had been threatening for some time to release the letters, and the texts were issued here last night by the Legation of Saudi Arabia. This correspondence explains the bitterness that Ibn Saud conveyed to American diplomats over President Truman's request for the admission of 100,000 more Jews to Palestine.

It is presumed that Secretary of State Byrnes, who made the declaration of American policy, had been warned by American diplomats from the Middle East, now visiting Washington, of the King's intention to publish the correspondence.

Arab Determination Stressed

The genuineness of the Arabs' determination to keep Palestine an Arab state is not questioned by British or American diplomats in Cairo and it has been communicated to Washington and London. That it may lead to open warfare is doubted, but serious disorders are forecast.

If not in a military sense, the Arabic united front is being consolidated daily in a political way. The Arab League has surprised old hands in the Middle East by its cohesiveness and effectiveness. The way in which Azzam Bey, the League's Secretary General, has handled negotiations in London has been observed with interest.

Supporters of the Arab League are pleased with Azzam Bey's accomplishments. It is generally expected that instead of returning here for a meeting of the League's council he will go to Washington.

Egyptians are waiting for the exact date when King Ibn Saud will leave his country for the second time to journey to Egypt to repay King Farouk's call. He is expected to arrive after the end of the five-day Moslem holiday that begins Nov. 15.

The journey ostensibly will be a state visit, but its implications as a gesture of solidarity between the Arab states is not overlooked. There is talk that the visit may be made an occasion for an assembly of the chiefs of the Arab states.

הממשלה התחילה להתאפק כבר ב-1945. אחר הצהריים, כפי שמספרים העיתונאים, ב-1945 היה האולם מלא בחניניה בארץ. ימים — רבים מאד. חוקרים הוכרחו להימנע, בחורף, זו הייתה העונת הכאוסים והסכסוכים. של סכסוכים שנמשכה עד קצת המבול. בחורף היה זה מצב המאבקים בין הצי נא להם — אבל חלל מילכר, מרעה, כסרון הארצות שלה, ועמלולותם שלה, שי אינו מעביר אותו על כבודו, תביעו העניין הזה למעשה מלאה של התבוסה העיר. היה המצב העירי שינה את המצבים המדינתיים באילו המצב המבולבלים הממשלתיים המדיניים למצבם המדיניים במקרה שהוקם מדינת ישראל. זאת מנהיג המבול לרוע על "הפריז" ולמנהיג מדי המדינות העצומות השלמה. יום הבין של כלפי אל השולחים אמרונות אחרת. החל לעשות פעמים — וזהו הרומטו לענין. רק הוא מכל מנהיג העצומות האמר דיקאית מוכשר לחינם הרומט בנאח בכדי זה בנאח — ובה הוא משקף את היחס האמיתי של העירוי והעירי המבול בארצות הברית כשהכריז שמוכאן האו"ם כל העירי מביט למבאן למען שיחורו ישראל. לא היה איש במסך העצומה שלא חמד בו. נאופו של מר דיקא, מושל מדינת ניו יורק, היה בסוף ודבריו. הוא הוכיח למדיניות את התחייבותו, והכריז שהוא מאמין בכל לבא בנורד להפצא מילדת אסיהית לעם ישראל.



Texts of Letters Exchanged by Ibn Saud and Roosevelt

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 18.—Following are the texts of the letter on the Palestine question to the late President Roosevelt from King Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman al Faisal Al Saud of Saudi Arabia and President Roosevelt's reply.

March 10, 1945.

From Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman al Faisal Al Saud to His Excellency, Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America.

Your Excellency,
This is indeed a happy occasion for us to join with you in rejoicing at the triumph of those principles in defense of which war was declared and to remind those great personalities in whose hands, after God, the fate of the world order rests, of a right which has existed unquestioned since the dawn of history.

This right now now seek to destroy by injustice, unparalleled and unequalled in history. Such is the right of the Arabs in Palestine which the spokesmen of Jewish Zionism wish to scorn and abolish by the use of various forms of lying propaganda, invented, concealed and employed by them throughout the world.

They have acted unjustly and are making hostile preparations against the Arabs, some of which are known, although much remains undetected. They are preparing to create a form of Nationalism within sight and hearing of the democracies and in the midst of the Arab countries, as well as in their very heart and in the heart of the East which has proved itself loyal to the Allied cause in these critical times.

Right to Homeland

All people have the natural right to live in their homeland, a right guaranteed to them by natural law established by the principles of humanity which the Allies have proclaimed in the Atlantic Charter and on numerous other occasions.

The Arabs have a natural right in Palestine which needs no explanation. We have on a separate occasion mentioned to Your Excellency, as we have many times to the British Government, that the Arabs have inhabited Palestine since the beginning of history and that they have throughout the ages been its masters and enjoyed an overwhelming numerical superiority.

We would now make a brief reference to Palestine's history, ancient and modern, up to the present day, to make it clear that Zionist claims in Palestine are not based on historical facts.

The earliest recorded history of Palestine begins in the year 2500 B. C., its first inhabitants being the Canaanites, an Arab tribe which emigrated from the Arab peninsula and had its first abode in the lowlands, hence the name Canaanites. In 2000 B. C. a section of the Jews under the leadership of the Prophet Abraham emigrated from Iraq (Ur of the Chaldees), settled in Palestine and then immigrated because of famine into Egypt where they were delivered into bondage by the Pharaohs.

The Jews remained scattered there until their delivery from exile by the Prophet Moses, who brought them back to the land of Canaan by the southeastern route, either in the time of his son, Manasseh, 1225 B. C. (Genesis 12, 1, c. 1250 B. C.), or if we accept the text of the Bible we find that the conqueror of Palestine was Joshua, the son of Nun, who crossed with his army and captured the city of Jericho from the Canaanites with great cruelty and barbarity; witness his words to his Army:

"Burn ye all that is in the city and slay with the edge of the sword both man and woman, young and old, and ox and sheep, and burn the city with fire and all that is therein." Joshua Ch. X: 1-34.

Thereafter the Jews split up into two kingdoms. One, the Kingdom of the Israelites with its capital Samaria (Nabul), lasted 250 years and then fell to the hands of Sargonassor,

King of the Assyrians, in the year 722 B. C., and was led into captivity. The other, the Kingdom of Judah, with its capital Jerusalem, lasted 130 years after the Kingdom of Israel had perished.

It was later destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon, who burned down the city and the temple with fire, and led the people into captivity to Babylon in the year 586 B. C.

The captivity in Babylon lasted seventy years, and then the Jews returned to Palestine by order of Cyrus, King of the Persians.

The Greek conquest followed in 332 B. C., under the command of Alexander the Macedonian, their rule lasting in Palestine for 300 years.

The Roman conquest took place next in the year 63 B. C., under the command of Pompey, their rule lasting in Palestine for 300 years.

In the year 637 A. D. the Arabs occupied Palestine, and their rule lasted continuously for 800 years. The orders of the Caliph to the conqueror were: "You shall not act treacherously, dishonestly, commit any excess or mutilation, kill any child or old man; cut or burn down palms or fruit trees, kill any sheep, cow or camel, and shall leave alone those whom you find devoting themselves to worship in their own way." This was related by Ibn al-Atheer, the famous historian.

Palestine then passed under the rule of the Turks in A. D. 1517, during the reign of Sultan Salim the First, and their rule lasted for 400 years. The Arabs were the inhabitants and participated with the Turks in the government and administration of the country. It was then occupied by the British who are still there.

This history of Palestine, an Arab country, shows that the Arabs were its first inhabitants and that they dwelt there for a period of 1,000 years before Christ and have remained there since Christ until the present day.

They ruled it alone or with the Turks for a period of about 1,200 years, whereas the dis-jointed reign of the Jews did not exceed 260 confused and sporadic years.

No Jewish rule has existed in Palestine since 62 B. C., nor until the British forces entered Palestine in 1918, i. e., for 1,200 years there have been few Jews there and they have had no influence. They numbered not more than 80,000 when the British entered Palestine, and lived comfortably, happily and prosperously in that country with the original inhabitants the Arabs.

The Jews were merely aliens who had come to Palestine at intervals and had then been turned out over 1,000 years ago.

The permanent rights of the Arabs in Palestine rest on the following:

- (1) The right to dwell there. This they have done since the year 2,500 B. C. without ever leaving the country.
- (2) The natural right of life.
- (3) The existence therein of the Holy Land.
- (4) The Arabs are not aliens in Palestine, and there is no intention to bring any of them from other parts of the world to settle there.

The historical claim of the Jews is, however, a fantasy. As already mentioned, their brief and sporadic rule gives them no right to claim that they own the country, for to occupy a country and then leave it entitles no nation to claim and demand ownership thereof. The history of the world is full of such examples.

The solution of the problem of the persecuted Jews in the world differs from the fictitious problem of Zionism. For to provide homes for the scattered Jews is something in which the whole world can cooperate, and here Palestine has more space than its full share. Not to bring these scattered people, persecuted in countries already occupied and do away with the original inhabitants is an act unparalleled in human history.

We state frankly and plainly

that to help Zionism in Palestine not only means to endanger Palestine but all neighboring countries.

The Zionists have given clear evidence of their intentions in Palestine and in all neighboring countries. They have organized dangerous secret military formations. It would thus be a mistake to say that this was the action of a group of their extremists and that it had met with the disapproval of their assemblies and committees.

We declare that the actions of the Zionists inside and outside Palestine are based on a program agreed upon and approved of by world Jewry.

These people began their vile work by wronging the Government that had treated them kindly and sheltered them, namely, the British Government. Their assemblies declared war on Britain and organized dangerous military formations, which at present hold in Palestine all the arms and military equipment they require.

Their members have carried out various attacks of which the most shocking was the attack on that outstanding figure, so kind and charitable toward all men and with the greatest sympathy for persecuted Jewry, Lord Moyne.

Lays Terror to All Jews

The proof that all Jews aided and abetted their vile deed is to be seen in the demonstrations and efforts made by Jews everywhere, demanding a light sentence for the criminals in order to encourage others to do the same.

This, then, is the way they behave with the Government which has treated them so kindly. What would be the position if they were able to realize their objects and make Palestine entirely their own country, in which and near which they could do as they pleased.

If the matter were left to the Arabs and these aggressors it might perhaps be easy, but they are protected by the British Government, the friends of the Arabs. The Zionists did not respect the sanctity of this protection but plotted mischief, beginning first with Britain and threatening the Arabs after Britain with similar and more dangerous plots.

Thus, if the Allied Governments, whose friendship the Arabs are aware of, wish to see the fires of war break out and bloodshed between Arabs and Jews, their support of the Zionists will surely lead to this result. What we and the Arab countries fear from the Zionists are:

(1) That they will carry out a series of massacres as between themselves and the Arabs.

Main Causes of Disension

(2) That the Zionists will be one of the main causes of disension between the Arabs and the Allies. The latest proof of this is the case of the two Jews who killed Lord Moyne in Egypt. Had the Jews been able to hide the criminals, a dispute would have occurred between the British Government and Egypt.

(3) That the ambitions of the Jews are not confined to Palestine alone. The preparations they have made show that they intend to take hostile action against neighboring Arab countries.

(4) Supposing that the Jews obtain their independence somewhere in Palestine, what is to prevent them from coming to an agreement with any power that may be hostile to the Allies and to the Arabs? As if it, they have begun taking hostile action against Britain while under her protection and mercy.

Such factors should no doubt be taken into consideration in regard to the establishment of peace in the world when the problem of Palestine is discussed. Not only is the gathering of Jews in Palestine based on no historical argument nor on any natural right, and is in fact absolutely unjust, but it constitutes at the same time a danger to peace, to the Arabs and to the Middle East.

The crux of the matter is that the formation of a Jewish State

in Palestine will be a deadly blow to the Arabs and a constant threat to peace, for disturbed conditions are bound to prevail between the Jews and the Arabs, and if the patience of the latter is one day exhausted and they despair of their future then they will be obliged to defend themselves and future generations against this aggression. No doubt the Allies, who are working to uphold peace and respect for man's rights, are aware of this. We have no doubt that they are

dissatisfied with this uneasy situation which threatens peace in the Middle East.

Could Wait No Longer

We did not wish to bother Your Excellency or your Ministers with this matter during the present Islamic struggle in which you are engaged. Confident that the Allies will treat the Arabs fairly, however, we would have preferred the Arabs to forbear until the end of the war had it not been for the provocative and offensive acts committed by the Zionists who, regardless of war conditions and the preoccupation of the Allies, seek in every form of pressure to bear on them to adopt a policy which is inconsistent with the principles of right and justice which the Allies have proclaimed.

That is why we wished to explain the true rights of the Arabs in Palestine so as to refute the flimsy arguments of the Zionist party, counter their aggressive tactics, and set out the facts in order that the Allies may fully understand the rights of the Arabs in their country, the country of their fathers and forefathers.

The Jews should not be permitted to exploit the forbearance of the Arabs or their desire to avoid any embarrassment to the Allies, to obtain concessions to which they are not entitled.

All we ask is that the Allies should fully realize the rights of the Arabs and for the present prevent the Jews going ahead in any new matter which may be considered a threat to the Arabs and to the future of every Arab nation, in order that they, the Arabs, may be assured of justice and equity in their lands.

With highest respects,

Your friend,

ABDUL AZIZ AL SAUD.

M. Roosevelt's Reply

April 5, 1945.

Great and good friend,

I have received the communication which Your Majesty sent me, under date of March 10, 1945, in which you refer to the question of Palestine and to the continuing interest of the Arabs in cur-

rent developments affecting that country.

I am gratified that Your Majesty took this occasion to bring your views on this question to my attention and I have given the most careful attention to the statements which you make in your letter. I am also mindful of the memorable conversation which we had not so long ago and in the course of which I had an opportunity to obtain an impression of Your Majesty's sentiments on this question.

Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I discussed with you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without consultation with both Arabs and Jews.

Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that, during our recent conversations I assured you that I would take no action in my capacity as Chief of the Executive Branch of this Government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

It gives me pleasure to recall to Your Majesty the assurance which you have previously received regarding the attitude of my Government and my own, as Chief Executive, with regard to the question of Palestine and to inform you that the policy of the Government in this respect has not changed.

I desire also at this time to send you my best wishes for Your Majesty's continued good health and for the welfare of your people.

Your good friend,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

His Majesty
Abdul Aziz bin Abdul Rahman
Al Faisal Al Saud,
King of Saudi Arabia,
Riyadh."

The Day 10-20-45

[illegible]

התורה לא נכתבה בלילה אחד, והיא לא נכתבה על ידי איש אחד. היא נכתבה על ידי רבים, וזו היתה תורה אחת. היא נכתבה על ידי רבים, וזו היתה תורה אחת. היא נכתבה על ידי רבים, וזו היתה תורה אחת.

Sunday, October 21, 1945

U.S. ZIONIST LEADERS MEET TO DEFINE ATTITUDE ON AMERICA'S POLICY ON PALESTINE

The full text of the letters - made public last night by Secretary Byrnes in Washington and by the Saudi Arabian legations in the Middle East - revealed that on March 10, the ruler of Saudi Arabia sent a communication to President Roosevelt asserting that the Jews in Palestine have for centuries been "merely aliens" who had come to the country at intervals, that Palestine is an Arab country in which the Arabs have lived continuously for about 5,500 years. He warned that if the Allied Governments "wish to see the fires of war break out, and bloodshed between Arabs and Jews, their support of the Zionists will surely lead to this result."

In the meantime, it was announced today by the American Zionist Emergency Council that an unprecedented open-air demonstration "to support Palestine's fight for freedom" will be held next Wednesday at Madison Square Park. A call was issued to all Jews in New York to participate in this demonstration which will start at 4 p.m. The call also urges the Jews in the city to close their places of business and stop work on Wednesday afternoon, so that workers may be able to march en masse to Madison Square Park from their places of employment.

10 11K 7780 7780P 7780S 11K 7780
11 11K 7780 7780P 7780S 11K 7780

דער ברויזעוועקסל צווישן אינעם
פאר און דעם פרויענעם פון די
פאראייניגטע שטאטן, האט אין
פארגעשטעלט געווארן פון פרייע
דעמאקראטיע, ווי עס ווערט בא-
ריכטעט נאך א דרוק, האט די ארמא-
נישע שלחנים האבען אויפגעקומע,
האט איינגעשטעלט די נעמליכע
פון דער צייטשפער פריער
שאפט, פון אלע שיכטען פון דער
צייטשפער פארגענג און פון
אויפן פאל, ליבעראלע פרייע
און די ארכיטעקטארישע און
אסערליכע וועגן אנדרייטשט פון
דער נאכגעפאלגער פון אונזער דער
זינגען צו די הערשענדיק פון די
ארכיטעקטארישע.

די צייטשפער פריער האבען
היינט אפגעשטעלט א פארגע-
האלט צו די צייטשפער פריער און

די ניוטא (מפאדמאטאסטיק) איז קעגן אירע קלוגע פארמאטירונג פארמאטירט. דעם 24סטן סעפטעמבער, וועט זיין אן אפמאכונג צו די סעפטעמבער-וועגס פילם ווי און אלע לייזונגן, אדער איינציקע פון די פילמען און פון די ניוטא אפטייטער פארשטאנדענע, וואסווייטער פון דעם איינציקענדיגן דעם אפטייטער און פון די ניוטאס און דעם איינציקענדיגן וועגס פילם איינציקענדיג פון אירע קלוגע פארמאטירונג פארמאטירט.

די צווייטע זייט פון דעם
פרייטאג אפגעלאזט א טעגלעך
לען ביטונג אין די ארבעט פון
צוויי קאמפיל אין א גרעסערע זאך
זינט פון אלע צווייטע זייט פאר
זייער אין היסטאריע אין מאדערן
געזאמען איז שטענדיק, וואס
עס האט געמאכט דערען דער ערשט
וואסער באשולט אין אפגעזעצט
דעם איבער פאר אן איבער דער
זינט דעם אלע פארעם אין
פרייטאג געטונען צווייטע פון
קליינע, פון די געטונען פון
אין די געטונען. די אלע
זייער ביטונג אין, פון די האנדל
פון דער דערעם אין גוט נאך גוט
אין איינזאמלונג פון די דערעם
גוט האלט גוט געמאכט געמאכט

By JOHN O'DONNELL 10-22-45

Here in Washington, Zionist leaders were outraged and angry by the October 18 formal announcement of Secretary Byrnes that all final conclusions with respect to Palestine, so far as this republic is concerned, would not be reached without "full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders."

And in this respect, all the evidence shows that the anger is justified. The whole story is a perfect example of one of the slickest double-crosses in the great game of American politics as expertly practiced since 1963.

IT WAS back in March of '44, three months before the national conventions, that a determined drive was started to force Britain to reverse her policy and permit free and unrestricted entrance into Palestine of Jews who had felt the horrors of the Nazi terror. This is the inside story:

The British wanted no such statement of American policy from any American group. So, then Secretary of War Stimson wrote to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Chairman Sol Bloom (D.), of New York, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, that favorable action on the pending resolution "would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Then the presidential campaign got under way and F.D.R. bore down heavily on his fight for votes.

Five days later, with the battle for the White House heating hot and G.O.P. Candidate Gov. Dewey denouncing White House "double talk," questioning Roosevelt's personal veracity and painting him as a slippery customer, F.D.R. went overboard on the Palestine issue in his letter to Wagner.

The Wagner letter read:

"Dear Bob: Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional Democratic policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party, at its convention, included the following plank in its platform:

(Then the fourth term plank, calling for "unrestricted Jewish immigration . . . and establishment of a democratic Jewish commonwealth" was quoted.)

Well, Roosevelt was elected to his fourth term. And promptly the double-cross started to work. The British raised their fears of what might happen if F.D.R. carried out his pledge.

And so, a month after the Roosevelt victory, Roosevelt told the then Secretary of State Stettinius to go up on the hill and tell Sol Bloom's committee in the House and Tom Connally's in the Senate that "passage of the Palestine resolution at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation."

Stettinius, again at Roosevelt's direct orders, told the lawmakers on Capitol Hill that they must water down the resolution by knocking the all-important word Jewish from the phrase "reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

Then Roosevelt demanded that the whole resolution be killed. Wagner of New York stuck by his guns. So did Senator Taft of Ohio and Vandenberg of Michigan. Stettinius was summoned before the committee—had to admit that F.D.R. and the White House wanted no part of the Palestine resolution. The White House pressure won—even against the objections of House G.O.P. Leader Martin and Democratic Leader McCormack.

Even the veteran chairman of the powerful House Rules Committee, Illinois' Adolph J. Sabath, folded up after a summons from the White House. But the whole story of the slick doublecross didn't sink in until last week when Jimmy Byrnes let the cat out of the bag springing F.D.R.'s secret letter to the Arabian monarch.

Palestine Rally To Hit Betrayal

Read "Justice for Palestine"
by Harry H. Schlacht in today's
editorial section.

A huge outdoor demonstration,
in support of "Jewish Palestine's
fight for freedom," will be held
at 4 p. m. tomorrow in Madison
Square Park, 24th st. and Madison
ave., focussing on protests
against British failure to keep
its pledge.

Preparations for the rally were
completed today by the sponsoring
organization, the American
Zionist Emergency Council,
spokesman for all Zionist groups
the country.

"WILL NOT BE SILENT."

The council co-chairmen, Dr.
Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland,
and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, in a
statement announcing the meet-
ing, declared:

"Britain and our own Govern-
ment must know that the Amer-
ican people will not be silent
while the solemn pledges made
to Jews are scrapped to ap-
pease pro-Fascist Arab chief-
tains."

