



## 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.

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Reel  
229

Box  
101

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34

Clipping scrapbook, 1945 March-December.



Part 1  
Jan.-Feb.  
1945

AIEC controversy, continued; statements pro and con action by AHS; Zionist regions, Silver, Wise, Goldstein, Mirrachi.  
Backing for AHS grows; Zionist regions, Yiddish press.  
Palestine resolution re-introduced in House, Jan. 11, 1945.  
Rabbi 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.  
AIEC appoints "Peace" committee; AIEC 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.  
Mirrachi demands recall of AHS, June 1945.  
Greenberg resigns as co-chairman of AIEC, June 18, 1945.  
"Peace" committee urges reconciliation, June 26, 1945.  
AHS recalled as co-chairman of AIEC, July 12, 1945.  
Truman supports Zionists, Aug. 17, 1945.  
World Zionist Conference, London, Aug. 23, 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.



# ZIONISTS BLAST PALESTINE RIOTS

## 1500 at Convention Here Resolve to Fight for End of British White Paper

Climaxing the most dramatic convention in 25 years of history, more than 1500 delegates of the New England Zionist Region yesterday expressed vehement indignation over the outbreak of violence in Palestine in sessions at the Hotel Bradford and unanimously resolved to carry forward the fight for the abrogation of the British White Paper, and to obtain sufficient immigration certificates for the homeless Jews of Europe as requested by Pres. Truman.

### ROUSING ADDRESS

The resentment of New England Jewry was summed up in a rousing address by Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council at last night's banquet, who held the British government responsible for "these violent outbreaks of men driven to desperation by callousness and inhumanity almost unparalleled."

"Six million Jews perished during the war in Europe," Rabbi Silver said. "Many of them might be alive today if Great Britain had not refused these doomed men, women and children refuge and sanctuary in Palestine where

a Jewish national home was guaranteed by the nations of the world.

"The million and a quarter of Jews who survived the horrors of the war are now doomed to languish in concentration camps or live in misery and insecurity in central and eastern Europe because Great Britain still persists in keeping the doors of Palestine shut."

Four months ago, Rabbi Silver said, the British Labor party now in control of the government called for the removal of all restrictions on Jewish immigration and asked for voluntary transfers of Arabs from Palestine to other Arab lands.

But today, he said, the British Labor party is trying to wriggle out of these commitments and members of the cabinet have suddenly become silent while encouragement is being accorded to Arab leaders.

### Causes Riots

"The Arab League," he said, "is a British inspired agency to make secure British political domination in the Middle East and the Arab League is responsible for the riots in Egypt where it is now holding provocative sessions."

"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



ZIONISTS' JUBILEE CONVENTION

Attending the silver jubilee convention of the Zionists at Hotel Bradford last night were, left to right, Judge Elihu D. Stone, Gov. Tobin, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Pres. Samuel Caploe and Chm. Louis E. Brown.

state to determine its status or 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 diseased without the help which friendly America and other free peoples can give them."

### Gov. Tobin Honored

Gov. Tobin was presented with a Golden Book certificate of the Jewish National Fund in recognition of outstanding services to the Zionist cause by Max Kattentalk, honorary president, the New England Zionist Region.

Gov. Tobin paid a hearty tribute to Elihu D. Stone, elected yesterday as life honorary president of the New England Zionist Region. He said that 27 years ago as a member of the State Legislature, Mr. Stone had struck the first blow for the founding of a Zionist nation, an aim which eventually received the approval and the official signatures of 44 nations.

"In 1918 after European Jewry had suffered six long years of hell under the crushing heel of Hitler, the British government saw fit to issue the infamous White Paper, which violated the sacred pledge made by Britain in 1917 in the Balfour declaration," the Governor said.

"At that same moment, the Jewish people were tethered to the Hitler beastling post to make certain that they couldn't escape the terrible persecutions that shocked the civilized world. That White Paper provided for a paltry 25,000 certificates during the next five years, plus a very restricted band purchase policy. Those next five years turned out to be the saddest half decade in human history. Perhaps I shouldn't use the word human because the Nazis as we know them were far from human in their treatment of the Jews, the Catholics, the Protestants and other democracy-loving groups."

### Sub-Human Conditions

"Dr. Karl Harrison, the personal, impartial envoy of the President, was recently sent to survey the situation of refugees and homeless people in Europe. He sent in a 200 word report to our Chief Executive which said, in essence, that Jews today are living in Arab human conditions in Europe, and that the only hope for their survival is to make arrangements for sending them to Palestine as soon as possible."

"Settlement in their national home and will not only cure the curse of homelessness for these expatriated Jews, but it will also provide them the opportunity to rebuild their lives and to become useful members of society once again."

"So convinced were we here in America that the only solution to the problem of Jewish homelessness is the opening of the gates of Palestine that our two major political parties included that plank in their election platforms, and to all intents and purposes the British Labor party thought the same way."

"I cannot understand how the British people who have suffered so much themselves during the horrible blitz can sit by after the war, and quietly condone this virtual death sentence for countless numbers of Jews, through the simple expedient of going back on one promise after another."

### Behind Just Cause

"The cause of the Jewish people is so just that if you people stand behind these hundreds of thousands of homeless and persecuted unfortunates, and who should they turn to than to their co-religionists, that your efforts will be rewarded and that the pledges which have been made in their behalf will be eventually redeemed."

The silver jubilee banquet last night was, in a sense, a testimonial to one of its greatest figures, Life Pres. Elihu D. Stone.

"We are all affected by the impact of the events of recent weeks and days in Palestine, in Egypt and in other parts of the Near East," he said. "History will record these events in a spirit of shame and contempt. England, mighty England, in whose empire the sun never sets pronounced a death sentence upon the Jewish national home in violation of sacred covenants publicly arrived at. The covenants of encouraging Jewish immigration in Palestine and the mass settlement of Jews on the land to the end that Palestine shall be reconstituted as a Jewish state. The Attlee government will be answered before the bar of justice for the act of condoning the work of Hitler as far as the Jewish people are concerned consigning them to an existence which is neither life nor death."

The following officers were elected: Samuel Caploe, president; Elihu D. Stone, honorary life president; Ralph F. Bass, Joseph Goldberg, Max Kattentalk and Coleman Silbert, honorary presidents; Moses Hirsch, Iruben Kleiner, Harry Levine, Dr. Arthur I. Shain, Mendell M. Selig, Dr. Aaron H. Stone, Pinchos E. Madwed, Benjamin Toher and Laurence M. Ring, vice presidents; Dr. Morton J. Robbins, honorary vice president; Jacob Glimsburg, Hebrew secretary; Morris Mischewitz, secretary; Toland D. Markson, treasurer; and Benjamin Ulin, associate treasurer.

# Dr. Silver and Governor Tobin Score Britain's Palestine Policy at N. E. Mass Demonstration

## Re-elect Caploe Zionist Region Head; Tribute to Elihu D. Stone, Founder

More than 1,500 delegates, representing every state and Jewish community in New England, climaxed a history-making Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Convention of the New England Zionist Region with a mass demonstration, last Sunday evening, in the main ballroom of the Bradford Hotel, at which Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, in a stirring address demanded that "the American Government clearly indicate to the spokesmen of foreign Arab states that it does not intend to be intimidated or blackmailed in carrying out its own policies and that the American people will not allow the strangulation of the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. Let not Prime Minister Attlee think our Government will permit it," he said.

During the two-day sessions, the delegates pledged maximum vigor in strengthening the Zionist movement through increased membership, intensification of youth programs and adult education.

In resolution, the New England Zionists expressed their determination to carry forward the fight for the abrogation of the British White Paper, to obtain enough immigration certificates for the homeless Jews of Europe as requested by President Truman, and to see that a Jewish Commonwealth shall be established, which will do honor to the Jewish people. They

pledged to return to their communities and carry on their work for a Jewish National Homeland and for the restoration of dignity and honor to the Jewish people throughout the world.

Amidst a setting of American and Zionist flags, pictures of President Truman and Chaim Weizmann, and a colorful mural which hung across the stage reading "Clear the way... take up the stumbling block out of the way of My People," the tremendous gathering which filled the Hotel Bradford ballroom and its balconies, heard Dr. Silver and Governor Tobin score present British Palestine policy

and pay tribute to Elihu D. Stone, founder of the Region and its life honorary president, in whose honor the Sunday evening banquet was dedicated.

### Dr. Silver

Dr. Silver minced no words when he asserted "our problem is not an Arab problem, but a British one. The Arab League is a British-inspired agency to make secure British political domination in the Middle East, and the Arab League is responsible for the riots in Egypt where it is now holding provocative sessions in Cairo."

Pointing out that "there will be no solution of the immigration problem until there is a solution of the political problem," the illustrious Zionist leader emphasized that "as long as Great Britain refuses creation of a Jewish State, so long will Britain refuse mass immigration into Palestine."

"Riots in Egypt will not deter the building of a Jewish National Home," stressed Dr. Silver. "We want to change the status of our people and become a majority in this world, and it is the loyalty of our people which has gone down through centuries which will again see us through our present trials and give us a free Palestine. Who will suffer by the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine, as requested by President Truman? Not the present Jewish settlers of Palestine. Not the Arabs of Palestine. Their conditions have been improved

with every influx of Jewish settlers into the country. 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, 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?" demanded the speaker.

### Tribute to Mr. Stone

Dr. Silver paid tribute to Elihu D. Stone for his devotion to the cause of Palestine during the past 25 years. An engraved scroll in tribute to his great contribution to the Zionist movement was presented to Mr. Stone by Joseph Goldberg, Regional honorary resident.

The honored guest, in accepting the testimonial, declared: "On the 25th anniversary of the New England Zionist Region, we dedicate ourselves to the unfinished task of the national liberation of the Jewish people, and to the reconstitution of Palestine as a democratic and sovereign Jewish Commonwealth. I am persuaded that in co-operation with the enlightened public opinion of America, guided by President Truman, the doors of Palestine will be opened to the free entry of Jews in order that we may rebuild their broken lives, and find an opportunity of national self-expression for the good of mankind." Referring to the British Labor Government,

Mr. Stone declared "The Attlee Government will be answerable before the bar of justice for the act of condoning the work of Hitler as far as the Jewish people are concerned, consigning them to an existence which is neither life nor death." (1-C)



# THE JEWISH ADVOCATE

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Dedicated to  
Americanism, Judaism,  
Social Service

THE JEWISH ADVOCATE: THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1945

Twenty Pages

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## Anti-Jewish Riots in Middle East Engineered by Arab League, American Zionist Emergency Council Charges

### "Britain's Imperial Policy Cannot Escape Share of Blame," Is Statement

(SPECIAL DISPATCH FROM CAIRO)

Following two days of similar but less murderous riots in Egypt, last week, seventy-four Jews were killed and at least 183 others wounded in wild anti-Jewish outbursts on Sunday and Monday in Tripolitania, staged by "subversive Arab elements."

A report to British headquarters here said that by Tuesday morning quiet had again been restored in the former Italian colony. The carrying of sticks and arms has been proclaimed a serious offense and plundering made punishable by death.

British officers familiar with Tripolitania described their reaction to the rioting by the word "astonished." Relations between the Jewish and Arab communities in Tripolitania have been of the best normally.

NEW YORK (Special Dispatch)—The Arab League was held directly responsible for the rioting which occurred in Cairo, Alexandria and other cities in Egypt, and which within two days appears to have spread across the western desert to Tripoli, in a statement issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which speaks for the entire Zionist movement in the United States.

"It is now abundantly clear that the outbreaks were not a spontaneous rising of the masses, but a deliberate program engineered, in the words of the Prime Minister of Egypt, Nokrashy Pasha, by 'evil hands' . . . The 'evil hands' which unleashed this disgraceful outbreak were those of the Arab League, which has been threatening and inviting just such violence for some time now. But the ultimate re-

sponsibility goes further. The Arab League itself has come into being with the blessing and support of Britain's Colonial officials in the Middle East. Without that support, not only the League, but even the individual Arab states in that area could not hope to survive. Britain's imperial policy in the Middle East cannot escape its share of blame for what has occurred and for what will continue to occur

#### Munich Again

"There is an inescapable parallel," it continued, between the appeasement of Munich in 1938 and the new appeasement to which in recent weeks the British Labor Government has committed itself by continuing the iniquitous policy of the Palestine White Paper. The former was followed two months later by the burning of the synagogues in Germany. The latter has already brought in its train the destruction of synagogues in Cairo, the burning of Jewish books and murderous attacks on peaceful citizens. The British Government has given the Arabs an example in lawlessness; it has repudiated its oft-repeated pledge to honor the Balfour Declaration, violated with impunity obligations undertaken under the Mandate, and closed the doors of Palestine in the face of the desperate victims of the Nazis.

"The England responsible for this policy is not the England which is worthy of her own best traditions. We choose to believe that that nobler England will yet reassert itself. But for the Jewish people there is no other way than to go forward. If proof were needed that acceptance by the Jews of Palestine of the permanent minority status contemplated by the White Paper would be intolerable and impossible, that proof has now been given.

#### Arab States Have No Standing

"Nor will the Jewish people be terrorized by the unwarranted intrusion of Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, or any of the other Arab states into an issue which was settled by the unanimous action of the nations of the world a quarter of a century ago. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue. Palestine was recognized twenty-eight years ago and remains today the one answer to the problem of Jewish national homelessness. Confident that the cause of justice and in-

ternational good faith, upon which the security of all nations is founded, must in the end prevail, the Jewish people, supported by men and women of good will everywhere, stands steadfast and will not falter in the days ahead."

"The 1,200,000 Jews who survived the horrors of war are now doomed to languish in concentration camps or live in misery and insecurity in central or eastern Europe because Great Britain still persists in keeping the doors of Palestine shut," Dr. Silver said. "Four months ago the Labor party, now in control, called for a removal of all restrictions on Jewish immigration into Palestine and for a Jewish majority in that country."

"Today the Labor government is trying to wriggle out of these commitments and is resorting to the same excuses, delay and dilatory tactics which the Tory government used."

Members of the present cabinet who were so loud in their championing of the Jewish national home, and so vigilant in their condemnation of the infamous white paper of 1939, have suddenly become silent.

Tells of Threats

"Every encouragement is given to Arab leaders, very few of whom are actual Palestinians. The Arab League is British inspired to make secure British political domination in the Middle East."

Dr. Silver said ministers of Arab states in Washington "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," he said. "The Arab peoples are far more in need of the friendship and help of America than America is in need of theirs."

Dr. Silver asked why Prime Minister Attlee rejected President Truman's request to admit 100,000 Jews into Palestine and asked why President Truman would not push his request.

"Is the matter of such little importance?" he continued. "Is Palestine a colony of Great Britain, or are 6,000,000 dead Jews not enough? Must the remainder of the area be Europe perish in order to maintain Great Britain's imperial interest in the Near East?"

Referring to rioting this week in Egypt and Tripolitania, Dr. Silver wondered about Britain's asserted astonishment "when Britain actually has financed the Arab League, meeting now in Cairo, and the league is directing the riots."

"The rioting in Egypt and Tripolitania will not stop the Jews from building their national home," he asserted.

"Two hundred and fifty delegates from 30 states and Canada adopted a \$500,000 budget for rehabilitation of women and children in Palestine next year.

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Dr. A. H. Silver, rabbi of the Temple and co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, in a speech last night said Great Britain directly was responsible for outbreaks in Palestine and suggested an international commission, possibly including Russia, to establish principles for a solution.

He said the United States, Britain and Russia could modernize the Near East to support an additional 15,000,000 persons.

Dr. Silver spoke before the National Women's Pioneer, a labor Zionist organization, in convention at Hotel Hollenden.

"The action of the British government is directly responsible for these violent outbreaks of men driven to desperation by calumnies and inhumanity almost unparalleled," he said.

Dr. Silver accused the British Labor party of changing its end while pro-Zionist policy since taking power. He said the Attlee government was trying to "wriggle out of commitments to Jews."

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Tells of Threats

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# ZIONISTS HIT U.S. PALESTINE POLICY

PD-11-15-45

## Choice of Dr. Silver Pre-sages Militant Attitude

BY HYMAN HOROWITZ

The 48th Zionist convention, which concluded its sessions Tuesday at Atlantic City, voiced its unequivocal opposition to the decision recently announced in Washington and London to create an Anglo-American investigating committee on the Palestine question.

The leaders of the movement such as Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein and Dr. A. H. Silver of Cleveland all emphasized this was a maneuver on the part of Britain to stall and delay the solution of an urgent problem, and asserted that America had been caught in a "trap," carefully prepared by Britain.

As a dramatic climax to this disturbing attitude came the message of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, who, at 71, undertook the journey to the United States to help in the present crisis.

For many decades a devoted and loyal citizen and friend of England, Dr. Weizmann, in a trembling voice choked with emotion, explained it was hard for him at his age to change his position with relation to England, but admitted he was shocked by the latest development, equivalent to a death sentence upon many homeless Jews in Europe whose only hope lies in a refuge in Palestine.

### U. S. Criticized

The criticism directed against the United States government was for acceding to the British proposition, which was deemed to be clearly in violation of the Balfour declaration and the terms of the mandate.

The present situation calls for some favorable action at once and there seems to be no reason for, or need of, an investigating committee, which would serve only as an excuse for further delay in a matter of life and death for many innocent people. Britain has had no less than seven investigating committees in Palestine in the last quarter of a century, and no good ever came of any of them.

It was pointed out that the American government has had its own investigation only recently in the mission of Earl G. Harrison, American member of Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, whose report prompted President Truman to request 100,000 European Jews be permitted to enter Palestine without regard to the ultimate decision on the political status of the country. The president said on Nov. 13 he still was anxious to have his request granted, but inasmuch as Britain turned it down, he acceded to the plan of a joint committee.

The Zionists had been hoping for a long time to see America take an active part in the Palestine question, but have been disappointed in the development that made America a partner to the British anti-Zionist policy.

At the last session, the convention called on the American Jewish Conference to convene immediately and take all possible steps to safeguard the Jewish rights in Palestine. A poll recently taken by the conference disclosed that more than 99 per cent of American Jews, who expressed an opinion on the question, are in favor of a Jewish Palestine.

### Silver Is New President

The convention elected by acclamation Rabbi Silver as the president of the American Zionist Organization.

Although Dr. Silver has long been a distinguished Zionist leader deserving of this honor, his enthu-

# U.S. IN BRITISH TRAP, ZIONISTS HERE SAY

## Council Charges Truman Errs in Accepting Joint Inquiry— Issue Called Prejudged

A statement welcoming closer cooperation by the United States in solving the problems of Palestine but emphatically condemning the plan for a joint inquiry announced by Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin of Great Britain and President Truman was issued yesterday by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The British Labor party has abandoned its earlier support for a Jewish national home in Palestine, and the United States, in assenting to the inquiry, has "fallen into a carefully prepared trap," the statement declared. Nothing but delay can come from such an investigation, whereas the need is for immediate action to aid the displaced and helpless Jews of Europe, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise continued.

The statement follows:

(1) The statement by Foreign Secretary Bevin, yesterday, on Palestine and on Jewish emigration from Europe brings to a climax the self-stultification and the betrayal of pledges which have characterized the policy of the British Labor Government on the Palestine issue since its assumption of office.

(2) As recently as April 1943, the National Executive Committee of the British Labor party reaffirmed its support for the Jewish national home in the following terms:

"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 irrefutable case for it now."

### "Insult" to Jews Affirmed

This may be compared with Mr. Bevin's insulting remark when dealing with this issue yesterday:

"If the Jews, with all their sufferings, want to get too much at the head of the queue, you have the danger of another anti-Semitic reaction through it all."

(3) Instead of carrying out its unequivocal commitments, the Labor Government has sought in every way to procrastinate and to avoid the fulfillment of its pledges.

(4) In this policy of delay it has now succeeded in enlisting the invidious support of the President of the United States. By agreeing to the proposal for a joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, the United States Government has fallen into a carefully prepared trap.

(5) In his letter to Mr. Attlee of Aug. 31, 1943, the President stated, on the basis of the investigation conducted at his direction by Earl G. Harrison, that the main solution for the non-responsible Jews of Europe was the quick evacuation of those who wished it to Palestine. "If it is to be effective," wrote Mr. Truman, "such action should not be long delayed," and he urged the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine.

elastic election to this office at this time indicates a determination to pursue a dynamic militant policy with regard to the Zionist aspirations.

Dr. Silver has long been against all forms of "appeasement," and for an outright stand for a maximum Zionist program. Only a year ago he had met strong opposition in the Zionist ranks in this respect; now he has been given the fullest measure of support by the movement.

Instead of acceding to this request, the British Government turned it aside by the proposal for a joint Anglo-American Committee of Investigation. President Truman now states that he continues to adhere to the views expressed in his letter to Mr. Attlee. But his acceptance of the British scheme, with its provision for a paltry 1,500 certificates per month until such time as the committee makes its recommendation, represents a complete recession from his original position.

(6) The possibilities of Jewish emigration to countries other than Palestine were exhaustively considered at international conferences at Bermuda and at Evian in 1937 and 1938, and the results were all. The Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, further, has been in existence for years with a like object and with a like result. The burning desire of the majority of the Jews of Europe to emigrate to Palestine is established not only by the reports of Mr. Harrison, of Judge Raskind and of Mr. Gibson of the Red Cross, but by every unbiased observer. In these circumstances, the appointment of another committee of inquiry is a mockery. Instead of concrete measures in conformity with clearly defined and valid international agreements, the Jews of Europe are again to be treated to empty words, while, physically and spiritually, they rot and perish. The President has done an ill-service to the cause of saving the Jews of Europe by cooperating in a procedure which will postpone for many months any possibility of a solution of their problems and any decision in regard to the opening of the doors of Palestine.

### Issue Seen as Prejudged

(7) At no point in Mr. Bevin's statement of policy is there any direct reference to the obligations of His Majesty's Government in regard to the establishment of the Jewish national home. The British Foreign Secretary has, on the other hand, by implication, accepted the continuance of the infamous policy of the Chamberlain White Paper with its gross discrimination on racial grounds against Jewish purchase of land in Palestine and its limitation of Jewish immigration to a trickle. All this despite the fact that the party of which Mr. Bevin is a leader in 1939 condemned the White Paper policy as a "cynical breach of pledges given to the Jews and the world, including America," and despite the express statement by Herbert Morrison, now Lord President of the Council, that that policy would not be automatically binding upon the successors of the Chamberlain Government.

(8) Finally, we must point out that the President of the United States has associated this country with a committee of inquiry whose conclusions have already, in important respects, been determined in advance by the British Foreign Secretary. In spite of the unequivocal commitments of our Government and people to the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth; in spite of the statements of President Wilson, of Prime Minister David Lloyd George, of Winston Churchill, of General Smuts and others at the time of the Balfour Declaration that what was contemplated was the ultimate establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state, the British Foreign Secretary has already declared that the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish state is precluded. Mr. Bevin has further prejudged the issue by declaring that Palestine cannot, by itself, "provide sufficient opportunity for grappling with the problems" of the surviving Jews of Europe—a conclusion which is in diametrical conflict with authoritative investigations, such as those of Dr. Walter Clay

Lawdermilk of the United States Department of Agriculture. Mr. Bevin's statement, further, altogether ignores the fact that, as was stated by the British Royal Commission on Palestine, "unquestionably the primary purpose of the Palestine Mandate was the establishment of the Jewish national home."

(9) The closer cooperation of our own country with Great Britain in the settlement of the problem of Jewish national homelessness and of Palestine is warmly to be welcomed, but we deeply deplore the form which this cooperation has taken. It is with the utmost regret that we charge our Government with having allowed itself to be involved in a procedure whose main purpose is delay where action is long overdue.

We desire to draw attention, further, to the fact that the terms of reference of the proposed Joint Committee omit all mention of the basic commitments of the British Government in regard to the reconstitution of the Jewish national home in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Under no circumstances can this committee be allowed under the guise of an impartial inquiry to stifle the agonized cries of the surviving Jews of Europe and to undermine and eventually destroy the rights of the Jewish people to Palestine, internationally guaranteed by fifty-two nations of the world, including the United States of America.

### Hadassah Alleges Inconsistency

Hadassah, women's Zionist organization, issued a sharp attack upon Foreign Secretary Bevin for his support of a joint Anglo-American inquiry in Palestine and his recent speech on Palestinian problems in the House of Commons after a meeting of the organization's national board last night at its headquarters, 1815 Broadway.

A statement expressing the sense of the board was sent by airmail to Hadassah's 700 chapters in the forty-eight States. It declared that Mr. Bevin's comment was an "insulting, provocative and dangerously loaded attack on the Jewish people, the Zionist movement and the honor and prestige of the British Government."

Profound British concern for the attitude of Hadassah is negated by British actions in the Netherlands East Indies, where the Moslem population is being subdued in the interest of Netherland imperialism, the statement added.

The World Jewish Congress, after a meeting of the executive committee to discuss the statements of Mr. Bevin, declared yesterday that it had noted "with surprise and regret" Mr. Bevin's distinction between Zionists and Jewry as a whole.

"The World Jewish Congress, speaking for Jewish communities and organizations in more than thirty countries, and expressing, that is, without question, the attitude of the great majority of the Jews of the world, completely repudiates the existence of any such distinction," the committee said.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 15, 1945

# Truman's Palestine Blunder

President Truman and Secretary of State Byrnes have blundered badly in accepting the London proposal for a joint Anglo-American commission of inquiry on the Jewish and Palestinian questions. The Jews object. The Arabs object. And Americans should protest most vigorously.

Jews say this is another British stall in a long list of delays. It is. The immediate emergency of caring for dispossessed Jews of Europe, is increased by this Attlee-Truman deal. All of the Truman talk about a speedy investigation will not help to get homeless Jews out of Europe in time, when the hunger and cold and disease of winter are already closing in upon them.

Too many Jews have died while past "inquiries" dragged out to inconclusive and ignored recommendations. The Jewish remnant of Europe—less than a million and a half of six million left after Nazi butchery—has been almost investigated to death. The British decision that Palestine can absorb only 1500 a month—President Truman has proposed 100,000 as an emergency total—is a gruesome jest. For the United States to underwrite this British decision even left-handedly, as it has now done by becoming a party to a delaying device, is shameful.

This commission of inquiry dodge is no more a solution of the basic Palestinian question than of the separate emergency relief problem. All that it does is to shift much responsibility from the London government to the Washington government for one of the most difficult problems in all world affairs without committing Britain to anything definite.

President Truman has put the United States in the unpardonable position of accepting responsibility without authority. That would be stupid in any situation. In this case it is exceedingly dangerous. We have no control over the acts of British officials in Palestine, none over the violence and bloodshed which has broken out anew in that explosive land. But now we shall be blamed and held jointly responsible.

This newspaper has no pet panacea for the Palestinian problem, simple or otherwise. Certainly there is no solution equally acceptable to Jewish and Arab extremists on the one hand, and to British imperialists and Russian expansionists on the other.

But one thing at least is obvious. It is a problem involving so many peoples, races and religions, so many conflicting interests of European powers, that it is and should be an international concern. There happens to be an international organization with a trusteeship provision to handle just such problems. But the UNO may disaborn because the powers, instead of letting it function, are maintaining old imperial and mandate holds or dictating to the world through big fives, big threes, or big twos.

The sooner the Palestinian problem is turned over to the UNO by Britain the better for all concerned. The sooner the Washington government stops stooging for bungling British policy the better for the reputation of the Truman administration and for the fate of sound Anglo-American relations.



## SPEAKERS AT ZIONIST CONVENTION STARTING TODAY IN ATLANTIC CITY



SILVER



GOLDMANN



MRS. EPSTEIN



GOLDSTEIN



WEIZMANN

## WEIZMAN HEADS SPEAKERS FOR ZIONIST CONVENTION

**Special**  
ATLANTIC CITY, N.J.—Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, will address the Monday night session of the 4-day 48th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America beginning here today. The same session will hear an address by Mrs. Lorna Wingate, widow of General Orde Wingate, famous British general who died in the Burma campaign.

More than 1000 delegates representing a constituency of 500,000 organized Zionists will participate in the deliberations, at which decisive action is expected to be taken on all major aspects involving the Zionist movement and the status of Palestine. The business sessions of the convention will be preceded by a session on Friday noon under the auspices of the Unity Committee for Palestine which will be presided over by its chairman Dr. Felix Levy of Chicago. This session will be followed in the evening by a Sabbath dinner sponsored by the American Zionist Youth Commission at which an all-youth program will be presented.

## Business Session Saturday Night

Following a Hebrew Cultural session on Saturday afternoon under the auspices of the Histadruth Ivrit of America with Dr. Alexander Dushkin presiding, the formal opening of the business sessions of the Convention will be held on Saturday evening at the Casino Theatre at which Dr. Israel Goldstein will deliver his presidential address.

The current political situation on the international and Palestine scenes will be reviewed and discussed at the third session on Sunday afternoon in addresses by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Elections of the incoming administration will be held in the preceding session. The fourth plenary session on Sunday evening will be given over to a discussion of plans for the ZOA in the ensuing year. Dr. Emanuel Neumann will lead off with an address on the topic "The Road Ahead."

## Special Meetings Set

The deliberations of the convention will also be highlighted

by special sessions dedicated to the UPA, Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod with Judge Morris Rothenberg, Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt and Herman L. Weisman as principal speakers.

Outstanding speakers at the convention will also include Louis Lipsky, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Mrs. Judith Epstein.

## AS THE ZIONISTS CONVENE

*Jewish Ledger 11-16-45*  
WE are glad to republish the following statement from **The Jewish Spectator** on the eve of the Zionist convention which opens today. We share in the views expressed herein and we trust that our readers will share in our enthusiasm:

"Never in Zionist history did a Zionist conclave meet in so grave an hour as will ring up the curtain of the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America this year. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the critical seriousness of the Zionist situation, on which we need not elaborate here, will soften if not check the impending showdown of the Goldstein and Silver forces.

"Of course, every well informed Zionist, who places the interest of the cause above less meritorious motives and considerations, knows that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver must be elected president of the Z.O.A. at the Atlantic City convention. Dr. Silver is the best man American Zionism has and in a crisis like the present the best man must be at the rudder.

"In the past two years, the membership of the Zionist Organization has vastly grown. Unfortunately, however, this "expansion" has not been accompanied by commensurate achievements in the Zionist educational realm. "The New Palestine," the official magazine of the Z.O.A., has been all but suspended for the sake of a publicity sheet well done, to be sure, which prints the pictures and names of as many local Zionist "leaders" as can be crammed into its crowded columns.

"The much-heralded book publishing program of the Z.O.A. is worse than a let down. The educational material, too, published by various Z.O.A. departments is inferior—not popular but puerile.