The New York Board of Jewish
Ministers, issuing a supplementary
call, asked Jewish owners of
business to declare a half holi-
day tomorrow afternoon, so that
employees may attend.

In case of rain, the demon-
stration will be postponed to Thurs-
day afternoon.

Justice for Palestine

By HARRY H. SCHLACHT

THE Jews of New York and freedom loving people of all faiths will
gather in Madison Square Park tomorrow afternoon at 4 o'clock to voice
a mighty outburst of indignation against the duplicity practiced upon
helpless Jewish people by the British Government.

Speakers will demand the fulfillment of the intent and purposes of
the Balfour declaration, the League of Nations mandate for Palestine, and
of the 1924 convention between Great Britain and the United States, all of
which was designed to provide a national homeland, in the full sense of the
word, for the Jewish people.

This mammoth mass demonstration calls for the redemption of this
promise. It will demand not words but justice with action.

It is not a refugee problem.
It cannot be solved by relief measures.
It will call for free immigration into Palestine and for its establish-
ment now.

FOUR million Jews have been murdered. It is the most tragic chapter of
brutality in history. Hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions of Jews
could have been saved during the war years if Great Britain had not
closed the doors of Palestine.

For years the Hearst Newspapers have urged a Jewish homeland in
Eretz Israel to save the last remnants of European Jewry.

This was the meaning of the Balfour declaration, endorsed by every
President since 1920.

Attend this great rally.

And in the words of Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silvers,
chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

"Let there be a great outcry for justice that will be heard across the
oceans and in the council chambers of the great powers."

U. S. Palestine Policy Hit by Dr. Silver

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24 (U.P.)—
Zionist leaders expressed "serious
doubt" today that the United States
was keeping its "promises" to back
a Jewish national home in Palestine.

They said their concern was based
on the recently published letter in
which the late President Roosevelt
told King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia
that the United States would con-
sult with the Arabs on any changes
in our Palestinian policy.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Clevel-
and, chairman of the American
Zionist Emergency Council, and Dr.
Stephen S. Wise of New York called
on Secretary of State Byrnes yes-
terday and later made public copies
of their eight-page protest.

The statement asserted that the
Arab states had neither "legal nor
moral title" to the sovereignty over
Palestine.

"The Arab states are in this mat-
ter without legal standing or any
kind," they said, "and we submit
that their attitude in recent years
is certainly far from giving them a
moral voice in this issue."

They charged pro-Zionist state-
ments by U. S. presidents and party
platforms "have not been translated
into action" and that this country's
"numerous acts and omissions have
emboldened the Arab leaders."

'STOP WORK' PLEA FOR RALLY TO DEMAND PALESTINE ACTION

Many thousands of New Yorkers will leave their offices and
workbenches tomorrow afternoon to attend a giant rally at Mad-
ison Square Park to "support Jewish Palestine's Fight for Freedom."

In calling the rally for 4 p.m. tomorrow, the American
Zionist Emergency Council urged New Yorkers to "stop your
work! close your business!" and join in a "mighty outburst of
indignation against the callousness and duplicity practiced upon
the helpless Jewish people by the British government."

Several unions, including locals of the ILGWU and Amalga-
mated Clothing Workers, are cooperating in the rally, and spon-
sors predicted that the garment district would be virtually closed
down during the rally.

Various Christian groups are expected to attend the demon-
stration, and Dr. Carl Herman Voss, co-director of the American
Christian Palestine Committee, has issued a statement endorsing it.

Zionists Ask Full Turnout Emergency Council Wants Shops Shut Today

The American Zionist Emergen-
cy Council, which is sponsoring
today's mass meeting in Madison
Square Park to "support Jewish
Palestine's fight for freedom," has
appealed to all Jews in the Metro-
politan area to close their places
of business this afternoon so that
their workers may be able to march
en masse to the park.

Hebrew schools throughout the
City will be closed so that students
may parade to the 4 p.m. demon-
stration with their teachers.

The Council, whose joint chair-
men are Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of
Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise
of New York, issued a statement,
saying:

"We call upon the Jews of
Greater New York and freedom-
loving men and women of all faiths
to join in a mighty outburst of in-
dignation against the callousness
and duplicity practiced upon the
Jewish people by the British Gov-
ernment."

"Britain and our own Govern-
ment must know that the American
people will not be silent while the
solemn pledges made to the Jews
are scrapped to appease pro-fascist
Arab chiefs."

"Let there, then, be a great out-
cry that will be heard across the
oceans and in the council-chambers
of the Great Powers."

Jews Rally Today In Palestine Fight

A vast outdoor demonstration on behalf of "Jewish Pale-
stine's fight for freedom" will be held in Madison Square Park
this afternoon. It will protest Britain's failure to fulfill the
Balfour Declaration.

Half a million Jewish residents
of the city are expected to declare
a half holiday, marching to the
park at Madison ave. and 25th st.
for exercises beginning at 4 p. m.

If the weather is inclement, the
demonstration will be postponed
until tomorrow afternoon.

STATEMENT ON RALLY.

The American Zionist Emer-
gency Council, sponsoring the
rally, and headed by Dr. Abba
Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S.
Wise, declared:

"We call upon the Jews of
Greater New York and freedom-
loving men and women of all
faiths to join in a mighty out-
burst of indignation against the

callousness and duplicity prac-
ticed upon the helpless Jewish
people by the British Govern-
ment."

"Britain and our own Govern-
ment must know that the Amer-
ican people will not be silent
while the solemn pledges made
to Jews are scrapped to appease
pro-Fascist Arab chieftains."

The New York Board of Jewish
Ministers is cooperating in the
rally, as are teachers of all Hebrew
schools in the metropolitan area.

For the American Jewish Con-
ference, Louis Lipsky, chairman
of the executive committee, de-
clared:

"Every New Yorker who be-

lieves the war we have won was
a just war, should demonstrate
his belief in justice also for the
Jewish people.

"We must show that Ameri-
can Jewry does not sit idly by
while Middle Eastern Jewish
is framed at the expense of sur-
viving European Jews and Jew-
ish Palestine."

Speakers at the rally will stress
the plight of the refugees still
held in European concentration
camps while the doors of Pales-
tine are closed to them.

A "March of Youth" in which
an estimated 25,000 young people
will participate, will start at 17th
st. and 4th ave., and end at the
park. The procession will be led
by veterans of World War II.

Other processions, representing
religious, civic and women's
groups, will gather in other streets
and converge in the park.

Zionist Leaders Count on Congress to Clarify Policy

By OLIVER PILAT

Post Staff Correspondent

EVE POST

Washington, Oct. 24—Zionist leaders today looked to Congress for some new formal expression on Palestine that may help end the current U. S. policy of "ambiguity and delay."

(Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, told Secretary Byrnes yesterday afternoon that the time has come "for immediate and forthright action" in behalf of free migration of European Jews to the Holy Land.

Today Dr. Silver began a series of conferences with Senate and House leaders. "Sentiment in Congress is wonderful," he declared, indicating that one of several resolutions already introduced on Palestine might be pushed to passage.

Note to Ibn Saud

Dr. Silver traced Zionist uneasiness to the revelation, last Thursday, by Secretary Byrnes, that President Roosevelt, on Apr. 5, wrote King Ibn Saud, titular head of the Arabian world, promising no action which "might

prove hostile to the Arab people."

While avoiding direct attack on the long-secret Roosevelt letter, Dr. Silver said, it was "subject to the most unfortunate interpretations."

On Oct. 15, 1944, and Mar. 16, 1945, President Roosevelt "expressed his support for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth," Dr. Silver pointed out.

In 1941, and 1945, a majority of both Houses of Congress took a similar stand, as did governors of 40 states, in a statement issued July 4, 1945. Both party platforms, in 1944, favored unrestricted Jewish immigration, and eventual establishment in Palestine "of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Noting that every President since Wilson has endorsed the Jewish National Home idea, Dr.

Silver added: "publication of this correspondence with Ibn Saud places upon our government the responsibility of indicating in precise terms whether it abides by the policy so long and firmly established."

The Roosevelt letter, "failed to point out that free Jewish immigration into Palestine and ultimate establishment there of a democratic commonwealth, under a Jewish majority, could not be conceived as hostile to the Arab people," said the Zionist leader.

"Why are the rulers of the Arab States permitted to meddle in the affairs of Palestine?" demanded Dr. Silver.

"These spokesmen of Foreign Arab States have been threatening violence. The American government should clearly indicate it does not intend to be intimidated or blackmailed in carrying out its own policies."

Biggest Zion Rally Post Of All Time Today; Many Stores to Close

Hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers were expected to join Madison Square Park this afternoon for the biggest Zionist rally of all time.

Factories and retail stores across the city planned to shut down in time for the unprecedented open-air rally at 4 p. m., and both AFL and CIO officials urged their members to "stop your work" and attend the demonstration protesting against Britain's continued refusal to open the gates of Palestine to the great mass of Jewish refugees in Europe.

With every major Zionist organization here pledging its support to the meeting, the American Zionist Emergency Council, its sponsor, predicted that 300,000 to 500,000 people would join in aiding "Jewish Palestine's fight for freedom."

"Across the Ocean" Outcry

In calling the rally, the Council said: "Let there be a great outcry for justice that will be heard across the oceans and in the council chambers of the great powers."

Parading participants were scheduled to converge on the rally from all sides.

For example, 30 youth groups, expected to comprise 15,000 to 20,000, were to march at 3 p. m. from 14th St. and Fourth Av. to the park at 24th St. and Madison Av.

Other groups expected to march to the demonstration include veterans of the Jewish Legion, who fought with British Gen. Allenby to free Palestine in the First World War, and members of

Poale-Zion, labor Zionist organization.

Representatives of Christian organizations were to attend the rally, as were groups from the city's colleges, high schools and Hebrew schools.

In case of rain the meeting will be held tomorrow afternoon.

ZIONISTS PROTEST U. S. VOW TO ARABS

Memorandum to Byrnes Says
Pledge Disregards Policy to
Which Nation Is 'Committed'

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—Determined protests against allowing Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine were laid before Secretary of State James F. Byrnes today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, representing the American Zionist Emergency Council.

During a forty-minute conference the Zionist leaders presented a detailed memorandum deploring that neither the Executive branch, nor the State Department, in particular, had translated into action "what Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise outlined as an unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises and pronouncements."

They stated that neither the letter of President Roosevelt to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia nor Mr. Byrnes' recent statement "took any cognizance whatever" of the policy toward Palestine to which the American Government and people were both "committed." It was true, they added, that in neither instance had this policy been repudiated, but they said it had been omitted.

In a press conference Dr. Silver said he and Dr. Wise had a "long and exploratory conversation" with Mr. Byrnes, who "did not seem to indicate that the matter (of Palestine) is closed."

At the same press conference Dr. Silver accused King Ibn Saud of "infamous lies," and demanded that the American Government tell the Arab states that it did not propose to be "intimidated or blackmailed." The Arab states, he went on, were likely, without the aid of America, to "remain backward, impoverished and disease-ridden."

He asked why the British Labor party permitted a "shocking repudiation" of its own commitments, made as recently as four months ago. He inquired whether Palestine was a British colony, "or are 6,000,000 Jewish dead not enough?" Must the rest of the European Jews perish "in order to maintain Great Britain's imperial interest in the 'Dr East'?" he asked.

There was no other place than Palestine for the displaced people of Europe to go, Dr. Silver asserted, Palestine being "the last chance or hope."

In the formal statement the Zionist leaders hoped that this government would press for immediate admission of 100,000 Jews, in line with President Truman's request. But they said the statement of Mr. Byrnes was "silent regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the basic situation."

No matter what assurances President Roosevelt may have given to Ibn Saud before the letter, the promises would not be valid.

of American policy or the terms of the Palestine mandate, they asserted.

Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise took "grateful note" that Mr. Byrnes' statement indicated that measures should be taken to facilitate immigration into Palestine of substantial survivors of European Jewry; and that this immigration does not affect the "basic situation."

By Cable to THE NEW YORK TIMES.
HAVANA, Oct. 23—A motion asking the Cuban Senate to issue a declaration expressing the satisfaction with which Cuba would regard the establishment of a free Jewish State in Palestine in accordance with the Balfour Declaration was presented tonight. Twenty-two Senators signed the motion.

Zionists Hand Sharp Protest to Byrnes

Demand U. S. A.
Disavow Its Do-Nothing
Policy

By CHARLES A. MICHE
Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 24.—Angered by State Dept. apathy and Great Britain's stolid refusal to open the doors of Palestine to Europe's stricken Jews, leaders of the Zionist movement have lodged a strong and formal protest with Secretary of State Byrnes.

Drs. Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver called on Byrnes and presented a memorandum emphasizing the urgency of immediate action and asking him to disavow the State Dept.'s do-nothing policy, which has encouraged Arab leaders to say that the U. S. Government does not support the Zionist cause.

At a press conference, Dr. Silver indicated that Britain's new Labor Government has refused President Truman's request that 100,000 European Jews be allowed to go to Palestine at once. Instead, he said, Prime Minister Clement Attlee has countered with an offer to allow immigration to Palestine at the rate of about 1800 a month.

"That would be a tragic trickle and a ghastly joke," Silver said bitterly.

Wants Clear Policy

Silver demanded immediate clarification of issues raised by correspondence between the late President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia and by meaningless statements of Secretary Byrnes.

"President Roosevelt's letter (to Ibn Saud) refers to assurances previously given to the king regarding the attitude of the U. S. A. with respect to Palestine," the memorandum to Byrnes said. "The exact nature of these assurances is not disclosed, but it is respectfully submitted that whatever their tenor, they would not be valid if inconsistent with the objectives of American policy or the terms of the Palestine mandate."

Dr. Silver said it was "deeply to be regretted" that FDR's letter, which assured Ibn Saud that no action would be taken by our Government which might prove hostile to the Arab people, did not point out that establishment of a national Jewish home in Palestine "could not be conceived as hostile to the Arab people."

The Roosevelt letter was "most ambiguous and subject to misinterpretation," he added. "The omissions make it damaging."

U. S. Inaction

He pointed out that every President since 1919, the Congress, and reiterated American policy has always favored opening of Palestine to the Jews. Yet, he added, when Britain repudiated the terms under which it received a mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations, our State Dept. did nothing. Restrictions on immigration established by the British White Paper in 1939 brought no action from the U. S. A.

Dr. Silver said it was "doubly regrettable" that FDR's letter failed to repudiate Ibn Saud's vilification of the Jewish people.

"It is painful to observe that such calumnies as that the Arabs fear 'series of massacres' at the hands of the Zionists, that the latter are 'preparing to create a form of Nazi-Fascism' and that it is the intention 'to do away with' the inhabitants of Arab countries should have been allowed to stand unchallenged," the memorandum said.

In general, he memorandum to Byrnes protest: a procedure which seems to accord a right to the various Arab states to be consulted on the affairs of Palestine. "The Arab states are without legal standing of any kind and we submit that their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue," it declared.

Forgotten Promises

Dr. Silver said the new Labor Party in Great Britain had given some hope for action to the 1,400,000 Jews of Europe—65,000 of them in concentration camps in the American zone alone. However, it appears Attlee has forgotten his promises he said.

He said the world had been surveyed for a possible alternative to Palestine as a national home for Jews, but none could be found. Asked about Australia, he said it would be nice if all countries would open their doors, but they won't. He cited the case of the boatload of refugee Jews which cruised the Caribbean and the shores of the U. S. A. in 1939 and still had to go home to be massacred by Hitler.

Front Page

Forward 1024-1

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עקלאראציע, וואס איז ארויסגע-
גען געווארען פון פרעזידענט
דאטא, "העלפער איז געווען די
קאט פארבונדען מיט דער ארויס-
פונג פון דער באַלמור דעקלאַר-
ציע", אז "די סעלעקט פון די עלטסטע
נען מיט דער פולסטער צושטיי-
ג פון אונזער רעגירונג און אונז-
ער פאָלק, איינשטיימיג אז אין פא-
רשטינע וואָרען געלייגט ווערען די
גורות פון א אידישער קאמאנ-
דאָט".

דער סעקארטורוס פאליגנט
י, אז ניש רוזנשילד'ס ברוך און
פאליגנט'ס פאליגנטעם דעמאל
און מיט דער קלארער פאליג
וועלכער די אמעריקאנער דעמאל
און דאס אמעריקאנער פאליג
פען זיך פארשליסענע.

האשינונען קאמ 23 (איטא).
— דר. אבא הילל פילינער אין דר.
פליסן פ. הארץ, די פילינער פון דעם
אמעריקאניזירטן צווייטן שטאד
דזשעסי קאנאלי, האבן היינט
צוגעשטעלט א סעקאראנדום צו
טערקסטרי און פאליס דזשעסיס
פ. בורנס. דער סעקאראנדום פאר
לאנג א, פאליס אומסקלענע
העבן די באנקן, האט זייער
אומסקלענע געווען אין די
אומקלענע ביי פון קעני איבן
פאר און פאליס דזשעסיס
באט אומקלענע.

דער סטאטאסוס דריקט אים
די האנט, און די אפערירונג
קעניגט דאס פארשטענדן איהר
פארשטענדן. מען האט פאר איהר
לעזן 100,000 הייבטאק אדער פון
איראקס קיין ארץ ישראל.
די צוויי צווייטע פירע הא
בע נעמט א נעשטער מיט פער
קעטרי ביידן, דאס האט גע
דורכט 40 מינוט. די האבען דער
נאך ערקלערט, אז דאס איז געווען
א גרונטליכע ריסטורען וועגן
ארץ ישראל, און אז די ריסטורען
איז געווען, דורכאויס צווייטער
שטעלער.

אויף א פונקטעקאמפערענץ נאך
דעם געשפירטע טיגל פערשטער
אין פערט, האט דר. סילווער אונז
פערשטערקט, אז עס איז הייבט
אז די אפערקאנער קעניגונג וואל
לעזען הייבן די אראבישע מלכות,
אז, די האט נאך דער זיך צו לעזען
אונזערענען" ביים דזשענעראל
פאליס און באזונדער אין ישראל.
דר. סילווער האט באזיכענט
אלס, נעמישע ליגענע" די באהיט
הונדעט, האט קעניג איינפאנד האט
נעמאט און זיין ביה פון 500
אפילו צו פערקערטע דזשענעלע,

Forward 10-24-45

הדפוס אידישע אנהאנגער, וויאזוי, לאדסטאנשאפטען, סטודענטען-פארטייען, רבנים און שולען העלען אן
 באטייליגען אין דעמאנסטראציע ווינט נאכמיטאג אין מעדיסאן סטוע פארק. — צוואנציגסטען פון דעמאנס-
 אן אנהאנגערס היבען זיך אן דאלינג-נאך-צוויי און העלען סאלידען צום פארק. — דעמאנסטראציע
 מיטען העט אנהאלטען פון 4 ביז 6 פארנאכט.

לי. רעכט פון דעם אידישן אגוד
פון וואס וועט זיין איהם בארעכענע
דער און דערנאך בארעכענע
די דעם אגודע פון דער פערזענלעכ
די דעם אגודע פערזענלעכ די דעם
אידישן אגודע פערזענלעכ
עס וועט בארעכענע זיין און אגוד
דעם און דעם אגוד אידישע פערזענלעכ
אגודע פון דעם אגודע פערזענלעכ
אגודע פערזענלעכ די דעם אגודע
אגודע פערזענלעכ די דעם אגודע

[illegible]

אסעט פון דער קאפיטל אינער
דזשענטס ב. ערין סעקססערס
שטערער פון דער סי.א.י. א. וויליס
פאליס. ניו יארק סטעיט אדמיניסטרעטער
פון דער א.א. איז ב. ד. דזשי
טאטאס. פרעזידענט יונאייטעד סטעיט
סאביל וואיטערס. סטעיט וואש
ווייטפרעזידענט א.א. איז ב. טאטס
אדווקאט. אויטאדא נאטלע. דזשענט
ברעטלאד. דזשענטעל סלאטסברג. דזשי
גרינבערג. סאטלע וואלטיטאט. אויט
דזשענט סילער. דזשי האריזאנט. ווי
ליאס וואלטיטאט. דזשי וואטער. ב. ג.
אדלבערג. און אנדערע.

פערשט וועט וועט אפגעטיילט ווערן
צו פערזענלעכע סטראסן און צום ספעס
דעפארטמענט אין דעם באסעס פון ניו
יארקער איידעלסטאם און נייטע קארפא-
ראציע פלייט.
לאמאלס פון דער אינטערנעט-מאנאל
לעזערס בארעכענעט וואוינארטן יוניאן.
אין דעזאסטן באהערד פון אפגעלאזענער
דער קלארינג וואוינארטן, און פילע
אנדערע וויכטיגע דאזיקע איינפלוס-
דערט ווערן מיטגלידער צו ספעס
צום סיסטעם.
די אפגעטיילטע איינפלוס סטריק
נימאט אפגעטיילטע דאזיקע פערזענלעכע
און

אמאנשאפטען. סאס יעטעס, אירעסן,
וועלט ארגאניזאציעס, אירעסן קינדער,
עסטראנע און לינגאנערע, האבען
אויפגעזאצט זייערע מיטלענער צו
אירעסן די ארבייט שליסן די נען
העכסט און פונעם ווען באטייליגטן
אין דער רעאמאסטראציע.
די אריינזעט יוניאנס און איר
אנאנאציעס וועלען האלט נאך צוהיין
אויסער דעם ארגאניזאציע אירעסן זייערע
באטייליגטע פלעצער און וואנען זיי
וועלען באטייליגט צו ערשטעם פארשן
פארק אין דעסלאסטעס רייזען. די
אירעסן וועלען באטייליגט איבער די
רעסעס מיט פארשן און פלאנאציע.
ביי דער רעאמאסטראציע וועט דער
ריווער עולם שטימען איבער א פער

היינו ביטחון קוסט מאד די גרויסע
רעסאנסאנציע אין דעם ניו יארקער
גרויסן סטודיו פארם, וואס עס האט
אדרבאסן דעם ציוניסטישער עמור
דעמאנסטראציעס. א צאל פראמי-
ענטע אסעקאנעד פאליטיקער, און
היינט פארשטער, נעלערסט, איז
היינט און נישטאירישע, וועלן אויס-
רעסען ביי דעם רעסאנסאנציע און
אדערען, אז די אסעקאנעד רעגיר-
ונג וואו העלפן העלפן די פויערע
און אירישע איינוואוינער און שוין
היינט די אסעקאנעד פאליטיקער וועלן
דעם ישראל וואס איז אנגענומען ווען
היינט אין נערוץ פרעזידענט.
אירישע שריר יוגאנס, לאנדס

ZIONISTS PROTEST U. S. VOW TO ARABS

Memorandum to Byrnes Says
Pledge Disregards Policy to
Which Nation Is 'Committed'

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—Determined protests against allowing Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine were laid before Secretary of State James F. Byrnes today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, representing the American Zionist Emergency Council.

During a forty-minute conference, the Zionist leaders presented a detailed memorandum deploring that neither the Executive branch, nor the State Department in particular had "translated into action" what Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise outlined as an "unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises and pronouncements."

They stated that neither the letter of President Roosevelt to King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, nor Mr. Byrnes's recent statement "took any cognizance whatever" of the policy toward Palestine to which the American Government and people were both "committed." It was true, they added, that in neither instance had this policy been repudiated, but they said it had been omitted.

In a press conference, Dr. Silver said he and Dr. Wise had a "long and exploratory conversation" with Mr. Byrnes who "did not seem to indicate that the matter (of Palestine) is closed."

At the same press conference, Dr. Silver accused King Ibn Saud of "infamous lies," and demanded that the American Government tell the Arab State that it did not propose to be "intimidated or blackmailed." The Arab States, he went on, were likely, without the aid of America, to "remain backward, impoverished and disease-ridden."

He asked why the British Labor party permitted a "shocking repudiation" of its own commitments, made as recently as four months ago. He inquired whether Palestine was a British colony, "or are 6,000,000 Jewish dead not enough?" Must the rest of European Jews perish "in order to maintain Great Britain's imperial interest in the Far East?" he asked.

There was no other place than Palestine for the displaced people of Europe to go, Dr. Silver asserted, Palestine being "the last chance for hope."

In the formal statement the Zionist leaders hoped that this Government would press for immediate admission of 100,000 Jews in line with President Truman's request. But they said the statement in relation to the basic regarding the attitude of the Government of Mr. Byrnes was "silent situation."

No matter what assurance President Roosevelt may have given King Ibn Saud before the letter, these promises would not be valid if inconsistent with the objectives of American policy or the terms of the Palestine mandate, they asserted.

Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise took "grateful note" that Mr. Byrnes's statement indicated that measures should be taken to facilitate immigration into Palestine for substantial survivors of European Jewry; and that this immigration does not affect the "basic situation."

Zionists' Memorandum to Byrnes

Special to The New York Times.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 23—Following is the text of the American Zionist Emergency Council memorandum, submitted today to the State Department:

(1) The exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud, which has now been made public, and the statement by the Secretary of State of Oct. 18, raise issues of fundamental importance in regard to the implementation of American policy on Palestine. Viewed in the light of the unequivocal and firmly established policy of the American Government and people, as expressed in a long series of public and authoritative acts and pronouncements, that statement and correspondence, it is submitted, call for immediate clarification.

(2) In March, 1919, President Wilson, who was directly associated with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, stated that:

"The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Every President since that date has given his support to the Jewish National Home objective. Most recently in statements issued by President Roosevelt on Oct. 15, 1944, and March 16, 1945—that is to say, almost contemporaneously with his correspondence with King Ibn Saud—the late President expressed his support for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

In addition to these pronouncements by the heads of the executive branch of the Government, the desires of the American people as to the policy to be pursued in Palestine have been repeatedly expressed in the clearest possible fashion. On two occasions, in 1941 and 1945, a majority of the members of both houses of Congress joined in a declaration favoring the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

A similar declaration was made on July 4, 1945, by the Governors of forty out of the forty-eight States of the Union. Further, the Legislatures of thirty-three States, representing 85 per cent of the population of the United States, have recently gone on record in favor of the Zionist objective. In the summer of 1944 the national conventions of both major political parties adopted declarations favoring the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and, in the words of the Democratic platform, "such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

The late President Roosevelt, as well as President Truman, were elected on that platform. It must be recalled finally that our Government's support of the Jewish National Home is recorded legislatively in two acts forming part of the supreme law of the land, namely, the joint resolution (No. 73) unanimously adopted in 1922 by the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States; and the United States-British Convention on Palestine, ratified by the Senate on Feb. 20, 1925, and proclaimed in December of that year.

Policy "Clear, Unmistakable"

(3) The policy, therefore, to which our Government and people stand deeply committed is clear and unmistakable. Of this fact, however, neither the letter of President Roosevelt nor the statement of Secretary Byrnes takes any cognizance whatever. It is true that in neither instance is the traditional American position in fact repudiated.

Nevertheless, it is deeply disturbing that it should not have been found necessary to make affirmatively clear that American policy on Palestine has already been established by the public pronouncements of the Presidents of the United States and otherwise—a policy which is predicated upon the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their Jewish National Home through free immigration and the close settlement of Jews on the land.

That omission can only lead, and has already led, to serious doubts and misunderstandings. It is not conceivable that the law of the land, the will of the American people and the repeated pledges of the heads of our Administration publicly made, should thus be disregarded in official correspondence. The issues raised by the publication of this correspondence cannot be ignored and places upon our Government the responsibility of indicating in clear and precise terms whether or not it abides by, and proposes to act in accordance with, the policy so long and firmly established.

(4) President Roosevelt's letter refers to assurances previously given to King Ibn Saud regarding the attitude of the United States with respect to the question of Palestine. The exact nature of these assurances is not disclosed, but it is respectfully submitted that whatever their tenor, they would not be valid if inconsistent with the publicly stated objectives of American policy or with the terms of the Palestine Mandate.

(5) At the same time, it is deeply regretted that President Roosevelt's letter, while assuring King Ibn Saud that no action would be taken by our Government that might prove hostile to the Arab people, failed to point out that the policy of the Jewish National Home, envisaging as it does free Jewish immigration into Palestine and the ultimate establishment there of a democratic commonwealth under the auspices of a Jewish majority, could not be conceived as hostile to the Arab people.

The desire of the Jews to live in friendship and good neighborliness with the Arab countries and with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine is well known, and neither Jewish aspirations in Palestine nor the declared policy of this country in support thereof, nor yet the conduct of the Jewish people in Palestine, resulting in great good to the Arabs, can be construed as hostile to them.

(6) The occasion will be taken separately to deal in detail with the contents of King Ibn Saud's letter and with the Arab claim to Palestine, a matter which had been considered fully by the Allied Nations in connection with the territorial settlements made at the end of World War I and the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.

It is doubly regrettable that the reply sent by President Roosevelt to that communication failed to repudiate its baseless attacks and its vilifications of the Jewish people. It is painful to observe that such calumnies as that the Arabs have reason to fear "a series of massacres" at the hand of the Zionists, that the latter "are preparing to create a form of Nazifascism" and that it is the intention to "do away with" the inhabitants of Arab countries, should have been allowed to stand unchallenged by one who knew how false those statements are.

Arabs' Claims Challenged

(7) It is sufficient to say here with regard to King Ibn Saud's letter that the Arabs have neither legal nor moral title to the sovereignty over Palestine. While they conquered the country over 1,300 years ago, Arab rule ceased as early as 1071. Throughout the centuries the role of the Arabs in Palestine has not been creative but destructive. In the eroded, poverty-stricken and disease-ridden country, which within the last few decades the Jewish people set out to reclaim, it was difficult to recognize the land of milk and honey described in the Bible.

In the twenty years between the two World Wars the Jews have done much to repair the ravages of the previous 1,300. They have conquered deserts and swamps, revived agriculture and established in Palestine a sturdy, self-reliant community. The Pan-Arab claim to Palestine is an attempt to add yet another to the immense, but for the most part thinly populated and undeveloped territories of the independent Arab states.

This expansionist appetite has recently manifested itself also in

the demands put forward by the Arabs for Eritrea, the Sudan and Cyrenaica. The great mass of the people in the various Arab states are kept down in ignorance and fanaticism, in dirt and wretchedness by a ruling class which shows little or no interest in the improvement of their miserable lot.

As regards the ethnic claims, about 75 per cent of the Arabic-speaking people in Palestine today are themselves recent immigrants or the descendants of persons who emigrated to Palestine in comparatively recent times. If Palestine exists as a separate concept, it is because of its immemorial association with the Jews and Jewish history. At no time was there a Palestine Arab State. It was the Jewish people which produced in Palestine the civilization and religious culture which, along with that of Greece, molded the civilization and the spiritual life of the whole western world.

(8) In general, it is desired to protest against a procedure which seems to accord a right to the various Arab States to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine. The right of our own Government as one of the principal allied and associated powers in the first World War, as well as by virtue of the United States-British Convention above mentioned, to participate in the future disposition of Palestine is obvious and unquestioned.

The right of the Jewish people to be consulted is likewise clear and undeniable and is legally confirmed by the League of Nations Mandate which, in recognizing the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine, authorized also the recognition of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as representing the interest of all Jews in the establishment of the National Home. The Arab States are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and we submit that their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue.

(9) We feel constrained, at the same time, to make a frank statement of our views with regard to the course of action pursued by the Executive branch of the Government and the State Department in particular, over a period of years. Despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises and pronouncements to which we have referred, the policy they express has not been translated into action. On the contrary, numerous acts and omissions have emboldened the Arab leaders to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause, and that the pronouncements made here from time to time were meant for home consumption. We have consistently disregarded these allegations as unwarranted aspersions upon the good faith and political integrity of our Government.

(10) We are now compelled to review the situation in the light of the recent correspondence. We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe.

It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department has, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East, persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to reply in turn, upon reports and advice emanating from them.

On two occasions the Executive branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress, of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize

the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political reorientation and reorganization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies.

Chies Encouragement To Arabs

(11) On the other hand, our country has given generous support to Arab aspirations. It was among the first to recognize the independence of Syria and Lebanon. It has encouraged Arab States to make last-minute declarations of war against Germany on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, assuring them places of honor among the United Nations, irrespective of their war records. Nor has it withheld its support from the Arab League despite the fact that the League has declared its opposition to Jewish aspirations and has proclaimed the liquidation of the Jewish National Home as one of its major objectives.

(12) The one gratifying positive act in relation to Palestine has been President Truman's recent request to Prime Minister Attlee, the outcome of which, however, is still uncertain. We take grateful note that the statement of Secretary Byrnes indicates that measures to facilitate immigration into Palestine of substantial numbers of the survivors of European Jewry should, and can be undertaken forthwith, and that such immigration does not affect the "basic situation" in Palestine.

The "basic situation," in fact, that established by the Mandate, which calls for the facilitating of the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their close settlement on the land. We therefore earnestly hope that our Government will continue to press for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe, in line with President Truman's request.

But the statement of the Secretary is silent regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the "basic situation." The only light which it sheds on that issue—which is the crux of the whole matter—is the statement that "it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without a full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders."

This is a point of procedure rather than a definition of policy. Moreover, the statement indicates an intention "to wait until" any proposals emerge, rather than to act on its own initiative in conformity with established American policy.

(13) The point has now been reached, at which ambiguity and delay are no longer feasible. Millions of American citizens, who have a strong moral and humanitarian interest in this problem, look to the Administration for immediate and forthright action, which will once and for all dispel any possible uncertainty regarding its present position and future intentions.

We cannot believe that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which did not lift a finger in their own defense during the war and which were, indeed, either actively or passively hostile to the democracies, should be allowed to deflect our country from a just course of action.

The request is made on behalf of masses of suffering humanity who cannot wait. It would be cruel to deny their last hope for individual and national rehabilitation; but it would be the very refinement of cruelty to keep them further in suspense, or to feed them with promises which turn to ashes in their mouth.

the United States, made public the text of a 2,000-word letter which Ibn Saud wrote to Mr. Roosevelt last March 10.

It was in response to that message that the late President wrote to Ibn Saud April 3.

The meeting of President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud took place on a cruiser in the Suez Canal last February, while F. D. R. was on his way back from the "big three" meeting at Yalta.

What took place at the meeting of the two men has been the subject of considerable dispute. After a statement by President Truman on the Palestine question in August, Adam Bey, secretary general of the Arab League, gave what purported to be an account of the meeting.

He said that King Ibn Saud told Roosevelt "If Palestine is given to the Jews I will never rest until I and all my sons have been killed in the defense of Palestine."

Adam Bey's account continued:

"Ibn Saud then stood and placed his hand in Roosevelt's hand and told him:

"Swear that you will never support the Zionist fight for Palestine against the Arabs."

"And Roosevelt shook Ibn Saud's hand and pledged he would not support the Jews against the Arabs."

King Ibn Saud wrote to President Roosevelt on March 10, a month or so after the meeting aboard the cruiser, and referred to the question of Palestine and to the Arabs' interest in current developments affecting that land.

WITH BEFORE HIS DEATH

President Roosevelt wrote his reply to the Arab leader on April 3, exactly a week before his death in Warm Springs, Ga. To his "Great and Good Friend," he said:

"I am gratified that your Majesty took this occasion to bring your views on this question to my attention, and I have given the most careful attention to the statements which you make in your letter. I am also mindful of the memorable conversation which we had not so long ago and in the course of which I had an opportunity to obtain as vivid an impression of Your Majesty's sentiments on this question.

"Your Majesty will recall that on previous occasions I communicated to you the attitude of the American Government toward Palestine and made clear our desire that no decision be taken with respect to the basic situation in that country without full consultation with both Arabs and Jews.

"Your Majesty will also doubtless recall that during our recent conversation I assured you that I would take no action, in my capacity as chief of the executive branch of this Government, which might prove hostile to the Arab people.

"ASSURANCE" REVIEWED

"It gives me great pleasure to renew to Your Majesty the assurances which you have previously received regarding the attitude of my Government and my own, as Chief Executive, with regard to the question of Palestine, and to inform you that the policy of this Government in this respect is unchanged."

Secretary of State Byrnes said yesterday that he had been "authorized" to make the Roosevelt letter available, the implication being that the authorization had come from President Truman. He said his own statement was being made in response to a number of inquiries as to whether it was true "that the United States Government had on various occasions expressed the view to Jewish and Arab leaders that they should be consulted before a decision is reached respecting the basic situation in Palestine."

[From the Washington Star of October 20, 1945]

ROOSEVELT'S PROMISE TO ARABIA EYES

SPECULATION ON ELECTIONS

(By GORDON LINCOLN)

Enclosure a few days ago that the late President Roosevelt, a week before his death, promised the King of Saudi Arabia to assist the Arabs as well as the Jews before the United States took any action toward opening up Palestine to free Jewish immigration has disturbed leaders of the Zionist movement here and in New York. That there will be bitter criticism was freely predicted last night.

It was recalled that in October of last year, during the Presidential campaign, Mr. Roosevelt addressed a letter to Senator Wagner, of New York—the Jewish vote is the largest single bloc of votes in New York City—asking the Senator to convey to the forty-seventh annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America his cordial greetings. In this letter Mr. Roosevelt quoted the Democratic platform upon which he was running for reelection, which said:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

EFFORTS WERE PROMISED

In the letter to Senator Wagner, Mr. Roosevelt added:

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim; and if reelected I shall help to bring about its realization."

Mr. Roosevelt received the support of a large percentage of the Jewish voters in that election. Now much his pledge to aid the Zionist movement had to do with their support is conjectural. Governor Dewey, his Republican opponent, had made similar pledges.

Many of the New York Jews were members of CIO, whose Political Action Committee was working hard for a Roosevelt election, for example, and there were other reasons for the Jewish support.

The question now is what effect, if any, the revelation of the Roosevelt letter to King Ibn Saud, who is violently opposed to the Zionist movement, will have on the mayoralty election in New York City November 5. The Republicans have given their party nomination to Judge Jonah J. Goldstein, a Democrat, against the Democratic organization nominee, William O'Dwyer. Judge Goldstein is a Jew. It has been predicted that if he receives as much as 65 percent of the Jewish vote cast on election day, he will stand a good chance of winning, and if he receives as much as 70 percent, he is a certainty.

Judge Goldstein, irrespective of any developments over the Palestine issue, undoubtedly will receive many Jewish votes. He has the nomination of the Liberal Party as well as the Fusionists and the Reform Party. Mr. O'Dwyer has the Democratic and American Labor Party nominations. Michael Morris, a Republican, is running as an independent candidate, backed by Mayor LaGuardia. The vote cast for Mr. Morris, however, is likely to be negligible, according to political observers in New York.

If the Jews in large numbers shift from the Democratic Party in this mayoralty election, the effect may be felt in next year's gubernatorial and congressional elections. Governor Dewey is expected to be a candidate to suc-

ceed himself, and, if he is reelected, will may be very much in the 1948 Presidential picture.

The legations of Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, and Syria yesterday released a joint note submitted October 12 to Secretary of State Byrnes urging that "no change in the status of Palestine should take place without the consent of the Arabs."

Stating that any proposal to permit land sales and free immigration of Jews into Palestine would be "only at the expense of the Arabs," the note added: "There obviously can be no peace in the Near East by sacrificing Arab interests for the sake of Jews."

[From the Washington Times-Herald of October 20, 1945]

Carroll Stewart

(By John O'Donnell)

The secret agreements made by the late Franklin D. Roosevelt in his role of wartime President of the United States—his secret covenants secretly arrived at with foreigners—are now creeping into broad daylight.

To the annoyance—and at times dismay—of Roosevelt's political heirs, these private pledges of F. D. R. persist in living after him and refuse to be interred with his bones.

And the most embarrassing of all at the present moment (more embarrassing Roosevelt secret pledges will be forthcoming) is the revelation which Secretary of State Byrnes made last week with respect to the attitude of the present Truman administration toward the problem of Palestine. Zionism, the clashing interests of Jews and Arabs, and, underneath, the deep concern of the British Empire toward the historic traditional thrust toward greater and greater power by the peoples of Russia.

Here in Washington, Zionist leaders were outraged and angry by the October 18 formal announcement of Secretary Byrnes that all final conclusions with respect to Palestine, so far as this Republic is concerned, would not be reached without "full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders."

This was taken by accredited spokesmen for Zionists here in Washington as a flat run-out by the administration on pledges made by President Roosevelt privately and on the formal pledge of the last Democratic Convention, endorsed by F. D. R. when he was a fourth-term candidate. They don't blame Truman. But they do damn F. D. R.

And in this respect all the evidence shows that the anger is justified. The whole story is a perfect example of one of the slickest double-crosses in the great game of American politics as expertly practiced since 1902.

But the story of how F. D. R. skillfully played for a great block of racial votes in his native State of New York when he was fighting for 1944 victory and then, with fourth-term victory won, smoothly stepped aside and left the boys holding the bag, is one for the books.

It was back in March of '44, 3 months before the national conventions, that a determined drive was started to force Britain to reverse her policy and permit free and unrestricted entrance into Palestine of Jews who had felt the horrors of the Nazi terror. This is the inside story:

In Senate and House, majorities of the committees in charge of foreign relations at that time were prepared to back the pleas of the Palestine spokesmen. Then the hand of the White House reached out—secretly.

The British wanted no such statement of American policy from any American group. So, then Secretary of War Stimson wrote to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and Chairman Sen. E. A. Tamm (Democrat), of New York, of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, that favorable action on the pending resolution "would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

A Kid With a Banner at the Palestine Rally

N.Y. Post 10/25/45

By ALVIN ROSENFELD

The blond-haired kid from Livingston St., decided to get along without after-school play for one day. He put one of his few nickels in the slot in the subway and went up to Madison Square Park.

It was cold and damp, and Marcel Merling's thin sweater didn't help much. But the 11-year-old boy stood patiently for more than an hour and enthusiastically waved a banner which someone had thrust into his hand.

The banner read: "An End to Imperialist Treachery." Marcel, who's in the seventh grade, didn't know what the words meant exactly, but he knew that the banner stood for a Jewish homeland in Palestine. And he believed in that.

Quarter of a Million

He was one of the 250,000 people who left school playgrounds, factories, offices and study halls to come to the park and register their protest against Britain's refusal to end immigration restrictions in Palestine.

There were stout, grey-haired grandmothers from The Bronx; pert, young stenographers in satiny raincoats, mink-clad matrons from Park Av. and noisy bobby-soxers from everywhere, coat-less high school boys clutching their books and be-ribboned soldiers and sailors, businessmen and members of a score of unions, college students and laborers.