"If and when Dr. Silver will be elected to the presidency of the Z.O.A., he will have to reorganize not only its political apparatus but also subject its educational-literary departments to a thorough overhauling.

"We would want to see the Z.O.A. publish a magazine of the quality (of course, it would have to be differently slanted) of the British Zionists "New Judaea," and books like Israel Cohen's "Zionism" and S. Levenberg's "The Jews and Palestine," recently published by British Zionist bodies. We would want to see the Z.O.A. convey to its members (ken yirboo) an inkling, at least, of what Eretz Israel has meant to our people throughout the ages. Dr. Silver, the author of "Messianic Speculation in Jewish History," knows that Zionism did not start with Herzl (not a few American Zionists think it started with Dr. Wise!). He has a historical perspective to Jewish problems and a background of Jewish learning on which to draw. These things are important — more important than mere oratorical fireworks. To be sure, Dr. Silver's "silver tongue" has never been matched by any of our major Zionist orators. It is significant, however, that when we think of Dr. Silver this external and yet by not means unimportant condiment recedes into the background. He is among the very few Jewish leaders of our time whose addresses have contents—because the man has substance."

## U. S. Fell Into British Trap, Zionist Emergency Council Says

*Jewish Telegraphic Agency*  
*Jewish Post 11-16-45*

NEW YORK—The American Zionist Emergency Council issued a statement declaring that the "U.S.A. has fallen into a carefully prepared trap" by accepting the British proposal for a joint Anglo-American inquiry committee. It termed the appointment of a committee "mockery."

The statement, which was signed by Rabbis Silver and Wise said that although Truman emphasized that he continues to adhere to his views expressed in his letter to Attlee, his acceptance of the British scheme which provides for admission of

only 1,500 immigrants monthly "represents a complete recession from his original position."

"The President has done an ill service to the cause of saving the Jews of Europe by cooperating in a procedure which will postpone for many months any possibility of a solution of their problem and any decision regarding the opening of the doors of Palestine," the statement declared. It pointed out that Truman associated this country with an inquiry committee whose conclusions have already in important respects been determined in advance by Bevin.



## Cruel Hoax

By agreeing to the establishment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry "to examine the question of European Jewry and to make a further review of the Palestine problem," President Truman has made the American people party to a cruel hoax.

If there's anything the suffering Jews of Europe don't need, it is another examination of their plight.

We've had countless conferences, commissions and inquiries dealing with that subject, from the full dress Evian and Bermuda Conferences to the recent tour by Earl G. Harrison, which resulted in a damning indictment of Allied treatment of the displaced and hopeless victims of Hitlerism.

What we need now is not more information, but more resolution to do something about the information we have.

Two-and-a-half months ago, on Aug. 31, President Truman sent to Prime Minister Attlee a "veasel-worded" "recommendation" that the doors of Palestine be opened to immigration by 100,000 of these unhappy survivors of Nazi persecution—merely to keep them alive.

It was a feeble enough letter (just now made public), but it did recognize the urgency of the suggested step.

"The situation faced by displaced Jews during the coming winter allows no delay in this matter," the President wrote.

## Still No Action

Well, winter is here and the need for action has become steadily more pressing. And now we refer the whole matter to a committee for study and review!

The Truman-Attlee committee is instructed to "examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution."

In Heaven's name, is there anybody left who doesn't know what that position is?

The determination of the British Government—Conservative or Labor—to resist any action that would weaken its imperialist position in the Middle East is obvious. Foreign Secretary Bevin is almost brutally bald in his concern over possible "serious reactions throughout the Middle East" and "widespread anxiety in India."

Why in the name of humanity or common sense should President Truman make the United States party to the well-defined British policy of stalling and delay? That certainly is not what the American people want.

The President has put this government in the position of underwriting stubborn British imperialism, with the starvation and bloodshed that it will entail, and he has received no binding promise that the British, now or ever, will pay any attention to our timid "recommendations."

## An American Policy

The present issue does not involve questions of the establishment of a "Jewish State" or a "Palestinian State." Controversy over Zionism and the final political status of Palestine has nothing to do with the immediate problem of preserving the lives of the displaced persons of Europe, including Jews.

It is perfectly clear what American policy should be in this case.

President Truman should demand, not recommend or suggest or advise, that Britain immediately open the doors to accelerated immigration of Jews into Palestine, for the simple reason that that is the only place where any large number of them can now hope to be received.

We have a right to make that demand, as major partners in winning the war and rebuilding the world, and also as signers of the 1924 Convention with Great Britain.

Secondly, the U. S. should insist that the future of Palestine be taken forever out of the field of power politics.

By initial agreement of the U. S., Britain and Russia, joined in by France and China, the United Nations as a whole should be given joint responsibility for administration of Palestine, and for eventual application in that area of the principle of self-determination of peoples.

# Zionists Set to Elect Dr. Silver

By ALVIN EDSENFIELD  
Post Staff Correspondent  
Atlantic City, Nov. 16—As hun-

reds of delegates gathered here today for one of the most momentous national conventions in

the 48-year history of the Zionist Organization of America, there was almost unanimous agreement that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, outspoken Jewish leader, would be elected as the group's next president.

A draft Silver movement gained such impetus hourly among delegates who consider the dynamic, veteran Cleveland rabbi a symbol of "a new Zionist militancy" that Silver finally expressed reluctant willingness to accept the nomination. The graying, 52-year-old leader would succeed Dr. Israel Goldstein, of New York, who has served the maximum two-year term.

Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and other U. S. Zionist leaders, it was reported, will fly to Jerusalem soon after the close of the convention Tuesday to attend a meeting of the executive committee of the World Zionist Organization to revise policy in light of what is considered here as a British delaying tactic and a crushing blow to Jewish hopes—the announcement that an Anglo-American commission will be set up to investigate the whole Palestine problem.

## Not Divided

Meanwhile, a pre-convention meeting of the ZOA's Committee on Unity for Palestine heard a report that only 5 per cent of American Jewry is actively opposed to the Zionist platform. The report, based on a survey of Jewish communities, was made by Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld of New York, the committee's executive director.

"A small and unrepresentative clique of anti-Zionist Jews has been skillfully planting . . . a high-pressure public relations program the falsehood that Jews are divided on the question of Palestine," Lelyveld said in what was apparently an attack on the American Council for Judaism.

The convention officially opens tomorrow night, but nearly all the 1,000 delegates were arriving today in order to avoid traveling on the Jewish sabbath.

Although the delegates met in caucus and conferred in the two hotels forming convention headquarters, the usual convention gaiety and bustle were lacking and in their place was a tense quietness. For the delegates realized that the convention was taking on added importance from the fact that it was the first full-scale meeting of American Jewry since the announcement of the formation of the British-American investigating commission. They were agreed that drastic action was needed, but looked to their leaders for guidance in deciding what form that action should take.

## Await Weizmann's Talk

They are particularly anxious to hear Dr. Chaim Weizmann, revered leader of world Zionism. The new commission plan was attacked in a statement to the convention by Gov. Dewey, who said: "This is no time for further study. It is a time for immediate and forthright action."

The House Majority Leader, McCormack (D-Mass.), and Minority Leader Martin (R-Mass.), called for immediate reconstitution of Palestine as a free Jewish commonwealth.

## Palestine Casts War Shadows, Zionists Hear

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 16—(AP)—One thousand delegates here for the opening of the 48th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America today were told the situation in the Middle East is "an ominous shadow of a third world war."

Dr. Felix Levy of Chicago, chairman of the committee on unity for Palestine, said in a speech:

"The spectacle of double talk and double dealing we are now witnessing in the Middle East is a complete betrayal of the purposes for which the United Nations avowedly fought this war—and make no mistake about it, it is an ominous shadow of a third world war."

Messages supporting the convention's demands for immediate opening of Palestine to the Jews of Europe were received from House Majority Leader McCormack, House Minority Leader Martin, William Green, A. F. of L. head, and Philip Murray, C. I. O. president, as well as Gov. Walter E. Edge, and Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York.

Rabbi Arthur Lelyveld of New York, executive director of the unity committee, told the convention the Zionist platform was opposed by only 5 per cent of American Jews.

## Dr. Silver Shares Zionist Spotlight

By FRANK STEWART  
The Press Religion Editor

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 16—One of Cleveland's religious and civic leaders, Dr. A. I. Silver of The Temple, today shared the world spotlight as sessions of the 48th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America opened here.

Dr. Silver, as co-chairman with Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York of the American Zionist Emergency Council, will figure in deliberations expected to assume global importance in relation to the Zionist movement and the status of Palestine.

Delegates representing the Cleveland Zionist Society, the Cleveland Zionist District and the Heights Zionist District have arrived here to participate in the conclave, which will continue until Tuesday.

Included in the Cleveland delegation were: Municipal Judge Lewis Drucker, Suggs O-rdner, Marvin Kane and Ezra Shapiro, Cleveland Zionist District; M. Marcus, George J. Klein and Rabbi Judolph Rosenthal, Heights Zionist District, and Dr. Silver, representing the Cleveland Zionist Society and others.

Registrations totaling more than 1000 delegates, representing a constituency of 500,000 organized Zionists in the United States, are expected for the session.

Preliminary meetings today will precede the opening business session tomorrow, when Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York will give the presidential address. Dr. Silver will speak Sunday afternoon.



## GENERAL MAIL

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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# Zionist Close Ranks In Militant Convention

## Abba H. Silver Unanimous Choice As President

By BARNETT BILDERSSEE  
Staff Correspondent

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 19.—The Zionist Organization of America has elected Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as president, a choice which means that U. S. Zionists, from today on, officially are dropping moderation and are taking signals from their militant leaders in the issue with Britain over Palestine.

Dr. Silver was elected by acclamation at a session here late yesterday of the 48th annual ZOA Convention, succeeding Dr. Israel Goldstein. That no issue was brought to the convention floor over Dr. Silver's nomination was interpreted by some delegates as proof that whatever disagreement divided Jewish councils before, ranks have been closed on the political line, at least, as a result of the British Labor Government's stand.

Dr. Goldstein, himself, had told an earlier session that Palestine's Jews were resolved to resist at all cost British obstacles to Jewish immigration to the Holy Land. Two developments at yesterday's sessions strengthened the impression of delegates that Zionists had achieved a new unity.

### Wise Caustic

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, joint chairman with Dr. Silver of the Zionist Emergency Council, but who had differed with him in the past on programs for confronting British Palestine policy, was equally as caustic in denouncing the recent statement of British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin and also President Truman's subscription to the committee of inquiry Bevin proposed.

Zionists listened with especial interest to Dr. Wise's address to detect any signs of lingering disagreement. There was none.

On the parallel issue of land—because the 1939 British White Paper imposed severe limitations on Jewish acquisition of land in Palestine as well as on immigration there—the Jewish National Fund of America voted, as part of the ZOA Convention, to support a program for ultimate purchase of 2,000,000 dunams (about 500,000 acres) of Palestinian land.

Jewish land holdings in Palestine now amount to only 810,000 dunams—including 340,000 acquired during the war.

### Challenge to British

The position, therefore, is a challenge to British restrictions, a challenge which is backed up by a report to the convention that in the past year \$6,146,098.25 has been sent to Jerusalem for new Jewish land purchases.

In what was, in effect, his keynote, Dr. Silver denounced the Attlee government's proposed inquiry commission as a hoax to sidestep the Palestine problem and as mere "British imperial cynicism."

"We were heartened by President Truman's request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jews, principally from the concentration camps in Europe, be permitted im-

mediately to go to Palestine," the New ZOA president declared.

"But President Truman's request was rejected. We had overestimated the determination of the President. He was persuaded to accept the shabby substitute of an investigating committee, that very hoary and transparent device for delay and circumvention, against his own better judgment.

"Why did he yield? In the matter of Palestine, does our government always yield, at the expense of the Jews, now to the Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British?"

"During the war, Washington was persuaded that the restrictions on immigration which were costing tens of thousands of lives should not be relaxed lest we endanger our military line. Since the close of the war, Washington has been inclined to accept the latest British propaganda line that the curtailment of Jewish rights in Palestine must be continued indefinitely, lest we drive the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet Union.

"We cannot approve the joint commission of inquiry. It is a disastrous substitute for action immediately imperative."



Rabbi Silver

### Elect Dr. Silver President Of Zionist Organization

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple today was the new president of the Zionist Organization of America.

He was elected to the office at the annual meeting of the organization in Atlantic City yesterday, succeeding Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York. Among the 15 vice presidents elected were Dr. Leon Feuer of Toledo and Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati. 11-19-45

## Thousand Delegates Acclaim Dr. Silver as Head of Zionists

By FRANK STEWART, Religion Editor

ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 19.—Leadership of the Zionist movement in the United States today rested in the hands of Dr. A. H. Silver, spiritual head of The Temple in Cleveland.

In a dramatic spectacle, perhaps unsurpassed in the history of American Jewry, Dr. Silver was chosen by acclamation as president of the Zionist Organization of America as 1000 delegates wildly cheered and sang, "Return Our People to the Land of Our Ancestors."

The election late yesterday on Atlantic City's famed steel pier was the highlight of the organization's 48th annual convention in session here.

Selection of the Cleveland rabbi was symbolic of unity in the Zionist organization following a misunderstanding a few months ago which resulted in the resignation of Dr. Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Organization, national political arm of the group.

### Dr. Wise Seconded

At that time, officials said, there had been a difference of opinion between Dr. Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, the other co-chairman. Yesterday Dr. Wise made the seconding nomination speech as Dr. Silver's name was placed before the convention.

Presidency of the Zionist movement brings another national and world honor to one of Cleveland's outstanding citizens. Dr. Silver is president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and recently was named as American member of the World Zionist Executive at the World Zionist conference held in London.

Dr. Silver, in his inaugural address, scored the British government for maneuvering "our government into joining an action which will



Dr. Silver

involve it in moral responsibility without granting it corresponding autonomy. America will now be used," he declared, "to cover Great Britain's broken pledges and to act as a smoke screen for the betrayal of our people. What has been projected is disservice to America and the Jewish people."

### Slapped at British

He slapped at what he described "British imperial cynicism" when he asserted, "we were encouraged to expect quick and resolute action when the new labor government came into office in Great Britain, representing a party which had so often completely endorsed the Zionist program."

"We were heartened by President Truman's request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jews, principally from the concentration camps in Europe, be permitted immediately to go to Palestine. But President Truman's request was rejected."

Two other Ohioans were elected national vice presidents. They were Dr. Leon Feuer of Toledo and Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati. Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis was re-elected chairman of the administrative council; Abraham Goodman of New York was re-elected treasurer and Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Md., as honorary vice president.

## AMERICAN ZIONISTS ELECT RABBI SILVER

Action Seen as Endorsement  
of His Aggressive Policies  
on Palestine Problem

By ALBERT J. GORDON

Special to The New York Times  
ATLANTIC CITY, N. J., Nov. 18

—The Zionist Organization of America, meeting here today, adopted a militant economic and political program as it endorsed a proposal for the purchase of 500,000 additional acres of land in Palestine and unanimously elected Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland as its president for the ensuing year to succeed Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York.

The delegates to the forty-eighth annual convention of the organization voted, in defiance of the Palestine Administration's land transfer regulations based on the British White Paper of 1939 restricting Jewish immigration to that country, to go ahead with plans to buy the land they want for agricultural purposes. The land purchase program is under the auspices of the Jewish National Fund of America.

Mendel N. Fisher of New York, executive director of the fund, reported that the organization received \$4,995,804 for the year ended last September, an increase of \$2,304,851 over the previous year. He pointed out that since 1910 the fund had raised for land purchase in Palestine \$28,810,318.

### Land Acquisition Plans

Dr. Abraham Granovsky, chairman of the board of directors of the World Jewish National Fund, said the goal of the organization was not less than 500,000 acres of land in Palestine to provide for a large farming population that in turn would help provide a livelihood for an additional 800,000 persons.

Dr. Granovsky estimated that the land acquisition would require an investment of \$160,000,000 over a period of years, and that the money was expected to be made available by the donation income of the Jewish National Fund and by means of a public loan.

The election of Rabbi Silver to the presidency was interpreted by delegates as an endorsement of his policies toward the Palestine problem. Special significance was attached to the fact that those Zionists who formerly took issue with him on the question of methods voted for him.

Dr. Silver, who is co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, declared that the proposed joint commission of inquiry into the Palestine problem was a disastrous substitute for action immediately imperative, and that its primary purpose was not to help the distressed Jews of Europe but to liquidate the Jewish national homeland. He warned that "we cannot be bound by the findings of any such commission," and said the executive committee of the world Zionist organization would have to determine whether, in view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it could in any way cooperate with it.

### Dr. S. S. Wise Criticizes British

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, criticized the British Government for not acceding to President Truman's suggestion that Prime Minister Attlee grant 100,000 certificates of admission to Palestine to displaced European Jews. Dr. Wise said he was opposed to violence against the mandatory power, but added: "I urge the British Government not to use violence in enforcement of the Chamberlain-MacDonald White Paper."

Dr. Sidney Marks of Washington, in his report as executive secretary of the Zionist Organization of America, announced plans to in-



Rabbi Abba H. Silver

Associated Press, 1945

crease the membership from the present 150,000 to 200,000. He announced also an expansion fund drive for \$500,000 to finance major Zionist projects.

Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis

was elected chairman of the administrative council, the ruling body of the Zionist Organization of America between conventions; Abraham Goodman of New York was re-elected treasurer, and Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, honorary vice president.

National vice presidents elected were Dr. Leo Feuer, Toledo; Jacob Fishman, New York; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago; Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York; Dr. James G. Heller, Cincinnati; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia; Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel Neumann and Judge Bernard A. Fosenblatt, New York; Charles Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh; Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York; Elihu D. Stone, Boston; Robert Szold, New York, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

The convention adopted a resolution declaring that the present position of the British Government was the culmination of a policy intended to "defraud the Jewish people of its established rights in Palestine." The resolution added that the convention held the United States Government to the "solemn pledges of both parties and the pronouncements of the Presidents of the United States" that its members relied upon the support of millions of fellow-Americans, and that "no effort shall be spared to achieve for our people liberty and security in Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."



The Day Nov. 9, 1945

(1997/98) "אנחנו, הילד" **העיתון**  
העיתון **העיתון**

במלחמה האם נעדרת? כן, א  
ישראלית וישראלית היום: וילסון מו  
אירועי קאסנווטלס, לאד  
והאדום או בלמלל או איר וים  
עם נעדר טוב המצב עננויים, א  
ישראלית וים וים די וים מר אר  
ישראל וים וילסון וילסון קר  
הם בלמלל אפילו וים בלמלל  
הם בלמלל וילסון או וים בלמלל  
הם בלמלל וילסון או וים בלמלל  
הם בלמלל וילסון או וים בלמלל

הוא נשפט על ידי בית דין צבאי ומועצה ביורוקרטיאית אדמיניסטרטיבית. הוא נאסר ארבע שנים וחצי על ידי הצבא. הוא נשפט על ידי בית דין צבאי ומועצה ביורוקרטיאית אדמיניסטרטיבית. הוא נאסר ארבע שנים וחצי על ידי הצבא. הוא נשפט על ידי בית דין צבאי ומועצה ביורוקרטיאית אדמיניסטרטיבית. הוא נאסר ארבע שנים וחצי על ידי הצבא.

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פארקאמפן גיט אונזערע קינדן גיט  
 אויספארשונגקאמפסיעס עס איז קלאר  
 פון בעזונג'ס דערע, אז זיין הויפט  
 ציל איז גיט צו העלפן צו די הייליגן  
 אידן פון א איינפאלט נאך צו לייערן  
 דורכאויס די אידישע נאציאנאלע-היים.  
 פארקאמפן גיט זיין נעבנדרין דורך  
 די שולעס פון אזא קאמפסיע, די ער  
 רעכטערט פון דער צייטשטרייכ  
 וועלכע-אראנזשירט דעם דארטען פאר  
 שטימע צו פיר קאמפן אויף וועלכע  
 עס איז אויפן קאמפערירען מיט אזא  
 קאמפסיע. ווען עס וואלט היינטער דעם  
 אריינפאלן געווען וועלכע עס איז גיט  
 פאר לייענען, וואלט עס לולל געווען  
 פאר אנטוועגן, אז פון דעם אריינ  
 לאזן וועלכעס היינטערט פונקט  
 אידן, און דאס געבט פראבלעם  
 רעווען די אנדערע פילאנען אידען  
 און בכלל ווערען דער ערשטער  
 לייונג פון דער ארץ ישראל פראג  
 וואלט פון איבערגעגעבן צו דער ארץ  
 נאציאנאלע פון די פארזייכטע פאר  
 ער. געווען כאטש א פארנוד צו ער  
 שטענדיקן די דעם פון אידישע  
 נאלט אין ארץ ישראל און רעדווערען  
 זי צו די אידישע איינפארשונג  
 פון די הייליגע אידען אין ארץ  
 האפט, לויט זיין פילונג דארף ארץ  
 ישראל פאכען בלויז א ביישטייערונג  
 צו דער לייונג פון דער פראג פון  
 די הייליגע אידען פון בעזונג פאר  
 דעם, אז דער צושאנן צו דער ארץ  
 ישראל פאכען איז גיט בלויז ווי א  
 צושאנן צו א איינפארשונגקאמפסיע  
 די גיט אויספארשונגקאמפסיע וועט  
 זיך גיט פארקעסן מיט דעם ביישטייער  
 דען פראבלעם פון דער אידישע נאצי  
 אונאנאלער הייליגעס, מיט דעם  
 פראבלעם פון די איינפארשונגקאמפסיע  
 פארליכטונגן צו דעם פון די אידישע  
 פון נאציאנאלע היים אין ארץ ישראל.  
 די גיט אויספארשונגקאמפסיע וועט  
 זיין א צווייטע צויערשטעניונג  
 פונקט פאר פליכטונגן וואס ער  
 זיסטירט פון אויס אין לאנדן, און  
 אראייננעם שטענדיק ווען נאכטען  
 געווערען צו איבערגעבען די פארשונג  
 ווארשליכקייט פאר א נידע אריינפאלן  
 שווען און גיט פאר, אלעס אנדערע וועט  
 ווערען איבערגעלאזן ווערען פאר  
 ענלאנד, ענלאנד אליין און דער  
 קאמפערירט פון אסעריע, וועט  
 פארשטעלן דארטען באשטימטע צוועק  
 פון מיט די אידען און אראבער פון  
 ענלאנדקייטען פאר א ערשטער  
 לייונג פון דער ארץ ישראל פראג,  
 און וועט דעם פארשלאן ווערען דער  
 לייונג איבערגעגעבן צו די פארזייכטע  
 פון פאלקס אין אזא פארם און אין  
 דער צייט, ווען ענלאנד אליין וועט  
 וועלען.  
 די אסעריע פארשונג רעווערען אין  
 אריינפארשונגקאמפסיעס געווערען אין אן  
 קאמפסיע, וואו זי וועט אריינפארשונג  
 ווערען אין דער פארזייכטע פאר  
 אונזערע-ליכקייט און וועט שטען גיט  
 האבן די אונזערע-ליכקייט אויספארש  
 פון איינפארשונג אין דער ערשטער  
 פליכטע לייונג פון דער פראג  
 אסעריע וועט אים אויסגעגעבן ווען  
 דען צו דעסן ענלאנד'ס נאכפארשונג  
 פארליכטונג און צו פארשטעלן דעם  
 אראבער וואס ווערט באשטימט פאר  
 נאציאנאלע דעם אידישע פאלק, דאס  
 וועט בעזונג וועט פארשטעלן און  
 די נאכטע דעם פאר ארץ ישראל  
 און פאר דעם אידישע פאלק.







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ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער - דער נייער  
ציוניסטישער פרעזידענט

אין אין דעם פארם, מיינען מיר, אין דר. אבא הלל מילווער דער  
אסאנער בענש צו זיין דער פירער פון דעם אפערקאנער ציונים,  
דעם דער הילף און קאאפעראציע, פארשטייט זיך, פון דר. ספינקא, פ.  
זיין און אלא אנטווערפן צווייטערע און דער.

ה. אסאנוסל ניוטאן, דער וויסנשאפטלער, איינער פון די גרויסע  
פארזיכערטע, און דער סענס  
און דער עזינעל האבן א  
סענס פאר איר דער איינע פון דער  
אויסגאנג פאר איר און א  
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אויסגאנג פאר איר און א

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NAME: 727

## THE DAY

הוא מנסה להסביר את המצב הנוכחי של המדינה, ואת הסיבות לכך. הוא מציין כי הממשלה לא עשתה כלום כדי למנוע את המשבר, ושהיא אחראית על המצב הנוכחי. הוא מוסיף כי הוא ימשיך לעבוד למען המדינה, ושהוא יתמודד עם כל המגבלות.

מחלקת המחקר והפיתוח  
מחלקת המכירות והשיווק

[illegible]

It is not possible to determine the exact date of the first publication of the book, but it is known that it was published in the early 19th century. The book is a collection of letters and papers of the author, and it is a valuable source of information on the life and work of the author. The book is written in a simple and straightforward style, and it is a good example of the type of writing that was common in the early 19th century. The book is a good example of the type of writing that was common in the early 19th century.

[illegible]

הוא נשאל על ידי המורה: "אם אתה רוצה להיות חכם, חפש את האמת". המורה מנסה להראות ללומד כי האמת היא לא רק בפרטים, אלא גם בהבנה של השלמות. המורה מנסה להראות ללומד כי האמת היא לא רק בפרטים, אלא גם בהבנה של השלמות.

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AT BOSTON, Mass., Nov. 70  
—The House first office of the  
State Department was withdrawn  
today by Dean Howard LeBaron of  
Boston University, director of the  
American Christian Palestine Com-  
mittee, at the closing session of the  
forty-eighth annual convention of  
the Zionist Organization of Amer-  
ica.

Our State Department has to have no mind of its own when it deals with the British on matters of world peace," he said. "And even our cabinet backs down at the suggestion of the Prime Minister of England."

Dean Leabow pledged the support of the American Christian Palestine Committee, saying, "We will fight with you until our common goal is achieved." He reported that the committee numbered 2,000 Christian leaders in all walks of life, including members of Congress, Governors and clergymen.

In the absence of Rabbi Abba Silver, newly elected president of the Jewish Organization of America, the closing address was made by Rabbi Israel Goldstein, outgoing president.

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1. The first step is to identify the problem. This involves understanding the current situation and the goals that need to be achieved.

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## REACTION TO SILVER'S ELECTION

*(Palestine)*

The following editorial appeared in HAARETZ of the 21st November:

"Few presidential elections in the history of the American Zionist Federation have been so significant as that of Dr. Aba Hillel Silver. It took place after a protracted struggle when it was realised even by his former opponents that his political course had been the wiser one, and coincided with the need for the United States and American Zionism to discharge much greater duties in support of our work.

"The election of Dr. Silver is both a personal victory and a vindication of his policy... Recent events have shown that our hope of obtaining anything by action behind the scenes and reliance on vague promises has not come true. Our new way therefore must be that of struggle, and Dr. Silver's election proves that the Zionist movement in America recognises this fact and is preparing itself for the struggle.

"Dr. Silver's arrival in Palestine, following his election at the London Conference to the Executive of the Zionist Organisation, constitutes an important step forward in the development of Zionist affairs. Dr. Silver has long been regarded as one of the most serious candidates for the presidency of the World Zionist Organisation. He may now be nearer to this aim than ever before."



MONDAY, NOVEMBER 22, 1945 *Jewish Advocate*  
 Sixteen Pages Seven Cents the Copy  
**Silver Elected President of ZOA—Urges Non-Cooperation  
 With Inquiry Commission—\$51,700,000 Fund Endorsed**  
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## Convention Determined to Fight All Bars to Development of Homeland; Elihu D. Stone and Dewey D. Stone Elected to High National Offices

By DAVID SCHWARTZ  
(Jewish Telegraphic Agency Correspondent)


ATLANTIC CITY (JTA)—Accusing the British Government of betraying the Jewish people and of using the American Government as a protective device to hide its betrayal, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, following his election to the presidency of the Zionist Organization of America, sounded the keynote of what is generally regarded here as the beginning of a more militant Zionist policy.

Dr. Silver's election by acclamation set a precedent for recent years and was construed here as indicating agreement by all groups that, in the light of the present Palestine crisis, a more aggressive policy is necessary.

"The British Government," said Dr. Silver, "maneuvered our Government into joining in an action which will involve it in moral responsibility without granting correspond-

ing autonomy. America will now be used to cover Great Britain's broken pledges and to act as a smokescreen for the betrayal of our people."

Commending President Truman for his request for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees to Palestine, Dr. Silver said that "we had over-estimated the determination



of the President. He was persuaded to accept the shabby substitute of an investigating committee—that very transparent device for delay and circumvention—against his own better judgment. Have we no way of insisting any longer on what is right? At this very moment Great Britain is requesting great help and



RABBI ABBA H. SILVER

Elected by acclamation to lead American Zionism through the most critical period in the cause's history.

Urging non-co-operation with the joint commission of inquiry, Dr. Silver said its primary purpose is not to help the distressed Jews of Europe, but the liquidation of the Jewish national homeland. He warned that "we cannot be bound by the findings of any such commission. The executive committee of the World Zionist Organization will have to determine whether in view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it can in any way co-operate with it."

Determined to defy all attempts by the British Government to restrict or thwart future development of a Jewish

national home, the delegates endorsed an unprecedented budget of \$51,700,000 for the next year. This amount is to be used for the immigration, land acquisition and settlement programs supported through the United Palestine Appeal, the central agency of American Jewry for the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish National Fund.

In a report submitted by Rabbi James G. Heller of Cincinnati, national chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, and presented by Henry Mentor of New York, executive vice-chairman, it was asserted \$26,300,000 of the new budget will be required by the Palestine Foundation Fund and the Jewish Agency for Palestine, while \$23,400,000 is to be spent by the Jewish National Fund.

### Dr. Wise Urges Truman "Wave Aside State Dept. Negotiators"

Dr. Stephen S. Wise condemned the British Government and called upon President Truman to "wave aside the State Department negotiators and go back to his admirable starting point, and declare to the Prime Minister and to the British Sec-

In his presidential address Dr. Israel Goldstein, retiring ZOA president, also urged President Truman to stand by his original request to have Britain admit to Palestine 100,000 Jews from Europe immediately, despite the establishment of the joint Anglo-American inquiry commission. "Nothing has happened in the situation of the Jews in Germany to change President Truman's conviction on the urgency of their plight," Dr. Goldstein said.