No big-name politicians or actors had been promised by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which called the meet-

THREAT TO PALESTINE JEWS AN ARAB MYTH—BREWSTER

Chicago, Oct. 25—Arab threats to Jews in Palestine are "a myth" which would easily be dispelled by a show of force on Britain's part, according to Sen. Brewster (R-Me.), who urged that the U. S. give official support to the Palestine cause.

Sen. Brewster and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, were speakers last night at the closing session of the annual convention of Hadassah, women's Zionist organization.

Dr. Wise told the 1,000 delegates that the Jews would consent to no measures to keep them a minority in Palestine, and while the Zionist movement "does not advocate force, resistance with firmness, whatever the consequences, is the watchword from now on."

ing. Yet the crowd packed Madison Av. from 23d to 26th Sts., filled every walk in the park, covered 24th St. from Madison back to Fourth Av. Police said Madison Square Park had never seen anything like it before.

Old ladies sobbed when the huge throng sang the Hatikvah—the Jewish anthem—and youngsters at the edge of the crowd danced the Hora, the gay dance of the Jewish pioneers.

Leg Lost for Zion

There was Ben Greenberg, 53, of 97 Henry St., who left one leg in Palestine when he fought as a member of the volunteer Jewish Legion under British Gen. Allenby to free the Holy Land in World War I. He hobbled on crutches from 17th St. and Broadway to the park at the head of a parade of 3,000 singing boys and men.

Although the Jewish Legionnaires felt that Britain had broken her specific promises to them as well as to the Jewish people as a whole, their color guard carried the Union Jack alongside the U. S. flag and the blue and white flag of Palestine.

The paraders included men like Max Sandoff, of 59 W. 76th St., a veteran of Anzio who was discharged after being wounded three times, and Capt. Samson M. Goldstein, of 44 Butler St., Brooklyn, a chaplain, who wears four battle stars.

A Militant Note

The meeting struck a militant note. Speaker after speaker, noting the desperate situation of the Jewish survivors of Nazism still in Europe, demanded immediate action to open Palestine's gates. Louis Lipsky, a chairman of the American Jewish Conference, who presided, brought roars of approbation when he said: "We give

our approval to the organized resistance of the Jewish people of Palestine."

The many scores of banners and placards echoed this with slogans like: "Fight British Betrayal", "Liberate the 'Liberated'", "Who Lend-Leased Palestine to Britain?", "We Are Sick of Broken Promises", "British Betrayal Begins Where Hitler Left Off", "6,000,000 Dead Cry Out for Justice", "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil", "Billions for Britain??? Justice for the Jews."

Many of the posters said simply: "Let the Homeless Go Home."

Ready to Fight Again

The militancy was echoed in the crowd. Army veteran George Rosen of 673 Broadway, recalling that three of his Jewish comrades in the 3d Army were killed by his side, said: "Every nation has a

homeland except the Jews. I am sick of fighting, but if I am needed, I'm ready to volunteer to fight again to free Jewish Palestine."

White-haired Mrs. Lezzer Letich, 59, of 1570 Walton Av., The Bronx, nodded her approval. Her nephew was killed in Germany.

The hundreds of thousands of people in the audience, including Christian groups, climaxed the meeting by voting for a resolution of support for the Jews of Palestine in their "heroic struggle to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people."

"Freedom-loving America will not be silent while men of little vision seek to scrap the solemn international pledges made to the Jewish people," the resolution read. "We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to

become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast."

Rally Protests British Policy For Palestine

Zionist Meeting in Madison Square Asks Open Door

Dewey Sends a Message

TRIBUNE 10/25/45

A mass protest against the possibility that the Attlee government of Great Britain might stop immigration to Palestine was held yesterday at 4:15 p. m. on the east side of Madison Square. Thousands of members of the Jewish faith came from schools, offices and factories to join the peaceful demonstration.

The meeting, at which Louis Lipsky, of New York, a co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, presided, was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council. The council is made up of four American Zionist groups, the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrahi and Poale-Zion.

Several thousand persons clustered about the speakers' stand at Madison Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street forty-five minutes before the meeting started. By 6 p. m. Madison Avenue was filled from Twenty-sixth Street south to Twenty-third Street, and a large section of the park was crowded.

Two brief parades preceded the meeting. A group of several thousand school and college students, joined by rabbinical students of

Yeshiva College and several labor union groups, marched north on Broadway from Seventeenth Street to Twenty-sixth Street and east to Madison Avenue. A group of older people, most of them from Mizrahi, the followers of orthodox, marched from Twenty-eighth Street and Broadway south to Twenty-sixth Street and east to Madison Avenue.

The marchers and those who came individually to the meeting carried placards reading: "Don't Trade Jews' Blood for Arab Oil," "Stop Appeasing Arab Fascists," "The Stench of Oil Is in the Holy Land" and "Let the Homeless Go Home."

Governor Thomas E. Dewey sent a telegram to the meeting which was read by Mr. Lipsky. It noted that, while Jewish persons suffered heaviest in Europe, their "condition is still tragic." The Governor declared that: "These many thousands of emaciated and intimidated victims are entitled as a right to refuge in Palestine."

A protest, decrying steps which indicate the British government might close all immigration to Palestine and calling for America to raise its voice, was read by Mr. Lipsky.

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, delivered a blistering attack against Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia. He declared that Britain is honor-bound to keep her promises, and reminded his audience that the American Federation of Labor stands as a friend of Zionism.

Other speakers included Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Z. O. A.; Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council; Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, general secretary of Mizrahi, and David Wertheim, head of Poale-Zion, who spoke in Yiddish. The meeting opened with Moshe Oysher, star of the Yiddish theater, singing the national anthem and closed with the audience singing the Hebrew hymn, "Hatikvah" ("The Hope").

Editorial Page



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CALENDAR

Roosevelt-Ibn Saud Letters Prove Silver Right 10-26-45

IF ever an issue was decided almost before history had time to be recorded, it is that involved in the Rabbi Silver-Rabbi Wise just about dead controversy over whether the wiser course was to accede to the Roosevelt administration's request of desisting from pressing ahead too vigorously in the fight for a Jewish State. The interchange of letters between the late President and Ibn Saud prove conclusively that the forces behind Silver, which incidentally happen to be the rank and file of Zionists in America, were one hundred per cent right.

Now with the publication of this correspondence, which was brought to light only because Ibn Saud threatened to publish it himself, there should no longer be any argument as to what course is to be followed.

It is only unfortunate that because those in power in England are so little disposed to serve justice, the Zionists' case is at such a low state, and the exercise of even the best judgment on the part of Jews seems to be going to have little effect on the final decision.

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ניו יארק, די ירושלים ד'אמעריקע

די נעמליכע נאטורלעכע פאר און ישראל האט דאס אידישע ניו יארק אוועקגעשטעלט אין סאמע שטיין פון דעם קאפ פאר אידישע ווערלאגערען און פאר אידישע רעדאקטארן אין ישראל און איבער גאר דער וועלט. דאס אידישע ניו יארק האט זיך גאר וועלטלעך פרייהער און דערהינטער אויסגעוויזען איהר קעם און דישען נייטס.

אין סך פון אידישע ווערלאגערען איבער לענדער אין קאנאדא, בעלזא האבן איהרן חסיד געהאט צענטערען וואס ווייזן דא און גאר נעקרוינס געווארן אלס די "ירושלים" פון דער אידעאלע וועלט. וועלט, וועלט, לויטן, ביים און אנדערע שטעט האבן געהאט אלס די ביזנעס און אונזער אייגענער צייט.

ווען שטעט ווייזן פארעם פארעם פון אידישקייט אין פילע וואס פון וואס. ס'דא האבן ליינער פארלאזן יעדע שטעט. די "ירושלים" פון ליטע פון פילע און אנדערע לענדער ווייזן פאר נעמליכע געווארן. אין אסטרייך, פון דער צווייטער וועלט, האבן ס'זיך חסיד באקלאנגט, און פילע פילע דא דער קעם אידישער נייטס. און פילע פון די אידישע ווייזן און אן עפעס אידישקייט האט דא גאר נישט געוואלט קיין ווארעלע.

אבער און אסטרייך האט לעבנסטום זיך אנטוויקעלט דערמיט. פון צו דער דאל וואס צייט און אויסגעווערן האבן איהר פאר איהר באשטימט. ניו יארק האט אנטוויקעלט ווייזן צווייטע, און די הויפט אן פארדיינע דעם נאכטן פון ירושלים ד'אמעריקע. די ווייזן נישט גאר דעם נייטס. די פארשידענע פאר אידישע פראבלעמען גאר פארשטעט זיך איהר צו פארלאזן און פארשטעט אידישקייט אין פילע וואס.

עס איז געווען דעמאלט וואס ניו יארק און געווארן א סאמע הויפט, א געווען פון אידישע ווייזן וואס דער צווייטער וועלט האט געווארן דערהינטערען ביינעם אידישע שטייטן און וואס די אידישע פארשטעט ווייזן אנטוויקעלט געווארן. די נעמליכע דעמאנסטראציע דארף נישט געפאלען ווערן בלויז פון א פארשיידענע סאט. איהר ווי ווייזן דאס וועט ווערן איהר וואס צו אן איהר לענדען — און ווי די ווייזן דארט פון בלייבן אן איהר — גאר איהר. און איהר ווייזן דארט, פון דעם סאט פון אידישע באוואוסטקייטן, פון אידישע דערהינטערען און וואס באשטימט.

ניו יארק איז איצט פילער נישט קיין פארלאזענע פון די ווייזן, און די ווארעטען, די סאטעס און די פערלאנגען, אדער דער אסאך פנים פון דער אסאך ירושלים, גאר די סאטע פארשטעט פון דעם נייטס וואס האט באקומען די קהלה אין דער אסאך וועלט און דער נייטס פון ירושלים אין איהר ישראל. ניו יארק איז איצט דער אסאך פון דער פארנאמענטיש וואס דארף איהר פילער צו דער צווייטע, צו פילער דערהינטערען.

די פאלקס-דעמאנסטראציע נעגן דעם ווייסן פאפיר — און וואס ווייטער?

דער צארן פון די אידן נעגן דעם שטענדיקן ווייסן פאפיר האט זיך געטון געפילט איהר די נאכט פון ניו יארק. איהר דער ריון-דעמאנ-סטרעזיע אין סטעיטאן סקווער פארק. דאס איז געווען דער צארן פון א ל ע אידן וועטען עס נייט אין לעבן צו פארזיכערן דעם ישוב אין איהר ישראל. דער דעמאנסטראציע איהר די נאכט פון ניו יארק האבן געווען די אידן אין פארשידענע לענדער, האבן געווען די אידן פון די קאנענטראציע-לאגערן אין דייטשלאנד, דאס טאג נישט באדייט, און די אידן פון אסטרייך פון זיך באו-גרענעצן מיט דער נאטורלעכע פארשטעט אין ניו יארק. פונקט ווי דער מיטלע אין סטעיטאן סקווער גארטן, דעם גאנצן סטעיטאן, איז געווען געווארן מיט עטלעכע מיטלען אין אנדערע שטעט, און דארף עס זיין מיט די נאטורלעכע פארשטעט. און פונקט ווי גאר דעם גארטן מיטלע, און איצט, וועלן ס'דא אנטווערפערען, און דעם קאפ פון ווייזן פאפיר פון סאטעלייט ווערן די ברייטע געווען פארשטעט מיטלע פון אסטרייך, אנטווערפערען ס'דא ווידער — באדייטענע, דער דאזיקער קאפ — אנטווערפערען ס'דא ווידער — קאן און ס'דא געווען ווערן איהר דער ליניע פון קאפ נעגן דעמאנ-ציע, נעגן די אימפעריאליסטישע סאטעלייטעס, וועלכע קאנען גאר אן צינדן א פילער איהר דער וועלט. עס וועט אומשטעלעך זיין ביי אונז לאנד צו באווארענען גאר דעם ישוב אין איהר ישראל.

אין פארשידענע דערשט דארף פון אנטווייזן איהרן סטעיטאן דעם וואס דא ווייזן איהר דא. ס'ווער האבן צוגעשטעלט צו פנים סטעיטאן בירגער, איהר ווייזן דער צווייטע פון סטעיטאן און מיטוועלען דעם קאפ נעגן ווייזן פאפיר און דאס געווען א ווייזן פונקט אסאך. אבער איהר ווייזן דער סטעיטאן און איבערנע-געבן געווארן בירגער, וועלכע האט געשפילט און גרויסע ראל אין דעם קראך און פון דער לענדער קאנפערענץ און שפילט א גרויסע ראל אין דער פארשטעט באצויגען צווישן אסטרייך און סאטעלייטעס, האט איהר דעם געווארן אנטווייזן ווערן אין דעם סטעיטאן. עס איז קלאר, און דער גורל פון די אידן אין איהר ישראל, ווי פון אלע לענדער, וועט זיין געווייזן גאר ווען די קאפ א ל צ י ע וועט אנטווערפערען ווערן. דער צוואנציקסטער פון דער קאנפערענץ צווישן אסטרייך, סאטעלייטעס און ענגלאנד וואלט געמאכט א שטייף איהר אלע פלענער און האפענונגען לשונו דעם ישוב אין איהר ישראל. ווען ס'דעם צו בויען, ווען ס'דעם וועגן באווארענען דעם ישוב — און דער סטעיטאן האט נע-רעם שטארק, אנטווייזן איהר געווען אלעמען צוואגן — דארף פון אנטווייזן, און די קאפ א ל צ י ע וועט אנטווערפערען! דער גורל פון פאלעסטינע סטעיטאן וועט געווען ווערן ווי געווייזן גאר מיט דער הילף פון דער קאנפערענץ.

דער סטעיטאן צו בויען ווייזן אן איהר דער שטענדיקער ראל פון די ארבייטע רעקאציאנערן. ער פארשטעט אבער צו און פערשטעט א ווייזן קיין — קאנפערענץ צווישן אידן און ארבייטע אין פאלעסטינע גופא. דער באדייט פאר דער זיכערקייט פון ישוב און פארן קאפ ס'דא פרייער, דעמאנסטראציע פאלעסטינע. ס'דא וועט ווערן, א ס'דא די באשטענען דריקן ס'דא אים די סטעיטאן פון די אידישע ארבייטער און אלע אידישע אנטו-פארשטעט. דאס וועט די סטעיטאן פון באדייטענע פילע פון דעם ישוב גופא. עס איז אונזער איבערצייגונג און איהר אז ווען וועט דער קאפ נעגן ווייזן פאפיר ברייטער ארומגעטון די פאלקס-פאסן איבערשטעט און אן גאר איהר אז וועט ווען דער נאטורלעכער אידישער ישוב אין פאלעסטינע געווייזן ווערן.



Part of 200,000 throng at Madison Sq. Park demonstration listen to speeches against ban on Palestine immigration. (Mirror Photos) (Other Photos on Center Fold)

200,000 Protest Palestine Policy

More than 200,000 Jews and sympathizers of faiths crowded Madison Square Park yesterday in the largest Zionist rally in the city's history to protest British continued refusal to open Palestine's gates to homeless Jewish refugees from Europe.

Countless factories and schools throughout the city closed before the rally's start at 4 p. m. ... CIO unions joined the demonstration, and the American Jewish Emergency Council predicted more than 500,000 would erupt in the movement.

Thirty youth groups, numbering 20,000, were the vanguard of numerous other groups that converged in parades on the park. War veterans' marchers included Jewish Legion members who fought with British Gen. Adelman to wrest Palestine from Turkish control in World War I.

A telegram from Gov. Bewey said it was "the solemn duty of each of us" to "demand justice for the Jewish people of the world and restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Pierre Van Paassen, author, charged the British government with aiding formation of the Arab League, which he called "a branch of the British Colonial Office." He said Britain sought to "freeze Jewish endeavor" because it fears other Middle East and Asiatic peoples "will follow the Jewish example and create their own industries, culture and independence."

Other speakers were Dr. Israel Goldstein, head of the Zionist Organization of America; Louis Hollander, chairman of the CIO State Industrial Union Council, and Thomas Murray, head of the AFL State Federation of Labor. Dr. Goldstein termed the British entry ban to Palestine "shameful," and urged President Truman and the State Department to hold firm to its policy of balking at the British White Paper, which repudiates the Balfour Declaration.

Addressing himself to President Truman, he said:

"America backs you up. We expect you to keep insisting on admission of 100,000 Jews immediately and to keep reminding Britain of that American policy which is now on record in party platforms and Congress resolutions. We expect you to prove yourself the forthright, courageous, warm-hearted human being we know you to be, by seeing this issue through to its proper fulfillment—Palestine wide open to Jewish masses and then reconstituted as a Jewish State."

As 150,000 Demanded Palestine Be Made a Jewish Homeland



STIRRING PROTEST. Here are some of the 150,000 persons who gathered at Madison Square Park yesterday in a huge demonstration in support of the "Jewish Palestine's Fight for Freedom." Staged in protest to Britain's refusal to open Palestine to homeless

Jewish refugees in Europe, the sentiments of the rally, urging that President Truman and the State Department "use every influence" to help establish Palestine as a National Jewish Homeland, were forwarded to the President by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

V. XIX 1946

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בייט דעם
אלטירמאגאזינען
שטאמט לייענער
סאר דער
"פארקויפרייטיג"



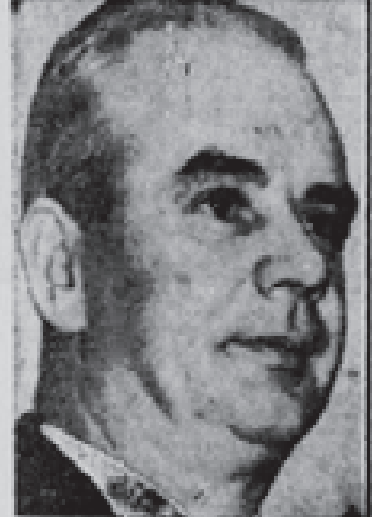
פרייהייט

סאר 8 וועלט
18 שטויבן!
סאר 60 מיליאן דאטאבס
אין אמעריקע!

VOL. XXV, No. 7984 DAILY PRICE 5 CENTS 6 PAGES NEW YORK, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1945 יום חשיך, תרש"ו 1945 25 אקטאבער, דאנערשטאג, 5 סענט

פערטער מיליאן ניז יארקער אידן דעמאנסטרירן געגן ווייסן פאפיר

ארבעטער-פירער פארען נערעכטיגקייט פאר אידן



פאטאס סאדע

פיליפ סאדע

די גאנצע אידישע באפעלקערונג און די טרעידיוניאנס האבן געשטיצט מעכטיגע דעמאנסטראציע

לואיס האלענדער, אין נאמען פון סייא-א, און טאטאס מאדע, אין נאמען פון א. פ. א. און ל. פאדערן באלידנע אפי-
שאפונג פון ווייסן פאפיר. — פאדערן פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג און פון דער לעיבאר רעגירונג אין ענגלאנד
צו האלטן ווארט און דערפילן די צוואגן און פארפליכטונגען צום אידישן פאלק. — איל און אימפעריאליזם
באוועגן אמעריקאנער בינ-ביונעס און ענגלישן קאלאניאלן אפיס ויד צו צאצקען מיט איבן סאד, וואס וואו
פאסען. — דר. ישראל נאָרדשטיין פארדאמט בריטישן פארבאט אויף פרייהייט און אידיש-ישראל. — מיט וואס
פאר א מוט, פירענט ער, וואס ענגלאנד ויד צו מיטן אין אונגארן און עסטרייך?

מענטשן וויינען אויפן קול ווען רעדנער פארנלייכט ווייסן פאפיר מיט טאידאנעס

ארץ ישראל.
א פערטל מיליאן שטימען פון אידישע ארבעטער, פון פארקער
און פון קאאָפּטאָנער, פון מיליטערי ארבעטער און פון דרעסמאכער,
פון בוישטער ארבעטער און פון פאקטארישע ארבעטער, פון רעזיניקע
אידן, פון פראדעקטיווע, פון ציוניסטן, פון קריסטער און פאדאקאנטן,
פון מיליטערי פארשטאנד און צענדליגער פאנאטער קינדער פון די
סאדערע אידישע שולן און פון תלמידי-תורה און פון די פארשידענע
רעגער. — פון אלעמען שטימען האט זיך געטראגן איין פארע
רום: א מיליאן א מיליאן צום ברעכן די צוואגן! א מיליאן צו די פאליטיקאלי-
פונגען פון אידן! וואס מיליאן אידישע קריסטן איז געווען! די מיליאן
פון ארץ ישראל פון געשטעלט ווערן!
אם די שטימען האבן זיך געטראגן נישט בלויז אין דעם גרויסן
פאריסאן קאנער פארק, וואס איז ארויסגעווארפן געווארן מיט א
געריכטער קייט מענטשן פון אלע ווייסן, נאר איבער צענדליגער גאסן
ארום, איבער די סאדערע-פארק, איבער די צענדליגער שטעטער,
פאדערן און קראסען, און פון דארט איבער דער גאנצער שטאט און
קייט וואשינגטאן און קייט לאנדאן און צו דעם גאנצער וועלט!