JNF Sets Goal of 240,000,000

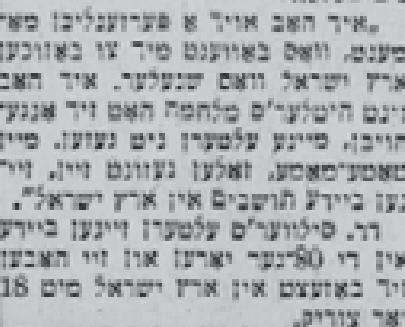
The purchase of these 500,000 dunams, Dr. Granovsky stated, would involve the expenditure of \$40,000,000. A resolution was adopted setting this as the immediate goal of the JNF in America. Dr. Granovsky explained that this acquisition was part of a large-scale program looking towards the eventual purchase of 2,000,000 dunams which, he said, would enable the bringing into Palestine of an additional 1,000,000 Jews.

In his presidential address Dr. Israel Goldstein, retiring ZOA president, also urged President Truman to stand by his original request to have Britain admit to Palestine 100,000 Jews from Europe immediately, despite the establishment of the joint Anglo-American inquiry commission. "Nothing has happened in the situation of the Jews in Germany to change President Truman's conviction on the urgency of their plight," Dr. Goldstein said.



"The appointment of a commission now is patently a delaying tactic," he continued. "It is bitterly disappointing that our President has fallen in with this tactic, perhaps unwittingly. Commissions in Palestine, the Haycraft Commission, the Shaw Commission and the Woodhead Commission, have been almost invariably bad ones of ineptness and betrayal. And every time a commission reported that Palestine had no more room for Jews its report was later discredited by the actual events which prove that it judged Palestine's capacity by standards of Arab stagnancy and not by standards of Jewish enterprise."





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# Jewish Ledger

HARTFORD

EDITION

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VOL. XVII, No. 32

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1945

Entered as Second Class Mail Oct. 27, 1933, at Hartford, Conn. \$3.00 per

sky, New York, Rabbi Irving Miller, New York, Dr. Emanuel Neuman, New York, Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York, Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass., Robert Szold, New York, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

## Silver, New ZOA Head, Raps U. S. Stand

### Charges Government Yields Again At Expense Of Jews

By WILLIAM B. SAPHIRE - JPS Correspondent

**Atlantic City, N. J. (JPS)**—Elected president of the Zionist Organization of America by acclamation, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver charged in an address at the 48th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America that President Truman's agreement to an Anglo-American inquiry committee is further testimony that the Government of the United States always yields "at the expense of the Jews, now to Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British."

The inquiry committee was "a miserable substitute for action immediately imperative," and "its primary purpose is... the liquidation of the Jewish National Home," Dr. Silver charged.

Dr. Silver also president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis and an American member of the World Zionist Executive succeeds Dr. Israel Goldstein, who served the full two years limited by the ZOA constitution. The new administration includes Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis, Ind., re-elected chairman of the Administrative Council, ZOA ruling body between conventions; Abraham Goodman of New York, re-elected treasurer, and Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Md., honorary vice-president.

#### Why Do We Yield?

"We were heartened by President Truman's request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jews... be permitted immediately to go to Palestine... (But) we had overestimated the determination of the President... Why did he yield? Why, in the matter of Palestine, does our Government always yield at the expense of the Jews, now to Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British?... Have we no way of insisting any longer on what is right? At this very moment Great Britain is requesting great help and vital concessions from our own country."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman with Dr. Silver of the American Zionist Emergency Council, flayed the British Government for ignoring President Truman's "humane appeal," and assailed the establishment that "the Jews who, with all their sufferings want to get too much ahead of the queue, (may) thereby provoke a danger of another anti-Semitic reaction," declared: Mr. Bevin's base insinuation is not anti-Semitic but

anti-Jewish, for he praises the Arabs who are Semites. He limits his insults to Jews..."

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, chairman of the Political Resolutions Committee, said that the 150,000 members of the ZOA must become the carriers of the Zionist message to the non-Jews of America to whom the Arabs are trying to sell their propaganda.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, outgoing President of the ZOA, delivered the opening address at the convention and queried: "Why is President Truman now deferring his request to Prime Minister Attlee which was backed by unanimous American public opinion?... The British Government has

perpetrated enough sins of commission on the Jewish people... The U. S. Government should have nothing to do with it." The Bevin statement was characterized by Dr. Goldstein as "a new low in the decline and fall of British honor." He also proposed the formation of a World Conference of General Zionists with the ZOA, Hadassah "ready to take the lead."

David ben Gurion, Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, cabled to the convention that "the Jewish people can't accept Bevin's policy as the final verdict of the British Labor Party." "While professing to sympathize with the plight of the Jews, Bevin skillfully ignores the precarious new position of the Jews in Europe and in the Arab countries."

#### JNF Large-Scale Program

One of the earlier sessions of the convention passed a resolution... Paper by



DR. ABBA H. SILVER

adopting a plan to acquire for the Jewish National Fund, 500,000 dunams in Palestine within the near future "as a minimum of being reached even under the present restrictions," and to acquire, "over a period of years, areas totalling two-million dunams of land in Palestine." The plan was proposed by Dr. Abraham Granovsky, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the World Jewish National Fund, and discussed by Morris Rothenberg, President of the JNF in America, and Mendel N. Plater, its Executive Director.

#### Other Officers

National vice-presidents elected for the ensuing year are: Dr. Leon Feuer, Toledo, Ohio; Jacob Fishman, New York, Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill., Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York, Dr. James G. Heller, Cincinnati, Ohio, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C., Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa., Louis Lip-

man, New York, Rabbi Irving Miller, New York, Dr. Emanuel Neuman, New York, Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York, Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass., Robert Szold, New York, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

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## במקום הייצוגי

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# DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER ELECTED PRESIDENT OF ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

**Jewish Ledger**

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## PRESIDENT SILVER OF THE Z.O.A.

AS this is being written, word reaches us that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver was elected unanimously President of the Zionist Organization of America. The election came as a result of the demand on the part of the rank and file of the Zionists of this country that this gifted leader of our people be summoned to the leadership of Zionist work in this critical hour of the movement's history. The Zionists have honored themselves in honoring Silver and have acknowledged by this election that the times call for an intrepid, a dynamic, a vigorous leader.

Reared in Zionism from infancy on, Silver's whole life has been a preparation for this hour of Israel's history, and his assumption of leadership is an indication of the people's recognition of gifts where they are, as of Silver's complete devotion to our Jewish cause and Jewish life. We know that the assumption of the presidency by Silver represents a great personal sacrifice and we often wonder where the man gets the strength or the time to do all the things that he does and does with such superlative skill and with such compelling drive. But he is gifted beyond most men. In view of the emergency, Silver is spending himself in the service of his faith and people. At this hour, Silver is President of the Central Conference in American Rabbis, the national association of Reform Rabbis. That, in itself, is a task that is enough for one man. At the same time, he is the co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Committee and that has been a full-time occupation in these harrowing days. He is the Rabbi of one of the largest congregations in the United States which also is enough to occupy a man fully. And now he assumes the presidency of the Z.O.A. To be sure, it is understood, that he will be relieved of much of the administrative detail of the office by that sterling Zionist leader and his lifelong friend, Dr. Emanuel Neuman. But, still, it will take time and thought and energy. However, we live in trying times and in these days of compelling sacrifices, no man worthy of his manhood pauses to ask "Can I afford it?" or "Am I justified in making the sacrifice?" The challenge is there, the need is great, and the prophetic spirit always says, "Hineni; Here am I; take me."

## Rabbi of Temple Named by Acclamation at Convention Held in Atlantic City FLAYS PALESTINE INQUIRY IN ADDRESS

Charges in Acceptance Speech That Purpose of Move was Not to  
Help Distressed Jews of Europe But to Liquidate the  
Jewish National Homeland Effort

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, spiritual leader of the Temple and long a national leader in Zionist and Jewish religious and welfare activities, was elected president of the Zionist Organization of America at Sunday's session of the annual convention of the organization in Atlantic City. In his acceptance speech, Dr. Silver declared that the proposed Anglo-American committee of inquiry into the Palestine issue was a disastrous substitute for imperative immediate action and that its obvious purpose was not to help the distressed Jews of Europe but to liquidate the Jewish national homeland. He accused the British government of betraying the Jewish people and of using the American Government as a protective device to hide its betrayal. "We are putting on armor for a major battle for our rights," he declared as he noted with gratification that "we find our ranks now closed and harmonious."

Dr. Silver's election by acclamation, a precedent-breaking procedure within recent years, was seen as notice by the Zionist movement in America that it intends to pursue a militant program toward the achievement of its objectives.

Outlining a political program for the coming year, the new ZOA president brought the delegates to their feet when he urged "absolute non-cooperation" with the Anglo-American Joint Commission of Inquiry. "We cannot be bound by the findings of such commission," he warned, adding that "the executive committee of the World Zionist Organization will have to determine whether, in view of the palpable insincerity of the entire project, it can in any way cooperate with it."

Indicative of the fighting mood of the delegates was a resolution instructing the Jewish National Fund to raise \$40,000,000 for purchasing 500,000 dunams of land in Palestine, in defiance of the Palestine Administration's land transfer regulations based on the British White Paper of 1939.

Following Dr. Silver's talk, the convention adopted a series of resolutions charging Britain with "directing the discontent of the Arabs" into "anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish channels" to serve the ends of British imperialism, and accusing the British Labor Government of "flagrant violation" of party pledges and of "willful and palpable fraud in proposing yet another study and yet another commission." The United States government, the resolutions stated, was "lending itself to this chicanery." At the same time Great Britain was accused of seeking to reduce Palestine "to another ghetto" and of driving the "loyal Jewish population of Palestine to active resistance in defense of their right and position." The convention went on record in the resolutions as denying the existence and recognition of any "legal barrier to the right of Jews freely to settle in Palestine and to rebuild a Jewish state."

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, in an address at the closing session of the forty-eighth annual convention

We rejoice in the selection of Dr. Silver to the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America. We pray for his health and well-being and for the little that it is worth, we pledge him our cooperation. It is a privilege to stand at his side and to work with him, who is so indefatigable and so selfless in giving of himself.

of the Zionist Organization of America, broke his silence for the first time since his arrival to the United States and delivered a scathing attack on the new Palestine policy enunciated last week by British Foreign Minister Bevin. Though speaking with a great deal of restraint, the world Zionist leader made it unmistakably clear that the new British Palestine program will be fought with vim and vigor by Jews everywhere, particularly by the Jewish community in Palestine.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, blasted the British Government's refusal to accept President Truman's suggestion that 100,000 displaced European Jews be admitted into Palestine. He urged Mr. Truman to "wave aside the State Department negotiators and go back to his admirable starting point, and declare to the prime minister and the British secretary of state: 'I will not have my request to you annulled by a commission of inquiry.'"

Denouncing Bevin's statement as "a second White Paper," the veteran American Zionist leader thundered that the Jews of Palestine "would not be fit to live and have a national home if they did not resist every effort on the part of the mandatory power to prevent the coming of Jews into Palestine. No Jewish refugee entering Palestine," he continued, "is as lawless as the White Paper, or Mr. Bevin." He declared he was opposed to violence, but at the same time he urged the British Government "not to use violence in the enforcement of the Chamberlain-MacDonald White Paper."

A highlight of the convention was a cabled message from David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish Agency, urging American Jews to mobilize in support of demands for the immediate establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. Criticizing British Foreign Minister Bevin's proposal to establish a joint Anglo-American commission of inquiry on the Palestine problem, the cable said: "While professing help for Jewish victims of the Nazis in Europe, it is calculated to destroy the last hope of the Jewish people." At the same time he noted that it was unbelievable that the United States,

whose major political parties pledged themselves to the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish national home, would be a party "to this expedient and allow a joint inquiry commission for purposes never intended by the American Government and contrary to its express wishes."

Dr. Silver who is president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was elected as an American member of the World Zionist Executive at the recent World Zionist Conference held in London. Spiritual head of the Temple of Cleveland since 1917, the newly elected 52-year old Zionist president during the first World War served as a representative of the United States Government in France and was decorated by the French Government for conspicuous service. He was the sponsor of the first Unemployment Insurance Law in Ohio and has long been interested in Child Labor legislation.

Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis, Ind., was re-elected chairman of the Administrative Council, the ruling body of the organization between conventions; Abraham Goodman of New York was again elected treasurer, and Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Md., as honorary vice president.

National vice presidents elected for the ensuing year are: Dr. Leon Feuer, Toledo, O.; Jacob Fishman, New York; Rabbi Solomon Goldman, Chicago, Ill.; Dr. Israel Goldstein, New York; Dr. James G. Heller, Cincinnati, O.; Edmund I. Kaufmann, Washington, D. C.; Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Philadelphia, Pa.; Louis Lipsky, New York; Rabbi Irving Miller, New York; Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York; Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt, New

York; Charles Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Judge Morris Rothenberg, New York; Elihu D. Stone, Boston, Mass.; Robert Szold, New York, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, New York.

Dr. Silver, in his first address as president of the Zionist Organization of America, accused the British government of manuevering "our government into joining an action which will involve it in moral responsibility without granting it corresponding autonomy. America will now be used to cover Great Britain's broken pledges and to act as a smoke screen for the betrayal of our people. What has been projected is a disservice both to America and the Jewish people," he said.

Charging that the Jewish people "were slaughtered by our enemies and betrayed by our friends," Dr. Silver declared that "many of the six million Jews who perished might have been saved. We cannot even tend their graves. There are no graves and so we turned our attention to the survivors and to the future of our people. We were hoping, now that the war was over and the military exigencies no longer existed that these would be speedily saved."

"We were heartened by President Truman's request of Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 Jews, principally from the concentration camps in Europe, be permitted immediately to go to Palestine. But President Truman's request was rejected. We had over-estimated the determination of the President. He was persuaded to accept the shabby substitute of an investigating committee, that very hoary and transparent device for delay and circumvention, against his own better judgment. Why did he yield? Why, in the matter of Palestine, does our government always yield, at the expense of the Jews, now to Arab chieftains, and now to the propaganda of the British? Was his request to save immediately 100,000 lives just, reasonable, necessary? If so, why did he not insist upon it with all the prestige and authority of his office? Have we no way of insisting any longer on what is right? At this very moment Great Britain is requesting great help and vital concessions from our own country."

Atlantic City, Saturday night, Nov. 17—Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, today charged that the



Arab outbreaks in the Middle-East "have been aided and abetted by British delay and indecision, if not actually instigated with the knowledge and conspiracy of British officials in the Near and Middle East."

Speaking before 3,000 delegates and guests assembled at the Casino Theatre at the first plenary session of the 48th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Dr. Goldstein made a vitriolic attack on British Foreign Secretary Bevin's statement of policy on Palestine, which he characterized as a "Nuremberg Code" which the Jews of Palestine are resolved to resist, adding that "the Jews of America stand with the Jews of Palestine in this struggle."

Reviewing recent political developments, the outgoing Zionist president asserted that "the pogroms, looting and synagog burning, instigated by the Arab League in Egypt and in other countries, reminiscent of Nazism and true to the spirit of the Grand Mufti, only emphasizes how unsafe is the position of a Jewish minority in an Arab state. Note by contrast that the Jews of Palestine have been unmolested."

Dr. Goldstein denounced the statement by Foreign Secretary Bevin creating a Joint Commission of Inquiry as a "delaying tactic," and expressed disappointment that President Truman has fallen in with this maneuver "perhaps unwittingly" and appealed to the President "to have nothing to do with it and to stand by his original request for the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine."

Dr. Goldstein warned that the Arab League, the creation of which he credited to the British Foreign Office, will turn out to be a Frankenstein. "There are signs in the wind that hooliganism which begins as anti-Jewish may end as anti-British. It may not be too late for the inflator of the Arab League to deflate it"

At the same session Mrs. Moses P. Epstein of New York, president of Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, hit British policy in Palestine as "the old imperialist game."

Serving notice that "British badgering and reneging on promises will not stop Jewish upbuilding in Palestine," President Epstein charged that "the British would like the Jews of Palestine to throw up their hands and realize their age-old dream of nationhood. They mean us to believe that there is no hope to be had from the two greatest Democracies. But the British Labor statesmen who are so soon after election eating their words with ease, are due for a rude jolt. Organizations like Hadassah cleaned Palestine of disease and cut down its death rate, pouring millions of dollars into the land, because they believed the British meant what they said in the Balfour Declaration."



# Rabbi Silver Elected Set at \$51,700,000; A.; Budget ial Period

## SILVER, NEW ZIONIST HEAD, CALLS COMMISSION "SHODDY SUBSTITUTE"

Atlantic City: Rabbi A. H. Silver was elected president of the Zionist Organization of America Sunday at its annual convention in Atlantic City. He succeeds Dr. Israel Goldstein of New York.

In his inaugural address he called the British-American joint commission to study the Palestine problem a "shoddy substitute", and charged that "we have underestimated British imperial cynicism and overestimated the determination of the president."



DR. A. H. SILVER

"President Truman was persuaded to accept the shoddy substitute of an investigation committee, that very hoary and transparent device for delay and circumvention, against his own better judgment.

"Why, in the matter of Palestine, does our government always yield?"

Dr. Leon Feuer of Toledo and Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati were among 15 vice-presidents elected.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, retiring president of the Zionist Organization of America, Saturday charged that the Arab outbreaks in the Middle-East "have been aided and abetted by British delay and indecision, if not actually instigated with the knowledge and conspiracy of the British officials in the Near and Middle East."

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## Zionist Council Calls Inquiry Group "Mockery"

New York, (JTA)—The American Zionist Emergency Council this week issued a statement declaring that "the United States has fallen into a carefully prepared trap" by accepting the British proposal for a joint Anglo-American inquiry committee on Palestine. It termed the appointment of the committee "a mockery."

The statement, signed by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise co-chairman of the council, said that though President Truman emphasized that he continues to adhere to the views expressed in his letter to Prime Minister Attlee in which he asked for immediate admission of 100,000 Jews to Palestine, his acceptance of the British scheme which provides for the admission of only 1,500 immigrants a month "represents a complete recession from his original position."

"The President has done an ill-service to the cause of saving the Jews of Europe by cooperating in a procedure which will postpone for many months any possibility of a solution of their problem and any decision in regard to the opening of the doors of Palestine," the statement declared. It asserted that President Truman has associated this country with a committee of inquiry whose conclusions

Special

ATLANTIC CITY—The Zionist Organization of America embarked on one of its most crucial periods in its history headed by an electrifying personality, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Silver was elected by acclamation. He succeeds Dr. Israel Goldstein.

The convention closed after hearing Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, criticize in sarcasm reaching almost to contempt the recent action of the Labor Government.

## BRITAIN USING U.S. TO COVER BROKEN PLEDGES

Dr. Silver, in his first address as President of the Zionist Organization of America, accused the British government of maneuvering "our government into joining an action which will involve it in moral responsibility without granting it corresponding autonomy. America will now be used to cover Great Britain's broken pledges and to act as a smoke screen for the betrayal of our people. What has been projected is a disservice both to America and the Jewish people," he said.

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Indicative of the fighting mood of the delegates was adoption of a \$51,700,000 budget including \$40,000,000 for the Jewish National Fund for purchasing 500,000 dunams of land in Palestine.

## WOULD REDUCE PALESTINE TO ANOTHER GHETTO

Following Dr. Silver's talk, the convention adopted a series of resolutions charging Britain with "directing the discontent of the Arabs" into "anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish channels" to serve the ends of British imperialism, and accusing the British Labor Government of "flagrant violation" of party pledges and of "wilful and palpable fraud in proposing yet another study and yet another commission." The United States government, the resolutions stated, was "lending itself to this chicanery." At the same time Great Britain was accused of seeking to reduce Palestine "to another ghetto" and of driving the "loyal Jewish population of Palestine to active resistance in defense of their right and position." The convention went on record in the resolutions as denying the existence and recognition of any "legal barrier to the right of Jews freely to settle in Palestine and to rebuild a Jewish state."

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PRICE 5c

# איד שטע וועלט

Vol. 33, No. 47—Cleveland, O.

Friday, November 23, 1945

כסלו, ה'תש"ה, תשי"ו

## קאנווענשאן פאדערט שנעלע האנדלונג וועגען ארץ ישראל



ראב"י אבא הלל פילווער

ציוניסטען ווילען פאלד סעסיע פון אידישע קאנפערענץ.  
— ווייזמאנ'ס רעדע מאכט שטארקען איינדרוק

### ראב"י פילווער נייער פרעזידענט

ה'ס"ד פילווער ווי צווייגל, האט ער ווייטער געזאגט, אין זאכעס פון א נייטס פאר וועגען ארץ ישראל, — די דעלאווארע אין פאליאסענט פון 18טע נאנבערע, וועט פיר האפען דעווארט — אין געזען א נייע יסודת נעשראפען האפען פיר נאך א דאסעסענט, וואס איז א צד נאכ צו די, וואס זיכען צוריקצואר ווייזען דעם ארייננעמען פיינליכען אנטאך צווישען עטלעכע און דעם איינציקע פאלס אין יאר 1947.

דר. ווייזמאן האט דערקלערט, אז ווען מען האט צוגעזאגט די אידען א נאציאנאלע הויז, איז די כוונת געווען, אז עס זאל זיין נאך פאר דערווייל און עס זאל זיך אנטוויקלען אין א איינציקע מלוכה, און דעם האט ער געמאכט געווייזען פון דיווידיד לאזי דזשערוודס פון אג' דער, צווישען די וויכטיגע פיינליי דער פון דער לייכצא פארטיי.

ווען דר. ווייזמאן האט גערעדט וועגען דעם ווייזמאנ'ס פונ'ס ישוב אין ארץ ישראל, האט ער געזאגט:

**ווייזמאן שטורעמט  
אויף קאנווענשאן**

פאנסאן איז אונזעם האט דר. היים ווייזמאן פרעזידענט פון דער ציוניסטישער וועלט-ארגאניזאציע, גע' האלטען זיך לאנגערצווארטעטע רעדע איז וועלכע ער האט אונטערגעצויגט פון אונזעם די ענגלישע פאר לייט פונעם ארץ ישראל.

דר. ווייזמאן, וועלכער האט נים געטאנעוועט פון ווערטער, האט אג' געווייזען זיין רעדע מיט דאזעלען אז ער האט געהאט, אז, ס'זאלען אויף אס דער פארוואלטונג קאנען ריסקסירען פאסטיסטע פלענער פאר אונזער ארבייט אין ארץ ישראל, אין ליכט פון א נייער פאליסי וואס זיין באיעסטעמ'ס רעזירונג האט גע' ראטעט אנטאסירען נאך דער מלחמה פיר האפען געהאט יעדע אורזאך צו גלייכען, אז, וואס וועט פאסירען אבער אפגעלייכערט ווייזען פיר אנטוישט געווארען.

אטלאנטיק סיטי, — די 48סטע ציוניסטישע קאנווענשאן האט זיך דינסטאג נאכטיאג געענעטען. נאכ' דעם ווי די האט אנגענומען א ריזיקע רעזאליציע, איינע פון זיי, אז ס'זאל פאר צונויפגענומען ווערען אן אויסערארענטליכע סעסיע פון דער אסעמבליאנער אידישער קאנפערענץ, וואס זאל ווי די רעפערענצן סאסיווע הערשערהאפט פון גאנצען אסעמבליאנער איידענטום האנדלען אינ'ס איינציקען פרייטיגען טאגסענט פאר'ן איינציקען טאג.

די ערשטע זיצונג איז דער פריה איז געווען אונטערן פארזיץ פון ראב"י אויורונג פילער, ראב"י רוד יערמאן האט אפגעגעבען א פארטיקט וועגען דער סעטינגס פון דער איי דישער קאנפערענץ, ער האט דער' צעזעלט, אז די קאנפערענץ האט זיך געווענרט צו די פארשידענע מלוכות וועגען דעלאווארעס פאר די איינציקע קהילות פון נאציאן, כאטש זיין איי נע פון די מלוכות האט נאך זיין איצט נים געענטפערט, זיינען אבער דא סטנים, אז די אידישע פירערונג גען ווערען אויסגענומען פאסאטיש, די אסעמבליאנער אידישע קאנפערענץ האט דורכגעפירט א רעסע' רעגורם צווישען די דעלעגאטען ווע' גען דער צייט פון דער געמיינע סעסיע, אז די גרעסטע מערהייט האט זיך ארויסגעזאגט פאר'ן פיר סענריגען פרייהלינג, און פון דאן ווען לען אפגעשליסען ווערען ראיאן קאנ' פערענעטען די ציוניסטישע קאנווענ' שאן האלט אבער, אז די סעסיע פון דער אידישער קאנפערענץ איז נויטיג מאל.

ראל שטעהט איצטער פיר גרויסע און קריסטע נסיונות, זיי פארערען זיך צוריקצוהאלטען, אנווענדען כא' האלישע כח, דעלעסטיריסיפליק, גואלדראטען איז דער היפוך פון איי דישער סאראל.

זען דער איינזענער צייט אבער (שלוס אויף פיננעס 4)

דער אידישער ישוב אי ארץ ישראל איז אונזער שטעלע, ער איז אונזער שטאדקייט, פיר קאנען זיך פאליאנען אויף איהם אז ער וועט אונז לירכטראגען דורך דער איינציק נער צייט פון צוריקטאל, און יעד' יעד'.



# וואס די ציוניסטישע קאנווענשאן האט אויפגעטאן

ווי אזוי די דעלעגאטען האבן בען אויפגענומען ווייזן מאג'ס רעדע. ווען ראבא' סילווער האט איבערגע' כאפט די טאג. — דער נייער טאג אין אמעריקא נער ציונים. — די אויפבו' ארבייט אין ארץ ישראל.

פון ס. צ. פראנק

פארשטעלענדיג ווייזשאנ'ס פאר'ן פבליקום, האט סילווער, שוין אלס ניער פרעזידענט, ווי געווענליך אין אים אויסגעזען מיט די פאלגענדע ווערסער: „איזער וויס דער אויסזעהר וועלכער פיהרער פון די ציוניסטען, און איזער טראגט אויף זיך א שווערע לאסט, אבער די ציוניסטען וויינען נישט גענוג אונטער, ווי וויינען פארבייטערס, קאמפערס און מוסיון.“

פאר דעם עולם אין קענסט ווייז' מאג'ס רעדע נישט געווען גענוג קעפל פערס און מוסיון, דערפאר איז דער דילע געווען אנטיקייט, די באשטרענג ווען וואס איז ער געקומען קיין אמעריקע? „דער, אויב ער האט שוין נישט געהאט אונטער שווערע וואס צו זאגען, וואלט דער געווען בעסער ווען ער פאכט עס קורץ, און א פאר ווער נער!“

דער אמת איז, אז די היינע ציונים זיינען פיהרער וויינען נישט געווען פאר ניוסטרעס פאר'ן געדאנק, אז ווייזשאנ'ס זאל טוטען קיין אמעריקע פונקט איינע, ווען ערלי און טרויער וועלען באקאנטע באכען די נייט ארדייטראל פאליטיק, נישט אנפירענדיג ביי איהם, בעסער וואלט געווען, האבען זיי געטראכט, ווען ער וועט אין לאנדאן און ארבייטס ווארטען, די ציוניסטישע באריכטען און ווייזשאנ'ס וועט זיך דא באוואוסט מיט טרויער און עטלי'ן זיינען געווען אהן א גרויס, דער שרייבער פון די זייערע האט דאס געוואוסט נאך מיט זיין פאנאטע צוריק.

ס'איז איר ער געקומען, איז געווען פארשטענדליך אז מען זאל איהם איינלאזען צו רעדען ביי דער ציוניסטישער קאנווענשאן, און ווייזשאנ'ס אויספירט האט דאס געוואלט וויין דער וויכטיגסטער מאמענט.

סענעט וויינען געבליבען ביי סאכ'ן כאטש וועטען איהם צו הערען, ס'רעדט דעם וואס די קאנווענשאן האט איהר פרייט שוין פארענדיגט, ס'רעדט דאס וואס די ציוניסטען האבן גע'קאמפא' ווען געווען געקאפט און בייס אריינגע' אין געווען א געדענק, שיער נישט אז געטלעך.

ווייזשאנ'ס אנזעהן אליי און שוין גענוג ארויסצורופען באגרייפערונג און פארענדיגט: וויין הייבט קעסטע פון פאר, וויין שעהנע, ס'וועט פנים, וואס איז איהם איבערגעקומען בייס א פאר לידען, וויין רוחיג אבער אנגעגעסן טייטש.

אז ווייזשאנ'ס קען ארויסרופען ליבע, נאך פארענדיגט נישט בלייבן ביי איהם, נאר אויך ביי נישטאדעם, האט מען געקענט ווען פון פארדעם פנים, ער נער אנטפלע סאדער, איינער פון די באריכטסטע אמעריקאנער וואונדערליכער סאך איז געווען איינער פון די רעדנער ביי דער פארשאסלעך, ער האט נישט רעדט פאר ווייזשאנ'ס, און זיין רעדע און איז איהר אינהאלט געווען מער לויט סילווער'ס רעדע, איינער לויט ווייזשאנ'ס, דאך, ביי יעדען ווארט ווייזשאנ'ס פנים געשטראלט פון בא' גייסטערונג, פאדערט ער זיך מיט ווייזשאנ'ס שוין לאנג — עס איז נישט בלייבן דער איינער פון א ניער בא' קאמפאטע, אבער ווער עס איז געווען סעך געהענגען צו דער ביהנע האט נישט קענט ווען ווי באווייבערס פארדער איז פון ווייזשאנ'ס פערזענליכקייט.

ווייזשאנ'ס האט אין וויינע ערשטע באשעפטיגונג געהאט, אז אלס עטלייך שיער בירגער קען ער נישט רעדען אזוי שטארק גענוג דער ענגלישער רעדנ'רונג ווען ער געפינט ווי אויסער עטלי'ן לאנג, ווי ער וואלט געדעמט אין דער היים, ווען ער וואלט נאך דעם נישט געהאלטען קיין לאנגע רעדע, וואלט דער איינער פון דער ראזווער בא' פערסנלעך געווען א געוואלדיגער, האט ער זיך אבער אריינגעלאזען אין א לאנגער דעבאטע מיט בעוויינען כדי זיך מיט איהם אויסצושטעלן, אבער דאס האבען שוין פאר איהם געטאן אלע אירייע ציטונגען, ער האט אויך זיך מודה געווען, אז ער געפינט ווי אין א געדענשלאגנער שטימונג, אבער ער האט צוגעגעבן, אז דאס וועט פאראיבערשעהן.

דערנעבן פאר ווייזשאנ'ס האט מאדערנע געדענקען די ציוניסטען צו טאן אלץ וואס איז מעגליך איינע, צו טאן נעט, צו פארדערע ביי אמעריקאנער פאר ליטטישעס; נישט צו פארלאזען ווי אויף ווייטע צוואנגען, און ער האט נישט ווארענט, אז פיר האבען נאך צוויי יארהר אין וועלט מען קען נאך אויס' ווירטען ביי אמעריקאנער פאליטישעס א אידענטיטאט אין ארדייטראל, שפעטער וועט שוין זיין צוריקשטעלען.

ווייזשאנ'ס האט, דערנעבן נאך פאר דער'ן באשטרענג, אז ער איז מיט דעם נישט איינפארשטאנען, דער ציוניזם איז אזוי ווי די ארדישע געשיכטע, עס איז נישט קיין פראגע פון היינט אדער קיינ'טאל נישט, פיר האבען שוין א פרייז, בערגעלעכט, און אויב פיר וועלען נישט דערנעבן אונזערס איינע, וועלען שוין עס שפעטער דערנעבן, מען טאר נישט פארליירען דעם נאכזען, דער עולם האט אבער געהאלטען מיט פארדער'ן — און מיט סילווער'ן.

סילווער'ס רעדע און די רעזאלוציע וואס עסנאטל ניומאן האט פארעלעזען באלד נאך סילווער'ס רעדע, וויינען נער ווען ווער קעמפערט, לויט שוין שוין נאנט האבען זיי אביסעל איבערגעדען באדע די סאכ.

עס איז צום באמירטע וואס די אמע' ווייזשאנער ציוניסטען האבען געטונען גענוג מיט צו פראטעסטירען נישט בלויז גענוג ענטלאנג, נאר אויך גענוג דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג, צופיל האבען זיך אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען — און אמעריקאנער אידען אין אלגעמיין — באגעגענט מיט פארדער, פיינפאר, שיער, עס איז א קאנפערענץ פאר געווען פון סטיווען וויין צו ברופען ווי א לייב גענוג ענטלאנג און צו ווער דעם ווייז' ווי א לעסקעל ווען ער רעדט וועטען אמעריקע און דערנעבן וואס פאר א שיערע, טוטען פרעזידענט פיר האבען געהאט און וואס פאר א שיער' רען, טוטען אידענטיפירירען פרעזידענט פיר האבען איינע, און דעם וועט איר דער פאראנטווארט וואס דער נייטשער עקזידירענטיס קאמיטעט האט צוגעשטעלט צום סטעיט דעפארטמענט, געווען אן איבערקערקעניש אין דעם אידענטישע לעבען.

אבער ס'מאכט ווערטער ווערטער אים סטארק ווען מען כאטשט ווי צופיל, און דער רעזאלוציע וואס די קאנווענשאן האט אנגענומען ווערט צופיל פאל ווידערשטאם אזלעך ווער טאר ווי „אמאדעריי", „אמאדעריי", און ווי, אין סילווער'ס רעדע וויינען הא אפילו דראהונגען וועגען אדערע ווייזשסטעט א הונד לאנדאן און דאך זינגטען און עס איז דא א פארלאנג אז ענטלאנג און אמעריקע וואלט זיך באראכטען מיט דעסלאנג, דאס וויינען געווען נישט קיין גוטאיינסערעכענטע באשעפטיגונג, און דער עולם האט נישט קענסטען מיט די אליינעס ווען עס האט ווי געדעמט וואס די ווערטען באוויינען.

אבער אין סילווער'ס רעדע האט זיך אפגעשניטען די פארבייטערס פון ציוניסטען גענוג, דער איינפאר פאליטיק פון דער ענגלישער און אמע' ריקאנער רעגירונגען און ווער עטלי'ן שלאפענדיג נישט אפצורעדען ווי סאך קיין שוועריקייט און פאר קיין צייטווייליגען דורכפאל.

דער שטייט פון די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען גענוג דער מעסינער פאליטיק פון היים ווייזשאנ'ס האט זיך נאך אנגעטאנען אין לאנדאן ביי דער אל' וועלכער ציוניסטישער קאנפערענץ, עס שרעסטען און גענוג ווייזשאנ'ס ארויסגעטראכטען דענאל פרייט, דער

שטערמאן פון אריינסטראמישען דאס פון די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען, סילווער האט פרובירט דעם שטייט צו פארדעקען פאר אין לאנדאן, ס'איז דא צוליב דער וויכטיגקייט פון ווייז' מאג'ס פערזאן און צוליב ווייזשאנ'ס געוואלטיגען פרעסטיזש, און עס קען וויין, אז דער אונטערשייד וועט נאך אויסגעליכען ווערען, אבער דערווייל איז ער דא — עס איז אן אונטערשייד אין מעכטערשאפטען און אין צוואנג, ווייזשאנ'ס האט פונקטלעך נישט געלענט קיין פיל געוויכט אויף דער ריזנפאלד'ס שיער ווייט פון ציוניזם, אויף דעפאלד'ס מאסישע דאקטענטען און פארדאנער לונגען, ער האלט, אז מען דארף איר בייטען אונטער אלע אויסשטערען און די ארבייט אין ארדייטראל וועט שוין אליין פון זיך טאקע א פאליטישע לאך נע מיט וועלכער די ריזנפאלד'ס ווער לען וויך מוזען רעכענען.

סילווער לענט יא א פיר געוויכט אויף פאליטישער ארבייט און נישט וואס אויסצואוויקסען א אידענטיטאט שוין איינע, און די קומענדיגע פאר יארהר, דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עולם איז אין דעם איינציגן שטאטעס געשטימט פער אן איינקלאנג מיט סילווער'ס פאליטיק איידער מיט ווייז' מאג'ס.

אבער פויזבליקע ווערטער האבן איר ישראל געבויט פון די דארטיגע אידען, דער ישוב אין ארדייטראל איז שוין א גאנץ הייבטעל, נישט ארגאניזירט און נישט דיסציפלינירט, די אידען באסירען פון א דייטעל פון גאנץ ארדייטראל, אבער זיי וויינען דער וויכטיגסטער פאקטאר אין לאנד, עקאנאמיש און טעכניש, זיי האבען אויך פערט מיט מערע ענטשלאסענהייט און מער איינ'טעלענע, דער ארץ-ישראל'דיגער ישוב פון אויך שפילט א געוואלטיגע ראלע אין באשיטען די ציוניסטישע פאליטיק.

וואס איז די שטעלונג פון די ארד' ישראל'דיגע אידען איינע? פארשטעטען זיך, עס וויינען פאר א פראגראמעטען פון ביידע ווייזשאנ'ס דארטיסטען, וואס וויינען גרויס ארויס צונויטען אין א פאסאט גענוג ענטלאנג ווארטען באשטעט, ברענגען הייזער, א און וואס פון דער צווייטער ווייט — עקסטרעמערסטישע, וואס האלטען א מען סאר גאנצטען שטעלען קיין ווידער שטאנען נאך אנגעטען אלץ וואס מען נישט און מענע'ן וועגען מער, די מערהייט פון די אידען איז ארד' ישראל האלטען, אז מען דארף יא נישט אן א שטארקע שטעלונג אבער מיט א סאכ.

זיי האלטען, אז מען דארף אריינ' ברענגען איינפארשטען, פראץ אלע פארשטעטען און אז אויב ענגלישע פאר לייען פרובירט צו ארעסטירען, אויס' לענאלע' איינפארשטען, שטעלן אירע ווי ווערטער, אפילו פארניכטען בלוט, זיי האלטען אז מען דארף שוין לאנד נאדען אין יענע סטילען פון ארד' ישראל וואס איז פאר אירע פארבא' טען, און אז אויב די ענגלישע בא' אסטע זאלן פראוואצירן אראפאפירען אירעס פון אזא לאנד, דאך, מען ווי ווערטען און געטן אין בלעט, אבער מער נישט שוין, און דער וועלט אריין ערליכען קיינ גענוג ענטלאנג — דאס נישט.

איינע פון די וויכטיגסטע פאראפס' לונגען אויף דער ציוניסטישער סאך ווערטען אן געווען א סאלוישיאנעל' וואסלונג (האנטישאן) וואסאך בייטאג אראנזשירט פון אוידישע באצייאנאל סאנער, ביי וועלכער עס איז אויפגע' פראגען דא, אברהם גראנאוואסקי, דער פיהרער פון אוידישע באצייאנאל סאנער און ווייזשאנ'ס וויין פארטראג און נישט ווען נישט וועגנער וויכטיג איידער די פאליטישע רעזאלוציע, ער האט דאך טען שטארק פראטעסטירט גענוג דער ענגלישער פאליטיק, וואס פארבאט אירע צו טייפן לאנד אין ארדייטראל אויסער א פליינעם שטח (5 אדער 6 פראצענט פון גאנץ ארדייטראל), אזוי אז אפילו אז איינגעזעסענע איר פון פיר אדער פינף דורות אין לאנד טאר נישט קיינען קיין לאנד אויף צו בויען ווי א הויז א פאר טייל פון ירושלים, ער האט עקסלערט, אז פיר וועלען נישט דעם קעסטען און אז פיר וועלען דעם ווייטש פאפיר צווייטש, אבער ער האט איר אנגעגעבן פאנערעס פלענעל וואס צו טאן איינע, וויס וואר' טענדיג ביי דער ווייטש פאפיר וועט אפגעטאט ווערען: פליינען נאך געלט אויף צו פיינען נאך לאנד, און

נאדען דארטען וואו מען טאר נישט, און אויף אזא אופן צווייטשען דעם ווייטש פאפיר, פארוואנדלען איהם אין מען טייטשען בויכשטאב, און די לעצטע טעלישע יארהר, ווייטש דער ווייטשער פאר פיר אין אויסגעגעבען געווארען, האט דער באצייאנאלסאנער געקויפט מערע לאנד אין ארדייטראל איידער אין די פרייערדיגע יארהרען, און אלע נייט געקויפט וויינען געקויפט געווארען, און די פארשטעטע געקויפטען, פרייטאג, באלד בייס אנטקענען, האבן איר באגעגענט דא, גראנאוואסקי און איהם געפרעגט וואס ער קענט וועגען דער לאנד אין ארדייטראל, האט ער פיר געענטפערט:

דאס וואס איינלעך ווארטען שטייט נער און ברענגען הייזער, דאס איז שטעט, עס הייסט, אז מען פארלירט דעם פאנאטראל איבער דער וועגער, אבער אין אלגעמיין פארשטעט ווי די לאנד, 18 מיינעס איינפארשטעט נישט איין נאך די ענגלישע רעגירונג אפציעל: נאך ביי 7 מיינעס וועט מען אריינברענגען פארשטעטערהייט, און שוין 25 מיינעס, און שפעטער וועט מען ווערן.

פאנאטאן אינדערפרי האבן איר מיט דא, גראנאוואסקי, פארבראכט העכער א שטונדע, און ער האט פאר פיר קלערט דעם שטאנפונקט פון די ארד' ישראל'דיגע אידען, זיי וויינען פאר'ן טעקע, אבער זיי וויינען דיסציפלינירט, נישט צו קעסטען ווען נייט, נאך נישט טאג אין דער וועלט, אריין, די ענג' לייען באשטעט שטעלען פאר אונז נאך א וואנט, דארטען פיר די וואנט דורכברענגען — דורך פאליטישער טע' טיטעס, אבער אויך דורך ארבייט, און צווייטע פאליטישע לאנד סאכס פאר איינלייטען צו בויען ארדייטראל, אבער אז פיר בויען אונטער אומגיני' סטייט אויסגעטראגט, צוויינען פיר אריינ אויף ענטלאנג א לאנד, מיט וועלכער זי וועט זיך מוזען רעכענען, דא, גראנאוואסקי און געקויפט שוין אבעריקע צו טאקע א טייטשען פאר פון 30 מיליאן דאלער צו פוינען לאנד אין ארדייטראל.

אין אלגעמיין איז ער מער צופרידן דעם מיט דעם טאג פון סילווער'ס רעדע איידער פון ווייזשאנ'ס, אבער ער האט שוין קלאר געקאכט, אז פאליטישע קעמפערשטיקט אין נישט גענוג און אז אונטעשטעלען דעם גאנצען שווארץ פון דעם ציוניזם אויפ'ן אויסגאנג פון פאר ליטשע פאראנדרלינגען סאך מען נישט.

איר האב דעמאנט די רעדע פון דערנאך ענטפלע מאדערע, פאנאטאן אונטער, פארדער און א קרייס וואס צווייט ווייטאט און פון דער אמערי' קאנער רעזאלוציע, ער איז א בארימטער סער ליבעראלער שווערליכסט, וואס האט אייבערזיין די וועלט, באדערט און איידער פון דער זאל אמערי' קאנער קריסטליכע אינטעליגענטען וואס האבען זיך לעצטענס פאראנטיש' רעסירט אין דעם ציוניזם, ווייז' זאל האלט אין איין וואקסען, עס געפינען ווי צווייטען זיי באריכטען נייטליכע און שרייבער — אלע אועלכע וואס האבען אסאל זיך באוויינען מיט גרוינ' שטענען צו דער ציוניסטישער באדע' נאנט, אבער וועלכע האבען זיך לעצ' טענען גענומען קענסט שטודירען דעם ציוניזם, דאס וואס שווערע האט דעם זאגט, און נישט קיין סך אנדערס פון דעם וואס עס זאגט פראפעסאר פארל פרידדור, א באריכטער אויספארשטען איבער אינטערנאציאנאלען געווען און

וואס עס זאגט וויינאדער נישט, דער ציוניסטישער פראטעסטאנטשער רעדנ'ר פון ארד' און אמעריקע, זיי האלטען אלע אז מען קען דעם אמעריקאנער פאלד פאראינטערשטירען אין ציוניזם; אז עס איז אמעריקע'ס סיכס צו העלפען די אירע געשיכטע א היים אין ארד' ישראל און אז עס לאגט אין אמערי' קעסן אינטערעסען דאס צו טאן, און פארדער האט די אירע געגעבען אז ער נישט אפצווארען די פאליטישעס אין אמעריקע ביי זיי וועלען באשטעט, און פארלאזט זיך נישט צופיל אויף די אמעריקענען פון דעפאלד'ס — האט פארדער געזאגט — „סאך ווען זיי פראגען פאלאדעלידער, סאך ווען זיי וויינען אנגעטאן אין אדער אלס.“

ווי איר האט שוין אנגעדייטעט, און דאס, אין אלגעמיין שפרינגען די פאר ליטשע ליניע פון סילווער און ניומאן די קאנווענשאן האט באאיינפלוסט די נייט איינפארשטעט אנגענומען מיט דער ליניע, און דעם באשטעטען איהר וויכטיגקייט.



The Day 11-24-45

נאכטען אין דר. אבא הלל פיליטער  
 דער נייטדזשיילטער פירערענס פון  
 דער צייטשפייטער ארגאניזאציע, אפר  
 נאפאליטען קיין ארץ ישראל צו באטיילי-  
 גען זיך אין א וויכטיגער זעצונג פון  
 דער אידישער אקטאטור.  
 לואי לופסקי און דר. נתון נאליטאנא  
 די אגודת אפרעזאנצער מיטגלידער  
 פון דער אידישער אקטאטור, זיינען  
 אויך אפגעפליענען קיין ארץ ישראל.  
 דר. סילווער אין פאר זיין אפטייל  
 חתן קיין ארץ ישראל, נאכעם אין וואו  
 שניטמא, וואו ער האט זיך געזעהן מיט  
 וויכטיגע פאליטישע פערזענליכקייטען.  
 דער נאשערע מיט זיי אים געזעהן א  
 שפרינג פרוואקטור, און קינען שטייען  
 אין דער הערונג צו שטאלינ'ס  
 דרייט די רעוואלוציע אויס דעם צו-  
 טויט, און ער וועט מיט געליבען קיין  
 אונזערעמעקייט צו אירען.  
 אין דער הערונג צו שטאלינ'ס, ווערט  
 אויפגעדיקט די האפנונג, און דער  
 ווייטער פאפולר, וואס שפרייט דעם  
 פילאסאפיש פון דעם פריעמער און פון  
 דעם ליכטפארטיג, וועט אפגעשטאפט  
 ווערן.  
 די רעוואלוציע ווערט זיך אויך צום  
 אידישען וועלטאפגאנגעס און צום  
 נאכט אין אידישעראל, ערלעבענדיג,  
 און דאס בולגארישע אידענטום שליסט  
 זיך און אין דעם נאכעסטען קאמף פון  
 אידישען שטאלי.

The Day  
Nov. 25, 1945

plea for the purchase of 500,000 dunams of land:

4. Dr. Israel Goldstein's presidential address, in which President Truman was urged to stand by his original request for the admission of 100,000 refugees.

5. Dr. Stephen S. Wise's call to President Truman "to have aside State Department negotiators."

6. The Palestine Evening arranged by the Hebrew Arts Committee.

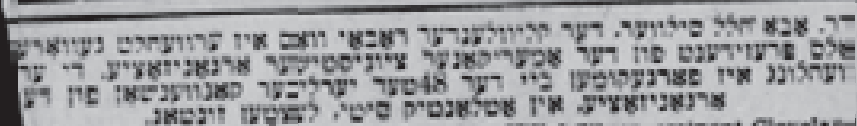
A survey by public opinion expert Elmo Roper, released by Senators Robert F. Wagner (Dem., N. Y.) and Robert A. Taft (Rep., Ohio) showed that 89.1% of American Jews favored a Jewish State in Palestine; 10.5% opposed it, while 8.1% were undecided.

Acrimonious were the exchanges of public statements between the American Jewish Committee and other organizations.

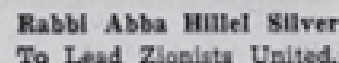
1. The Committee was accused by the American Jewish Conference of having advised President Truman delay on political decisions on Palestine, to show Jewish opposition to such action. To this the Committee replied that its spokesmen had visited the President to advise of Jewish unity on opening Palestine to Jewish immigration and that Jewish statehood was not mentioned by its delegates.

2. Dr. Nahum Goldmann, on behalf of the Jewish Agency criticized the linking of the World Zionist Organization with the Comintern in the first issue of the Committee's new "Commentary" (See our English page Nov. 4), comparing it to "meat tactics of Herr Goebbels." In reply, editor Elliot E. Cohen termed the cited statement "a legitimate speculation." He also stated the "Commentary" was not the "official" organ of the Committee.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 23, 1942



**NEW HEAD OF THE Z. O. A.** — Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, eminent Cleveland rabbi, who was elected president of the Zionist Organization of America at its organization's 48th annual convention in Atlantic City. (A. Archem)





דער גרעסטער פארשטאנד פון ציוניזם איז אונזערע און אונזערע

[illegible]

דער ארגאניזאציע וועט אין באשרייבונג  
 זיין די וועגן, און אינצווישן דער  
 צייט פון איר, וועט באהינדערט זיין איר  
 פון די וועגן, און פונעם צווייטן  
 פון צווייטן לעבן. די ארגאניזאציע  
 וועט דער ארגאניזאציע וועט באהינדערט  
 אן אינצווישן איר לעבן. דער לעבן  
 זעלבן לעבן פון איר, וועט זיין  
 ארגאניזאציע, איר די דאזיקע צייט וועט  
 זיין דאס די ארגאניזאציע וועט זיין  
 זיין אן ארגאניזאציע איבערן נאך  
 דער לעבן וועט זיין וועט זיין א  
 זיין דאס אן וועט איר וועט איר  
 ארגאניזאציע וועט איר וועט איר  
 האבן איר וועט איר וועט איר  
 זיין ארגאניזאציע וועט איר  
 דאס איר אן אינצווישן ארגאניזאציע  
 וועט דער ארגאניזאציע וועט דער צווייטן  
 זיין ארגאניזאציע אן איר דער  
 ארגאניזאציע וועט דער ארגאניזאציע  
 זיין אן אינצווישן ארגאניזאציע  
 ארגאניזאציע, די ארגאניזאציע צו  
 ארגאניזאציע וועט דער ארגאניזאציע אן

צו איין פיליטער א דייטשטאט, צו קען  
 קען מיט אים אדמיניטערן, צו שטעלען  
 ער באקט מיט ווי פאר א שייטל אדער  
 סתם א שטאטקען ווילען, פאר די וואס  
 זענען אים נאנט, און די וואס זענען  
 פארן פארשטאנדענען געווארען, עס וויל  
 נען פארן שטאטקען, ווען פיליטער  
 וועט נישט אפלאזען מיין פערזענליכע  
 סא דין שטאטקען, אבער דאס איז  
 נען שטאטקען פון גרויסע באדעס —  
 וועלכע קליינעקעסען קען קען מיט  
 אים-אדעס ווערן איין איין שטאטקען,  
 ער איז א קינד מיט א נאך שטאטקען  
 ווילען, אבער ער האט אויך זיין פאר  
 ליטעט שייטל, און דער ווילען העלפט  
 אים דורכצוגען די שייטל, ער איז נישט  
 דין דייטשטאט און אריינס מיט סתם  
 קען מיט דער דייטשער דייטשיקייט,  
 אבער ער קען די קענען געוועזען,  
 שטענדיק צו העלפן ער האט נישט פון  
 צוועלף קאנען נישט שייטל איין וויל  
 סתם.

[illegible]

דא אטא האל בלונדער איז געווען  
 אויף דעם ציוניסטישער "פערזענלעך" פון  
 ארטיקלען און אים יארגען. אבער זיין  
 פערזענלעכקייט איז געווארען אן ענטפער  
 "אלע" "אלע" פון דעם פאסטער און  
 ווען ער האט, אויפ'ן פארשטאנד פון  
 דא, היינט געוואסען, געוואלט מיט שטיין  
 פאר אים באשטעלען דאס נאכט פון  
 פאליטישער סאטיריקעס.  
 ווען ער האט זיך באשעסטיגט אין  
 זיין אייגענער שטאט מיט ציוניסטיש  
 דעם סאטיריקעס איז אויך נישט אלעס  
 געווארען פארשטאנד. ער האט דארט  
 אויך געוואלט זיין אייגענע סימל, דאס  
 האט אים געבראכט אין צוואנציג  
 שטובס פאר אנדערע, און א פארמינע  
 פון זיין שטיין פאר וועלכען ער איז  
 שטענדיג גאר געווען דעם פערזענלעך  
 ער אייגענע סימל, באדייטענדיג אונז  
 געווארענע פערזענלעכקייט. אבער דאס  
 איז זיין פאליטישער סאטיריקעס האט  
 ער זיך באוויסען איז זיין געזעצ  
 דאס, אן אלע פאליטישער דעקער  
 און אפלייטשער, אי אים אומערד  
 שטענדיג אויסגעזען פאר פאסטער  
 שטוב, אן אלע פערזענלעכקייט פאר  
 געווארענע, אי אים אלע פאליטישער  
 קאלעקט און אומערד פון איין זיין  
 און "פערזענלעכקייט" פערדער פון שטוב  
 פון דעם אומערד זיין.  
 דאס ווען אויסגעוואוינליכע פער  
 וועלכע פערזענלעכקייט, וועלכע פון זי  
 פון דעם וועלכע פערזענלעכקייט

1.  
צו העדוה פערזענלעכעס פון דער אסער  
קאנטרע צווייטשטישער ארגאניזאציע  
זי האט דערקלערט די אסכריזע פון זייער  
ספערע פונעם אפילו אום איינציק  
פאליטישע פערזענלעכעס ווי דער  
ליבערס. א. הייט, האט איר דער דער  
פון דער ארגאניזאציע און האט  
ארגאניזאציע פאקטעס און  
רעזאליציעס היסטארישע שלחנות  
אין צווייטע האט זי נישט באזיר  
נישט ביי איר און געזאגט זייער  
פאר דערקלערט פון זייער ליבערס  
זי פערזענלעכעס פון דער צווייטער  
זי ארגאניזאציע פון אסכריזע.  
אום וועגן האט דער ארגאניזאציע פאר  
אן איר דערקלערט דעסלעבס אום  
איר דער ארגאניזאציע, איר ארגאניזאציע  
אום וועגן האט דערקלערט, פאליטישע  
אן וועג, פאליטישע האט זי נישט  
זייער ארגאניזאציע, אום איר אום זי  
זי א. פאליטישע, אסכריזע איר דער  
ארגאניזאציע האט זי האט זייער זייער  
דערקלערט איר דער ארגאניזאציע  
אום, איר דער ארגאניזאציע, אפילו  
זי האט פון אסכריזע.  
איר איר אום דערקלערט איינצונעמען  
דערקלערט דער אסכריזע איר וועגן אן  
דערקלערט, די פאליטישע וועגן וועגן  
דערקלערט די ארגאניזאציע האט איר  
ארגאניזאציע אן איר ארגאניזאציע און  
דערקלערט וועגן וועגן וועגן זי  
דערקלערט.  
אום כל איר דערקלערט אום נישט  
וועגן די אסכריזע פון דער וועגן  
זי ארגאניזאציע, אום אום ארגאניזאציע  
אום ארגאניזאציע כל נישט דערקלערט  
זי ארגאניזאציע צו וועגן פערזענלעכעס פון  
זי ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע, איר  
אום, זי האט זי ארגאניזאציע נע'ארגאניזאציע  
זי זי האט אום ארגאניזאציע, אום אן  
אום וועגן, אן אום האט איר אום  
אום אום ארגאניזאציע, אום  
אום ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע, אום  
אום ארגאניזאציע דערקלערט אן אום  
זי א ארגאניזאציע אום זי א אום  
אום זי אן אום אום ארגאניזאציע  
זי א ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע  
אום אום ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע  
ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע ארגאניזאציע



JEWISH CONDEMNATION OF BEVIN'S STATEMENT IS "GRAVE ERROR," SAYS LASKI, URGES PATIENCE

LONDON, Nov. 26. (JTA) -- Declaring that he considers Jewish condemnation of the Bevin statement on Palestine "a grave error," Harold J. Laski, chairman of the executive of the Labor Party, said today, in an article written for the Overseas News Agency, that he thinks "the wiser path is one of waiting to see what the Anglo-American commission decides."

"Only in the light of the recommendations of this commission, both interim and final, and the decisions taken on each, can the wisdom or lack of wisdom of the policy be judged," Laski says. Explaining why he urges the Jews to have patience, "however hard it may be to be patient," Laski writes:

"It is of decisive importance that President Truman has agreed to full American participation in the inquiry. It is of not less decisive importance that the terms of reference to the Anglo-American committee are wide enough not only to make possible the abandonment of that administrative separation between Palestine and Transjordan which was a grave initial error in British policy, but which Zionists have always insisted was an error which worked to their detriment. It is of outstanding importance, also, that the case made by men of the standing of Dr. Lowdermilk can now be examined at the level where favorable judgment will imply an Anglo-American obligation to act; and I believe myself that irrigation of the Negev alone, if it is judged practicable, will permit, and, indeed compel the recognition of the Jewish right to large-scale immigration."

Mr. Laski comes to the conclusion that "if it is the wish of the overwhelming majority of European Jews to settle in Palestine, the Zionists need not fear the outcome of the commission's researches into this question since their judgment would then be confirmed." He adds that he does not see in the Balfour Declaration or in the terms of the Palestine Mandate "any pledge that there shall be a Jewish majority or a Jewish State." The clear meaning of each of these documents, he says, is the right of Jews to be allowed freely to enter Palestine so long as that entrance does not impair the welfare of the Arabs.

"I think the committee can be shown, first, that free entrance, viewed objectively, has increased, and not impaired Arab welfare, and that if Transjordan be included, and schemes like that of Dr. Lowdermilk are applied there and to the Negov, the Arabs in Palestine so conceived would lack any ground for opposing large-scale Jewish immigration, even if it meant a Jewish majority."

אין לנו לשתף פעולה עם  
עדת הקידה" – סיגבר

התורה האמריקאית תופסת פחות התאבסות של חיים –  
 גססר וסיוח ציוניסטיסטי – אולי תהיה חיוסס, תהיה סתססר.

אומר קצתה בארצות אחרות. כל דבר  
הנכון שאדם רואה כאן אומר כבוד. יש  
לומר גם את כל אותן המעלות של תורה  
של תורה. בסוף לשבת קולומביה, יש  
כאן מלחמה אישן הקדושה, דומה יש  
היה מלחמה שכן להחליט אותה. כל  
המחשבות לא יעשו את בני הארץ אף  
על פי השארה לומר הרבה את חי הכר  
היה אני מקוה כי יעשו הימים הללו  
היוצא את כלום לנפוש בשר האמת

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במחשבת לשאלות הקונטראס עם ד"ר  
סילבר על הרקע שנאחזרי הסכמת הנשיא  
מיומנא לועדת המקדית האנולוראסוקיות  
בעקו ארץ ישראל הוא זיך, כי הנשיא  
סומאן הנה בול דנשות מסיימס בויס  
שקבעה את הורית של הארץוץ על צמס  
היחוימס במחוטס בארופסה וההוצק לזר  
סות את עלייתם של 100,000 יורדים לארץ  
ישראל. התרגס סאוד וסאל סודק לא 300  
אלף, הוא סכס סוד וסלס הוראות לנברל  
אז הנהאקור לשער את הסכס ממחויט וכן  
סלס את ססכסו הודקס לסלס, הוא הית  
הות סקראסו האנולית הסכס דר. הוא  
לא ידע את הבריות הבריות ואת הכשרון  
הקריטי ללכלל את האחרים. הם שינכעו  
הנה שיקכל את ההוצק לועדת המקדית  
ביתם במחוטסו לבאקו סוב עם על דוד  
הנו לרססססו רשימות. הנשיא סיומאן  
הית ססמט לועקטו באמריקה במחלת  
הקוץ ביקורת. גם סל לאיהותיס על שנת  
עסס ללכלל סלס התיולסוליס הברר  
הית. אזי סכסו שישויסי סיומאן ומסססר  
סחוק סר בארסס סססססס על כל הסכס  
סוכססו בארסס ווריס להנברל את סודק  
ועולות וקרת המקרת. סודי אמריקס לא  
דקס סאסס על העקס וקרת המקרת קודם  
הססססס. דססו הברססס ססר דר סלס

הנהגה אמריקאית ברוחם הגדול הנוכח  
בשנים האחרונות של היישוב היהודי בארץ  
— הנהגה דרך אבא חלל בילבום, ושה צינור  
אמריקאי במסגרת עתונאים ביוזמות, את  
סוף, אמנם יש לנו מנהיגים רבים בזה ענין  
היה אמריקאי במלוא היותו צינור, אולם  
היה לא ידעתי את דעות אמריקאית  
היוזמה והוכחה למעלה למען יהיה ארץ  
ישראל כמו עכשיו, הקדמה שאמרו היה  
לכנס ללא הגנה מקומית למעלה מרוב  
למנוע יהודים להפגוע במיוחדים לסיבות  
היישוב היהודי בארץ ישראל — היתה על  
אין הנהגות דרך היישוב היהודי בארץ  
ישראל מנסה ביהודי אמריקאי.