מירעט ארויס גען ווייסן פאפיר



דר. אהרעל נאָרדשטיין

לואיס האלענדער

cont. on next page

די מעסטער דעמאנסטראציע האט זיך אָנגעהויבן א פיר פריער ווי די פאמיליעס זיין. שוין דריי וואונדער האבן קאלאנעס דעמאנסטראציעס פון פארשידענע ארגאניזאציעס, פון פערטער עוועניו, פון בראדוועי, פון די פארשידענע וויסנע נאכט, אין פולער אידענטיטעט, פון פאנע, פלאקאטן און באנערס לאזונגען, זיך נענטער אריינגיין אין די ארומיגע נאכט-אומגעבונגען דער פאמיליעס, האט איר גע'שטאנען אויף דער סורה וויס פון דעם פארק, און גלייכצייטיג האבן אירן נענטער צושליסן זייערע קראפטן, ארבעטער האבן נענטער פארלאזן זייערע שטעלעס און זיך לאזן אין גרופעס וויס צו דעם גרויסן פאלקס ארויסטריט, אויסצודריקן דעם אנטקעגנערטע וויסנשאפט, פרא'טעס און צאדן נעגן דעם ענגלישן אימפעריאליזם.

ווען משה אייזיק האט פיר אונזער געקענט דעם רייזן פאלקס ארויסטריט מיט וויין מעסטער געזאגט פון "די מנהג יהודה", פארא פערטער בענער" און "התקנה", אה שוין דער פארק געזען פון ווי אן אויג, איז מען שוין ארום און ארום נענטער צווישנענדיקטע, דורכגעווייטאנטע אין דער גרויסער דעמאנסטראציע צו הערן די רייד פון די רעדער, אויסצודריקן די איינשטיינדיקייט מיט די רייד זייער, מיט דעם אויסדרוק וואס קומט פון דעם נאנטן פאלק, פון די מיליאנען אירן איבער'ן שטאט און איבער'ן גאנצן לאנד.

דעמאנסטראציע פון פאלקס איינזיגקייט

די רייזע דעמאנסטראציע איז געווען דער העכסטער אויסדרוק פון פאלקסאיינזיגקייט און פון ארבעטער-איינזיגקייט. אין דער דעמאנסטראציע האבן זיך באטייליגט ארגאניזאציעס פון די פארשידענע ריכטונגען אין אירישן לעבן. און זי איז געשטימט געווארן פון אלע יונגן פון דעם סי. אי. א. און פון דער אסעריקאן פערטערשטן און לעיבאר.

אונזער די הונדערטער דעמאנסטראציעס האט מען געזען מיט נאך די סאנעס פון די ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציעס, נאך אויך די סאנעס און פלאקאטן פון די אידן-שולן, פון דער פאריזש ווינאן און פון אנדערע יי' נאכט. מענטשן האבן געוויינט הויך אויס'ן פול, ווען איינער פון די רעדער האט אויסגעזיידט, אז דער וויסער פאר פיר" איז א צווייטער, פאראנעם". פיר וועלן נישט לאזן די לעיבאר דער גרונט צו שפילן אימפעריאליסטישע פאליטיק אויס'ן חשבון פון דעם אירישן קיום.

עס איז געווען א פאלקסדעמאנסטראציע, וואס ווייזט ווי אויסגעוויקלט דער די אירישע באפעלקערונג איז וועגן דעם נוהל פון זייערע ברידער אין איראקע, ווי סיי דערמאנט און צווייטאנט זי זינען איבער דער בלוטיגער שפיט, נאך דער ענגלישער אימפעריאליזם. שפילט אין אירישן ישרא.

פעקערש פון ישוב אין ארץ ישראל

פארווערט גון דער רייזע, היסטארישער סאטראפאלאזשעלונג איז געווען לואיס ליפסלי, סטראפאלאזשעלונג פון דער אסעריקאן אירישער פאנ' מערענע, די דעמאנסטראציע האט געשיקט דעם פאלגנדיגן פעקערש צו דעם ישוב אין ארץ ישראל: הונדערטער טויזנטער אסעריקאן נער איר, וואסען מיט טויזנטער פון זייערע קריסטלעכע פאמיליעס, וואס זינען היינט פאראשטעט אין מעריקאן סטודענט פארק, ניו יארק פון סי, שיקן דעם דאזיגן פעקערש צו די אירן אין ארץ ישראל, דעם וויס פולן ישוב וואס איז היינט דער סייד פאל פון האטונג פאר די אירן פון דער גאנצער וועלט.

אלס כריסט פון דער גרעסטער שטאט אין דער וועלט, האבן פיר זיך פאראייניגט אים א מעכטיגער דעמאנסטראציע פון סטודענט צו אייער קאמפארן אויפבויע פון נאציאנאלן לעבן פון אירישן פאלק און פאר דער צוריקשטעלונג פון דער היידע און ערע פון שארית הפליטה פון אייזשען אישן אירענטור.

אן אייער פאסט געגן א ברוטאלער פאליטיק וואס באדראט די 2000 יידישע אירישע שטרעבונגען, שליסט זיך אן די איבערזענערע מערהייט פון דער באפעלקערונג פון אונזער לאנד. די פרייהייטליכענער אסעריקע וואס נישט בלייבן שווייגן ווען מענטשן מיט ארעסטער ווייזן ווען צו פארוויסן די פערטלעכע א-סטראטעגיאנאלע הבט'הות, וואס זינען געפאלט געווארן צום אירישן פאלק, פיר וועלן נישט דערלויבן, אז די עבראכענע אירן פון איראקע וואלן ווערן די פרובות פון א

בלייבן אומבאשעסעט פון וועלכע דעם איז פלעק וואס די בריטישע ארבעטער-שטאט ברענגט אויף זיך אליין, די ארבעטער-שטאט הייבט זיך אויף ארבעטן אלס אופטעסס אזוי ווי די הויפט זיך אויף, און אלס אין אירענער וועלט פלעק.

די אסעריקאנער ארבעטער-שטאט וועט נישט שווייגן אויף דעם פאראנט פיר פון היינט לאזן ווערן אונזער ארבעטער-שטאט און אנטריסטענע, פיר זינען אנטשלאסן צו באשטיין אויף דעם, אז דער צוואנג אין באצונ צו א אירישער איר ישראל וואל פארווערט לעבט ווערן. דא האבן פיר א פלאקע און דיילעכע אנטפלעגנדיקייט, פיר ווערן לען פער נישט דערלויבן פירן פאריזש טערישע פארלויסערונגען.

אין נאכטן פון דער אסעריקע פערטערשטן און לעיבאר, פארשפערד איך דא פערטער, אז פיר וועלן אויסאייבן יעדע פעלעכע פראסט וואס פיר פארמאגן צו ווערן, אז דער צוואנג וואל דורכגעפירט ווערן. פיר וועלן נישט שטיין מיט פארליינטע הענט אין דעם קאמפ, פיר שליסן זיך אין אים אן פאקטן און פאלקס! פיר זינען נישט פון אומפאראנטווארטלעכע פאסט. פיר ווארענען אונזערע פרייט אין דער בריטישער לעיבאר פארטיי: איר וואס נישט קאנען טאן וואס איז באצוועקט צו טאן! פיר זינען אנטשלאסן צו טעסטן ביז צום סוף!

דער פון לואיס האלענער, רעגנדיג אין נאכטן פון פירטעס אינדוסטריעל פאנ' סי, סיריא, האט דערפאלגט: איך דער דא אין נאכטן פון, פיר אירא, איך בין געפוסען אהער כדי אויסצודריקן דעם געפיל פון צאדן און אנטריסטענע סעד דער מיטלער דעמאנסטראציע פון סיריא, איך האבן זיך נישט געבונדן, די סאדום פון גרויס בריטאניע זינען געווען דער פאלק פון זייער גרויסן דורכפאל, דאס פאלק האט געוויילט זינען ווארעט זאנער אויפן גרונט פון זייערע פארשטעלונגען, אויפן גרונט פון זייערע אויסצערזענען, איז ווען עס איז אין דער געשיכטע געווען א נייע רעגירונג אין א בעסערער לאנד צו טאן דאס ריכטיגע, דאס גערעכטע און דאס נאך טע? די ארגאניזירטע ארבעטער-שטאט איבער דער גאנצער וועלט האט גע'האלטן אויף אויף דעם דאזיגן היסטארישן סאכטוועקסל: דער ארבעטער-שטאט איז ענדלעך געגעבן געווארן די מאכט צו ציין ווי אזוי די אונטער-שייט זיך פון די סאדום.

און וואס האט די בריטישע לעיבאר פארטיי באוויזן צו טאן אין איר ערשטן גרויסן עקזאמען? זי האט דעם עקזאמען נישט אויסגעפאלטן. דערלויבט פיר צו אונטערשטרייכן נאך איין פונקט, פיר געפינען זיך דא פאריאליזשענע נישט בלויז מיט אן אפ'ליקענע פון א צוועק; די פראגע איז פארוואס ווערט דער דאזיגער צוואנג פאראנט? איז עס צו נענטן א בער פערן. אירעאל? ווערט דאס אירישע פאלק, און די ארבעטער-שטאט איבער דאס, פאראנט צוליב דעם וואס די בריטישע רעגירונג האט אין זינען א מער אינספירירענדיג ציל ווי גערעכטיג קייט צום אירישן פאלק? ניין! דאס ווערט געטאן צו נענטן א פאליטי פון פארוואס! דאס ווערט געטאן אלס אן עקסטרעם אויף, בלעקעליי, דאס אונזען מער פאליטישע "געשיכטע ארבייטע קריגסלאדן.

כדי צו אפיון די דאזיגע אוילדאד'כע סטארלי סעקארטיס וואס ווען אה דער אימפעריאליסטישער בריטישער פיר, דערן מיט דער בריטישער אימפעריאליסטישער שטייט, ווערן די צוואנג נען צווישט געמאכט; ווערט דאס אירישע פאלק פאראנט; ווערט די אסעריקאנער ארבעטער-שטאט און אי רעוואלוציע, דאס אסעריקאנער פאלק און די אסעריקאנער-הויפט פאליטיק נען פון אסעריקאנער פאלק — אפער ווארען אויף אז, נאציאנאליזם" און אינאיינענדרען אופן.

פיר ווייסן, אז פיר בלייבן נישט אומבאריט דערפון, וואס די בריטישע ארבעטער-שטאט פון, פיר קאנען נישט טאמאט סערע, פערטערשטן פון ניו יארקס סטעיטס געזאגט: וואס איז פיר צוואנג נען צווישט געמאכט; ווערט דאס אירישע פאלק פאראנט; ווערט די אסעריקאנער ארבעטער-שטאט און אי רעוואלוציע, דאס אסעריקאנער פאלק און די אסעריקאנער-הויפט פאליטיק נען פון אסעריקאנער פאלק — אפער ווארען אויף אז, נאציאנאליזם" און אינאיינענדרען אופן.

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דער פון לואיס האלענער, רעגנדיג אין נאכטן פון פירטעס אינדוסטריעל פאנ' סי, סיריא, האט דערפאלגט: איך דער דא אין נאכטן פון, פיר אירא, איך בין געפוסען אהער כדי אויסצודריקן דעם געפיל פון צאדן און אנטריסטענע סעד דער מיטלער דעמאנסטראציע פון סיריא, איך האבן זיך נישט געבונדן, די סאדום פון גרויס בריטאניע זינען געווען דער פאלק פון זייער גרויסן דורכפאל, דאס פאלק האט געוויילט זינען ווארעט זאנער אויפן גרונט פון זייערע פארשטעלונגען, אויפן גרונט פון זייערע אויסצערזענען, איז ווען עס איז אין דער געשיכטע געווען א נייע רעגירונג אין א בעסערער לאנד צו טאן דאס ריכטיגע, דאס גערעכטע און דאס נאך טע? די ארגאניזירטע ארבעטער-שטאט איבער דער גאנצער וועלט האט גע'האלטן אויף אויף דעם דאזיגן היסטארישן סאכטוועקסל: דער ארבעטער-שטאט איז ענדלעך געגעבן געווארן די מאכט צו ציין ווי אזוי די אונטער-שייט זיך פון די סאדום.

און וואס האט די בריטישע לעיבאר פארטיי באוויזן צו טאן אין איר ערשטן גרויסן עקזאמען? זי האט דעם עקזאמען נישט אויסגעפאלטן. דערלויבט פיר צו אונטערשטרייכן נאך איין פונקט, פיר געפינען זיך דא פאריאליזשענע נישט בלויז מיט אן אפ'ליקענע פון א צוועק; די פראגע איז פארוואס ווערט דער דאזיגער צוואנג פאראנט? איז עס צו נענטן א בער פערן. אירעאל? ווערט דאס אירישע פאלק, און די ארבעטער-שטאט איבער דאס, פאראנט צוליב דעם וואס די בריטישע רעגירונג האט אין זינען א מער אינספירירענדיג ציל ווי גערעכטיג קייט צום אירישן פאלק? ניין! דאס ווערט געטאן צו נענטן א פאליטי פון פארוואס! דאס ווערט געטאן אלס אן עקסטרעם אויף, בלעקעליי, דאס אונזען מער פאליטישע "געשיכטע ארבייטע קריגסלאדן.

כדי צו אפיון די דאזיגע אוילדאד'כע סטארלי סעקארטיס וואס ווען אה דער אימפעריאליסטישער בריטישער פיר, דערן מיט דער בריטישער אימפעריאליסטישער שטייט, ווערן די צוואנג נען צווישט געמאכט; ווערט דאס אירישע פאלק פאראנט; ווערט די אסעריקאנער ארבעטער-שטאט און אי רעוואלוציע, דאס אסעריקאנער פאלק און די אסעריקאנער-הויפט פאליטיק נען פון אסעריקאנער פאלק — אפער ווארען אויף אז, נאציאנאליזם" און אינאיינענדרען אופן.

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די באשטער דעסלאאציע. דער פרעזידענט
דענס און דער סטעיט דעפארטמענט
סאָרן נישט דערלויבן און דאָס, וואָס
פאפולר וואָל בלייבן אין קראפט.

צו פרעזידענט טרוטאן וואָן ס'זיך
פיר. פרעזידענט, איר האָט געמאכט
א טוטן אנהויב מיט איינער פארלאנג
צו פיר. אפילו, און 100,000 אידן וואָרן
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באשטיין איר דאָס, און עס וואָרן באלד
אריינגעלאָזן ווערן די 100,000 אידן.
און איר וואָלט האָלטן אין אידן דער
סאָרן ענטפלעכע ווערן דער אפערקאמער
נער פאליטי, וואָס אין פארצייכונג נער
וואָרן אין דער פארטייפלאטאמאדן און
אין די רעוואַלוציעס פון קאנגרעס.

אויף און אימפעריאליזם — אויס
צוויי פון ווערפאסענעם רעדע
דער בארימטער שייטשטעלער
וואָרפאסען האָט אין זיין רעדע דער
פלעס:

די בריטישע רעגירונג, דורך אירע
וואַרטיזאנט, ווערנאליסטן און נאָכ
שטעטער, באַשטימט זיך צו ווייזן דער
אפערקאמער ענטפלעכקייט, און די
איר ישראל פראגע און א שטרייט
צווישן אידן און אראבער. אבער דאָס
אין וועלט.

וואָרעם — ווער ווייזן עס די אראב
בער וואָס מאכן היינט און דעם נאָנצן
טויזנט, וואָס באהאנדעלן און וואַרענען
און פארלוסטן, און פארשפּרעכט
כל'ערליי אומדען, אויב מער אידן
ווערן דערלויבט ווערן אריינצושטען
אין איר ישראל? די דאָזיגע אראבער
ווייזן בריטישע אגענטן, זיי ווייזן
די אגענטן פון אימפעריאליזם, זיי
ווערן באַשאַלט און קריגן כאַפּט פון
בריטישן קאָלאָניאַל אַפּיס צו טאָן און
צו רעדן טאָקס דאָס וואָס זיי רעדן
און פירן היינט, זיי ווייזן די שפּיל
צייט און די ליאלטעס וואָס מאַנצן
און רעדן און ווערנאליזירן ווערן די
שטרייפלעך ווערן געצויגן אין לאַנדאָן.
דאָס אפערקאמער פאָלק ווערן
געצוואונגען צו קוקן אויס'ן פיר
בלעם דורך די אויגן פון אונזערע
זיי איבן סעור, וואָס באַקומט א יעדן
לעבע סטיפענדיע פון 50,000 פונט
פון בריטישן קאָלאָניאַל אַפּיס. ער און
עס דער וואַרטיזאנט, ער דער ווער-
דער איבער 2,000,000 נאָכאָרן, דער
לאַנד פון דער שוידערלעכער פיר, וואָס
דאָס צו קומען קיין איר ישראל
און ארויסבריינגן פון דאָרט די אידן;
איבן סעור, א הערשער פון קעסעלי
פירער, דערשיינט אין דער אפער-
קאמער פירער. אלס דער סענטינעל
טויזנט, וואָס אין ווערן א אירישער
איר ישראל. וועמען, דענקען זיי, גאָר
דען זיי אפ'ן איבן סעור אין בלוין
דער וואַרטיזאנט פון דעם ברי-
טישן קאָלאָניאַל אַפּיס. מען האָט נער
פונען אויף אין זיין לאַנד און ס'זיך
צו עסטלאַסטן ווייזן אוילקוואַלן
שטעלן אים איצט פאַר די אפער-
קאמער טרייטע ביזנעסלייט אלס א
טרייטע סענטינעל, נעגן וועמען מען
טאָר זיך נישט שטעלן. די בריטישע
רעגירונג נוצט איבן סעור אלס א
„סטרעטלעך“.

אויב ענטלאנד האָט ארויסגעוויזן
אין סען פאן איר נישט בלויבן, זיי און
דען קענען ס'זיך געטרייען ענטלאנד
א חלואה פון ווערן ביליאן דאָלאַר
זי האָט געבראָכן יעדן צוואַנג צו
אירישע, צו די אידן, וואָס פאַר א
גאראנטירט קענען ס'זיך האָבן, און זיי
ווערן האָלטן איר צוואַנג צו אונז

גאָרענאָר דיאָנאָר פּעפּערדזש

גאָרענאָר דיאָנאָר האָט אין א מע-
סעדיש צו דער פארזאמלונג געוואָלט
„אלס גאָרענאָר פון סטעיט און ניו
יאָרק באַטראַכט איר אלס די פיינעלע-
כע פליכט פון יעדן פון אונז צוצווע-
נען אונזערע שטייטען צו דער דאָזיגער
ביוסטער פארזאמלונג פון די ניו יאָרק
סערי בירגער, וואָס פארלאנגט גערעכט
סינסייט פאַרן אירישן פאָלק איבער-
דער גאנצער וועלט און די צוריק-
אויפגעשטעלונג פון דער אירישער גאָר-
צייט אין איר היסטאָרישן היימלאַנד —
אירישלאַנד.“

Ray 10-25-85

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250,000 RALLY FOR JEWISH REFUGE IN PALESTINE

Daily Worker 10/25/45

Front Page

By HELEN SIMON

A quarter of a million New Yorkers massed in and around Madison Square Park yesterday afternoon to demand a Jewish Palestine. Factories, shops and schools closed down early as workers and students converged with signs and banners on the square.

"We have joined in a mighty demonstration of support for your heroic struggle to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people and to restore dignity and honor to the broken remnants of European Jewry," the 250,000 declared in a message to Palestine's 600,000 Jews.

"We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast."

PLEDGE TO 'OPEN GATES'

With a tremendous, swelling shout the demonstrators approved a pledge to "fight for the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and its reconstitution as a Jewish state."

Men and women held their signs high, motionless in the autumn cold. "No American Aid for British Betrayal," they read. "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil"; "The White Paper Is Britain's Shame."

At 4:15 p.m., chairman Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, announced: "There are 150,000 persons here." At 5 p.m., 250,000 had gathered, overflowing to jam all the side streets from 23d to 26th between Broadway and Fourth Ave. As the great meeting was about to end the CIO Furriers' contingent, some 5,000 strong, swung into the square at the head of additional tens of thousands of union demonstrators.

Lipsky urged President Truman to stick to his request that Britain immediately open Palestine's doors to 100,000 homeless Jews.

FLAYS BRITISH ACTIONS

"The English government in Palestine," he warned, "is now engaged in bolting the windows and doors of Palestine, barricading the highways, guarding the shores of the Mediterranean, in order to prevent the homeless and stateless Jewish victims of the war from entering the Promised Land."

"It is making a parade of its military strength. It is bringing in tanks and planes. It is expelling unfriendly foreign correspondents. It is engaging in propaganda in Cairo, in London and in Washington, to create the impression that it is preparing to prevent civil war in Palestine."

"It is an amazing display of the old British imperialist method which comes as a shock to the whole liberal world, knowing that a Labor government leads the affairs of the empire and that we are supposed to be engaged in the creation of a new world order of justice and peace."

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, scored Britain's "hypocrisy" in demanding free speech, assembly, press in Hungary or Austria while denying the same fundamental rights in Palestine. As to the argument that the Arabs oppose Jewish immigration, Dr. Goldstein said, a prosperous Jewish Palestine "is helpful to the Arab people if not to the feudal landlords and medieval potentates."

Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State

CIO, agreed on this point.

"The spokesmen of the Arab League all speak with the accents of fascists. Without British aid, Ben Sion would be nothing more than the desert bandit he was before the British Colonial Office 'developed him.'"

Hollander voiced the CIO's complete support for the rally's aims: for "revocation of the White Paper and the opening of the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration."

State AFL president Thomas Murray brought the AFL's "unreserved" support. American labor, he asserted, will not stand for Britain's betrayal of promises made the Jewish people.

"We know we are not untouched by what British labor does," he commented. "We are not left unstained by whatever blot British labor brings upon itself."