**נסעו ברחובותינו — מרחובות**  
**היהודים בארץ**

ד"ר סילבר מתח את דבריו בעקבות  
אמרו בן המאה. זה קרה שכתב מכתב  
אין ושרים. עמודי האם על יד קבר  
קדושי השם חללים נעלו במלחמתם —  
למלכת שמי בארצם. בקרית מברית התר  
לים. דברתי עם הנשיא. קרית קיימתי  
לכאן לארץ ישראל אחי המלחמה חלוצות  
במדינה. כשהארץ במצב של שלום ושלוה,  
אכל לאבנו המצב אינו כשם שלום. הוא  
עוב של האבנות. התקע שעה בחדר, את  
דבר הראשון שאני רוצה לדבר בשמי.  
בשם מנחם יהודה אמריקא: את המדינה  
לישם. היתרתי בארץ ישראל כי 5 מיליון  
הוא אמריקא קבלו על עצמם לעזוב בכל  
דבר לישם. היתרתי בארץ. לחסוך בהם  
לחמשת במשק. ללא לאות עד אשר תהי  
תנה כל השקרים. לא יקרה ולא יקרה עד  
ביום הנצחתי לא את מדינה.

יבואו ימי שזום לבונים  
לאלן קנד דיר סילבו על ההיקפות  
רבה שראת בארץ. העתונות העברית אשר  
ל מוסד קופות הוא רק ענין של שנים  
הוות אף התפתחותה היא קצתה מן המלל  
המבולבס לשם מוסד לעתונות הרבה

**American Senate  
Postpones Action  
On Palestine  
Inquiry Commission  
of 18 Members**

WASHINGTON Tuesday. — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has postponed action on the Palestine Resolution after the report of the sub-committee appointed to discuss the Palestine issue with the State Department was submitted.

The report said that the State Department was awaiting the result of negotiations with the British Foreign Office regarding the composition of the joint commission of inquiry and the length of time during which it is to deliberate before conferring with the sub-committee.

It is reliably learned that details have been agreed upon by Mr. James Byrnes and Lord Halifax, the British Ambassador, in regard to membership of the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission for Palestine. Each nation will have nine members on the proposed Commission and the names are expected to be announced in a few days.

The question of the appointment of the American members is now being studied in Washington. It is reported that Mr. William Culbertson, former Ambassador to Rumania and recently head of a commission to the Middle East, may be one of the delegates.

### Whom to Contact?

In London, informed sources report that British official circles had stated that it was President Truman's delay in naming the U.S. representative that was holding up the establishment of the Anglo-American Commission.

Officials of the State Department said today that they have no knowledge of a reported proposal by the Soviet Union to the United States, Britain, France and China, that the Palestine problem should be submitted to a "Big Five" Conference.

The report was given in a Paris dispatch of the "New York Times" quoting as its source "a diplomatic source in touch with Near East affairs."  
(U.P. Reuter and STA.)

## NEUMANN IN ZIONIST POST

### New Yorker Heads American Group in Dr. Silver's Absence

Special to The New York Times.  
WASHINGTON, Nov. 30. Dr. Emanuel Neuman, New York lawyer and a leader of the American Zionist Emergency Council, was named today to serve as acting president of the Zionist Organization of America during the absence of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, the president. Dr. Silver is going to Palestine to attend sessions of the World Zionist Executive and the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

In a statement Dr. Neumann urged American Zionists to give Dr. Neumann full support and to continue their Zionist efforts with "redoubled zeal." He announced a decision of the newly elected executive committee of the Zionist Organization to set up an inner committee of seven that will function between meetings of the executive committee.

[illegible]



אויסגעפירטער ליטווער, אז ס'זאל נישט  
ווערן געטראפן אין ליטווען. — ס'וועט  
זיין אויפגעטאן ס'זאל נישט ווערן געטראפן.

התחברותו של דוד לאלוהים  
הוא דבר אחר, אחרת, אחרת, אחרת  
אשר לא יתקבל עליו חשבון  
הוא דבר אחר, אחרת, אחרת, אחרת  
אשר לא יתקבל עליו חשבון  
הוא דבר אחר, אחרת, אחרת, אחרת  
אשר לא יתקבל עליו חשבון

דא-קאמיטאט צוטרען  
מיט, צוריקהאלטונג פון  
ענגלישע מוזען

[illegible][illegible]

דער קאנפליקט צווישן אונז און  
 די ארבעט אין א ציטעריקער, פיר  
 מאנאטן אונזער פירל אין דעם לאנד  
 מיט אלע אונזערע שטייג, פיר באר  
 באשטימט, איר דעם ציטערן פאר  
 פירט מיט ענדלעך אלס ציטעריקע  
 פיר אונז מאנאטערעס אין דעם  
 דעמאנסטראציען ענליכע פרייע  
 באשט, ענדלעך האט וויכטיגע איינער  
 דעסן אין פיסטעל פארט, — האט זי  
 זיין פארזאמלען.

י נאמץ פארזאכטלונג האט זיך  
פארגעשטעלט, דער סאציאלער  
דער בייזשער אלסוי האט געהאלטן  
א סאכע אדער דאס איז דאס

אידען האבען נים אויסגעשטאנען  
קען אים קיין נים דערפאר וואס ס'זיך  
קען נים וויסען, נאר דערפאר ווייל  
ס'זיך האבען געהאלטן פארשיידענע יעדע  
פארזאמלונגען.—האט אונזערע דעמאלס  
ס'זיך וויסען, אז דער עסקהערען איז  
געווען א פלאץ פאר באשולדיגטע פאר  
וויכטיגע צושטענדן ווי אונזערע קיין  
נע קלאמאנצן. ס'זיך האבען זיך נים  
ערמאנען פאר די פאנעל אדער נע  
פאנעלס אויסצושטעלען, אז אויך  
נישט פאר די אנדערשע באזאמלונגען.  
ווי פאנעל היסטען בלויז אונזערע קיין  
דעם אדער נים אדער וויסען, דא

קאמאניסטן האבען געשאפטן מיט  
דעם פייגל פון זייערע הערצער,  
זאגט „טשער“

ירושלים, נאמן. 28 (איסוף) — דר.  
אבאב חלל סילינגר. פרעזידענט פון דער  
אמעריקאנער יוניוסטישער ארגאניזאציע.  
ציע, האט באזוכט די אטאלישע קלאזע  
ינעם, וועלכע זיינע אטאלישע נעמער  
דען פון ענגלישען סילינגר און וואו 8  
אידען זיינע נעמער נעמערען פון פיל  
זיינע פארמאגערען נעמערען. נעט די  
אטאלישע.

ד.ר. סילינגער האט נאך דעם וואוינען  
אונד אין די קאלאניעס אנטוואלסטן  
א קאנפערענץ מיט מאדעריטער פון  
ער העברעאישער פרעסע און האט  
ארויסגעטן אז די אסטריקאנער און  
זיין שטימונג דעם אנטוואלסטענס קאמט  
דעם יאר.

ספר וויססן, און דער ישוב אין א  
ראטנאווערסליכע קערפערשאפט און  
נעמט (ים אימפולסיוו, באווייזערס  
ו ראם לעבען פון ישוב שטייט אין  
א סדר וועלען איז שטיצען און  
וואס איז סוף דא. וואס העלער  
דעם וועלען זיין איינציק האנדלונג  
אלץ אסאךער וועט זיין אונזער  
עס האט זיך, פאליטיש, היסטאריש

אויף א פראגט וועגן דעם שפעטער  
פון סאדערסדאָללער צום ציטונג,  
דאס דר. לייזער גענעסערס: "דאס  
איז נאך אלץ א מיטטער, אבער פון  
פונעם דאס גרינגליד אויספארשן.  
ווייל עס איז אויסגעקלאר, אז אריינ  
דאס זאל ווערענדיגן צייטן א נאכער  
דינע צייטן און דער נאכטער שטעט  
זיין שטעט פון שטעטל פארט."

הענין די אנטפלען אין תל אביב, דעמאל  
האט זי פילונד באזוכט, און דא  
היינט. האט אים א נייע געזי  
כטע דאס צו זאגן אים.

[illegible]

א כנסת צו ליטען נאך די אנט  
אידע, וועלכע זינען נעמטן נעמער  
פון ענליכע פאלדאטען בעד די אנט  
אנטאן און א פאל פאלדאטען, און  
אפגעלייגט נעמער און דעם דעם  
לייגט אונטערזיכטען מיט אונטער  
און אלע סטודענטען און פראפארסארן  
און ענליכע דעם דעם און דעם

ספרדעמסן פון דער אונטערזיכט  
האבען געלאזטן וויסן די אפטיקט  
קלאסיקס: שפיט, ריטשון און נבער  
היים, א זי זינען גרויס צו פומען  
העלען אפצוריסטן די שארעס אין  
די קלאסיקס.  
דאס האט פון דעם יאנאב דאס

ס'ר ופעלירען צו אלע פעלער.  
מאכרעט נים איינע פארליכטונגען!  
צו דער פוילישער לייבאר פארטיי אפ  
לירען פאר: לאזט נים פארניסן און  
דער כלום! און צום אידישען פאלק  
אפעלירען פאר: שוויגט נים! שטוי  
דינעס האלדען. וואס קעממען פאר דין  
צוקומט און פאר אן איינצן לעבן!  
דאס רט געזאגט.

\_\_\_\_\_

אויפגעבן באדאמטן ביזשטייגן  
בלויס סאר די סארהאנדעלטע

יְרוּשָׁלַיִם, נֶאֱמַר, 28 (י.מ.ס. פּאָליקאר)  
— מִיִּד אֵלֶּם קִמְעוּ וְדַעְו קִרְבֹּנֹת  
(מִזֵּן כְּרִיסְטִישֶׁ קִימְעוּ), מִזֵּן דַּעַם  
הַיִּיטֵס מִזֵּן דַּעַם אִידִישֶׁר אַנְשֵׁנִמֹר

ישראלים לעצמם וזמנא.  
הרעיונות פילוסופיים, דאס ער וויר  
סער נעמט, וועלן נים ברעכען דעם  
באשלוס אונזערע! אונזערע בירגער  
וועלען איינפירען אים לאנד דורך  
אלע וועגן און דורך אלע איינפירען  
און שטאכען!"



מלח י"ב 109  
7818  
29, 1941

זה קהל שבתי מנובת חיים ושמירה. פורח היום על  
יד קבר קדושינו שנפלו חללים ונפלו במלחמתנו — מלחמת  
עמנו ארצנו. ביקרתי בבתי החולים, ובריתי עם הנעצפים,  
קהל קייתי לנצח לארץ ישראל אשר המלחמה והרעות בבני  
יהוה כשתארץ נמצא של שלום ושלום. אבל לראשונה המצב  
אנו מצב שלום. הוא מצב של האשכנז והשקט שעת משבר.  
אם הדרך הראשונה שאני רוצה לומר בשפה ובכנס מנוחה  
ישראל אפריקה: זה להבטיח ליחוס היהודי בארץ ישראל כי  
זו מליציה יהודי אפריקה כולו על עצמם לעזור בכל דברם  
ליחוס היהודי בארץ. להסיר בהם ולהפוך במאבק ללא  
לאות של אשר מתחננת כל השקרים. לא ניצח ולא ניבן עד  
שיבוא הנצחון לו אנו מקדים.

לחלץ עמם ד"ר סילבר על ההתקדמות הרבה שראתה בארץ. התענוגות העברית אשר כל פסד קיומה הוא רק ענין של שנים אחדות אף ההסתעפותה היא יוצאת מן הכלל והיא יכולה לשמש מופת לעתונות הרבה יותר קטנות בארצות אחרות כל דבר המבין שעמד וראה כאן אמר כבוד. יש להכיר מה את כל אותן המטרות של יצירה בת קיימא. מבין לשבתי פילוסופים, יש כאן חריצות אומן והקדשה וחיבה של מוחות יסודיים שאין להגביל אותם. כל המסבולים לא יעצמו את בוגן הארץ אף על פי שאפשר לפדור הרבה את חיי המדינה. אני מקווה כי יעבור הריסם הללו ויבואו ימי שלום ופריים בארץ הזאת.

החלן פסר ד"ר פילבר כי השריף. רחובות המנוח  
הסעה את יתרות אמריקה. הוא סיפר, כי לפני שאני מלאכה  
אמר השריף רחובות: "אבלה 3 ימים עם אבן ספוד, ביום  
הראשון בשבת קרה, ובענין נוסף על הנסג ביום השלישי  
נזכר לו ארץ ישראל. לשריף רחובות לא הייתה התאמת  
זה המלצה ולאחר שיתחיל 5 רבנים עם אבן ספוד, נבחר  
ונתחם. יתרוי אמריקה לא ידע לגבול את כוחם להחליט על  
המחלוקה האמריקאית, אולם כעת הולך ומתברר להם המצב  
המתחילים להתארגן במסגן המולדת, עד כה היוו אכזבים.  
— אמר ד"ר פילבר, והוסיף כי ביהודי אמריקה, המונים כיום  
סליה. תלוי לא במקום, ענין הבחירות לאמריקאיות.

מדינת ישראל משרד החינוך והעיון  
מנהל המבחנים





## DR. SILVER VISITS INVASED COLONIES; CRITICIZES "DIRTY WORK" OF BRITISH SOLDIERS

JERUSALEM, Nov. 28. (JTA) -- Returning from a visit to the scene of Monday's violence, during which he attended funeral services for the dead, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America, described the use of British soldiers "in the dirty work of attacking defenseless men, women and children," as a "great evil."

At a press conference later, he stated that Dr. Chaim Weizmann should have resigned as president of the Jewish Agency ten days ago when several Jews were killed by British troops during disturbances in Tel Aviv, and "he has a new opportunity now."

Dr. Silver said that the fate of Palestine will not be settled by the projected Anglo-American commission of inquiry, but by the United Nations Organization, "and we are preparing our best talent for the battle there." Questioned concerning the Russian attitude to Zionism, the American Zionist leader said that "it is a mystery now, but we must explore this to the utmost, since it is inconceivable that the Palestine problem will ever receive a proper solution without reference to the greatest power bordering the Middle East."

Plodging the support of Jews in the United States, Dr. Silver said that "5,000,000 American Jews have taken it upon themselves to help you. They will not rest until the doors of Palestine are open, and they are satisfied that they never again will close. We know that the Yishuv is a responsible body," he continued, "and is not acting impulsively, especially now when its life is at stake. Whatever you do here, we will back you up. The more heroic your actions, the stronger our support."

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# JTA

## Daily News Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY  
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### TRUMAN WITHDRAWS HIS SUPPORT FROM WAGNER-TAFT RESOLUTION ON JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

WASHINGTON, Nov. 29. (JTA) -- President Truman, at his press conference today, stated that he no longer favors the Wagner-Taft resolution on Palestine which he had supported when Vice-President. The resolution calls for unlimited Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine and the establishment there by Jews of a "democratic commonwealth." The situation has changed, he said, because if the resolution were passed now, there would be no need for an Anglo-American inquiry commission.

Questioned about appointments to the commission, the President said that he was not ready to announce them. He also revealed that no agreement has been reached on the number of persons to be appointed, but he hoped it would be reached today.

The State Department late this afternoon denied any knowledge of a report in the press that the commission will consist of ten members, and that the British have already named several members of Parliament to the body.

### Truman, Byrnes Approved Resolution Only a Month Ago, Neumann Charges

NEW YORK, Nov. 29. (JTA) -- Dr. Emanuel Neumann, acting president of the Zionist Organization of America, today revealed that only a month ago President Truman and Secretary of State James E. Byrnes had approved the Wagner-Taft resolution. He emphasized that this resolution was introduced after Senator Wagner consulted the President on its text.

"We have no illusions any more as to the attitude of the present administration toward the Zionist demands for Palestine," Dr. Neumann stated, addressing a group of editors. "We consider President Truman's and Secretary Byrnes' attitude to be definitely hostile." He indicated the American Zionist movement intends to fight for Jewish rights in Palestine even more vigorously than heretofore.



# I Think as I Please

By MRS. CARL ALPERT

## Puncturing A Zionist Myth

**I**F Dr. Chaim Weizmann delivers a disappointing, defeatist speech, confessing to his own inability to adjust to the Zionist situation, and admitting his own state of depression, how can the facts of that speech, and their political implications to the Zionist movement generally, be brought to the attention of the Zionist public?

Such an address was delivered by the world Zionist president at the major session of the recent Z. O. A. convention in Atlantic City, and though the delegates and their friends heard it, the rest of the country has been kept uninformed by a peculiar form of restraint, an honorable, self-imposed censorship, but a censorship nevertheless.

\* \* \*

**THERE IS NO MISTAKING** what Dr. Weizmann said, nor is there any doubt of its terribly depressive effect upon the convention, especially coming as it did after the bold and courageous words of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver the preceding day. And many of Dr. Weizmann's remarks interpolated in the prepared text of the address, were not included in that text as released to the press.

Perhaps it would be asking too much to have the convention publicity reflect this confession of failure. But what about the report of the convention made to the organization at large, via the official organ of the Z. O. A.? What about picturing the actual effect of delivery of the talk upon the delegates?

An attempt was made to tell the truth about the Weizmann speech, but the editor of The New Palestine News-Reporter, bound by fixed tradition, regretfully turned down the proffered report.

\* \* \*

**"IT'S ALL TRUE"**, he said, "but politically it's dynamite. We can't print it."

And there is the crux of the complaint which American Zionists have against the official Zionist publications. Once and for all a decision must be made: does the Zionist membership want its magazine to be correct, formal, always complimentary, always white-washing faults—or is it willing to have a periodical which will tell the truth, let the chips fall where they may, and which will exercise editorial independence for the greater good of the movement as a whole? For it should be made clear that if this independence is denied it, the paper can never rise to be anything more than a stodgy, and intellectually dishonest house-organ.

There has never been true independence in the Zionist press, either in this country or in London. There are certain subjects which are taboo—certain myths which must be maintained, and one of these is the myth of the infallibility of Dr. Weizmann.

\* \* \*

**THE SIMPLE FACT** of the matter is as the World Zionist president himself told the Atlantic City audience—that the past twenty years have been a series of constant whittling down of our claims—that he is depressed and ill at heart—and that he is old and cannot change his faith or his policies.

Where should these facts be reported—and where should the obvious interpretation be placed upon these remarks, if not in the Zionist press? Failure to report the truth means the stifling of criticism and of healthy opposition movements—with the consequent retention of policies which have long since been proven inadequate and politically bankrupt.

It is odd that in this democratic country where many liberals opposed a third term, and increasingly a fourth term, and possibly a fifth term, Zionists unquestionably and blindly endorse a world Zionist administration which, with only a minor interruption, has remained in office for almost thirty years—and during that period has led the movement from one glorious failure to another. What is the Fuchrer complex, what the element of hero worship which makes Zionists revere anew orship and respect a leader whose last great achievement was attained at the outset of his career, but who, ever since, has been a political failure?

\* \* \*

**WEIZMANN HIMSELF**, it must be remembered, was no respecter of the dignity or the feelings of what he considered faulty leadership, for he was among those who led the assault on Theodor Herzl's views: Surely there can be no complaint if others, today, after a long and patient period of waiting, decide that there is no room for personal sentimentalism in the movement, and also raise their voices against the present leadership.

For a humble Zionist to voice such criticism, and to ask for a new deal in world Zionist leadership, is nothing more than fundamental expression of a democratic right. Yet others have tried similar criticism and have been called Fascists. Are American Zionists still willing to muzzle their own Zionist press, still ready to stifle independent thinkers, still deaf to the call for new life, new thinking, new leadership in the World Zionist Organization?



# American Hebrew

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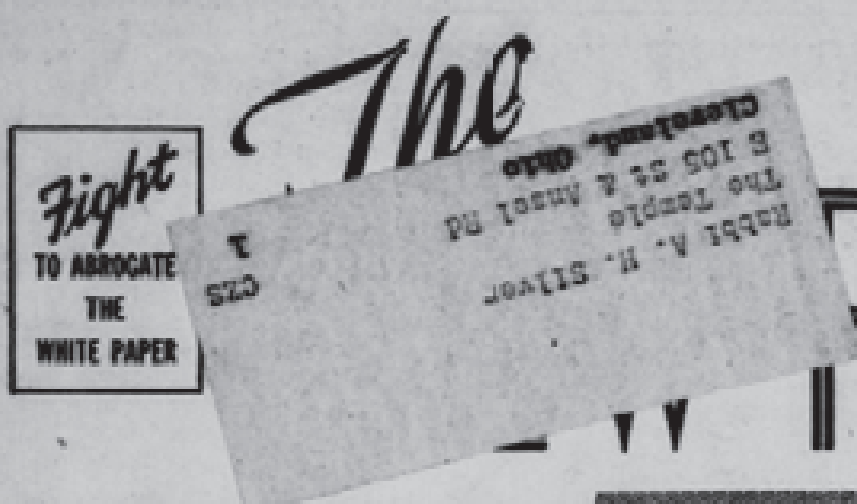


Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Heads Zionist Organization

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver DD  
The Temple  
East 105th St at Arver Rd  
Cleveland Ohio

THE NATIONAL WEEKLY OF JEWISH AFFAIRS





**Fight**  
TO ABROGATE  
THE  
WHITE PAPER

**Help**  
TO ESTABLISH  
THE JEWISH  
COMMONWEALTH

## PALESTINE

Vol. XXXVI • Nov. 30, 1945

**News Reporter Issue**

Kislev 25, 5706

No. 4

### *Convention Acclaims Silver President, Adopts Militant Political Declaration; Weizmann Appeals to World Conscience*

**DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER**

Unanimously Elected President, Zionist Organization of America

#### **Complete Text of Dr. Silver's Address**

Pages 14-15

#### **Political Declaration**

Story on Page 3

#### **Analysis of the Roper Poll**

Story on Page 5

ADDRESSES BY NEUMANN, WISE,  
GOLDSTEIN, MOWRER, WEIZMANN,  
GRANOVSKY, ROTHENBERG, ROSENBLATT

#### **Goldstein Is Honored for Achievements; Wise, Rothenberg, Hail Unity for Eretz**

#### **Wagner and Taft Release Roper Survey: U. S. Jewry 89 Pct. for Commonwealth**

#### **Jewish People Duped, Says E. A. Mowrer Neumann Exhorts ZOA to Total Effort**

The 48th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America which met in Atlantic City November 16th through the 20th marked a turning point in close to a century of American Zionism.

The 1,000 delegates, representing a direct and affiliated constituency of 500,000 members, enthusiastically endorsed the militant and aggressive program proclaimed at the convention in the fight against the newest attempt of the British Government to deny the Jewish people its rightful claims to its historic homeland.

The unanimous election of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as president of the ZOA served notice to the world of the resolute determination of American Zionists to fight relentlessly for the Jewish people, in keeping with the sacred promises of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate—until victory is ours. The resolutions submitted by the Political Committee, headed by Dr. Emanuel Neumann, constituted a scathing indictment of British policy, and were unequivocal in their terms; they were adopted by acclamation by the convention as fitting expressions of the temper of the great majority of organized Zionists in this country.

#### **Militant and Aggressive Approach**

Meeting in an atmosphere tense with righteous indignation, shortly after the publication of the Bevin statement, the delegates—grave, determined men and women—gave vent to their mood by plunging immediately into their respective tasks. They were fully cognizant of the gravity of the Zionist situation. The cause which they had served devotedly for so long hung in the balance. They were in no mood for business as usual. There was work to be done; they had come to assist in the mapping of the struggle against this new threat to the Commonwealth; to work out the means by which their suffering brethren in Europe could be brought to the Homeland; to do all in their power to carry on and build up the work of the organization. They greeted old friends briefly and turned quickly to the work at hand. It was a gathering of American Zionists, united in their ranks, firm and with grim determination, bent on indicating to the world that the just solution of the Jewish problem is the establishment of the Commonwealth.

The pace was set by the Convention Committee, whose program afforded every opportunity for full participation by the delegates in the shaping of the year's program. The workmanlike manner in which the convention's tasks were laid out eliminated every vestige of waste motion.

#### **Unity Committee Holds Symposium**

Even before the registration of delegates had got into full swing, the serious tone of the convention had become evident. Realizing the significance of the work of the Committee on Unity for Palestine, a pre-convention session of that group had been called to review the work of the previous year and to discuss plans for the future. Sponsored by the ZOA Expansion Fund, the Unity Committee, under the leadership of its chairman, Dr. Felix A. Levy, with Oscar Leonard as secretary, and the energetic direction of Rabbi

(See CONVENTION, Page 3, Col. 1)



Arthur J. Lelyveld, carried the message of Zionism throughout the length and breadth of the country, counteracting the pernicious propaganda of so-called American Council for Judaism and constructively depicting the true tenets and basic principles of our cause. Through direct contacts in the communities and publication and dissemination of factual and inspirational literature and other techniques the committee has carried on its effective work. In the discussions, over which Dr. Levy presided, the work in local communities was described by Rabbi Lelyveld, Mortimer May of Nashville, Rabbi Sylvan Schwartzman of Augusta, Georgia, Julius Livingston, of Tulsa, Bernard Lasky, of Houston, and Dr. Israel Goldstein. The delegates joined in the general deliberations which followed the scheduled addresses.

#### Roper Poll Analyzed

The symposium, which also dealt with the problem of extending the area of Zionist influence, concluded with a luncheon session which was held at the Hotel St. Charles.

From Washington had come an announcement by Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York and Robert Taft of Ohio that the results of a poll conducted by the Elmo Roper organization indicated that 89.75 per cent of the American Jews unqualifiedly expressed themselves in favor of the Zionist program.

Dr. Eric Stern, a public opinion research expert, analyzed the survey and replied to questions of the delegates. (The complete details of the session are given elsewhere in this issue).

#### Executive Committee Meets

Not unmindful of the urgency of the current situation, the National Executive Committee of the ZOA began its deliberations. Following this meeting, the Committee on Committees, under the chairmanship of Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, went into executive session. Samuel Goldstock was the efficient secretary of this committee. The annual convention, though yet formally opened, was making its contribution to the annals of Jewish history.

#### Kabbalah Shabbat

As the sun set and began to disappear over the horizon, the delegates dropped their cares and prepared to usher in the Sabbath. With prayer and song, the convention asked divine guidance in its deliberations. The day of rest, common bond of Jews all over the world, had begun, and in humility and deep reverence the delegates confirmed their faith in the traditional manner of the children of Israel.

#### Youth Sabbath Dinner

The evening was devoted to the Sabbath Dinner sponsored by the American Zionist Youth Commission, a joint project of the ZOA and Hadassah through which the General Zionist youth bodies, Young Judaea, Junior Hadassah, Masada and Avukah, are guided and stimulated. Herman L. Weisman is chairman and Dr. Miriam Freund vice-chairman of the Commission, which, with the Hebrew Arts Committee and the Histadruth Ivrit, has undertaken the task of fostering Hebrew culture, the arts and the language, among the youth of this country. It was an inspiring moment when the songs of Eretz Israel, the Homeland of the Jewish people, echoed through the dining hall. The pride of a people was reawakened, as they heard these young leaders in Israel pledge themselves to carry on the work of rebuilding the land and rededicate themselves to the sacred principles of our cause.

#### Young Leaders Speak

The entire program was conducted by the young Zionists, and

the delegates showed their appreciation of the remarkable talents displayed by the youth of the movement. Graduates of the Brandeis Camp Institute, focus of training for Zionist leadership, led the audience in singing. Here and there, carried away by enthusiasm, groups danced the hora, supplementing the addresses delivered by the officers of the various youth groups.

Robert Cipes, president of the Mt. Vernon High School Zionists, was chairman of the session, and Edward Kroll, president of Senior Judaea; Sumner Alpert, president of Avukah; Ruth Ludwin, national treasurer of Junior Hadassah, were among the speakers. Others who participated were Capt. Bernard Popkin, Max Helfman, director of the Hebrew Arts Committee, and Eleanor Schwartz, director of the Westchester Zionist Youth Commission. (Extracts of addresses are presented in other pages of this issue).

Thus the evening ended, and while most of the delegates prepared for a night of rest, the young men and women continued the songs to the accompaniment of the rhythmic dashing of the ocean waves.

#### Sabbath Services

The following morning was devoted to the observance of the Sabbath. Services were held in the Synagogue of the Breakers Hotel. Rabbi Max Gelb of White Plains, N. Y., preached the sermon, and Cantor Mario Botoshansky of the Bronx officiated.

#### Hebrew Cultural Session

The afternoon was dedicated to an Osef Shabbath held under the auspices of the Histadruth Ivrit. A symposium followed, during which the progress of Hebrew culture and the Hebrew language in this country was discussed. The Histadruth once again demonstrated its accomplishments in furthering the interest in Hebrew here, and the program stressed the close linking of Hebrew culture with the spiritual renaissance of the Jewish people and the upbuilding of Eretz Israel. Menachem Ribalow, editor of the Hebrew weekly *Hadoar*, and Yehuda Zion, youth representative, were among those who participated in the symposium, which was conducted by Dr. Alexander M. Duslikin, outstanding educator. Cantor Botoshansky, whose voice captivated the audience, sang a group of *zmiroth*.

#### Convention Opens

In the early evening registration of delegates was resumed, and the preliminary work of the convention was completed.

The first regular session of the convention was held in the large and dignified Casino Theater on the Steel Pier.

Long before the hour designated in the program, delegates, their wives, and residents of the sur-

#### Presents Slate



**RABBI IRVING MILLER**  
Chairman, Committee on Nominations, Vice-President, ZOA.



**HERMAN L. WEISMAN**  
Chairman, National Convention Committee, who delivered opening address; chairman, American Zionist Youth Commission.



**DR. HARRIS J. LEVINE**  
Co-Chairman National Convention Committee; former president, B'nai Zion, who introduced Dr. Goldstein at opening session.

rounding Jewish communities of New Jersey and Pennsylvania completely filled the theatre. Placards identifying delegations studded the hall. Not a single seat was empty; many were standing, and an overflow audience gathered to listen to the proceedings over loud speakers. It was a solemn, dignified and militant gathering of delegates, who indicated that they stood staunchly behind the Yishuv, prepared to devote their full energies and their entire resources to the realization of their aspirations. They were of one mind and of one heart; dedicated to the attainment of a Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine. No obstacles could sway them; no barriers could deter them; action now, not mere words, alone would satisfy them.

#### Greetings of Fraternal Delegates

The Convention was formally called to order by Herman L. Weisman of New York, chairman of the National Convention Committee, who in turn presented Dr. Harris J. Levine, co-chairman of the Convention Committee and former president of the fraternal order of the ZOA. Mr. Weisman set the tone of the convention by stressing that "Zionists will not and cannot bargain away our historic and just claim to statehood in Palestine." He called upon President Truman to maintain the traditional favorable policy of this country toward Zionist aspirations.

Greetings were then extended by Hadassah, the women's Zionist Organization of America, through its president, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, who characterized the present British policy as "the old imperialist game."

The hospitality of Atlantic City and its facilities were then extended the delegates by Joseph Halbert, president of the Atlantic City Zionist District.

#### Dr. Goldstein's Address

The keynote address of the evening was that of Dr. Israel Goldstein, who presented his annual message. Reviewing the work of the ZOA during the past year, Dr. Goldstein pointed out the marked increase in membership in the organization, and its many activities and accomplishments. In discussing the political situation, he maintained that the Arab outbreaks were caused by British delay and indecision, and denounced the statement of policy issued by British Foreign Secretary Bevin.

Dr. Goldstein also reported on the World Confederation of General Zionists. (Excerpts from the evening's speeches will be found in this issue).

#### Frisch Presents Report

Daniel Frisch, chairman of the National Administrative Council, presented the recommendations of the Constitutional Revision Committee, which were unanimously adopted. The report of the Com-

### Unanimously Reelected Chairman



**DANIEL FRISCH**  
Chairman for second term of ZOA National Administrative Council by acclamation; presided at fourth plenary session.

mittee on Committees was also unanimously approved.

#### Presidium Elected

Upon recommendation of Samuel Goldstock of Pittsburgh the following were elected to constitute the presidium of the convention: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Louis Lipsky, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Elihu D. Stone, Dr. Harris J. Levine, Daniel Frisch, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Emanuel

the preparation of proposed resolutions for the consideration of the entire convention. (A list of these committees with the names of chairmen and secretaries appears elsewhere in this issue).

#### J. N. F. Luncheon

The Sunday luncheon was dedicated to a special session of the Jewish National Fund; Judge Morris Rothenberg, its president, was chairman. Following an invocation by Rabbi Moses Lehrman, a stirring address by Judge Rothenberg, and an excellent report on the progress of the Fund by Mendel N. Fisher, executive director, the delegates heard the plans of Dr. Abraham Granovsky, chairman of the Board of Directors of Keren Kayemeth of Jerusalem, for the continued expansion and increase of land purchases and for a comprehensive agricultural resettlement program. Among the existing regulations of land purchase based on the White Paper of 1939, the convention solemnly accepted by acclamation a resolution denouncing British policy and adopting comprehensive plans under which the J.N.F. was charged with the task of acquiring over a period of years areas totalling 2,000,000 dunams of land, which will extend Palestine's capacity to provide room for the homeless and displaced of our people whose existence is now threatened.

#### Second Session

After the luncheon, the delegates adjourned to the Steel Pier.

(See CONVENTION,  
Page 27, Col. 3)



**LOUIS LIPSKY**  
Vice-President, ZOA, now en route to Palestine as an American member, Jewish Agency.



# Weizmann Should Resign—Rabbi Silver

## Abba Hillel Silver Election Hailed with Enthusiasm

New Palestine 11-30-45



The 48th Annual Convention rose spontaneously to applaud the uncontested election of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the presidency of the organization; (left to right), Dewey D. Stone, E. L. Kaufmann, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and Dr. Sidney Marks join the audience in greeting the new president as he rises to accept. Dr. Silver, obviously moved by the tribute, bows his head.

## Purely Commentary

By PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

### THE NEW ZOA PRESIDENT

Turn back the pages of this column for the past two years and you will find our predictions, coupled with our proposals, that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland will be named president of the Zionist Organization of America and that he will eventually be called upon to assume the post of president of the World Zionist Organization.

The first prediction is now reality. To lead to the second, the highest honor that can be accorded any Jewish leader anywhere, Rabbi Silver will have to travel along a tough road. It will take a big man to fill the shoes of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, when the eminent scientist decides to retire from Jewish leadership. This evaluation of Dr. Weizmann's abilities must be recognized even by those who choose to criticize him and who accuse him of being too soft because he happens to be a British subject. His address at the ZOA convention proved that he does not bend and give in as easily as is charged. He just has a hard wall to crash.

Dr. Silver, if he is to succeed, as we feel he must, will have to abandon all obligations other than his Zionist duties. He may even be called upon to give up his pulpit. You can't deliver sermons Sunday in and Sunday out and at the same time fulfill the great obligations of nation-building.

Time will tell whether Rabbi Silver is powerful enough to accomplish the great task of removing the obstacles in the path of nation-builders. As a protesting voice he is the most powerful man on the Jewish platform. Whether he will be able to do more than was done by Dr. Weizmann remains to be seen. We must never forget that the great beginnings for Jewish nationhood in Palestine were made under Dr. Weizmann's leadership.

May Dr. Silver's achievements be even greater. He has our support and our good wishes. And the record shows that he will have the wholehearted support of at least 90 per cent of the Jews of America and possibly the backing of 99 per cent of the Jews in other parts of the world.

## ZIONISTS SEE DOUBLE CROSS ON PALESTINE

Angry at Truman for His Reversal of Stand on Free Immigration.

### THREATEN VOTE REPRISALS

Jewish Leaders Cite Long List of Broken Promises Topped by City Election Here.

By PHILIP ADAMS.

Special to THE NEW YORK SUN.  
The New York Sun Bureau,  
Washington, Nov. 30.

Threats of political reprisals against Democratic nominees in the forthcoming congressional elections were voiced here today by Zionist leaders who charged that both President Roosevelt and President Truman had "double-crossed" the Jews at every turn and had left behind them a long succession of unfulfilled political promises extended as election bait.

These angry outbursts followed closely on the heels of President Truman's declaration at his press conference yesterday that he no longer favored the pending Wagner-Taft-Walsh resolution committing the American Government to the support of Zionist demands for unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine and the ultimate establishment there of a Jewish Commonwealth.

In response to questions asked at the press conference, President Truman declared that as Vice-President he had supported the Palestine resolution, but added that he now opposed it, explaining that the United States and

Great Britain had agreed to the appointment of a Joint Committee of Investigation to inquire into the whole question, and that there would be no use in holding such an investigation if the United States were to commit itself, through passage of the resolution now pending in a Senate committee, to a policy of unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine with a view to the eventual establishment there of a Jewish state.

Zionists here were quick to charge that they had been double-crossed once again and to cite a long chain of broken Democratic pledges, beginning with the plank in the Democratic platform of 1944 and the campaign letter written by Roosevelt to Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York.

### Cite Election Tables:

They cited, moreover, statistical tables, which they had prepared, showing that the Jewish vote had importantly influenced the outcome of the last presidential election in eleven states having a total electoral vote of 207, and that without these states, Roosevelt would not have won a fourth term.

They declared that in that election the Jews, as a community, had followed the Democratic leadership like sheep—as one of them expressed it to The New York Sun today—and warned that if this same body of electors now switched its position, Senator James M. Mead of New York and Senator Joseph Guffey of Pennsylvania would unquestionably be defeated next year.

Indications of an organized attempt at political reprisal were available here today in the form of a confidential memorandum which has been prepared by two outstanding Zionists in Washington for the information of and at the request of leaders of the World Zionist movement in New York.

The memorandum traces the record of duplicity of the Roosevelt administration and of the Democratic party from the time the Palestine resolution was first brought up for action in com-

## New Opportunity for Act Now, Z. O. A. Head Says in Palestine

Jewish Telegraphic Agency

JERUSALEM—Dr. Weizmann should have resigned the presidency of the Jewish agency ten days ago when the Tel Aviv riots occurred and "He has a new opportunity now" Dr. Abba Hillel Silver told a press conference here. Rabbi Silver said the fate of Palestine can not be settled by the inquiry commission but by the United Nations.

Questioned concerning the Russian attitude on Zionism, Silver said: "It is a mystery presently, but we must explore this to the utmost, since it is inconceivable that the Palestine problem will ever receive proper solution without reference to the greatest power bordering the Middle East. Dr. Silver pledged the Yishuv the support of five million American Jews who he said won't rest until Palestine is opened.

After returning from the funeral of victims of Monday's riots, Silver described the use of British soldiers "in attacking defenseless men, women, children," as a "great evil." He added that "One wonders whether this is a private war Bevin is carrying out against the Yishuv and whether this is the beginning of a planned reign of terror."

mittees of the House of Representatives last year.

### Summary of the Record.

That record may be summarized as follows:

In July of last year after the Republican National Convention had adopted a platform containing a strongly pro-Zionist declaration, the Democratic National Convention included in its own platform a plank reading:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment thereof of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

On October 15 in a letter to Wagner at the annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Roosevelt personally endorsed this plank unqualifiedly and added:

"I know how long and ardent the Jewish people have worked for the establishment of a democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this help to bring about its realization."

On November 30 the House Foreign Affairs Committee favorably reported the Palestine resolution which then went to the Rules Committee for clearance to the floor for action.

Early in December the Rules Committee met to act on the measure which was strongly favored by an overwhelming majority of the committee membership. The committee, however, failed to report it out, and Chairman Adolph Sabath—an unfailing administration supporter—later confessed that the measure had been sidetracked at the request of Edward R. Stettinius Jr., speaking for the State Department.

### Pledged No Decision.

Immediately following his fourth-term inauguration Roosevelt left for the Yalta conference and in the course of his journey he conferred at length with King Ibn Saud. It is now known that in this conference he secretly pledged 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." This commitment, if faithfully observed, would prevent the United States Government from encouraging the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine at any time.

Last month—just before the New York mayoralty election, in which the national Democratic administration had a profound and direct interest—the text of Roosevelt's letter to Ibn Saud, confirming the pledges he had made, was made public and Zionists everywhere were outraged. At the same time Senators Wagner, Taft and Walsh desired to reintroduce their Palestine resolution in Congress.

The memorandum avers that on October 28—one month ago—the three Senators introduced their resolution after winning the consent and approval both of President Truman and of Secretary of State Byrnes.

Despite the fact that arrangements were then being made for the appointment of the Joint Committee of Investigation on the Palestine question, both the President and the Secretary of State assured the authors of the resolution that they would not oppose either its introduction or its passage.

### Told Wagner to Go Ahead.

On October 26 Wagner made a final check with Byrnes on the resolution, telling him he wanted to introduce it immediately. Byrnes, according to the memorandum, replied:

"I see no objection. It is O. K. Go ahead. It might help."

The resolution was thereupon introduced and referred to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where its progress was immediately hampered by Chairman Tom Connally, Texas Democrat, who defends and champions administration policy at all times. Indicative of the bitterness now prevailing in Zionist circles toward the Truman administration is the concluding paragraph of the memorandum, which reads:

"Politicians point out that the moral of the story is quite different: the mayoralty election in New York city is over and here is no need for the moment to pay attention to the claims of the Jews. It is true that another election is coming in November, 1946, but—the politicians say with a smile—there will be plenty of time before then to make another promise to the Jews."





**MONSKY PRESIDES AT HUGE MASS MEETING ON PALESTINE**—In his capacity as co-chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, Henry Monsky, president of B'nai Brith, presided over the gigantic mass demonstration in New York's Madison Square Garden under the auspices of the American Zionist Emergency Council. The Garden was jammed by 25,000 people while 45,000 more thronged the streets outside, all joined in protesting Great Britain's failure to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. Mr. Monsky is shown here with New York's Governor Dewey (left) and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, joint chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, who were the major speakers. The climax of the meeting came when the entire audience, led by Mr. Monsky, rose as one and pledged themselves as "Jews and Americans" 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 reestablished." 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.

## נאום סילבר לא הישמע אם כי היה בסדר היום

יוסף יעקבסון פרזידנט ממוסד ויזאלי בשם סיעת המסביר לסיבת אי הופעתו של ד"ר סילבר במסגרת הרב ברלין הסביר שהמסגרת עוד לא נגמרה והרב סילבר יחזון בודאי לשאת את דבריו בפני המוסד בהמשכו. וכונן הוא איננו באולם הנמצא יחד עם חברי הנהלת המוסדות בישיבתה. על כך נשענה קריאת בנינים כי המוסד איננו משכנה אירועות הרב סילבר נרמה להתפרסמות. פר בן גוריון ואחרים הביעו את ההסתובבותם על הרמז והעירו את אגני יתר חברי הנהלת המוסדות

אי הופעתו של הרב א. ה. סילבר במסגרת אספת המבחרים שלאחר הצהרים אדרה את רית אכזבה רבה בחוגים שונים. תלו את הקולר בראשי החדר הלאומי, שלא פגשו לנכח לברכו במחיצת הישיבה ושא המוסד אותו כיורד ציינו אמריקה לנאום לפני המוסד. למחרת נודע כי הודעה המתפרסמת החליטה שר ביום השני להמסינו לתרצות בפני המוסד שב אולם אתמול ארצו. כעת האורחות. שפשוט מה לא ביצעו החלטה זו. כאשר הרב בן ברלין פתח את הישיבה השניה. קם כר

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# JEWISH LIFE

## UNITED STATES

**THE BOILING POINT.** Americans — Jews as well as Christians — have never before been so aroused over the Palestine question as they are today. And overwhelmingly they are aroused in the direction of getting justice for the Jewish people. This is one of the most encouraging signs of the times.

Of course, they mean different things by "justice." Most of them mean the establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish commonwealth. Others mean opening the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration. But all of them mean that Palestine must be used to save every Jew who needs that country and wants to go there.

**THE RANGE OF EXPRESSION.** It is a fact that the great voice of America is now raised in behalf of Jewish aspirations.

Earl D. Harrison (see p. 85) sees it as a humanitarian. In his report to President Truman, he wrote: "Some 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. To anyone who has visited the concentration camps it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that the gates of Palestine should be soon closed."

In Congress, Republicans and Democrats alike attacked the British Government for its restrictive policy.

President Truman's answer was

to urge Britain to permit 100,000 Jews to enter Palestine immediately.

In Congress, the reaction was more political, and favorable to the establishment of a Jewish State. Sen. Taft demanded that we obtain from Great Britain "a pledge to carry out the Balfour Declaration." He was seconded by Senators Saltonstall of



Henry Monsky (right) with Gov. Dewey (left) and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the Madison Square Garden rally which demanded changed policy for Palestine.

Massachusetts, Brewster of Maine, Ferguson of Michigan, and Smith of New Jersey. Sen. McMahon of Connecticut threatened that British policy in Palestine was bound to lower England's prestige in this country. Sen. Johnson of Colorado directly accused the White Paper of being responsible for the death of 5,000,000 Jews. Sen. Murray of Montana declared that the expressed American policy is for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and Sen. Guffey of Pennsylvania proposed that now is the time to bring up again, before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the resolutions demanding such a Jewish

Commonwealth — resolutions that were withdrawn last year because of the war.

On the Jewish side, 22,000 people jammed New York's Madison Square Garden and more than 40,000 stood outside when a mass meeting was held by the American Zionist Emergency Council, which demanded the end of the White Paper and the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State. This vast throng, led by Henry Monsky, who chairmanned the meeting, rose and read in unison from printed wards which were later mailed by the tens of thousands to British Ambassador Lord Halifax: "As Jews and American citizens we pledge 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."

At this mass meeting, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who is past 70, solemnly declared: "I tell you that I believe I shall live to see the re-constitution of Palestine as a Jewish State."

Governor Dewey asserted that the Jews are entitled to a land of their own and that "that place is Palestine, their homeland."

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver said: "We know rescue. Have we not been 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."

Mr. Monsky, in his address, reminded the audience of international obligations relating to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and asked: "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 material to make such Charter and its implementation possible, going back to the tragic policy of the days of Munich? 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?"



# הידע סילבר את וייצמן?

א. קבלת המסמך הראשון לא הייתה לבטח ביותר. הוא יושב, הנשיא החדש של ההסתדרות הציונית באמריקה, במושב אספת הבחורים, ושתק כאונס. לא הסתירו לרוב, בפאזי כורכה, לא ויתרה אף כמלא נישא על שלטונה הנכבד.

בישיבה הראשונה של אספת הבחורים, זו הישיבה התשנ"ח, שהתקיימה השבוע, הופיעו אישי מסאזי בלבד: שפירסקי, גרצני וכן פרדמן, כאילו הישוב הארץ ישראלי כולו — רק מפא"י הוא ובייחוד הוא, שותף לזכותו, לא שיתף את חוץ, ללכת הסובל לבחיק, לא שיתף את נשיא ההסתדרות בפרט, ששאל על צעדי עכשיו שותפות לקביעת קווי העתיד.

ולא בלבד שלא בקשו את סילבר לרוב, בישיבה התנחלה לא ברכו אותו אפילו, רק פערדמן חזר הרוב מאיר ברלין לחקן את המעצות של אנשי מפא"י, וברך את האגודה הציונית-המלחמית בירושלים — ספרו אורחים מדי חמים — ישב אבא הלל סילבר ליד שולחן ארוכה אחת וסעד סעודת צהריים, ובפניה האגודות של אותו חדרהאנאל ישבו אותה שעה כל אחד לחידו: הררי גרצני ואלי עזר קטל, כורים ישבו במדי המלח המדי, את ההחלטות והפניות באופן זה את, וישי פרדמן והידידות, שבים לבין עצמם, מפא"י האגודות גילו לעיני כל את ניהולם הם כלפי אורחים.

אבל בניכור הרחב רוחמים לסילבר את, זה העם מתכנע למנוח אסוף בעל שאריות, לאדם הידוע לרוב את תביד.

הוא קודם אדם צעיר ביותר, בן 36 הוא, שסע צעיר סכל מנהיג הציונות אשר בארצות-הברית, וההסתדרות הראשי של, ראשי סיסטן חיי, עבר כבר את שנת השבעים לחייו, במסע שיטתי הוא, אישור, וסילבר אינו פסיפוס המתבוללים, שבאו אלינו מן העולם הברי, שאף סלה עברית אחת אינם מבינים עוד בימי ילדותו ויכר עמית, אסנג, בן העד היה כאן הרובא עלידי הוריו לארצות-הברית של אמריקה, אבל השע השנים הראשונות של חייו אבא סבירות, והם עוסק בפשול, גרמא דנקודת איננה שותפות, והוריו הר' בנים מליטא נשתפרת יפה במסעקי השמחה, בשנת 1900 בא לאמריקה, הוריו, יהודים ליטאיים, התגוררו אסנג לביטסטר כללי, אבל גם את חינוכו העברי לא הניחו, וכי אשר גיל העשרה לאוניברסיטה בליטא, והסודק גם את השתלמותו העברית, גרר ברו יעקב קלודי, מדינתו בן עשרים ושי חים גמר את שווי פוסודותהעודן הבנות, ב-1915, בפארו את האוניברסיטאות, היו זה אמריקה חיון ביטראליות, מלחמה איר, מה השתללה בעולם, אבל אמריקה עדי, זה מן העד, ולא חלמה כי יום יבוא והיא השלח את בניה לשדותהקל בארצות-הבר, חור בן עשרים ושנים היה, אז השפי לעשו לעשות ספוד קציעה, והוא סקבל משרת, ראשי, בלתי-תפוסה, אבל גם במי שרת הקסלה מתללה בטרונת, האדם הצעיר הזה הוא נואם מצויין, הוא ידוע להלחם גם אנשי, ביזנס קרים כיהודי אמריקה, החוקים המסייגים, והוא סדר, הוא עוזב את קהלו הקטנה, אחד מהאחרים הקטנים, סבבאי, המספלי של העדה הדי, מרמית הגדולה ביותר שבארצות-הברית, בקליאנא, הודמן לבית-הכנסת הקטן וסע

את הספרו הגדול של סילבר, לא יתכן שראשי כזה — אפרי הנבאי — יכלה את סיסטן יסוד במור הזה, מן הרין להוציא להרע, ובמיוחד בן 34 בסדרהל הודמן סילבר לשסס רב, במספלי של הגדולה בעדות הרישורטיות באמריקה, וכי שנת 1915, נסאד על כנו בקליאנא, רק בהספיק קסטה כספר נכונה אס, ריקה למלחמה, המיקסי בעצרים עברו את האסלונסיון על גלל להשתנה בקרבות בצר, מה נפוצ ביותר גם בן העשרים הארבע, הראשי הצעיר על שני חישלונס האנדי בריסאיים, והוא כביא כבוד לעצמו ולארי זה, הוא חסד לאוניברסיטאות מן המספלה הצרפתית על שירות גדול

ור מדי לקבוע ציונית פעילה, סיסטן חיון מרית בו מתגר סוסקן, הוא חושש שהצדק הזה עוד יאשיל עליו, חיון לא עוד נחשב לילד ודל המאמץ, קחונים מקורים מורים של סיס להאודר קסדיבורו של סילבר, אס מה אירשם פשוט אותו לרוביסנסקי, וחיון כחמל להלחם בו, בשנת 1920, כשחיי עמן סוסקן את הסוכנות היהודית, עמד סילבר ליסודו, אס כך הוא חזר — מוכרת חיון להתנגד, הוא, וזכר, מייסדן להוציא מיני, סיסטן חיון — אסר חייסמן בקויד גרס השתתקער — עושה הכל רק לשם ריקלסלה עצמית, ונשיא ההסתדרות הידי בית הישנה רוצה כנאום זה לסגור כנאום את הרין לסוכנות.

כשעלה היסוד לשולחן, הקים סילבר ביתר עם ספואל אונטרפרייזר את ועדתו רם האנטי-סאזי, והעניס ידורים, סיסטן חיון מתנגד להתרפת גרמית והחיותו בן תודלצאין הוא סבסל כנפרא דארעא את אונטרפרייזר ואת סילבר קבל עם יערה אנטיסין אין חיון מולית לעצו בקאריות של יריבו הצעיר, כי הצעיר הוא בעל כשרונות רבים, מלחמה הספרים גם בן חובי המפרות והפדק, פוערים ספריו, מהו שבות פשויות בישראל העתיק, להשגש המיקסי בדבריו ישי ישראל, זהה כיו-ס המשתנה, המספר עולמי והחיותו של העם העברי, והוא סקבל הענינות מאודי בריסאיות רבות, אפילו האוניברסיטה הדי יוחסית בהוצרת, וזו העקספורד והקסס רודר האמריקאית, ססניה אותו להרבות אגלה.

אסרס, יאחת השאפיות הכנות של הראשי סילבר הוא, אחיות כל ישראל, לא אחיות במעל, סתן להקל על המדי בת המספלות, אלא אחיות אפיות, על בן נול אשתקד מרים עם ההסתדרות הציוני

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אבל עניי המונים רבים נפואות עתה ודקא לסילבר, אס יעמוד בו הקוד להר סוף ולהלחם למען דעותיו ואמונתו — רבה התקנה, כי הוא יהיה איש הצה"ד של העצרת-המדי, אך אס הם וחלילה כי נע, אס יהפער עם הדתונים — יהיה העם העברי עני בעוד אילוסית יקרה אחת, וסילבר יאבד את עולמו.

Forward

פארדווערמאן

Forward

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ארבייטער גלייך

ארבייטער

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## סירוזער קייבעלמ טרוממאנ'ען, אז געשראמענע טויערן פון ארץ-ישראל ווערען פירען צו פארניסונגען

### פרעזידענט קען פארמיטל טראגעדיע דורך פאדערען אריינלאזען 100,000 אידען; אנגענומען עפענט זיצונגען

### עמק-השרון קאלאניעס פאדערען באפרייען ארעסטירטע אידען און שאדען-ערואן



פרעזידענט טרוממאנ



ד"ר אבא הור פיווער

ישראל, דעם 2 (איטא) — אומפארמיאישע און אומפאפערעניגע פרעזידענט קען פארמיטל טראגעדיע דורך פאדערען אריינלאזען 100,000 אידען; אנגענומען עפענט זיצונגען עמק-השרון קאלאניעס פאדערען באפרייען ארעסטירטע אידען און שאדען-ערואן.

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SILVER CABIES THUAN WARNING OF INCREASED VIOLENCE IF IMMIGRATION BARS MAINTAINED

A memorandum demanding the immediate release of the men arrested during last Monday's disturbances was sent today to the Palestine Government by the Joint Council of Sharon settlements, which includes the communities attacked. The memorandum described the difficulties being encountered by the settlements because of the labor shortage caused by the arrests and casualties. Indemnities for the damages suffered by the settlements were also demanded in the memorandum which protested against the searches, during which, it alleged, some valuables were stolen, and the desecration of a cemetery by British troops during the battle.

**der Repräsentant des  
amerikanischen Zionismus**

Silver hat eine entscheidende Fähigkeit, das ein politischer Führer haben muss: den Mut zur Unpopularität. Es galt in den letzten Jahren in den USA als Sakrileg in jüdischen Kreisen, Edgar Roosevelt zu sein. Aber Silver ergriff die republikanische Gegenpartei. Warum? Silver wusste und wies, dass die Juden Amerikas einen grossen Einfluss auf die Politik der Staaten ausüben können. Zwar sind sie „nur“ fünf Millionen, aber sie sind in New-York, Philadelphia und Chicago konzentriert und in diesen Wahlzentren führt die Entscheidung über die Präsidentschaft der USA. Silver zweifelte nicht an Roosevelts gutem Willen. Er kannte ihn persönlich, so wie er heute direkt und persönliche Fühlung mit Präsident Truman hat, und sofort nach den Exzessen von Givat Chajim, Richtiges und Schiefes an ihn telegraphierte. Aber er war überzeugt, dass Roosevelt nicht mit der nötigen Energie tatsächlichen unsere nationalen Forderungen gegenüber vertreten werde. Und damit hat er Recht behalten.

W. L. Harrison, Jr.      W. C. Harrison

החלטתם לתת מקלט למלטים הבאים לארץ  
הנאת למרות התלשחת הבליתיחות של  
בריטניה הגדולה לתחזיקם מחוץ לארץ-ישראל  
אל תהיה כן אלמות מועברת ודפיתים דמים  
אם לא תפחיתם משפטים למעט יש בידך למי  
נזע סרגדיה מחרידה אם תעמוד על דרישתך  
לארשונה 100,000 פליטים יורשו להכנס  
לארץ-ישראל תיכף למדי ועדת החקירה המ  
תושפת אתה הסכמת לה אינה תחליף כלל  
והיא אך מלבא את השלהבת בארץ הקדושה  
הרינ מרגיש חובה מוסרית להביא עובדות  
אלה לתשומת לבך בכל הכבוד הרב, אבא  
הלל סילבר." (מט"פ)

# Silver's Zionist Report Awaited

New interest was attached to the return of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver to Cleveland today after Senator Owen Brewster of Maine declared "Silver will offer the first source of uncensored information on what is happening in Palestine."

Senator Brewster made this statement at a banquet of the Cleveland Zionist Society in Hotel Shelton last night. The rabbi, spiritual leader of The Temple, has been in Palestine for the past week.

Many officers of the society are:

Rabbi Silver, president; Harry J. Fishbein, A. M. Lander, Dr. William Rulph Jaupp, Dr. Joseph H. Sussner and Sidney N. Wolf, directors; Louis and Saul Dancaou, Harry Weiss, president, Saul Dancaou, Friedman and Dr. S. M. Friedman, honorary secretaries; Albert B. M. P. Finnan, recording secretary; Isaac Evans, treasurer.

Executive board, five-year term—Dr. Alviner M. Lander, Benjamin Baas, J. J. Fischman, A. B. Goldstein, Arnold M. Friedman, A. B. Fried, Morris Fried, Eric Kirschfeld, J. H. Kowit, Nathan Rosenzweig, Charles Katz, H. T. Korman, M. M. Korman, Albert G. Korchman and Ben. M. Miller.

Executive Board, ten-year unexpired term—Emanuel Beale, Henry F. Goldsmith, Dave and Susan Kopp, Elmer A. Immerman.

Treasurer, Joseph, one-year unexpired term—Harvey Milberg.

סילבר סלגרף  
לטרומאן  
1245  
ספר היסטוריה קצרה במספרים וזמן  
הוא המהדורה הראשונה אשר נאמרה  
בשנת 1870 והתפרסמה אז בהוצאת  
המחבר.







ing for or against a segment of the population shall be formally repudiated; in their place there shall be a renewed pledge of full freedom of religious expression and equality for all in Palestine.

"(3) Palestine, as a ward of the civilized world, shall receive financial help for the expansion of its economy and the enlargement of its immigration opportunities.

"(4) Immigration into Palestine shall be maintained on the basis of absorptive capacity and without privilege or discrimination.

"(5) Immigration procedures shall be controlled by representative bodies of all the inhabitants of Palestine, in association with properly instituted international commissions.

"(6) Institutions of home rule for Palestine shall be progressively and rapidly instituted under the aegis of an international commission.

"(7) The problem of the displaced Jews in Europe shall be treated separately, in the following way:

#### **Poll of Displaced Persons**

"a. The above policy on Palestine shall be made known to them.

"b. On the basis of such knowledge, a poll shall be taken in which the displaced persons would list, in order of preference, the lands of their choice for their individual resettlement.

"c. Based upon these findings, an International Displaced Persons Committee shall, with the cooperation of the United Nations, bring about the resettlement of the displaced on a basis corresponding as nearly as possible to their preferences, with countries of the United Nations cooperating to take in a fair number of the displaced.

"Action by the United States Government to make available unused and current immigration quotas, and the necessary consular and visa machinery for the immigration of displaced persons of all faiths, would set a high moral example to the rest of the world of our determination to contribute to the solution of world problems and would, in fact, bring about the rapid solution of the refugee problem."

#### **Jewish Agency Maps Stand**

LONDON, Dec. 4 (AP)—The Jewish Agency Executive will meet in Jerusalem Thursday to discuss a policy regarding Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's statement on Palestine and decide whether or not to cooperate with the proposed Anglo-American inquiry commission, well-informed Jewish sources said today.



Dec 5, 1945

Dr. A.H. Silver, who arrived in Palestine on the 26th November, the day of the incidents in Sharon and Samaria, and visited Givath Hayim and Shofayim on the following day, was met by representatives of the Jewish press in Jerusalem on the 27th November. Questioned about his first impressions of the country, the guest declared:

"I have only just returned from Givath Hayim and Shofayim. I stood today at the graveside of our holy victims who fell in the struggle of the Jewish people in its country. I visited a hospital and talked to the wounded men. It was my fervent hope to come to Palestine after the war and see it being rebuilt in a state of peace and prosperity. But to my regret I have met here no peaceful situation. What I perceive is a state of struggle and a time of crisis. The

first thing I wish to tell you in my own name and in that of the leaders of American Jewry is that Palestine Jewry may rest assured that the five million Jews of America have undertaken to help the Yishuv with all their might, to give it every support, and to carry on the struggle without respite until the gates of this country are flung open to Jewish immigration. We shall not weary nor relent until the victory is gained for which we are hoping."