Other speakers were Rabbi Seymour Zambrowski, general secretary of Mizrachi, religious Zionist organization, and David Wertheim, head of Poale Zion, labor Zionist group. Gov. Thomas E. Dewey sent a message of support. Moishe Oshier sang the American and Jewish anthems. The rally was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council.



(NEWS photo by Fredrick)

Dr. Israel Goldstein as he addressed rally yesterday.

State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Thomas Murray, president of the State Federation of Labor, AFL, and Pierre van Paassen, author and lecturer.

(Other picture on page 1)

Congressmen Plan Appeal in London

From THE NEWS Bureau

Washington, D. C., Oct. 24.—Senator Tobey (R-N. H.) announced today that an unofficial mission, including a Congressional group, will go to London within a few weeks to urge increased Jewish immigration to Palestine.

Tobey said that the delegation would include Representatives Somers (D-N. Y.), and Garhart (R-Calif.) and possibly himself, and Senator Myers (D-Pa.). Others in the mission, according to Tobey, will be former Senator Gurnea (I-Iowa), president of the American League for a Free Palestine; J. David Stern, publisher of the Philadelphia Record; Joseph Sharfain, Philadelphia lawyer, and Fowler Hamper, former Interior Department solicitor.

Tobey at a press conference attended by Gillette said the trip had been discussed with the British Embassy and would be in line with "an aggressive movement to take this issue to Britain and attempt to get a settlement."

Gillette told reporters that the trip had been discussed with Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes.

Under questioning he said he saw "nothing incongruous or improper" in the recent disclosure that the late President Roosevelt

had pledged consultation with Arab as well as Jewish leaders before the United States made a basic decision on Palestine.

Resolution Adopted

A resolution was adopted in which it was declared that "we will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast."

Speakers for the council said Jewish enterprises in the garment, millinery and fur districts were closed for the rally.

Three parades converged on the speakers' stand at 94th St. and Madison Ave. They included 20,000 students at Jewish schools of high and college grade; 7,500 members of orthodox Jewish congregations, and 20,000 men of the Jewish Legion, members of the group that fought into Palestine with Gen. Allenby during World War I.

A message of support from Gov. Dewey was read by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference. The Governor declared he considered it "the solemn duty of each of us to add our voices to this great gathering of New York citizens demanding justice for the Jewish people of the world and the restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Other speakers included Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America; Louis Hollander, chairman of the



(NEWS photo by Fredrick)

Here's part of the crowd of 200,000 which jammed Madison Square Park yesterday in mass demonstration for a Jewish Palestine.

200,000 Ask Jewish Palestine

More than 200,000 persons crowded into Madison Square Park and adjoining streets yesterday afternoon at a mass demonstration for a Jewish Palestine sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The rally started at 4 P. M. and lasted an hour and 15 minutes.

Upward of 100 extra policemen were on duty. All traffic was halted on 23d St. between Fourth Ave. and Broadway.

Record Rally

Palestine Ban Hit

Daily Mirror 10/25/45



PROTESTING BRITISH REFUSAL to open Palestine to thousands of homeless Jewish refugees in Europe, part of huge throng fills street during record Zionist rally at Madison Square Park. Gathering numbered at least 200,000.
(Story, other photo, Page 4)

(Illion Photos)



(Illion Photos)

CITES WAR'S PURPOSE. Louis Lipky, American Jewish Conference leader, tells rally that peace should bring end of injustice for Europe's Jews.





Rally for Jewish Palestine.

Daily 10/26/35
Crowds converge on Madison Square Park yesterday afternoon for mass demonstration in favor of a Jewish Palestine. Sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council, the rally drew upward of 200,000 persons, with many Jewish businesses in the garment area closing shop to allow employees to attend. A resolution attacking Britain's policy on the Palestine issue was adopted.

(NEWS Photo by Prother)

—Story on Page 2

OPEN-AIR PROTEST DEMONSTRATION FOR PALESTINE, MADISON SQUARE PARK, NEW YORK CITY

OCTOBER 24, 1945

AS REPORTED IN THE NEW YORK PRESS

New York Times

150,000 at Zionist Rally Here; Britain Assailed on White Paper

Before a crowd estimated by the police at 150,000, one of the greatest ever to mass in or near Madison Square Park, speakers yesterday at a protest demonstration for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine called on the British Labor Government to fulfill pledges of the Balfour Declaration and to abrogate the White Paper of 1939.

The gathering ignored threatening skies and a raw, chill day to manifest its support of the aims of the American Zionist Emergency Council, whose sponsoring committee hailed the demonstration as its greatest. Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, announced to the crowd that the number attending was 250,000, but Deputy Police Inspector John Appel put the figure at 150,000.

Declaring the British have imposed a "blackout" on Palestine and are expelling journalists for reporting the presence there of armored tanks and troops, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, warned that a resistance movement would go "underground" unless Britain's policy were relaxed.

"We refuse to recognize as 'illegal,' he asserted, 'any Jewish immigrant who enters Palestine without a certificate. Every Jew who enters the Jewish national home does so as of right. Illegal is the hand and the government that attempts to bar the Jew from the Jewish national home.'"

Dr. Goldstein called on President Truman "to keep insisting" on the admission of 100,000 Jews immediately to Palestine and then to see the issue through for a reconstituted Jewish State.

A message from Governor Dewey read to the crowd said he was confident the American people would "give their full support to the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish homeland."

Labor Leaders Pledge Help

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, pledged that the AFL would not "stand idly by." "We are not an inconsequential force," he said. "We warn our friends in the British Labor Government: you cannot do what you propose to do. We are in this fight to the end."

Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council, Congress of Industrial Organizations, promised that "we will continue to fight relentlessly until justice is done."

Mr. Lipsky protested against "the intention of the British Empire to legalize the larceny of Jewish rights and to make that wrong permanent." He charged Britain with "making a parade of its military strength" and with propagandizing to "create the impression that it is preparing to prevent civil war in Palestine."

Zionist youth organizations marched to the rally from the northern end of Union Square. Separate parades included also a small group of Jewish Legionnaires, who fought with the British in the first World War to help wrest Palestine from Turkey, and religious groups headed by the Rev. B. L. Leventhal, 85 years old, the Chief Rabbi of Philadelphia.

New York Sun

150,000 Rally in Jewish Cause

Demand Opening of Palestine and Restoration of Dignity Throughout Europe.

A crowd estimated by the police at 150,000 in Madison Square Park yesterday approved a message to be sent to the Jews of Palestine declaring support "for your heroic struggle to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people and to restore dignity and honor to the broken remnants of European Jewry." The mass demonstration was held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

"Freedom-loving America will not be silent while men of little vision seek to scrap the solemn international pledges made to the Jewish people," the message said.

"We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast." The message voiced support in the fight to open Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and for its reconstruction as a Jewish State.

Pierre Van Paassen, author, charged that the British Government is making it appear to the American public that the Palestine question is a quarrel between Jews and Arabs, and said that the American people are being "bamboozled." He said, "The object is to stall for time, to postpone solutions, to defer action on Palestine until there are no more Jews in Europe and until it can be said that the Jewish question is solved once and for all by the death of the last Jewish survivors in Europe."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, said, "It is shameful that the blackout over Palestine should be the act of the Labor Government in Britain." He called on President Truman to keep insisting on the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and to keep reminding Great Britain of the American policy on record in party platforms and congressional resolutions.

A message from Gov. Dewey said that the Jewish people, the first and chief victim of Nazism, were still unable to find justice and tranquility in the post-war world, and that he was confident that the American people would give full support to the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, pledged support of the A. F. of L., and a similar pledge from the C. I. O. was voiced by Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council, C. I. O.

As 150,000 Demanded Palestine Be Made a Jewish Homeland



STIRRING PROTEST . . . Here are some of the 150,000 persons who gathered at Madison Square Park yesterday in a huge demonstration in support of the "Jewish Palestine's Fight for Freedom." Staged in protest to Britain's refusal to open Palestine to homeless

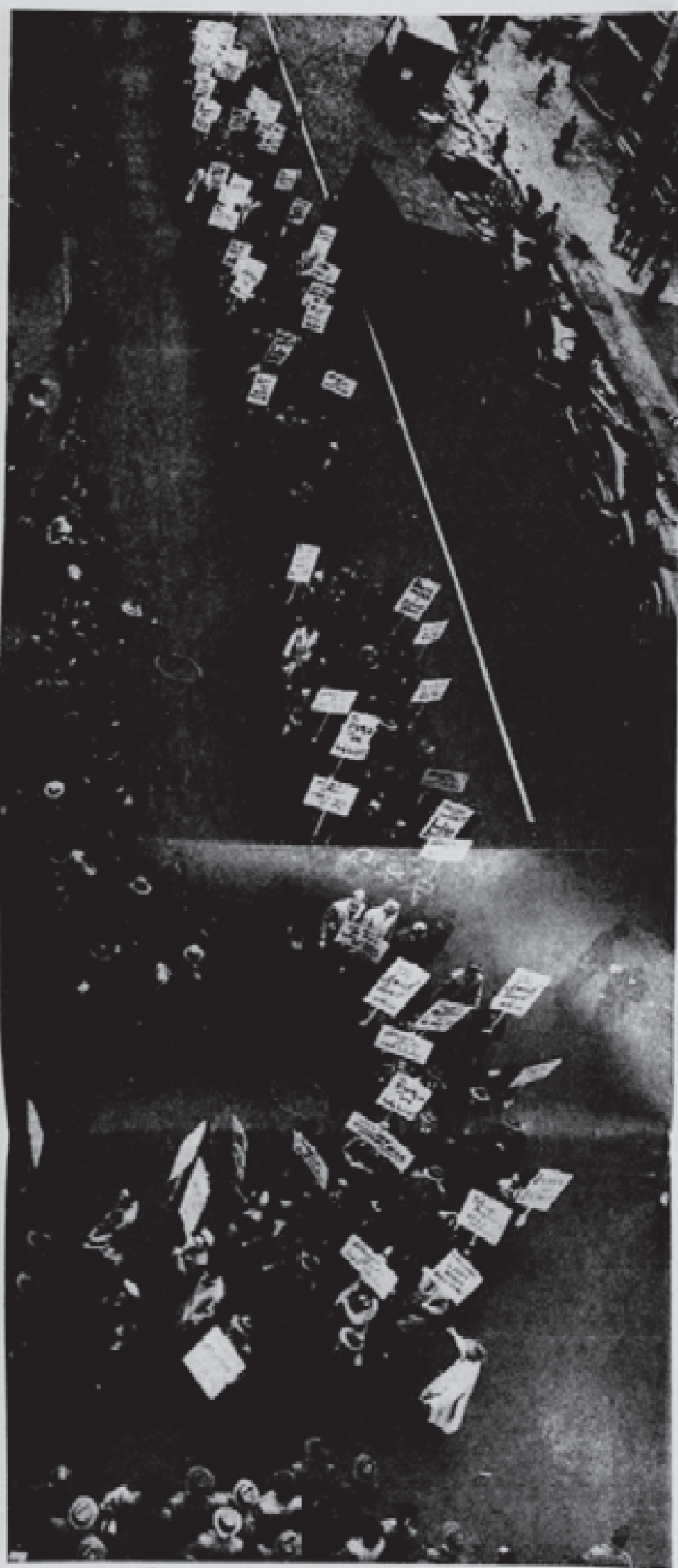
Jewish refugees in Europe, the sentiments of the rally, urging that President Truman and the State Department "use every influence" to help establish Palestine as a National Jewish Homeland, were forwarded to the President by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Brenda-Austin Photo

150,000 Demand Open Door to Palestine

Pages 7 and 10

...Thousands of Factories, Shops, Stores Close To Permit Employees' Attendance at N. Y. Rally



'Open the Gates!' Protesters protesting the British-barred gates of Palestine, New Yorkers yesterday marched along Broadway to Madison Sq. Park where from 150,000 to 250,000 persons assembled in a gigantic open-air demonstration. The meeting was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council. Thousands of shops and stores closed their doors early so that both employers and employees could go to the rally. (Story on Page 7.)



Here is part of the tremendous crowd at Madison Sq. Park that demanded an "open" Palestine for Jewish immigration. Hundreds of demonstrators carried

signs, including such slogans as "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil," "Jews of Palestine, Stand Fast!" and "8,000,000 Dead Cry Out for Palestine."

Photos by John Albert and Wilbert Blanche

Over 150,000 Rally to Back Jews on Palestine

Immigration Curb Branded as British 'Duplicity'

By BARNETT BILMERE and JOSEPH FIELD

More than 150,000 Jews in the city's history adopted by acclamation yesterday a militant declaration of support for the struggle to remove the barriers blocking the remnants of European Jewry from a haven in Palestine.

Facing a speakers' stand on Madison Ave., opposite East 24th St., stretching down 24th St. eastward to Lexington Ave., southward to 23d St., northward to 26th St., and westward to Fifth Ave.—an area of about seven acres—was a crowd roughly equal to the entire population of Providence, R. I. (Pictures on Pages 10 and 11.)

It was a people's demonstration, particularly a labor demonstration, and the emphasis was on their visible expressions of unity in the campaign against the British-imposed restrictions on Jewish immigration.

Carry Placards

Thousands of placards were held aloft. Some were militant: "Fight British Betrayal!" and "Jews of Palestine—Stand Fast!" Others, striking a note of fury against what speakers called a sell-out of humanity, said: "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil!" and "We Won't Be Sold Down a River of Oil."

The climax came at the twilight of a gray and chilly afternoon. With powerful searchlights trained on the platform, draped with U. S. pennants and the Jewish pale blue and white, loud speakers carried this declaration to the crowd:

"In your fight against a brutal policy which threatens to strangle 2000 years of Jewish aspirations, you are joined by an overwhelming majority of the people of this country. Freedom-loving Americans will not be silent while men of little vision seek to scrap the solemn international pledges made to the Jewish people. We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government."

Call to Action

"Our voice will reach the council members of the Powers! It will penetrate the barriers of official indifference; it will arouse the conscience of civilized mankind to action!"

"Jews of Palestine—the American people are with you. . . . We send you this expression of our deep affection and unshakable support in our common fight for the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and its recognition as a Jewish State, and are transmitting this declaration to the President of the U. S. A. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain."

British Prime Minister Clement Attlee was a principal target for his Labor Government's failure to fulfill its pledge to remove the restrictions on Jewish immigration. But a few clement has entered the fears of Jews that there will be

no answer to their appeal in time to save the hundreds of thousands of homeless, destitute Jews in Europe. That was the announcement last week by Secretary of State Byrnes of the late President Roosevelt's correspondence with King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, assuring the Arab leader of no action "hostile" to Arab interests and no basis decision without full consultation.

Justice

Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, general secretary of Mizrachi, recalling that some Arab leaders held aloft from he was and were ready to welcome Hitler, asked: "Is there to be one justice for the rest of the world and another justice which is injustice—for the Jewish people?"

Another fear of the Jews now, based on the explosion this week of Constantine Poulos, Overseas News Agency correspondent, from Palestine is that the British will suppress the truth.

But, declared Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, "the truth will spring out of the ground and, if necessary, out of the underground."

Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, presided over the rally. He read a message from Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. Other speakers were Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor; and David Wertheim, head of Poale Zion, Zionist Labor body.

Thousands of factories, shops and stores closed their doors early to

allow workers and their employers to march together to the rally.

Exodus

Down in the Lower East Side, the exodus began early. Butchers, grocers and thousands of other small storekeepers put up signs reading: "Come to the rally!" and turned the key. The garment district emptied out a little later.

Perhaps as many as 100,000 marched in parade formation to the park. About 15,000 boys and girls paraded from 17th St. and Broadway, singing Palestinian songs, led by a vanguard of soldiers.

A colored girl, Dolores Sharpe, 18, of 1995 Amsterdam Ave., a descendant of Ethiopian Jews, held the banner of the Hebrew Culture Council of the New York High Schools, of which she is secretary.

"I'm Jewish," she said, "so naturally I'm marching today."

The police estimated that 250,000 were present, the New York Times put it at 150,000. The American Zionist Emergency Council sponsored the rally.

Mrs. Ethel Pegler, of 379 Alabama Ave., Brooklyn, white-haired mother of two sons now in the Army, stood pressed against one of the wooden barriers that had been set up to keep the crowd back from the speakers' stand.

"How my sons feel," she said, "I can't say, but for me and my husband, this is a day of hope and of struggle. How long must the Jews wait? It's time already for them to have a home and a place to go to from Europe."

New York World-Telegram

150,000 Protest Palestine Policy

BRITAIN'S policy hinting an impending halt in immigration to Palestine drew 150,000 demonstrators to Madison Square Park in one of the largest mass protest rallies ever to be staged here.

Under huge arc lights which dispelled some of the gloom of the menacing skies, speakers called imperatively on the British Labor party government to fulfill the Balfour Declaration and repudiate the 1939 White Paper.

The rally was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and was marked by a

charge by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization in America, that the British are ejecting Jews from Palestine.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey urged restoration "of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland" in a telegram read by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference. Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, declared:

"We warn our friends in the British Labor government: you cannot do what you propose to do. We are in this fight to the finish."

The rally was prefaced by two parades. In one, made up of rabbinical students and labor union groups, placards were held aloft which proclaimed: "Stop Appealing Arab Fascists," "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil" and "The Jewish of Oil Is in the oily Land."

Rally Protests British Policy For Palestine

Zionist Meeting in Madison Square Asks Open Door; Dewey Sends a Message

A mass protest against the possibility that the British government of Great Britain might stop immigration to Palestine was held yesterday at 4:15 p. m. on the east side of Madison Square. Thousands of members of the Jewish faith came from schools, offices and factories to join the peaceful demonstration.

The meeting, at which Louis Lipsky, of New York, a co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, presided, was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council. The council is made up of four American Zionist groups, the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mirrabai and Poale-Zion.

Several thousand persons clustered about the speakers' stand at Madison Avenue and Twenty-fourth Street forty-five minutes before the meeting started. By 4 p. m. Madison Avenue was filled from Twenty-sixth Street south to Twenty-third Street, and a large section of the park was crowded.

Two brief parades preceded the meeting. A group of several thousand school and college students, joined by rabbinical students of Yeshiva College and several labor union groups, marched north in Broadway from Seventeenth Street to Twenty-sixth Street and east to Madison Avenue. A group of older people, most of them from

Mirrabai, the followers of orthodox, marched from Twenty-sixth Street and Broadway south to Twenty-sixth Street and east to Madison Avenue.

The marchers and those who came individually to the meeting carried placards reading: "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil," "Stop Oppressing Arab Fascists," "The Slavery of Oil Is in the Holy Land" and "Let the Homeless Go Home."

Governor Thomas E. Dewey sent a telegram to the meeting which was read by Mr. Lipsky. It noted that, while Jewish persons suffered heaviest in Europe, their "condition is still tragic." The Governor declared that: "These many thousands of emaciated and intimidated victims are entitled as of right to refuge in Palestine."

A protest, denouncing steps which indicate the British government might close all immigration to Palestine and calling for America to raise its voice, was read by Mr. Lipsky.

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, delivered a blistering attack against Ibn Saud, King of Saudi Arabia. He declared that Britain is honor-bound to keep her promises, and reminded his audience that the American Federation of Labor stands as a friend of Zionism.

Other speakers included Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Z. O. A.; Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council; Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, general secretary of Mirrabai, and David Wertheim, head of Poale-Zion, who spoke in Yiddish. The meeting, opened with Moishie Oysher, star of the Yiddish theater, singing the national anthem and closed with the audience singing the Hebrew hymn, "Hatikvah." (The Hope).



PROTESTING BRITISH REFUSAL to open Palestine to thousands of homeless Jewish refugees in Europe, part of huge throng fills street during record Zionist rally at Madison Square Park. Gathering numbered at least 200,000. (Story, other photo, Page 4)

Record Rally Palestine Ban Hit



CITES WAR'S PURPOSE. Louis Lipsky, American Jewish Conference leader, tells rally that peace should bring end of injustice for Europe's Jews.

New York Daily News



Here's part of the crowd of 200,000 which jammed Madison Square Park yesterday in mass demonstration for a Jewish Palestine.

200,000 Ask Jewish Palestine

More than 200,000 persons crowded into Madison Square Park and adjoining streets yesterday afternoon at a mass demonstration for a Jewish Palestine sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The rally started at 4 P. M. and lasted an hour and 15 minutes. Upward of 100 extra policemen were on duty. All traffic was halted on 23d St. between Fourth Ave. and Broadway.

Resolution Adopted. A resolution was adopted in which it was declared that "we will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast."

Spokesmen for the council said Jewish enterprises in the garment, millinery and fur districts were closed for the rally.

Three parades converged on the speakers' stand at 24th St. and Madison Ave. They included 20,

000 students at Jewish schools of high and college grade, 7,000 members of orthodox Jewish congregations, and 20,000 men of the Jewish Legion, members of the group that fought into Palestine with Gen. Allenby during World War I.

A message of support from Gov. Dewey was read by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference. The Governor declared he considered it "the solemn duty of each of us to add our voices to this great gathering of New York citizens demanding justice for the Jewish people of the world and the restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Other speakers included Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America; Louis Hollander, chairman of the State Industrial Union Council,



Dr. Israel Goldstein as he addressed rally yesterday.

CIO; Thomas Murray, president of the State Federation of Labor, AFL, and Pierre van Paassen, author and lecturer.