Dr. Silver assured his listener that the vast majority of American Jewry approved of the methods chosen by the Yishuv for its fight. Though there were also opponents and even some people in the Zionist camp who were retreating in fear, he had never known the Jews of America readier to take action for the sake of Palestine than at the present moment. This was borne out by the fact that it had been possible, without prior preparation, to rally in New York more than a quarter of a million Jews for a demonstration in support of Palestine Jewry.

In reply to a question put to him, the guest spoke about the background of President Truman's consent to the appointment of an Anglo-American Inquiry Commission. He expressed the view that the President was a man of honest sentiments. On receiving Mr. Harrison's report about the plight of Jewish survivors in European camps, coupled with the proposal to permit the early immigration to Palestine of 100,000 Jews, he had been deeply moved and asked why the request had not been made for 200,000. Immediately afterwards he had sent instructions to General Eisenhower regarding the improvement of conditions in the camps, and had written his famous letter to Mr. Attlee. The President had been convinced that his humanitarian appeal would find a ready echo. But he had not known either the cynicism of the British or their skill in throwing others into confusion.

In these circumstances, Dr. Silver continued, the British succeeded in persuading President Truman to accept their proposal for a Commission of Inquiry. Nevertheless, in replying to Mr. Bevin, the President reiterated his demand for 100,000 immigration permits. No doubt, in allowing himself to be trapped by British diplomacy, he made a mistake which was widely criticised in the United States, by non-Jews, too.

"I am certain," the speaker declared, "that President Truman and his Foreign Minister, Mr. Byrnes, regret the present position. Mr. Byrnes demands that a time limit be set for the work of the Inquiry Commission. American Jews had no inkling of the proposal before it was actually published. My personal opinion is that we should not cooperate with this Commission which is entirely unjustified and designed only to postpone and confuse matters even more. The terms of reference given to it are such as to preclude every possibility of a thorough investigation which might result in conclusions favouring a Jewish state. Besides, whatever conclusions the Commission arrive at, they must obviously be approved and carried out by the British. The entire argumentation is based upon the refugee problem, as though no Balfour Declaration had ever existed. The object of the whole Commission is not to enable Jews to come to Palestine, but to seek ways of preventing them from finding salvation in their country."

Dr. Silver proceeded by saying that the late President Roosevelt had misled American Jewry. Prior to his departure for Italy, he had declared: "I shall spend three days in the company of Ibn Saud. On the first day we shall drink coffee, on the second we shall talk about oil, and on the last day we shall discuss the Palestine issue." However, lacking adequate information, Roosevelt had been frightened into retreat after five minutes' conversation with Ibn Saud.

The speaker thought that the Jews of America had not known how to influence the American Government, but now they were becoming increasingly aware of the situation and beginning to organise themselves politically. They had been too naive and had not sufficiently realised that American election results, both for the administration and the Presidency, depended in no small measure upon the five million Jewish citizens of the United States.

(over)



Discussing the difficulties encountered in winning American opinion for the idea of a Jewish State, Dr. Silver said that Lord Halifax was not the only Englishman engaged from morning till night in speaking against us with President Truman. Some 2,000 British agents had been assembled in Washington to mobilise public opinion against our cause in a variety of meetings and gatherings. The British were busily undermining our position in Washington. They were also bringing the five Arab Embassies into play, and large numbers of missionaries, especially from Beirut University, were lending a religious colour to anti-Jewish activities. The Near East Section of the Foreign Office was full of missionaries and some of missionaries all of whom took an unfriendly view of the Yishuv's achievements and lent their support to the Arabs and English alike. Another important force working against us was the Texas group of oil magnates.

In spite of all, the quest proceeded, American Jews were not resting on their arms. They had established contact with Christian religious circles that sympathised with Zionism and were ready to come to its succour. They had also made approaches to certain oil magnates who objected to the "match" with Ibn Saud. The task was not an easy one, but it was to be hoped that general opinion would ultimately swing over to our side.

Returning to the subject of the Inquiry Commission, Dr. Silver thought that we should never obtain a large number of certificates on the basis of purely humanitarian considerations so long as the political issue was not settled. The humanitarian appeal addressed by President Truman to Mr. Attlee had been of no avail. Our argumentation ought no longer to be marked by excessive moderation. The obvious postulate today, and the only one that could now influence American Jewry, was the demand for a Jewish State in Palestine. Though there was no complete unity of Jewish opinion in America, the absolute majority of it was behind the Yishuv. And this sympathy would increase the longer Palestine Jewry persisted in its heroic stand. Whatever was decided in Jerusalem would be supported in New York.

Replying to another question, Dr. Silver said that he was not entitled to speak in the name of Dr. Weizman, nor had he any knowledge of what the latter was doing in America. However, if he were in Dr. Weizman's position, he would know what to do: he would have resigned ten days ago.

Dr. Silver concluded by mentioning that thousands of American Jews were preparing to come to Palestine. In particular, many Jewish ex-certificate-holders wanted to join the Yishuv.

#### MIZRACHI DEMANDS RESIGNATION OF WEIZMAN

Demands for the resignation of Dr. Weizman from the Presidency of the Jewish Agency, and for a policy of non-cooperation with the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry were the principal features of resolutions adopted by a meeting of the Inner Mizrahi Council held in Jerusalem on the 29th November to discuss the political situation. The gathering was attended by the Chief Rabbis Dr. Hertzog and Guziel, and addressed by Rabbi Meir Berlin, Rabbi Ze'ev Gold and Mr. M. Shapira.

#### HAIFA LABOUR CONFERENCE

In a two-day conference held in Haifa on the 30th November and the 1st December the Plenary Council of the Jewish Labour Party surveyed the situation created by Mr. Bevin's announcement in the House of Commons and discussed the measures to be taken against it. Of the resolutions adopted we herewith reproduce the following passages:



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## Should Weizmann Resign Leadership?

When Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, speaking in Jerusalem, stated that Dr. Chaim Weizmann should resign as President of the World Zionist Organization in protest against British action, the immediate reaction of some would be that this was a self-seeking statement; that Dr. Silver, now head of the ZOA was laying the ground-work for his own election to leadership of world Zionism.

That Dr. Silver would be qualified for the post, we have no doubt. Rarely has such a fighting spirit as his risen in Zionist ranks without being tamed by "inter-office politics," or forced out to form "revisionist," "new" or some other branch of Zionism. That he is the only man qualified for the world leadership in Zionism denotes a lack of "intellectual-executive man power" which does not speak too well for any Jewish organization.

So far, however, Dr. Weizmann has not resigned. In spite of the fact that his disillusionment with his own British government was so apparent during the Atlantic City Convention; despite the fact that his ineffectiveness has been patent for more than decade as a diplomat and statesman in behalf of the Jewish people, he still clings to the post of leadership. This characteristic in so-called Jewish leadership, clinging to posts of power long after mental and physical ability to carry on has departed, is not solely demonstrated in Zionist circles. It is the millstone around the necks of many other Jewish organizations.

There is no need for us to go into detailed criticism of Dr. Weizmann's administration. Events of the day have proven that his leadership, and the fanatic devotion of his followers, have not attained the objectives of Zionism, or of the Balfour Declaration. And we do not wish to touch upon old sores.

But the facts are plain. Even in Palestine, where Dr. Weizmann is deservedly held in the greatest esteem for his achievements of the past, for his greatness as a scientist, for his devotion to Palestine—even there, among the Jews of Palestine there is a recognition of the complete failure of his political approach towards the solution of the Palestine problem.

A Los Angeles businessman, returned only last week from Palestine, brings us the news that there is a vociferous demand among the Jews there that Dr. Weizmann make room for a more aggressive, a more militant, a more astute political leadership. He reports statements that Dr. Weizmann is considered more British than the British Tories, and the more radical say bluntly that Dr. Weizmann is a stooge and a cover-up for the British Colonial Office. It is this businessman's opinion, after a personal interview with Dr. Weizmann in London, that he has long since lost his usefulness to Zionism.

These are bitter things to say about Dr. Weizmann—but they should be brought out into the open. The lives of too many of us, the hopes of all of us for the revival of the ancient Jewish home—the intense desire for the rescue of the remnants of European Jewry depends upon effective leadership in Zionism.

## Dr. Silver Warns Truman Tragedy Must be Averted

JERUSALEM (WNS).—Unless the doors of Palestine are opened to the surviving Jews in Europe "there will be increasing violence and bloodshed" in the Holy Land, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, newly elected president of the Zionist Organization of America, warned President Truman in a cable last week.

The cable stressed that President Truman could "avert a frightful tragedy" if he insisted upon his original request that 100,000 displaced European Jews be permitted to enter Palestine.

The message further emphasized that the "most recent victims of military attacks" in Palestine were peaceful and unarmed settlers who "didn't fire a shot or use any violence," and whose "sole crime" was "their determination to shelter refugees who are coming to this country in defiance of Great Britain's lawless resolve to keep them out."

### TEXT OF THE CABLE

"I stood today at the graves of eight men and women who were killed and I visited the many wounded in the hospital. They

were peaceful, completely unarmed members of agricultural settlements who were attacked by police and an armored division of British troops although they didn't fire a shot or use any violence. These are the most recent victims of military attacks on defenseless men and women whose sole crime is their determination to shelter refugees who are coming to this country in defiance of Great Britain's lawless resolve to keep them out.

"There will be increasing violence and bloodshed unless the doors of refuge are opened. You can help avert a frightful tragedy

If you insist upon your original request that 100,000 refugees be permitted to enter the country immediately. The joint committee of inquiry to which you have agreed is no substitute and is only fanning the flames in the Holy Land. I feel morally obligated to bring these facts to your attention."

JERUSALEM, December 7 (Pulcor)—In a stirring, defiant address over the Jerusalem radio, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, member of the Jewish Agency Executive and President of the Zionist Organization of America, charged that Foreign Secretary Bevin's Palestine policy was a threat to the progress of the entire Middle East, and expressed his confidence that, despite all obstacles, "a Jewish state will rise."

In his address, he conveyed to Jewish Palestine greetings from American Jewry "of whom eight of every nine support the Jewish state and are thrilled by your gallant and valiant struggle to open the gates of Palestine, and by the tremendous ability which you have shown in upbuilding the country."

In a review of the general political situation, Dr. Silver charged that "Foreign Secretary Bevin brandished a sword over the progress of Palestine and the Middle East, threatening to cut it off and to strangle the Jewish National Home." He said he was confident America "would not lend a hand to such perfidy in our times."

### AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE SCORES PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S RETREAT ON PALESTINE ISSUE

NEW YORK, Dec. 6. (JTA) -- The American Jewish Conference, supported by the American Jewish press, today criticized President Truman's withdrawal of support from the Wagner-Taft resolution on Palestine and his opposition to the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. They termed his attitude a "retreat from the Palestine plank in the Democratic Party's election platform."

"Mr. Truman's retreat is not mitigated by the assurance that he still favors large-scale emigration of European Jews to Palestine," the American Jewish Conference said. "Jews in the United States, Europe and Palestine, can no longer regard expressions of sympathy as a substitute for deeds, nor can the reiteration of sentiments, no matter how ardently professed, lessen the impact of harmful political pronouncements. The President's action clearly demonstrates that American policy has succumbed to British diplomatic pressure."

"Reportedly," the statement continued, "Mr. Truman expressed opposition to the establishment of any sovereign nation based on religion, race or creed. The establishment of Palestine as a democratic Jewish Commonwealth is not a religious or racial issue, and any attempt to present it in such a light is a travesty on truth. Behind the Jewish Commonwealth plan is the urge of a homeless people to achieve security and to dwell in a home, solemnly promised and guaranteed by fifty-two nations. Whatever may be the motives for the President's change of heart, it should be stressed that the United States is a partner to the Balfour Declaration—a solemn pledge which the British Government is now trying to wangle out. This pledge cannot be abrogated by anyone, however highly placed."

The statement strongly criticized the American Council for Judaism's memorandum to President Truman, in which formal repudiation of "all official declarations on Palestine in any way discriminating for or against a segment of the population" was urged. The statement emphasized that there is no cleavage between Jews and Zionists on the fundamentals of the Palestine issue. "When non-representative and minority Jewish groups jam the wires with propaganda on the Palestine issue, in opposition to the definite stand of responsible organs of American Jewry, they are sabotaging the aims and hopes of a people for whom justice now hangs in the balance," the statement said.



# U.S. SENATORS DEFEND JEWISH STATE

ZIONIST AIMS MISREPRESENTED, THEY SAY

NEW YORK, Saturday (Palestine Post). — The charge that an insidious campaign to misrepresent the Zionist case as an attempt to set up a theocracy in Palestine had been carried into the White House was made by Senator Robert A. Taft and Senator Robert Wagner in a letter to President Truman.

This campaign was being conducted from British quarters in an attempt to evade international obligations, the Senators stated.

"However, neither we nor other Senators who share our views nor the American people will be deceived by these tactics," the letter went on.

"The campaign of misrepresentation is being waged as an instrument against the Palestine Resolution."

## Urgent Requirement

They wrote:

"Mr. President. — It is our conviction that the passage of such a Resolution was never more urgently required than now, in view of the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry.

"Our country can only proceed on the assumption that the pledges given to the Jewish people and embodied in international covenants are to be honoured.

"If the joint Committee proceeds on that assumption, its hands will be strengthened by the passage of the Resolution. If the Committee is not instructed to proceed on that assumption, it is even more necessary that the traditional and basic position of the United States with regard to the Palestine question should be reaffirmed insofar as lies within the power of Congress to do so.

"The allegation of plans for a theocracy in Palestine is astounding and baseless and has now been carried to the White House in an obvious attempt to influence the Administration against the Palestine Resolution.

"Our Resolution is no more than a re-statement of the position taken by both major parties representing, as they do, the great majority of American citizens, nor is the expression 'Jewish Commonwealth' novel."

The Senators stated that Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Churchill, Field Marshal Smuts, and Woodrow Wilson had used the terms "Jewish Commonwealth" and "Jewish State". The Zionists had frequently reiterated that the Jewish State would be a secular State with a Jewish majority and with equality to all religious and racial groups.

## The Primate's Views

The Archbishop of Canterbury, in a letter to the Diocese, has welcomed the new British statement as making clear that the Jewish national problem cannot be solved only or even mainly by Palestine (adds a London message from the P.T.A.).

The Primate feels that the minority in Palestine "must remain a minority in justice to the existing inhabitants," and urges everyone to pray for the people of modern Palestine and those concerned in working out a solution.

## EQUALITY IN JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

Commending on a statement attributed to President Truman regarding the Jewish State, a spokesman of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem said:

The statement attributed to President Truman expressing opposition to the creation of a "Judaic" State in Palestine, "as he did not feel that any Government should be based on religious or racial lines", appears to be based on a misconception. The Zionist policy of reconstituting the Jewish State of Palestine involves no racial or religious superiority or discrimination. What is envisaged by a decision to establish a Jewish State is a policy of large-scale immigration and settlement and the maximum development of the country's latent resources, resulting in the speediest possible creation of a Jewish majority which should continue to grow.

The State to be established would be governed democratically; it would be based on complete equality of all its citizens regardless of race or creed and on their full eligibility for all State offices and the widest possible autonomy for all racial or religious communities in their internal cultural and social affairs. There are many States in the world containing minority communities, yet when governed democratically they are not considered to be run on racial or religious lines.

The contemplated State is described as "Jewish" — "Judaic" is not the proper term — by virtue of its Jewish majority. Once effectively established, the democratic functioning of the State would ensure that every Jew anxious and able to settle in his homeland would be entitled to do so as of right.



From The Offices of  
Senators Wagner and Taft  
Washington, D. C.

For Release: SATURDAY MORNING, DECEMBER 8, 1945

SENATORS WAGNER AND TAFT CHARGE MISREPRESENTATION BY OPPONENTS OF JEWISH STATE

- - - - -

In Letter To President Truman They Vigorously Deny "Fantastic Conception"  
That Zionist Program For Palestine Contemplates A Religious State.

- - - - -

URGE PASSAGE OF PALESTINE RESOLUTION TO STRENGTHEN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

- - - - -

Washington, D. C. December 7th --- Senators Robert F. Wagner of New York and Robert A. Taft of Ohio in a letter to President Truman today charged opponents of the proposed Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine with conducting a campaign of "gross misrepresentation of the intentions of all who support Jewish aspirations in Palestine." The authors of the Wagner-Taft resolution, now pending in the Senate, told President Truman that the "misrepresentation" centers in the astounding and baseless charge that <sup>it</sup> is proposed to establish in Palestine a "theocratic" state or a state <sup>based</sup> upon religious or racial discrimination. This insidious campaign has now been carried to the White House in an obvious attempt to influence the Administration.

Characterizing the assertions in opposition to the Palestine Resolution as "fantastic misconceptions" the Republican and Democratic Senators asserted that "the expression 'Jewish Commonwealth' was used repeatedly by the leading statesmen of Great Britain and the United States in the crucial years preceding and following the peace conference at Versailles, when the territorial settlements were in the making."

In their letter to the President the Senators who head the American Christian Palestine Committee, a Protestant body comprising some 3,000 leaders in all walks of American life, quote the texts of the Palestine planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms adopted by the national conventions of the two parties in Chicago in 1944 wherein, both parties went on record as favoring the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

"Our resolution is therefore no more than a restatement of the position taken by both major parties representing, as they do, the great majority of American citizens." The Senators wrote. Citing statements by leading British statesmen including Gen. Smuts, South African Prime Minister, David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, who declared themselves in favor of a Jewish



State, Senators Taft and Wagner quote at length from a report prepared by the Intelligence Section of the American delegation at the Peace Conference in 1919. This report summarized the American attitude in the recommendation "that the Jews be invited to settle there... And being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact."

The letter to the President <sup>also makes</sup> ~~also makes~~ reference to the statement of President Woodrow Wilson, on March 3, 1919, that "I am persuaded that the allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

"On countless occasions the Zionist Organization made it crystal-clear that it contemplates a democratic state in which complete equality of rights and status shall obtain between all citizens irrespective of race or faith and by the all religious groups within the state," President Truman was reminded by the Senators. "Under the circumstances, it should be impossible for any well informed person to maintain <sup>in</sup> good faith the fantastic notion that the formula 'Jewish Commonwealth' implies any domination of the Jewish religion over the adherence of other faiths."

Because recent visitors to the White House have charged that "Mr. Truman is opposed to the creation of Palestine as a state based on Judaism," Senators Wagner and Taft asserted that "the misrepresentations and the false issues raised with regard to the projected Jewish Commonwealth are intended to confuse the public, to deprive the Jewish people of their established rights, and to assist the British Government in evading its obligations under binding international agreements. Neither we, nor other Senators who share our views, nor the American people will be deceived by these tactics."

In their letter to President Truman the two Senators voice their conviction that passage by Congress of the Palestine Resolution "is more urgently required now than ever before, in view of the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry about to be organized."

"Our country can only proceed on the assumption that the pledges given to the Jewish people and embodied in international covenants shall be honored. If the Joint Committee proceeds on that assumption, its hands will be strengthened by the passage of the Resolution. If the Committee is not instructed to proceed on that assumption, it is the more necessary that the traditional and basic position of the United States with regard to the Palestine question should be re-affirmed so far as it lies in the power of Congress to do so," they declared.

(The letter to President Truman attached.)



TEXT OF LETTER TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN  
FROM SENATORS TAFT AND WAGNER

December 6, 1945

Dear Mr. President:

Ever since we introduced Senate Joint Resolution No. 112 on Palestine, a continuous campaign, both open and covert, has been conducted against the bill, and more particularly against its basic proposition -- that the Jews shall have the right of free entry into Palestine so that they may reconstitute it as a democratic commonwealth. Whoever may be behind this opposition and whatever their motives, their campaign has taken the form of a gross misrepresentation of our position and of the intentions of all who support Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The misrepresentation centers in the astounding and baseless charge that it is proposed to establish in Palestine a "theocratic" state or a state based upon religious or racial discrimination. This insidious campaign has now been carried to the White House in an obvious attempt to influence the Administration. We, therefore, find it necessary to make a full statement of our position in order to dispel such fantastic misconceptions so assiduously fostered.

1. In drafting our Resolution we had before us the Palestine planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms adopted by the national conventions of the two parties in Chicago, 1944. The relevant words in the Republican platform are as follows:

"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."

The corresponding language in the Democratic platform is as follows:

"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."

Our Resolution is, therefore, no more than a re-statement of the position taken by both major parties representing, as they do, the great majority of American citizens.

2. The expression, "Jewish Commonwealth", is not novel. It was not recently invented to represent a new idea. It antedates the Palestine Mandate and was used repeatedly by the leading statesmen of Great Britain and the United States



in the crucial years preceding and following the Peace Conference at Versailles when the territorial settlements were in the making.

3. That this was the sense in which the British government had understood its commitment was stated by Mr. David Lloyd George, Prime Minister at the time of the Balfour Declaration, who testified before the British Royal Commission on Palestine as follows: "It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth."

General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, on November 3, 1919, spoke of "an increasing stream of Jewish immigration" and of "a great Jewish State rising there once more."

Mr. Winston Churchill spoke in the same vein: "If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime on the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial."

The British Royal Commission attested that "Lord Robert Cecil, in 1917, Sir Horbert Samuel, in 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill, in 1920, spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish state."

4. The position of the United States in favor of the evolution of Palestine into a Jewish state was equally clear. That this was the understanding of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference appears explicitly from the Outline of Report and Recommendations prepared by the Intelligence Section of that Delegation, in accordance with instructions, for the American Plenipotentiaries. This Report, dated January 21, 1919, summarized the American attitude in the following recommendation: "That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the (Peace) Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact."

5. In harmony with this position, President Woodrow Wilson on March 3, 1919 declared: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

6. It cannot be suggested that the statesmen we have quoted, from Lloyd



George to Woodrow Wilson, lacked the capacity to express themselves in clear and precise terms. Each of them was a master of the English tongue. Nor would anyone in his senses impute to those enlightened statesmen the advocacy of a "racial state" or a "theocracy" when they used the term "Jewish Commonwealth" so freely. What they obviously intended and stated in so many words was that in Palestine, their ancestral land, the Jews should be free to grow into a majority and not be kept down artificially to the position of a minority in which they find themselves in every other country in the world. This is the core and essence of the proposal.

7. It is clear from the foregoing that our Resolution does no more than give renewed expression to the purposes of the British and American statesmen who framed the policies of the Allied nations. Their statements are, if anything, more explicit than the terms of our Resolution. The objective remains simple and clear: to ensure that all Jews who desire to settle in Palestine shall be guaranteed the right of entry so that they may develop and re-populate their ancestral land and so that Palestine may become a Jewish state in the sense that Jews will constitute the majority. Our Resolution adds the proviso that the Commonwealth thus to be created shall be one in which "all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights".

8. This is also the official position of the Zionist movement repeatedly expressed. Time and again, on countless occasions, the Zionist Organization made it crystal clear that it contemplates a democratic state in which complete equality of rights and status shall obtain between all citizens, irrespective of race or faith, and between all religious groups within the state.

Under the circumstances, it should be impossible for any well-informed person to maintain in good faith the fantastic notion that the formula "Jewish Commonwealth" implies any domination of the Jewish religion over the adherence of other faiths.

9. Millions of Jews in the Old World regard themselves and are regarded by their neighbors not merely as a religious denomination, such as Moslems or Baptists, but also as a people with a distinctive culture, characteristics and traditions. By the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, the nations of the world recognized that just as the Czechs, the Greeks, the Magyars, and the Irish, or any other recognized nationality are entitled each to a homeland of its own, so the Jewish people was likewise entitled to its national home. The Mandate, therefore, speaks of the recognition "given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the ground for reconstituting their national home in that country".

10. We are reluctantly driven to the conclusion that the misrepresentations to which we have referred and the false issues raised with regard to the projected Jewish Commonwealth are intended to confuse the public, to deprive the Jewish people

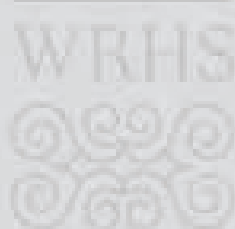


of their established rights, and to assist the British government in evading its obligations under binding international agreements. Neither we, nor other Senators who share our views, nor the American people will be deceived by these tactics.

11. Finally, Mr. President, it is our conviction that the passage of such a Resolution is more urgently required now than ever before, in view of the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry about to be organized. Our country can only proceed on the assumption that the pledges given to the Jewish people and embodied in international covenants shall be honored. If the joint Committee proceeds on that assumption, its hands will be strengthened by the passage of the Resolution. If the Committee is not instructed to proceed on that assumption, it is the more necessary that the traditional and basic position of the United States with regard to the Palestine question should be re-affirmed so far as it lies in the power of Congress to do so.

We trust, Mr. President, that this statement will contribute to a clarification of this question touching an important aspect of our foreign policy.

Respectfully yours,



Robert F. Wagner

Robert A. Taft

The Honorable Harry S. Truman

The White House

Washington, D. C.



Tel Aviv "Truman will support us in time of crisis" declares Silver

# טרומאן יתמוך בנו בשעת הכרע

מכריז ד"ר סילבר בכינוס התאחדות הציונים הכלליים  
ד"ר ב. גולרמן: עוד צער — והמדינה היהודית בפתח

## הרב סילבר אורחה של תל-אביב

ביום ו' ביקר סילבר במועדון קצוות תל-אביב. הרב דוד קרוליאקוב אול הרב ד"ר סילבר, הינך בבואו לתל-אביב, וקידום אותו בברכה בשם העיר, בהביאו לו גם את ברכת ראש העיר — השירי בבבל על מות אמה. הרב ב"ר העזר' מוצקת העיריה — בראשית ישיבתה השבועית — קבלת מרים לכבוד האורח.

במסך יום אתמול ביקר הרב סילבר בלית הרב דוד קרוליאקוב בן הסאד בסרי יאןן תל-אביב ובבית סר ואלטר מוסק, סבה מרוב אומק ארכאולוגי של איז האומק שפריס.

הרב היה אורחו של ה. כרמליון במסכה אינטימית.

האורח מתאכנן במלון "גרדיסון".

**הרב סילבר בעתון "הצופה"**  
במשאבות מועדון קבל קל המכונים ב"עיתון הצופה" כלל שנת בתל-אביב באול "מנדב" את הרב ד"ר א. ה. סילבר, ששנה להמנהג אגודת "הצופה" והיו סיר ב"קורן". באולם קר אפי' הרב סילבר בין השאר: אנו עומדים רק במאבק הראש הלבן יכריעו את מורלנו, אלו העם הירושלמי בארץ והשאר לעלות אליה.

**תיאור באורחות השירון**  
השירון היה מוקדש לאורחות האחרונים בשירון ובקטן מהר. חברי המוסק בהם אירעו המאורעות: היה מנדב (בבית חיים) שדבר במקום הקצין ב"הארון שואמר לפני ימים מספר, בן שלום (בין התורש) וכספי (שפיר) סיפרו על האנן רבנות בוי הישוב מכל הורשים והמקפדות שהיוקו לעזרת הישובים הנצורים. המאשים מהו נגד המאורעות. המאשים מהו נגד המאורעות.

האורח לעין העובדה כי בשעה שמתאמר כל המכונות לנצחית חיים כפני האלמים שחשו לעזרת הנקודה הנצורה — פתח הכמר העירי השכן את הדרך בפני החיים לעזרה.

הקהל הרב שהתאספו באולם ועל היציע הביע בתשואותיו להביר המאשים את כליו לרנסות הישוב ברגע זה.

שאלו ליוו את ד"ר סילבר בדרשו לבית המלון "גת ריסון" שבו הוא מתאכנן. לאחר רחוב ב"הארון ושפיר קראות "הרב סילבר" ואנשים מתא כי לאורח הרב סילבר וחלקי ביטות עם כמה אנשים פן הקהל ולחץ את ידו.

בסיומה המאורעות שלום עליכם וב"הארון נסיר המורח מהמלון במרת המבוקה "ב"הארון" "עוד נהראל".

## נאום הרב סילבר בראדיו ירושלים

הרב אבא הלל סילבר, נשיא התאחדות הציונים באמריקה מסר ביום ו' בערב בראדיו ירושלים נרישה שלום פיוניו אמריקה לישוב. הרב סילבר אמר, בין השאר:

אני יודע וזה את רגשות העם האמריקני קאי ויוצק את התחלפות המציאות של המפלגות — הדימוקרטית והרפובליקנית — וידועת לי גם עמדת פרעלי אמריקה וחלק היריות בקונגרס האמריקני, וולנטיק מובי סתלי, שאמריקה לא תתן יד לאפשה הפעל היה בעמתי.

הרב סילבר הבין את פיונו ש"הרב דניס התורנית קום תוקם עלנאף כל המב"ר שוליס" הוא השוב דברים מרבים לאבי רוח ב"הארון שפיר כי על קיומה והאמת וזאת של ארץ ישראל וכל המורח האמריקני הונח הרב המכה של מפרונומרים, מאותם המציאות הנשים והולכים במקומה לתק"ס. לתק"ס את הבית האמריקני הלאומי.

עזרה של אמריקה במורחאמריקני הולך ויב. אין לה שאיפות שרור וניכוש כל שהן. לא כגן ולא בשום מקום אחר, אלא ברגונה לסייע לכל העמים והנחום גם לעזרת המורח. אבל בודא לא על השבון העם היהודי העם האמריקני נוסה לראות ארץ-ישראל עבדות כחלי. הדימוקים האמריקניים באלק זה של וקולס.

גם המבולה שרר ב"הארון הישק לאבדיל בין יהודים ויחידים אין לה מורח באמריקה. קה המבול שפניק כל ה יחידים באמריקה ה מופנים יום על הקמת המדינה היהודית. והי, שש המבוכים והנחום והמבוכים.

**המאבק אך החל**  
הרבי נחום ב"ר ל"ה סן סן שמתאמר הפוליטיקאי אך זה התחילה ולא נכון שהיא נמחיתה על נמר מלחמת אומות העולם. המלחמה לנורית עברית באילו לא התחילה לנצח על אף הפעילות השונות בעבר סילבר שאלה וי. קולן קום המאבק על קווי המבנה הפוליטי כיום, בהשואה עם המעב בנמר המלחמה הקודמת, שאו היתה הסימפאסיה הפוליטית לעזרתה בעין "ב"הארון".