Rally Asks U. S. Aid Palestine

(Photo in today's Picture Section)

The American Zionist Emergency Council today forwarded to President Truman a request that he and the State Department "use every influence" to help establish Palestine as a national Jewish homeland.

The resolution asking intervention of the U. S. Government was presented before and passed by 100,000 members of the Jewish faith who assembled in Madison Square Park late yesterday.

The protest demonstration was preceded by three short parades, ending at the speakers' stand at 24th St. and Madison Ave. Almost 50,000 persons marched. They represented Jewish students, Jewish Legion members and members of orthodox congregations.

DEWEY'S MESSAGE.

Gov. Dewey, in a message read to the assembly by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, who presided, said:

"I consider it the solemn duty of each of us to add our voices to this great gathering of New York citizens demanding justice for the Jewish people of the world, and the restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Jewish schools, colleges, factories and offices were closed early to permit thousands to attend the meeting. Deputy Police Inspector Appel said it was the greatest outdoor meeting of its kind ever held in New York.

Lipsky led the demonstration against Britain's "closed-door policy" in Palestine, declaring it constituted a "blackout of justice" for European Jewry.

EXPRESSED BY POSTERS.

This theme was expressed by

banners and posters carried by the paraders. The signs read:

"Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil"

"Who Lend-Leased Palestine to Britain?"

"Billions for Britain? Justice to the Jews."

"Let the Homeless Go Home."

"Aren't 6,000,000 Dead Jews Enough?"

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, called upon Truman to insist upon the admission of at least 100,000 Jews to Palestine immediately, and warned a resistance movement would "go underground" unless Britain relaxed its policy.

"To our Government," he continued, "We turn as American citizens to ask that America should not go back on its policy. Has our State Department never heard of the Balfour Declaration which this government endorsed by the unanimous vote of Congress. (This document was designed to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine.)"

CHARGES BETRAYAL.

"Has this government not heard of the British White Paper of 1939, which cancels the Balfour Declaration? The President and the State Department must not permit this White Paper to stand."

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, charged that the White Paper was a betrayal of the pledge to open the doors of Palestine to the Jewish people everywhere.

Louis Hollander, chairman New York State Industrial Union Council charged the British with "an unparalleled act of betrayal."

Other speakers were Pierre van Paassen, author and publisher; Moishie Oysher, Hebrew actor; Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, general secretary of Mirrabai, and David Wertheim, head of Poale-Zion.

New York Daily Mirror

STANDING ROOM ONLY AT ZIONIST RALLY



Part of 200,000 throng at Madison Sq. Park demonstration listen to speeches against ban on Palestine immigration. (Other Photos on Center Fold)

200,000 Protest Palestine Policy

More than 200,000 Jews and sympathizers of other faiths crowded Madison Square Park yesterday in the largest Zionist rally in the city's history to protest Britain's continued refusal to open Palestine's gates to homeless Jewish refugees from Europe.

Countless factories and stores throughout the city closed before the rally's start at 4 p. m. to permit employees to attend. AFL and CIO unions joined the demonstration, and the American Zionist Emergency Council predicted more than 300,000 would exist in the movement.

Thirty youth groups, numbering 20,000, were the vanguard of numerous other groups which converged in parades on the park. War veteran marchers included Jewish Legion members who fought with British Gen. Allenby to wrest Palestine from Turkish control in World War I.

A telegram from Gov. Dewey said it was "the solemn duty of each of us" to "demand justice for the Jewish people of the world and restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Pierre Van Paassen, author, charged the British government with aiding formation of the Arab League, which he called "a branch of the British Colonial Office." He said Britain sought to "freeze Jewish endeavor" because it fears other Middle East and Asiatic peoples "will follow the Jewish example and create their own industries, culture and independence."

Other speakers were Dr. Israel Goldstein, head of the Zionist Organization of America; Louis Hollander, chairman of the CIO State Industrial Union Council, and Thomas Murray, head of the AFL State Federation of Labor. Dr. Goldstein termed the British entry ban to Palestine "shameful" and urged President Truman and the State Department to hold firm to its policy of holding at the British White Paper, which repudiates the Balfour Declaration.

Addressing himself to President Truman, he said:

"America backs you up. We expect you to keep insisting on admission of 100,000 Jews immediately and to keep reminding Britain of that American policy which is now on record in party platforms and Congress resolutions. We expect you to prove yourself the forthright, courageous, warm-hearted human being we know you to be, by seeing this issue through to its proper fulfillment—Palestine wide open to Jewish masses and then reconstituted as a Jewish State."

New York Daily News



Rally for Jewish Palestine. Crowds converge on Madison Square Park yesterday afternoon for mass demonstration in favor of a Jewish Palestine. Sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council, the rally drew upward of 200,000 persons, with many Jewish businesses in the garment area closing shop to allow employees to attend. A resolution attacking Britain's policy on the Palestine issue was adopted. —Story on page 2

150,000 Rally in Jewish Cause

Demand Opening of Palestine and Restoration of Dignity Throughout Europe.

N.Y. Sun 10/25/45

A crowd estimated by the police at 150,000 in Madison Square Park yesterday approved a message to be sent to the Jews of Palestine declaring support "for your heroic struggle to rebuild the national life of the Jewish people and to restore dignity and honor to the broken remnants of European Jewry." The mass demonstration was held under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

"Freedom-loving America will not be silent while men of little vision seek to scrap the solemn international pledges made to the Jewish people," the message said. "We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government, after their miraculous escape from the claws of the Nazi beast." The message voiced support in the fight to open Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and for its reconstruction as a Jewish State.

Pierre Van Paassen, author, charged that the British Government is making it appear to the American public that the Palestine question is a quarrel between Jews and Arabs, and said that the American people are being "bamboozled." He said, "The object is to stall for time, to postpone solutions, to defer action on Palestine until there are no more Jews in Europe and until it can be said that the Jewish question is solved once and for all by the death of the last Jewish survivors in Europe."

Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, said, "It is shameful that the blackout over Palestine should be the act of the Labor Government in Britain." He called on President Truman to keep insisting on the admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine and to keep reminding Great Britain of the American policy on record in party platforms and congressional resolutions.

A message from Gov. Dewey said that the Jewish people, the first and chief victim of Nazism, were still unable to find justice and tranquility in the post-war world, and that he was confident that the American people would give full support to the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, pledged support of the A. F. of L. and a similar pledge from the C. I. O. was voiced by Louis Hollander, chairman of the

New York State Industrial Union Council, C. I. O.

Lesion members and members of orthodox congregations.

DEWEY'S MESSAGE.

Gov. Dewey, in a message read to the assemblage by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, who presided, said:

"I consider it the solemn duty of each of us to add our voices to this great gathering of New York citizens demanding justice for the Jewish people of the world, and the restoration of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland—Palestine."

Jewish schools, colleges, factories and offices were closed early to permit thousands to attend the meeting. Deputy Police Inspector Appel said it was the greatest outdoor meeting of its kind ever held in New York.

Lipsky led the demonstration against Britain's "closed-door policy" in Palestine, declaring it constituted a "blackout of justice" for European Jewry.

EXPRESSED BY POSTERS.

This theme was expressed by banners and posters carried by the paraders. The signs read:

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Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, called upon Truman to insist upon the admission of at least 100,000 Jews to Palestine immediately, and warned a resistance movement would "go underground" unless Britain relaxes on its policy.

"To our Government," he continued, "We turn as American citizens to ask that America should not go back on its policy. Has our State Department never heard of the Balfour Declaration which this government endorsed by the unanimous vote of Congress. (This document was designed to permit Jewish immigration into Palestine.)"

CHARGES BETRAYAL.

"Has this government not heard of the British White Paper of 1939, which cancels the Balfour Declaration? The President and the State Department must not permit this White Paper to stand."

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, charged the British Labor Party's repudiation of its pledge to open the doors of Palestine has betrayed not only the Jews, but laboring people everywhere.

Louis Hollander, chairman New York State Industrial Union Council charged the British with "an unparalleled act of betrayal."

Other speakers were Pierre van Paassen, author and publisher; Moishe Cysner, Hebrew cantor; Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, gen-

Over 150,000 Rally to Back Jews on Pales

FRONT PAGE

Immigration Curb Branded as British 'Duplicity'

P.M. 10/25/45

By BARNETT BILDERMAN AND JOSEPH FIELD

More than 150,000 Jews in one of the greatest demonstrations in the city's history adopted by acclamation yesterday a militant declaration of support for the struggle to remove the barriers blocking the remnants of European Jewry from a haven in Palestine.

Facing a speakers' stand on Madison Ave., opposite East 24th St., stretching down 24th St. eastward to Lexington Ave., southward to 23d St., northward to 26th St., and westward to Fifth Ave.—an area of about seven acres—was a crowd roughly equal to the entire population of Providence, R. I. (Pictures on Pages 10 and 11.)

It was a people's demonstration, particularly a labor demonstration, and the emphasis was on their visible expression of unity in the campaign against the British-imposed restrictions on Jewish immigration.

Carry Placards

Thousands of placards were held aloft. Some were militant: "Fight British Betrayal!" and "Jews of Palestine—Stand Fast!" Others, striking a note of fury against what speakers called a sell-out of humanity, said: "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil!" and "We Won't be Sold Down a River of Oil."

The climax came at the twilight of a gray and chilly afternoon. With powerful searchlights trained on the platform, draped with U. S. pennants and the Jewish pale blue and white, loud speakers carried this declaration to the crowd:

"In your fight against a brutal policy which threatens to strangle 2000 years of Jewish aspirations, you are joined by an overwhelming majority of the people of this country. Freedom-loving Americans will not be silent while men of little vision seek to scrap the solemn international pledges made to the Jewish people. We will not permit the shattered Jews of Europe now to become victims of a new duplicity on the part of the British Government."

Call to Action

"Our voice will reach the councilmembers of the Powers! It will penetrate the barriers of official indifference; it will arouse the conscience of civilized mankind to action!"

"Jews of Palestine—the American people are with you. . . . We send you this expression of our deep affection and unshakable support in our common fight for the opening of Palestine's doors to unrestricted Jewish immigration and its reconstruction as a Jewish State, and are transmitting this declaration to the President of the U. S. A. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain."

British Prime Minister Clement Attlee was a principal target for his Labor Government's failure to fulfill its pledge to remove the restrictions on Jewish immigration.

But a new element has entered the fears of Jews that there will be no answer to their appeal in time to save the hundreds of thousands of homeless, destitute Jews in Europe.

That was the announcement last week by Secretary of State Byrnes of the late President Roosevelt's correspondence with King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, assuring the Arab leader of no action "hostile" to Arab interests and no basis decision without full consultation.

Justice

Rabbi Seymour Zambrowsky, general secretary of Mizrahi, recalling that some Arab leaders held aloof from the war and were ready to welcome Hitler, asked: "Is there to be one justice for the rest of the world and another justice—which is injustice—for the Jewish people?"

Another fear of the Jews now, based on the expulsion this week of Constantine Poulos, Overseas News Agency correspondent, from Palestine is that the British will suppress the truth.

But, declared Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, "the truth will spring out of the ground and, if necessary, out of the underground."

Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, presided and read a message from Gov. Thomas E. Dewey. Other speakers were Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council, CIO; Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, and David Wertheim, head of Poale Zion, Zionist labor body.

Thousands of factories, shops and stores closed their doors early to allow workers and their employers to march together to the rally.

Exodus

Down in the Lower East Side, the exodus began early. Butchers, grocers and thousands of other small storekeepers put up signs reading: "Come to the rally" and turned the key. The garment district emptied out a little later.

Perhaps as many as 100,000 marched in parade formation to the park. About 12,000 boys and girls paraded from 7th St. and Broadway, singing Palestinian songs, led by a vanguard of soldiers.

A colored girl, Dolores Sharpe, 18, of 1965 Amsterdam Ave., a descendant of Ethiopian Jews, held the banner of the Hebrew Culture Council of the New York High Schools, of which she is secretary.

"I'm Jewish," she said, "so naturally I'm marching today."

The police estimated that 250,000 were present, the New York Times put it at 150,000. The American Zionist Emergency Council sponsored the rally.

Mrs. Ethel Pegler, of 379 Alabama Ave., Brooklyn, white-haired mother of two sons now in the Army, stood pressed against one of the wooden barriers that had been set up to keep the crowd back from the speakers' stand.

"How my sons feel," she said, "I can't say. But for me and my husband, his is a day of hope and of struggle. How long must the Jews wait? It's time already for them to have a home and a place to go to from Europe."

150,000 Protest Palestine Policy

WORLD-TELEGRAM 10/25/45

Britain's policy hindering an impending halt in immigration to Palestine drew 150,000 demonstrators to Madison Square Park in one of the largest mass protest rallies ever to be staged here.

Under huge arc lights which dispelled some of the gloom of the menacing skies, speakers called imperatively on the British Labor party government to fulfill the Balfour Declaration and repudiate the 1939 White Paper.

The rally was sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council and was marked by a charge by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, that the British are ejecting journalists for reporting the presence in Palestine of armored units and troops.

Gov. Thomas E. Dewey urged restoration "of the Jewish nation in its historic homeland" in a telegram read by Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference. Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, declared:

"We warn our friends in the British Labor government: you cannot do what you propose to do. We are in this fight to the finish."

The rally was prefaced by two parades. In one, made up of rabbinical students and labor union groups, placards were held aloft which proclaimed: "Stop Appealing Arab Fascists," "Don't Trade Jewish Blood for Arab Oil" and "The Stench of Oil Is in the City Land."

Rally Asks U. S. Aid Palestine

(Photo in today's Picture Section)

The American Zionist Emergency Council today forwarded to President Truman a request that he and the State Department "use every influence" to help establish Palestine as a national Jewish homeland.

The resolution asking intervention of the U. S. Government was presented before and passed by 150,000 members of the Jewish faith who assembled in Madison Square Park late yesterday.

The protest demonstration was preceded by three short parades, ending at the speakers' stand at 24th st. and Madison ave. Almost 50,000 persons marched. They represented Jewish students, Jewish

eral secretary of Mizrahi, and David Wertheim, head of Poale-Zion.

150,000 at Zionist Rally Here; Britain Assailed on White Paper

Before a crowd estimated by the police at 150,000, one of the greatest ever to mass in or near Madison Square Park, speakers yesterday at a protest demonstration for a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine called on the British Labor Government to fulfill pledges of the Balfour Declaration and to abrogate the White Paper of 1939.

The gathering ignored threatening skies and a raw, chill day to manifest its support of the aims of the American Zionist Emergency Council, whose sponsoring committee hailed the demonstration as its greatest. Louis Lipsky, co-chairman of the American Jewish Conference, announced to the crowd that the number attending was 230,000, but Deputy Police Inspector John Appel put the figure at 150,000.

Declaring the British have im-

posed a "blackout" on Palestine and are expelling journalists for reporting the presence there of armored tanks and troops, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, warned that a resistance movement would go "underground" unless Britain's policy were relaxed.

"We refuse to recognize as 'illegal,' he asserted, 'any Jewish immigrant who enters Palestine without a certificate. Every Jew who enters the Jewish national home does so as of right. Illegal is the hand and the government that attempts to bar the Jew from the Jewish national home.'"

Dr. Goldstein called on President Truman "to keep insisting" on the admittance of 100,000 Jews immediately to Palestine and then to see the same through for a reconstituted Jewish State.

A message from Governor Dewey read to the crowd said he was confident the American people would "give their full support to the restoration of Palestine as a Jewish homeland."

Labor Leaders Pledge Help

Thomas Murray, president of the New York State Federation of Labor, pledged that the AFL would not "stand idly by." "We are not an inconsequential force," he said. "We warn our friends in the British Labor Government: you cannot do what you propose to do. We are in this fight to the end."

Louis Hollander, chairman of the New York State Industrial Union Council, Congress of Industrial Organizations promised that "we will continue to fight relentlessly until justice is done."

Mr. Lipsky protested against "the intention of the British Empire to legalize the larceny of Jewish rights and to make that wrong permanent." He charged Britain with "making a parade of its military strength" and with propagandizing to "create the impression that it is preparing to prevent civil war in Palestine."

Zionist youth organizations marched to the rally from the northern end of Union Square. Separate parades included also a small group of Jewish Legionnaires, who fought with the British in the first World War to help wrest Palestine from Turkey, and religious groups headed by the Rev. B. L. Leventhal, 80 years old, the Chief Rabbi of Philadelphia.

FORWARD

A JEWISH DAILY

די רייזע אידישע פראטעסט דעמא- סטרעציע אין מעדיסאן סקווער פארק

די ניו יארקער אידען האבען געשטען געשטען געשטען דורך דעם וואס זיי האבען דורכגעפירט די גרעסטע אידישע פראטעסט דעמאסטרעציע אין דער געשיכטע פון אונזער שטאט. איבער א פערטל מיליאן אידען האבען זיך פארזאמלט אין מעדיסאן סקווער פארק צו פראטעסטירן געגן דעם "ווייטען פאפיר", וואס באטרייט ניצט אידישע איינוואוינער אין ארץ ישראל. פון באזונדער גרויס באדייטונג איז דאס, וואס אסירי דעמאסטרעציע האט געטון געשטעלט, אז אין באזונט צו דער אנטייידעמאסטרעציע פראטעסט, אדער אפשר ואלט מען דאס באצייכענען, דעם היסטארישן סקווער פארק איז דא פולשטענדיגע איינטיקייט ביי אלע אידען פון אסערוקע.

אין דער דעמאסטרעציע האבען זיך באטייליגט געשעסען לייט און ארבייטער, אים אין דייך, יונג און אלט, מענער און פרויען. ביי דער דעמאסטרעציע האבען גערעדט די פראמינענטסטע פירער פון דער צייטשניטער באוועגונג. אבער עס איז נאך פון גרעסערער באדייטונג, וואס ביי דער דעמאסטרעציע האט מען געהערט די שטימע פון פארשטענדער פון ביידע צווייגן פון דער אסערוקענער ארבייטער באוועגונג: פון דער אסערוקענער פערערקייט און לעיקאס און פון דער ס. י. א. און אין ווייטער רעדעס האבען זיי שטארק פערשטעמלט, אז די נאנטע ארגאניזירטע אסערוקענער ארבייטער באוועגונג שטעט שטאל-אין-איינעם פאר דער אידישער פאדע רונג, אז דער "ווייטער פאפיר" וואלט אנגעשאט ווערען.

אין פון נאך באזונדער באדייטונג איז דאס, וואס ביי דער דע-

פאנסטראציע איז נאך אסאל פערשטעמלט געווארען. אז הינטער דער אידישער פאדערונג שטענדיגן דעם "ווייטען פאפיר" שטעט די רייזע געהערט פון דעם אסערוקענער פאלק. די וויכטיגסטע פיהרער פון ביידע גרויסע פאליטישע פארטייען אין אסערוקע ווייזן צו געסטען אס-דער פאדערונג. ביידע פארטייען האבען, ביי פארשיידענע געלעגענהייטן, ביי ווייטע קאנזענצאנס, געטונען א געסטענע שטעלונג וועגן דעם. אין זיין מעקענעס צו אסירי רייזע נער דעמאסטרעציע האט נאכדערנאך דוואי ריכטיג אפגעשטיינעלט דעם סענאטע פון אסערוקע. ווען ער האט געזאגט: "איך בין זיכער, אז דאס אסערוקענער פאלק וועט געבן זיין פולע שטיצע צו דעם צוריקאויפבו פון ארץ ישראל אום א אידיש היסטאריש, וואס דאס איז באזירט אויף די קאדענאלע יסודות פון געזעכטשניקייט, און עס איז אונזער נאציאנאלע עהרע פקיים צו זיין אונזער צוגעזאגט ווארט."

און אסירי איינטיקייט צווישן אלע אידען אין אסערוקע הינטער דער פאדערונג פון אפשאפן דעם "ווייטען פאפיר", און די שטיצע, וואס די אסערוקענער אידען באקומען פאר דער פאדערונג פון דער גאנצער אסערוקענער אונטערזוכער ארבייטער באוועגונג און פון דער רייזער געהערט פון אסערוקענער פאלק, האט געגעבן גרויס געוויכט דעם מעקענעס, וואס די פראטעסט-פאדערונג האט אוועק געשיקט צו די ארץ-ישראל אידען. אין דעם שלום פון אסיריטעס מעקענעס ווערט געזאגט:

אידען פון ארץ-ישראל! דאס אסערוקענער פאלק איז מיט אייך אין דער דאזיקער גרויסער פאדערונג. מיר זייען אייך אונזער טייער ליבשאפט און שטיצע אין אונזער געמיינשאפט קאמף פאר דער קעמפונג פון די מיינערן פון ארץ-ישראל פאר אימבארגירטער אידישער איינוואוינער און פאר דער ווייטעראויפבו פון לאנד אום א אידישען שטאט. מיר זייען איבער די דאזיקע דעקלאראציע צום פרעזידענט פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטן און צום פרעמיער-מיניסטער פון גרויס בריטאניע."

עס איז נישט נאך גענוג די גרעסטע אידישע דעמאסטרעציע אין ניו יארק, נאר עס איז אויך גענוג די אימפאנאנטסטע און איינדרוקס פולסטע דעמאסטרעציע. אין די שטארקע רעדעס, וואס ווייזן גע האלטען געווארען, האט מען נישט נאך געזיגט א וועהערטריי, נאר עס האט זיך אויך געזיגט א שטימע פון פראטעסט, צאן און קאמפ-גייסט. די וועלט שטימונג האט אויך ארויסגעקאפט אלע פארוואסעלטע. דא און דארט האט מען געווען פרעגן אין די איינע ביי די פארוואסעלטע, ווען זיי האבען מיט דער גרעסטער אויספערק וואסמייט זיך צוגעהערט צו די רעדעס, וואס האבען געזיגט די געזיגט, געזיגט, געזיגט און רעזולט, וואס אונזער פריער אין איראפע האבען דורכגעשאט אין די לעצטע יארהען. אבער גלייכצייטיג האט מען אויך געווען אויף די פלייטער פון די פארוואסעלטע מיט און אנט-שלאסענדיק צו קעמפן ביי אונזער פאר די גרעסטע פאדערונג. גען. די רעזולט האבען געגעבן אויסגעדריקט די שטימונג פון די פארוואסעלטע: אין אויך די לאזונג פון די פלאקאטען האבען זיך ווער גוט ארויסגעפאסט זיך דער דאזיקער שטימונג און באזונדערס האט זיך ארויסגעפאסט דער געלונגענער לאזונג: "שטעלנאס דעם אפטייטע פון אראבישע פאשיסטען!" עס קען נאך קיין צווייטעל נישט פאן, אז אסירי גרעסטע פראטעסט פארוואסלונג וועט אפגלינגען נישט נאר איבער גאנץ אסערוקע, נאר אויך איבער דער גאנצער וועלט.

250,000 Overflow Park to Protest Britain's Palestine Policy



A QUARTER-MILLION PERSONS—Christians and Jews, soldiers and civilians, rich and poor—all imbued with a common desire to see a Jewish homeland in Palestine, jam Madison Square Park to protest Britain's refusal to end immigration restrictions in the Holy Land. Right—Veterans of the volunteer Jewish



Legion who fought under Allenby carry the Union Jack (extreme right) alongside the Stars and Stripes and the Palestine flag at the head of a parade of 3,000 up Broadway. Story on Page 14.

Post-Photomby Mallor and Corvaco.

[illegible]

היה שמעיהאמר הילך שם דעם
עניינשם שם שם!
האמרעם לם שם ארדישם כלום
שם שם שם שם!

By M. Reichenstein

ZIONISM AND AMERICAN POLITICS

Parliamentary Opposition Helped To Write Palestine Platform in Planks of Both Parties.

CONTROVERSIES rarely settle anything at the moment. Weeks and months pass and the issue is almost forgotten. Then something happens quite unexpectedly which sheds a new light upon the earlier discussion and in a sense renders a verdict.

Something of that kind happened within the American Zionist movement during the past year. It had to do with the policy of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver in the conduct of Zionist political work and the strong opposition to his policy which resulted in his temporary retirement from the leadership. The chief accusation leveled against him was not merely that he was too aggressive and too militant, but also that he was attempting to swing Jews over to the Republican Party.

In retrospect it is amazing that some of Dr. Silver's political moves which were clearly intended to serve the Zionist Cause, to ensure the support of both major parties and were designed to employ the Republican Party as a means of goading the Democratic Administration into action, should have been so completely misunderstood by some people and willfully misrepresented by others. Dr. Silver, himself, had made his own position crystal clear on various occasions. In his political report to the National Convention of the Z. O. A. in Atlantic City on October 16, 1944, he asserted that the Zionist movement, as such, was completely neutral in American politics and must stay neutral. It was our purpose, as Zionists, to seek friends everywhere, in all parties, to express appreciation or support of the Zionist Cause from whatever source help came, and to denounce opposition from whatever quarter such opposition arose. It was a colossal blunder, he felt, to attempt to tie the fortunes of the Zionist Movement to any political party, either here or in England. For that reason it was necessary to cultivate leading Republicans as well as leading Democrats.

Moreover he was keenly aware of the traditional role of an opposition party in any Democracy and the legitimate use which might be made of such an opposition party in placing pressure upon the party in power. Everyone realized that it was much easier for a parliamentary opposition to criticize than it was for the party in power which carried the responsibility of Government to perform. Nevertheless it has always been customary here and in England, which is the origin and cradle of parliamentary institutions, to employ the parliamentary opposition as a means for urging an Administration into action. Dr. Silver never doubted that it was entirely proper for Zionists to do so in Washington.

As it happened, the Republican National Convention of 1944 took place some weeks in advance of the Democratic National Convention. The Republicans had the earlier opportunity to adopt a Pro-Zionist plank in their platform. The Democrats, who met later, followed suit. For a while it seemed very doubtful whether the Democrats at their convention, would adopt such a plank. Not because they were less sympathetic or more opposed to Zionism than the Republicans, but precisely because the Democratic Party was the Party in power, and the platform they adopted implied immediate and direct mandate with the Democratic Administration. The Resolutions Committee, at the Democratic Convention, did not feel free to adopt a Palestine plank

involving a question of foreign policy without first clearing it either with the State Department or with the President. Hence the difficulty which Zionist Leaders experienced at the Democratic Convention.

However, the Republicans at their Convention were less inhibited in that regard. They had to consult, at most, their experts on foreign relations but not the State Department. It took plenty of effort and hard work to get a Palestine Resolution through the Republican Convention too, but once it was accomplished there was almost a foregone conclusion that the Democratic Convention would have to follow suit. The Democrats were faced with the alternative of adopting a similar resolution, even more strongly worded or having to face the Jewish electorate as the party which refused such a plank though the Republicans had accepted it. The latter was an impossible alternative and the Administration advisors really had no choice but to assent.

This technique of employing one party as pressure upon another is well known, perfectly legitimate, and time-honored. Dr. Silver and his associates were simply utilizing the opportunity presented by the national contest between the two major parties, to get them both committed to a Pro-Zionist policy.

Actually, of course, the tension and excitement that was generated over the question of our contacts with Republican Leaders, was in itself "political", in the internal sense. Some of our Zionist leaders were deeply committed to the Democratic Party, or at least to the Democratic Administration, in a personal way. They had, or fancied they had, influence with the Administration, and were most anxious to preserve that relationship. They were also somewhat jealous of having a newcomer acquire a position of standing as a representative of the Jewish Community and of the American Zionist Movement vis-a-vis the White House. These personal and private considerations undoubtedly played their part and helped to muddy the waters.

Things went so far that Zionists were seriously debating the question whether a Zionist could hold a position of leadership in the sphere unless he was persona grata with the party in power. Folks went so far as to suggest that during a Democratic Administration the top Zionist leadership should consist of Democrats and during a Republican Administration, it should consist of Republicans. And this kind of nonsense seemed to go down with some of our befuddled Zionists. They did not stop to consider that Dr. Weismann, for instance, held the position of Zionist leadership in London under various regimes, Conservative, Liberal, Labor and Coalition governments. To cite another example: Ben Gurion, who is chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency and a Socialist to boot, has been holding his high office during the incumbency of a Tory government without feeling embarrassed in the slightest. Nay, further, prior to the recent British elections, Ben Gurion, the Socialist, expressed the opinion that from the Zionist point of view, it was preferable that Winston Churchill should be returned to office with a slight par-

liamentary majority behind him and with the Labor Party in the opposition, rather than have a Labor Government called to office.

But according to the theory advanced by Dr. Silver's opponents, the National Administration in Washington could determine the complexion and composition of the political leadership of the Zionist Movement in this country. All that would be necessary would be for the President of the U. S. or one of his numerous assistants to indicate or to print that a particular Zionist leader was persona non-grata and he would be promptly dumped on to the ash-heap. In all the public and private discussions which took place, no one produced a letter or any other concrete piece of evidence that he was persona non-grata or that the Administration declined to deal with him. It was only a rumor, but a rumor which was assiduously spread by means of the whispering campaign, with at least some subversive effect.

Nor did these people take into account sufficiently, the enormous power wielded in our government by even a minority group of Senators. Because of the nature of the American Constitution it lay in the power of such a minority in opposition to the Administration to block effectively important measures advocated by the Administration, especially in the field of Foreign Relations. So great and so vital is this power now wielded by the Republican Senators that the Democratic Administration, both under Roosevelt and under Truman, have gone out of their way to woo Republican support in a rather spectacular fashion. Roosevelt remembered the disastrous experience of Woodrow Wilson, whose plan for the League of Nations was balked and frustrated by the action of a Republican minority in the Senate, led by Henry Cabot Lodge, and he was careful to avoid that mistake. Thus we find him appointing, as American representatives to the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations, two such Republicans as Senator Vandenberg and Stassen, and in addition, appointed as political advisor to the American Delegation, Mr. John Foster Dulles, who had been slated to become Secretary of State in the event of a Republican victory in the last presidential election. And it is these three Republicans who seemed to play the most prominent roles at the San Francisco Conference. To cite a more recent instance: "When Secretary Byrnes went to London for the Conference of Foreign Ministers of the Big Five, he took along with him Mr. Dulles as his advisor, or as he has just described him, as his "partner."

Recently, Mr. Sulzberger, correspondent of the New York Times, cabled from London that Mr. Truman and Mr. Byrnes were inclined to have America take a larger measure of responsibilities in the solution of the Palestine question, but that they wished the Republican Leaders to indicate their support of such a course before they would move. Thus the Administration has repeatedly shown its realistic appreciation of the internal political situation, and of their dependence upon Republican support, while Zionists were timidly worrying lest the Zionist Movement be contaminated or discredited by accepting Republican support. It has been a tragi-comic farce.

8. In general, it is desired to protest against a procedure which seems to accord a right to the various Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine. The right of our own Government as one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in the First World War as well as by virtue of the United States-British convention above-mentioned, to participate in the future disposition of Palestine is obvious and unquestioned. The right of the Jewish people to be consulted is likewise clear and undeniable and is legally confirmed by the League of Nations mandate which, in recognizing the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their national home in Palestine, authorized also the recognition of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as representing the interest of all Jews in the establishment of the national home. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and we submit that their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue.

9. We feel constrained, at the same time, to make a frank statement of our views with regard to the course of action pursued by the executive branch of the Government and the State Department in particular, over a period of years. Despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises, and pronouncements to which we have referred, the policy they express has not been translated into action. On the contrary, numerous acts and omissions have emboldened the Arab leaders to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause, and that the pronouncements made here from time to time were meant for home consumption. We have consistently disregarded these allegations as unwarranted aspersions upon the good faith and political integrity of our Government.

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

11. On the other hand, our country has given generous support to Arab aspirations. It was among the first to recognize the independence of Syria and Lebanon. It has encouraged Arab States to make last-minute declarations of war against Germany on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, securing them places of honor among the United Nations, irrespective of their war records. Nor has it withheld its support from the Arab League despite the fact that the League has declared its opposition to Jewish aspirations and has proclaimed the liquidation of the Jewish National Home as one of its major objectives.

12. The one gratifying positive act in relation to Palestine has been President Truman's recent request to Prime Minister Attlee, the outcome of which, however, is still uncertain. We take grateful note that the statement of Secretary Byrnes indicates that measures to facilitate immigration into Palestine of substantial numbers of the survivors of European Jewry should, and can be undertaken forthwith, and that such immigration does not affect the basic situation in Palestine. The basic situation, in fact that established by the Mandate, which calls for the facilitating of the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their close settlement on the land. We therefore earnestly hope that our Government will continue to press for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe in line with President Truman's request. But the statement of the Secretary is silent regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the basic situation. The only light which it sheds on that issue—which is the crux of the whole matter—is the statement that "it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without a full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders." This is a point of procedure rather than a definition of policy. Moreover, the statement indicates an intention to wait until any proposals emerge, rather than to act on its own initiative in conformity with established American policy.

13. The point has now been reached, at which ambiguity and delay are no longer feasible. Millions of American citizens, who have a strong moral and humanitarian interest in this problem, look to the Administration for immediate and forthright action, which will once and for all dispel any possible uncertainty regarding its present position and future intentions. We cannot believe that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which did not lift a finger in their own defense during the war and which were, indeed, either actively or passively hostile to the democracies, should be allowed to deflect our country from a just course of action. The request is made on behalf of masses of suffering humanity who cannot wait. It would be cruel to deny their last hope for individual and national rehabilitation; but it would be the very reinforcement of cruelty to keep them further in suspense, or to feed them with promises which turn to ashes in their mouth.

America has a twofold interest in enabling the Jews to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. One interest springs from our profound anxiety that the traditional atmosphere of conflict in Europe, which has proven so dangerous to internal stability and world peace, shall be assuaged. We may not all realize how profound a part anti-Semitism has played in the development of the aggressive and nationalistic movements throughout Europe which have first fed upon the Jew as their immediate victim. These unfortunate movements carried their numerous followers into internecine hatred and finally into international aggression. This process continues, despite the fall of Hitler. Again anti-Semitism is being used through Europe to organize the dark forces of hatred which may easily upset our hope of organizing a peaceful Europe; and again, as before, the entire world, our country included, may find itself involved in the vortex of those forces.

There is a second interest involved; the interest of America in the Middle East. There is much nonsense spoken about the danger of large-scale violence or war which the Arabs could unleash against the Jews or against the United Nations. To anyone who has given careful study to the military realities of the situation such talk appears to be ridiculous.

The truth is that the Arab peoples are engaged now in the difficult task of beginning their national life in conditions of backwardness almost unrivaled in the modern world. Our best wishes go out to those peoples for the success of their endeavors; and not only do our wishes go out to them, Mr. President, but we are ready to help them to advance from their present state of abject poverty, of their present state of illiteracy, of the absence of any modern provisions for public welfare, to a degree of progress compatible with modern civilization. The Arab peoples know that no country is more anxious to give such assistance and is less interested in obtaining obvious or hidden advantages from them than are

We. There have been expansionists among all peoples in the past, and there may be some expansionist tendencies among extreme nationalists. In this, I am not interested. I hope the rulers of the Arab countries will give less thought to future expansion or Pan-Arab movements and more thought to the social and economic advancement of their own peoples. If they do this, they will find the Government and the people of the United States true friends.

In our endeavors to raise the living standards of the Middle East, no single step would be so helpful as the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state. The Jews have already done wonders in modernizing those portions of Palestine which they were crudely permitted to settle. Mr. President, I saw the development there. It is the outstanding example of its kind in that part of the world. They are constantly reaching out and reclaiming desert land, cultivating, and developing it in the most modern style. Their example has already stimulated the Arabs of Palestine, who, as regards living conditions, economic standards, public health, and literacy, are already far advanced in comparison with Arabs of other countries. Both peoples have increased their population and improved their living standards in this particular corner of the Mediterranean, due primarily, if not altogether, to the development in Palestine by the Jews.

Palestine is already, socially and economically, the most modern corner of the Middle East. It is per capita the largest consumer of American goods in that quarter of the world. With the further growth of the Jewish settlement in Palestine, we may be certain that this process of economic development will continue.

Mr. President, there is a whole world of desert land over there, a great deal of which could be reclaimed and put under cultivation if the leadership and the desire to do so were present. Palestine, and, stimulated by its example, the entire Middle East, would become to a still larger extent an important cog in the complicated machinery of world trade. The consuming standards of the population of those countries would rise if that result should ensue and America would be one of the main centers from which they would be likely to look for goods in ever-increasing measure. America would be aided by this development.

Furthermore, a predominantly Jewish Palestine would assure this country of a friend in that section of the world. It is true that we have friends there now, but the Jewish people are bound to our country by the links of gratitude for the help which the Jews of Palestine have received from the Jewish community in the United States. They are linked to this country by the innumerable personal and family bonds existing between the Jewish population in Palestine and the millions of our Jewish citizens. A Jewish Palestine would provide us in that important part of the world a strategic corner of the first order, as well as a true friend on whom we could rely at all times.

Our Government has a particular obligation to act in the present case. A great deal of lend-lease material and assistance in other forms has been provided very recently by our Government to the governments of the various Middle East countries. It is not quite clear to what extent the lend-lease material was used in that case to combat our common enemy, which was, after all, the main purpose of our lend-lease operations. But certainly it would be very odd, to say the least, if we found those same governments threatening to use the lend-lease material which they obtained from us in order to make war or engage in violence against the Jews. I doubt very much whether they would do it. The amount of help which we have given to the Middle East countries, and the further help which those countries must receive from us, should very naturally contribute to peace in that region and not to lawlessness. By setting up a national homeland in Palestine for the Jews and by giving their neighbors in the countries of the Middle East an opportunity to enjoy a higher standard of living, I believe that the peace for which we are all looking will be reinforced.

THE NEW PALESTINE Silver and Wise Press Jewish Claims on U. S.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, in a forty-minute conference with Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, presented the case of Jewish Palestine in a detailed reply to the lengthy communication which King Ibn Saud addressed to the late President Roosevelt. The leaders of the Emergency Council denied the veracity of the numerous charges and statements contained in the Arab communication in a memorandum submitted to the Secretary of State. At a press conference which followed, Dr. Silver inquired whether Palestine was a British colony, "or are 6,000,000 Jewish dead not enough."

The text of the Emergency Council memorandum is published in full on page 5; Dr. Silver's statement on page 6.

THE PALESTINE PROBLEM
CARE MEAD. Mr. President, I desire fully to associate myself with everything that has been said on the floor of the Senate with reference to the Palestine question, which, as Senators will recall, was discussed at great length on yesterday. There is in my judgment immediate need, Mr. President, for the British Government to correct a grievous wrong, and there is need for this Government to perform its duty in living up to the pledges which it has made in the past. Mr. President, in law the Jewish case is unanswerable; in equity, it is even stronger. The Jews have suffered from our common enemy more than any other people, and we owe them a chance to live their national life in a free land of their own. But I desire to emphasize another consideration, Mr. President, namely, the direct American interest involved in this matter. When dealing with foreign policy, we are naturally anxious to further any program which in the long run will serve the interest of our country.

THE NEW PALESTINE OCT. 31, 1945

Dr. Silver's Statement on Memorandum to Secretary Byrnes

WHY ARE the rulers of the Arab States permitted to meddle in the affairs of Palestine? Why are their ministers in Washington permitted to threaten the security of the Jewish National Home which has been guaranteed by international law and which is being administered under a mandate which does not recognize the right of any Arab State to determine its status or its progress?

These spokesmen of foreign Arab States have been threatening violence and war. The American Government should clearly indicate to them that it does not intend to be intimidated or blackmailed in the carrying out of its own policies. The Arab peoples of the Near East are far more in need of the friendship and help of America than America is in need of theirs. America has become great and prosperous without the aid of these Arab States, while these Arab States are likely to remain backward, impoverished and disease-ridden without the help which friendly America and other free peoples can give them.

They are not making friends for themselves in America by spreading the kind of infamous lies such as King Ibn Saud stated in his letter of April 5th, or by violently resisting the rights of other people to life and liberty which rights were guaranteed them by the nations of the world, and which have been approved by the Congress of the United States, by every President of the United States since Wilson and by the American people as a whole.

President Truman has asked Prime Minister Attlee to make it possible for an immediate migration of one hundred thousand Jews to Palestine. This is in keeping with the terms of the Mandate under which Great Britain undertook

to facilitate Jewish immigration to that country. President Truman was dictated by the highest humanitarian interests to help rescue at least that many of the tragic survivors of the Nazi slaughter. Why has Great Britain rejected this request of the President? Why is the British Labor Party permitting a shocking repudiation of its own commitments made as recently as four months ago? President Truman has indicated that he is not inclined to press his request on Great Britain. Why not? Is the matter of such little importance? Is Palestine a colony of Great Britain, or are six million Jewish dead not enough? Must the remainder of the Jews of Europe perish in order to maintain Great Britain's imperial interest in the Near East?

Who will suffer by the admission of one hundred thousand Jews into Palestine? Not the present Jewish settlers of Palestine. They are prayerfully waiting to receive them. Not the Arabs of Palestine. Their conditions have been improved with every influx of Jewish settlers into the country. There is room in Palestine for at least another three million people.

But who will suffer if the President's request is rejected?

The hundred thousand innocent men, women and children who have gone through the several hells of Europe in recent years, who are doomed to an inescapable fate if they remain in that war-ravaged and hate-ridden continent, and whose only hope for survival is Palestine.

Is it not time for the conscience of the people of America and Great Britain and of the remaining free peoples of the world to make itself heard?

פארגאנג



שטימו

ארגאן פון אידיש נאציאנאליזם ארבעטער פארבאנד

11טער יארגאנג, נומער 4 . 45 איסט 17טע גאס, ניו יארק 3 . פריי 15 סענ

דעמאנסטראציע פאר א אידישן שטאט אין ארץ ישראל

Oct. 1945



די ברויזע פראטעסטירעמאנסטראציע קעגן דעם שטענלעכן "הייטן מאגזין" אין פאר א אידישן שטאט אין ארץ ישראל. דאס איז אפגעהאלטן געווארן אין סטעיטס סקווער גארדען. די ווייזיק, וואסיק אונט, דעם סטאטן סענעטעמבער, ביי דער פארזאמלונג. דאס עס ווערן געזען אין דאס און דרויסן העכערעם פונעם אידן. איז אפגענומען געווארן א פייטלעכע דעם ראשיע און אן אויסגעדרונגן צו דער ארבעטער-דעמאנסטראציע אין קעמאגו צו האלטן איר פארש פונעם דאס אידישן פאלק. אן ארץ ישראל וואס אויסגעבויט ווערן אלס אידישער שטאט. אן בילד ווערן געזען א צאל פון די הויפט רעדנער: (פון רעכטס צו לינקס): א. מאנסי, דאס איז געזען פארזיצער דיר סטעיטן פ. הייט, הייט געזענען און דיר אבא הלל סילב