סן המכונה שמתאמר בעזרה שמוכב אומה קולם ב"הארון. אבל כעת הישוב נעשה כוח שאפשר לספור עליו. זהו המורח הדי שוב, יותר נוסב סימפאסיה או אנטיסימפאסיה סן המרן.

אשר להכרזה ב"הארון אין המאבק הישק שש המלה האחרונה של אנגליה שפכיל אינה נהגת לומר. מלה אחרונה בשאלות מציאות. לא יתה פתרון מוסי כלפי ארץ ישראל בלי להתחשב בישוב זה ביותר שמתאמר ביטות היהודית. עוד נצד חשבו קריסה לישוב זה והמדינה היהודית בפתח.

בסוף ובריו ון המאבק באפשרויות של שינוי דרכי הפוליטיקה שלנו. על מותה הקצום של יהדות אמריקה בעמדת ליסון הישוב והבין אכונה במפרון שיתן בסיס לבנות את המדינה היהודית.

**ברודצקי על יהדות אנגליה**  
פיו-טור J. ברודצקי העלים בראי סית ובריו, שהחיתה המורח של מסמלת אנגליה במורח אינה מכונה מלכתחילה כל כך נגד היהודים אלא גם נגד אחרים והקרי קר בעד... בריטניה מבטנו באיז הוא חלי" יה בשרשרת שיהא זו ועד כזו כך שבער נהגים לבטא את המלכיו. עם ישראל" ו"בית לאומי".

בהמשך אמר עוד המאבק על החשיבות שבשינוף יהודי חזקלארץ במאבק הציוני נגד והישוב, והבין על 400,000 יהודי אנגליה עם המורח הפרוכי המשוב. ועד הקהלות (הקים כבר כ-200 שטן) שהמורח ב"הארון קום בראש, שינו הקו במורח עליון זה לשובת הרעיון הציוני המשוב לנו מאד. המורח העובדה שמתאמר ב"הארון הקהלות בעיקר המבין למות. מדינת יהודי ד"ר" במולד המבוקה של יהדות אנגליה ויתנו שש בעד ויק או נגד המדינה האמריקנית וכל נצל בארץ במדה רבה את העובד זה שינוי אנגליה שיקדים בראש וראשון זה במדה ליתורו אחרים לפני המיפול המעשי המולם בשאלה האיי. כעת יצטרכו יהודי אנגליה להקפיד את שאלה איי כעת רון גם לנצח יהדות אחרים המהרבה. המי ציאת המדינה אולם על המרה זה.

בסוף ובריו נגד המאבק בצורה הרצויה ביותר של מלחמתו להגשמת המציאות והבין דעתו, שאם נדע להתנגד בראי למציאות המסתעפת המדינית כלפי איי, יבדו אנגלים רבים את פיונו זה, במובן אם העשו דברים בהבונה. אולי יהיו קשיים אבל אין להחיל ספק בעתיד.

**בני שמריה — במורח יתור**  
אנב הרצאנו סיר המורח ב"הארון שאלה רחם המורח מין קל באבן ליה מתבאיים (בעלום שם) שירי מהיו נפש. סקולאנא יארדי המיל סיד את מיקונו עליו אבל פונו ב"הארון ביקש המהפכנים עליו שיסירו ממנו את המיקה "כי כבוד היהנו שכלי זה אחיה במות יתור".

פתח ד"ר מ. סנה חבר המלה המוכנות וירשם ראש התאחדות הציונים הכלליים, שהבין את האחרונים הרב ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר, שאותו בירך להבטור לנשיא המר תורות המציאות באמריקה, פרופסור J. ברודצקי, ראש ועד שירות הקהלות באבן ליה וד"ר מוסק סטודי המציאות בעולם.

לאחר הברכות ויכר ד"ר סנה על שש המורח, על "מספר המהפכנים, על סלע המחלוקת ועל אחרות העזק להלחם במוסין להחזיק את הרעיון הציוני מרעיון המהפכה והמקשה המדינית ולכלל את ההנהגה הציונית במורח מדיני, בעדיניות הוודן של המר של המדיניות. מלחמתנו איננה על חיי סן או שינוי אלא על הירשת הקהלה על חיי היהודים. המדיניות המדינית, שיש בהם כדי לבנות, הכינס המדיני, שיהיה השבוע ב"הארון סכון לעזרת המדינה של המאבק קית המדינית.

אחרון המאשים היה מ. קולודני, נספך המורח המדיני, שדבר על האקטיביות הציונית. יתה פעולה לקבוע את דרכי המאבק של המדיניות והליבו.

ארבעה מנהיגי המדינה במרמזי העולם נהנו אתמול ביטוי לעזרתם נוסה המבוכ בכינוס העיר הארצי של "התאחדות הציונים הכלליים" והעזר הציוני שנקרך באולם בית דבראמא קום ששואר בחלי אביב, כשעמד במחנים מכל הארץ ובבני הקיבוצים המינים הכלליים.

## הנשיא טרומאן — לנו בשעת החברות

הרב ד"ר סילבר פתח את האומה בשתי בקשות: א) שלא ידרשו ממנו מאשים "כי עץ אנוכי כבר עד מאד, ולחלאביו באחי בעצם קטל לנח"י, ב) לאפשר לו לבטא את רחשי לבו באנגליה, מאמר שהוא ירא כי בעקבות לא יבטא את בית הביטוי המלא ביותר מכל רצינות המדינה.

התלה האר הרב סילבר בהתרשנות רבה את עצמת ההמנהג המדיניות של יהדות אמריקה שפעולם לא ראה אותה כה נפוצה עד עומקי לבת וזה דרכה הנכונה להשיב מלחמה שפורה. פעילות הישוב העברי בארץ הפכו את סילברו ליהודי אמריקה ביום ליהדות ציונית.

## רבים מהיהודי אמריקה "מוכנים" לקבל

לחץ סיר הרב סילבר שמתאמר עם שער פיוס כללי חליו בין יהודי אמריקה קה צידו ל"גם במחשבת מדינה יהודית בא"י המאם בילה דעות, שאחור ובר סר יהודי אמריקה רוצים ומוכנים לעלות לא"י אם כי אין אנו מוכן לציין מספרים כדי שלא לטעות לעצמות, כבר במינות בארץ קיבל מלחמה בהמסדר האיי ביוני יורק, שישתלח להבטיח 1,000 מדיניות סים בשביל יהודים באמריקה בהם 1,000 לאלוים שעבדו כבר הכשרה. סן הרב צים לעלות לא"י יש גם חילום ששוארם בהמשך ובריו סיר המאם על שלום קבוצות המועלות נגדנו באמריקה.

א) בהאשמותן יש כמה משלמות צירי ית של מדינות קרב שהקילו ב"הארון קרבו אחיה לעומתם בפתחים פעולה ציונית באורגנה.

ב) מדיניותם והמספאסטיס המעורר צים בתקפולת נוצרית בין הערבים ויהודי קים את המורחם פן האנטיסמיסטי האמריקני במינותו אלה הקישים בהמשךם במינים מסוימים.

ג) אולי המע ששפולתם ידועה, נגד שלוש המדינות האלה, שלא היו כמעט קישים לפני שנים מספר מתחלת פעולה ציונית נוסה.

יהודי אמריקה מורים כוח עצום במינים מוכונים ב"הארון סבלעדי קורם אין להפלות במחירות גם של נשיא המדינה ויש ליהודים כוח בעקה בעת המהירות. ד"ר הלל נבחר כיוכיתו בעזרת כוח א"י ית דות אמריקה לא עשה וי להחלי אחיה באורחם. לדן הרב סילבר, שפיר שלא היתה לה המציאות המוכנה כעת, היא נחשבה למבוכה במובן הפוליטי.

## דרוש וסן לתתץ נוסף

אשר לענין שריון מאמן הרב סילבר שהא פתון מרגשות והאנטיסמיסטיים שיר דים והינם ייחודי לישוב. בקרא את ה" דין וחשבון צו המיניקן על מצב יהדות אירופה ועל המורח בעלות 100,000 יהודי אירופה לארץ ישראל שלא במהירה ולמה לא 1200,000 דיר סילבר מאמין שלמרות האכזבות יתה הנשיא טרומאן אומה כיר עת המבוכה קירא לאמין ביהדות אמריקה ובכוחה וישעור תתן לנו באנשיה האנטיסמיים.

הקונגרס האמריקני, — אמר, — בעצדנו עמדת המפסיים דימאסטימטי — דילית, הנשיא טרומאן נבחר ב"הארון שפכילים אומה לאנשי ציונים. ודום וסן-ללה ודום עת נוספת א"י יש "לאמין" ושבבא השקת קומד לנחור.

## קרא לאהדות

בספך ובר ד"ר סילבר על המדינות הכלליות, שהמקד השוכ לה לבצת המורח ולחיות מורח המורח, על כך שבאמריקה האר הא לומר בסוף את השאלות המדיניות נישוב וספח שלמות בשקט המדיניות ודע הישוב כילו להתאמר לספרו לא"י סית פעלה השקת זו ההמנהג ביטוי משהר בימים האחרונים כשבא המהלי מות מתקלארץ ובארץ. מסכל לאחיות הוא רנאה את המענה המישהו של נפירי רשפון, בקימאיים ושפיים, ויראם לאחיות — כשפכיל דעת ישוב, וכל כך יש לומר.

## סילבר בעיריית הארץ

היום הארצי המיוחד של הרב סילבר הובלט בקבלת המנים שנקרבה לו ביישיבת מועדון קצוות תל-אביב. היתה זו פגישת של מינסטים בלבד, אך היא הפכה לתודמנות לחבלי המועדון לנכוד פרק באלמנטים של ארץ עבדור מובחן בדברי ומשורבה העלה המורח את ובר רענון ויל וסילב בדבריו נה מתאמת לראש העיר סר ד"ר קה, פעלי אפר, אשרי הקו סים לה מלנסים כאלה.

אחר קבלת המנים היתה דריכה להתקיים י"ח כה רלילה של המועדון, אולם היא נבטלה וליצנים אמרו, שזה מפני שסית המפעלים נצתה להכניס. המוס ספרטימטי למב המהמאות לרועה אולם לא יכלו לעשות זאת שלא כגו כוחו של סילבר.

כקשר לאמריקה הוכיר סר רוקה, שאת הלה יתה המאורעה קיבלה תל אביב באמריקה והא סילק את המוב עד המורח האחרונה, וק בשלשה מקרים המורח לאמריקה כספי המורח פיונאמית המורח כאלה היה של תל אביב, אפילו שדורסל קום בעצרי הארץ, גם זו הקפידה תל אביב לשלם את התקלום על חשבון ההלואה תל אביב רוציה אפילו לאמין יתה המרצות רכות ומחלית. שמשאל חייבות לאמריקה פירי יורדים וד"ר.

## JEW'S CALLED "O ZIONISM"

Dr. Silver Urges Americans Rally to Join Palestine "Struggle"

(Dr. Abba Hibel Silver, president of the ZIONIST Organization of America, has cabled a message from Jerusalem, where he is attending an extraordinary session of the World Zionist Executive, to Washington calling upon American Jews "to rally en masse under the Zionist banner and join with us in our struggle.")

Dr. Silver's appeal, issued in connection with the Zionist Organization of America's campaign for 250,000 members in 1946. He termed American Zionists "now the only tower of strength protecting the ramparts from which our brethren fight for freedom and security."

DEC 11 1945



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TEL AVIV, Dec. 10. (JTA) -- Addressing a public gathering here today, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver disclosed that while in Palestine, he received a cable from the Palestine office of the Jewish Agency in New York requesting 1,600 Palestine immigration certificates, including 1,000 for Chalutzim.

Dr. Silver refuted the allegations that American Jews are not interested in settling in Palestine. He said that the Jews in the United States were shocked by Foreign Secretary Bevin's statement on Palestine. "The bulk of American public opinion is for a Jewish State and I am sure that President Truman will be with us when the decision comes," he stated.

At a luncheon given by the Journalist Association to members of the Jewish Agency executive, Dr. Nahum Goldmann said that "an anti-Zionist solution of the Palestine problem is unimaginable," because the Jews are now a strong factor in the Middle East. A temporary solution which disregards the Zionist demands may be imposed, but only for a short time, if the Jews of Palestine remain determined as they are now, and if they succeed in rallying the bulk of world Jewry around the Yishuv in its struggle, he stated. Other speakers included Prof. Brodetsky, Louis Lipsky and Berl Locker.

#### ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL SAYS THERE IS NO NEED FOR ANGLO-AMERICAN INQUIRY COMMISSION

NEW YORK, Dec. 10. (JTA) -- Following the announcement today by the United States and British governments of the composition of the joint Anglo-American inquiry commission on Palestine, the American Zionist Emergency Council held a special meeting, at the conclusion of which it issued a statement reiterating its objections to the projected investigation.

"Having learned of the composition of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, we see no reason to alter the position which we took on principle weeks before, as conveyed in our telegraph message to President Truman on Nov. 15th," it said. "Without reflecting upon the character and the intentions of any of those who have been appointed to serve on the Committee, we express once more our unalterable opposition to the entire procedure."

Charging that "by his statements Mr. Bevin prejudged the inquiry and anticipated its conclusions so far as the British Government is concerned," the Council declared that "we view with the greatest distrust this entire procedure which was originated by the Colonial and Foreign Offices of the British Government." It added that "for its size, Palestine is the most investigated country on earth," and that the results of the innumerable inquiries into the Palestine problem and the problem of Jewish migration are on record and well known.

"The procedure on which the British and American Governments are now embarked, means, at best, a further unconscionable delay in dealing with a problem involving many thousands of lives in the only constructive way possible, by the immediate admission of the uprooted European Jews into Palestine," the council continued. "Actually, we have every reason to believe that the negative purpose of the British Government is more far-reaching: to evade its responsibilities under the Mandate and divest itself of all its international obligations toward the Jewish people under cover of recommendations emanating from a joint Anglo-American Committee, which has virtually been directed in advance by the British Foreign Secretary. It is clearly an attempt to enmesh the United States in the coils of British policy and to make this country a partner of British betrayal."

"The ultimate decision of the whole Zionist movement regarding the position it will take in relation to the proposed inquiry rests with the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, now meeting in Jerusalem. We, speaking on behalf of the Zionists of America, cannot refrain from voicing our sense of shock and resentment that our Government should lend itself to this device of the British Government, by participating in a Committee whose findings have been so largely prejudged by the spokesman of that government--a procedure repugnant to every American notion of fair play and in defiance of all Anglo-Saxon traditions of judicial inquiry," its statement concluded.

## PALESTINE INQUIRY

### Refuses Cooperation on Bevin Plan in Stand at Variance With League's Moderation

CAIRO, Egypt, Dec. 11 (AP)—The Palestine Arab Council today flatly rejected cooperation with the Anglo-American inquiry into Palestine and demanded that the British Government withdraw Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin's policy which established the commission.

The way was left open, however, for backdoor cooperation through the Arab League of six Middle East States which had adopted a more moderate view toward the inquiry commission.

The council, which represents all major Arab parties in the Holy Land, said in its announcement that the Bevin policy statement "violates official British policy and overlooks Arab national rights and interests." The British Government was urged to cancel the statement.

The council also rejected proposals for continued Jewish immigration and for a change of Palestine's status from a League of Nations mandate to a United Nations trusteeship, demanding instead that it be made an independent country.

This stand was opposed to the Arab League's moderate view announced last week which welcomed American entry into the Palestine problem and offered cooperation.

Rejection of the inquiry by the council created a stir in political circles here.

#### Zionists Study Action

By Cable to The New York Times.

JERUSALEM, Dec. 11.—The question of whether Zionists will testify before the Anglo-American Commission Inquiry whose membership was announced last night was being heatedly discussed here today and there will be a resumption of these exchanges of views tomorrow as the inner Zionist General Council—the supreme directing body of the world Zionist movement during the periods when the Zionist Congress is not meeting—begins a two-day session.

Attending are members of the Jewish Agency Executive from New York and London. The Americans include Dr. Abba Hillel Silver (who begins his return air trip to New York tomorrow) and Louis Lipsky and Dr. Nahum Goldmann of the World Jewish Congress.

The key address at today's opening session was delivered by the chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive, David Ben Gurion, who stated that while that body was fully aware of the grave dangers confronting the Zionist effort, their confidence had not weakened over the prospects of the full realization of Zionist aims. They were anxious but by no means despairing over the difficulties ahead, he added.

Mr. Ben Gurion submitted to the Zionist Council for approval a number of recommendations upon political action that the agency executive had formulated during its past ten days of continuous sessions here.

#### Office at UNO Planned

They numbered eleven in all and dealt with means of strengthening Zionist work among Jewish communities in the United States, Britain, the British Dominions and Latin America, as well as with reviving the Zionist pioneering spirit among the Jewish survivors in Europe.

The setting up of a special Zionist office at the seat of the United Nations Organization to bring the Zionist case before world attention was another recommendation. The director of this office will be Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

The executive also decided to urge the holding of the Zionist Congress next summer in Palestine.

Another important conclusion reached by the executive was that the disclosure of various proposals for changes in its membership and reorganization, it must now remain at its post and not resign, as its opponents desired, but continue to make collective responsibility for the conduct of the Zionist movement until next year's congress, when a new executive will be elected.

This means that Dr. Chaim Weizmann will continue to serve as president of the Jewish Agency

and the World Zionist organization.

Other decisions affected Zionist activity in America, more especially cooperation and coordination in the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the Jewish Agency executive's office in Washington in which decisions in vital matters will be taken by the executive members living in America.



JERUSALEM, Dec. 11. (JTA) — President Truman's reported opposition to the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish State appears to be based on a misconception, a spokesman for the Jewish Agency stated here.

"The Zionist policy of reconstituting a Jewish State does not involve racial or religious superiority," he pointed out. "Nor does it involve discrimination. What is envisaged by the decision to establish a Jewish State is a policy of large scale immigration and settlement, as well as a maximum development of Palestine's latent resources, resulting in the speediest possible creation of a Jewish majority which should continue to grow."

The Jewish State, when established, would be governed by democratic principles, the spokesman of the Jewish Agency continued. There will be complete equality for all citizens, regardless of their race or creed. They will be fully eligible for all state offices, and there will be the widest autonomy for all racial and religious communities within their internal cultural and social affairs.

"There are many states in the world containing national minorities," the spokesman continued, "yet, if governed democratically, they are not considered to be run on racial or religious lines." The contemplated state is described as "Jewish" and not as "Judaic," he pointed out.

## Vote Favors Free Palestine For All Jews

Connally Dissents  
In 17-1 Count of  
Senate Committee

By Robert C. Albright

FOR THE WHITE

Over the protest of Chairman Tom Connally (D., Tex.), the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday declared for free entry of Jews into Palestine "in the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities."

By a vote of 17 to 1, the committee favorably reported a compromise resolution recommending the President for interest in solution of the problem and calling on the Government to "use its good offices" to open Palestine for free entry of Jews.

The resolution favored "upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home" and its development as "a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

Casting the only "no" vote, Connally quipped President Truman in opposition to passage of any resolution at this time, and said Secretary of State James F. Byrnes shared this view.

"He (Truman) reported that it would be inadvisable," Connally said. "He stated that the passage of any resolution would greatly embarrass him in his international conferences seeking a solution. He stated the passage of a resolution might tie his hands."

The resolution was a new one, drafted by a five-man subcommittee headed by Senator Theodore F. Green (D., R. I.), following a series of conferences. The new declaration modifies three earlier resolutions introduced by five different Senators.

The Green Subcommittee noted an agreement by President Truman and British Prime Minister Attlee for a "Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry" to examine conditions in Palestine and submit a report.

"Because of the appointment of this joint committee and in view of the international situation, the President and the Secretary of State have informed this committee that in their opinion it would be advisable to postpone action on this subject until the committee can equir render its report."

"If the Senate Foreign Relations Committee should decide that any resolution relating to Palestine is desirable at this time in spite of the request of the President and the Secretary of State that action be postponed, it seems best that a new resolution be introduced."

Over Connally's objections the committee then approved the compromise draft suggested by the Green Subcommittee. Senator Robert F. Wagner (D., N. Y.), author of one of the prior resolutions was instructed to file a favorable report to the Senate.

Wagner said in his report, filed before midnight:

"Passage of this resolution will furnish the occasion for the Congress to express itself forthrightly on the horrible plight of the Jews of Europe, 3,700,000 of whom were victims of Hitler and his madmen, according to the indictment presented by the Allied War Crimes Commission."

"The war is over and the need for a Jewish homeland, where the Jews who escaped Hitler's persecution can live and breathe as free men and women and where they can establish a free and democratic commonwealth, is greater than ever."

# JTA

## Daily News Bulletin

PUBLISHED BY THE JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY  
106 EAST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

### SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE ADOPTS RESOLUTION ON PALESTINE; WANTS FREE IMMIGRATION

WASHINGTON, Dec. 12. (JTA) — The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by a vote of 15 to 1, today adopted a Palestine resolution based on the Wagner-Taft resolution which has been under consideration for some time. The dissenting vote was cast by Senator Tom Connally, chairman of the committee.

The resolution urges the United States Government to use its good offices with the British Government to secure the free immigration of Jews to Palestine "to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities."

The resolution also asks for full opportunity for Jewish colonization and development in Palestine so that the Jews "may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and, in association with all other elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth" with equal rights for all inhabitants.

The text of the resolution reads as follows:

"Whereas the Sixty-Seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1921, unanimously resolved: 'That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected';

"And whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish Homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution;

"And whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees;

"And whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic and general economic conditions;

"And whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within 120 days;

"Therefore be it resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring) that the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended, and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory Power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that coun-

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try to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

### Zionists Satisfied with the Resolution; Hope Senate Will Pass it

Adoption of the resolution was welcomed here by Emanuel Neumann, acting president of the Zionist Organization of America. "I hope that the resolution will be adopted by the Senate at an early date," he said. "It should serve to reaffirm and clarify the position of the United States with regard to Palestine. It is reasonable to expect that the members of the Anglo-American inquiry committee on Palestine will take note of this action, and as indicative of the American policy."

"The text of the resolution," Mr. Neumann continued, "is a considerable improvement over the original formulation as introduced in October. It covers all important points and clarifies various questions which were raised in the course of discussion. The virtual unanimity with which it was adopted in the committee indicates that the resolution can now serve as the common meeting ground of all sincere friends of a Jewish Palestine, Jew and Gentile alike."

### JEWISH AGENCY APPEALS FOR EMIGRATION OF JEWS FROM THE UNITED STATES TO PALESTINE

JERUSALEM, Dec. 12. (JTA) -- The Jewish Agency today appealed to American Zionists to organize a movement for large scale emigration of Jews from the United States to Palestine "in order to fill the gap caused by the destruction of European Jewry."

The appeal was made in behalf of the Agency by David Ben-Gurion, chairman of its executive, at a session of the Small Zionist Actions Committee, following a farewell address delivered by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver on the eve of his return to the United States.

The Actions Committee today was almost evenly split on whether or not representatives of the Jewish Agency should appear before the Anglo-American inquiry commission on Palestine. Those favoring participation expressed the hope that if the Jewish claims are presented to the commission positive results might be achieved. Those opposing argued that even if the commission adopts recommendations favorable to the Jews, these recommendations will not be carried out by the British Government which has already set its policy.

### Program for Political Action Presented to Supreme Zionist Body

Reporting on the ten-day extraordinary meeting of the Jewish Agency executive, Ben-Gurion said that the executive is not despairing, despite the difficulties which the Jewish claims on Palestine are now encountering. He recommended the following program of action:

1. Jews should increase the fight against the White Paper both in Palestine and in all countries abroad.
2. The entire executive of the Jewish Agency should remain in office, and should have responsibility as a collective body until the next World Zionist Congress.
3. Zionist political activities should be increased in London and in Washington, and a special office should be established under Dr. Nahum Goldmann in the city where the United Nations Organization will make its headquarters.
4. The Jewish Agency should strengthen its cooperation with the American

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"Your committee feels, therefore, that the time is at hand when long-standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled."

The new resolution overwhelmingly approved by the committee called attention to President Truman's recent request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of 100,000 additional Jewish refugees, and to the Anglo-American committee inquiry, slated to report in 120 days.

Recalling a declaration by the Sixty-seventh Congress, placing Congress on record for creating "a national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine, the resolution said ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe "has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of his persecution."

The resolution went on to say that influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine "is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic and general economic conditions."

The committee therefore resolved:

"That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended, and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

Connally cited his vote for the 1922 declaration for a Jewish homeland but said he could not support "a resolution which would embarrass the President in the performance of his international duties and would be a hindrance in bringing about an understanding with Great Britain."

"I sympathize deeply with the Jewish people," he said, "but the passage of this resolution is not in their interest and according to my view will distinctly operate to their disadvantage and to frustration of their cause."

Subcommittee authors of the committee resolution were Green (chairman), Tammell (D. Del.), Hatch (D., N. Mex.), Austin (R., Va.) and Wiley (R., Wis.).



Zionist Emergency Council and the Zionist Organization of America, and should empower the newly-elected American members of the executive to act for the Agency "on certain occasions."

5. Zionist activities should be increased among the surviving Jews in Europe. Special envoys should be sent to them, Yiddish publications should be issued for distribution among them and everything should be done to prepare them for emigration to Palestine.

6. Special consideration should be given to the needs of the Jews in Oriental countries and Zionist activities should be intensified in the American and British dominions.

7. Zionist organizations throughout the world should explore the possibility of a referendum among Jews throughout the world on the question of Zionist aims.

8. The World Zionist Congress should be convened within the next summer, with Palestine being favored as the site of the meeting.

The Arab Higher Committee of Palestine last night adopted a resolution declaring that there is no necessity for any inquiries by the Anglo-American inquiry commission on Palestine. However, the resolution does not speak of boycotting the commission. Meanwhile, the Palestine Government announced that it is making all arrangements necessary for the arrival of the commission in Palestine and has appointed Robert Scott as special liaison officer to help the members of the inquiry body during their stay in the country.

#### FLIGHT OF JEWS FLEEING TO MUNICH FROM EASTERN EUROPE DESCRIBED BY JTA CORRESPONDENT

MUNICH, Dec. 12. (JTA) -- This capital of Bavaria almost overnight has become the center of continental European Jewry. Pogrom conditions in Poland, the unfriendliness in Hungary and other countries toward the Jews and the fear of further persecutions of those eastern Jews who survived Hitler and returned to their homelands all have caused thousands to leave and to converge on Munich.

The reason for the selection of this city is because the grapevine has spread the story that the way to Palestine leads from Warsaw to Prague, by way of Munich, or through Munich to Vienna and Salzburg. Refugees from eastern Europe, including those from the Russian zone, have been arriving at the Deutsches Museum, the American Army transient center in Munich, at the rate of 300 daily. The huge museum building, which was partly destroyed by bombs, has been turned into an extensive barracks with some 500 beds and 300 cots.

On Saturday night last, 1,000 people occupied this space while scores stood in line attempting to obtain accommodations which were non-existent because three major Bavarian refugee camps, those at Landsberg, Feldafing and Fahrenwald, where there were accommodations for 10,000 people, already house 15,200. Smaller camps are coming into existence, but the general result is conditions which in many respects approximate those of the Nazi concentration camps. Thirty individuals appointed to the Central Committee for Bavarian Displaced Jews now have the responsibility of looking after the 35,000 unfortunates in this area. They are aided by the Joint Distribution Committee, headed by Dr. Levy Becker and an American chaplain named Abraham I. Klausner who, at this critical juncture, was transferred by the Army to the American zone in Berlin.

The order has been given by the American Army that the Jews should be grouped apart from all other DP's and, in addition, orders came from Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower that these people should be given special attention. Seven weeks ago, when reports of pogroms and persecutions were brought out of Poland by the first fleeing refugees, who indicated that many more would soon follow them, such responsible refugee-camp directors as A.C. Glassgold, at Landsberg, reported to the Army authorities and to UNRRA officials that they could soon expect an influx of 10,000. No move was made, however, to meet that crisis.







## סילור ברדיו ירושלים

הדיר א. ה. סילבר שידר ברדיו ירושלים רדיו של מדינת אמריקה ליושן ובין השאר אמר: "אני סביר יפה את רגשות העם האמריקאי ויוצר היטב את ההחלטות הפיוניות של שתי המפלגות — הירוקה והרפובליקנית — וידועה לי גם נעמדת פועלי אמר ריקה האלף הרוחות בקונגרס האמריקאי, ולפיכך פועלתי, שאמריקה לא תתן ידה למעשה הפעל הזה בעצמנו. המדינה היהודית קרם תקופה על אף כל המכשולים — עניינה של אמריקה במזרח התיכון הולך ורוב אין לה שאיפות שורה וכיבוש כל שהן, לא כאן ולא בשום מקום אחר, אלא ברצונה לסייע לכל העמים ובתוכם גם לעמי המזרח אבל בדרך לא על חשבון העם היהודי! העם האמריקאי נוסח לראות ארץ ישראל עכרית כחלון הירשנים האמריקאים בחלק זה של העולם."

המבוללה ששר ברוך ביקש להבדיל בין יהודי פזיונים — אין לה אחיזה באמריקה — הוכרז שסבין כל 9 יהודים באמריקה 8 סומכים יום על הקמת המדינה היהודית, ודאי, שיש מתנגדים ובוודאי וקדוילינגים, אבל יתרות אמריקה ציונית ברובה.

ראיתי את הכשרון, הנאמנות וחירותי הנפש של הא' נשים והנשים הקדושים במלכות הבין. גם ראיתי את הנס ינועו שנעשו לבלום, לעצור ולהשכיח את פלאות הבין, כבוד הודות או בתלוליו ביוזקוריות, נוסח כל זה מהי פלא הלב באור על אופי בוריצין, אלה, זה החומר, אשר פגעו קורצו אופות מולות והרבליות מולות, בכל מקום אתה חש את הכיבושים ללכת קריסה, יהדות אמריקה — נוסח אומר לעצמך שסם אחר עם הישוב, באופן המלחמה של הישוב, התמימותו לצבא והתמימות היהודית הלוהמת העל מלחמת טאון כלבט, המאבק של הישוב על חירות שקרי הארץ הלוהמת, מקולם לא היו יהודי אמריקה מלכודים כיום בורישתם לביטול הסדר הלבן ולהנחשת הנהגת כל שור הממסד, יהודי אמריקה וידועים את התפקיד שהיה עליהם ציי התשטת העליונה עם חורבן מרכז היהדות באירופה, הם למדו ופזיונים ללמוד את הלכת והם נחקרבו יותר יותר לאוי בשנות המלחמה, יהודי אמריקה פוזנים לסייע בכל הרכבים להתפתחות המדינה של אף ציי פיר פוק אמצעים לקרנות וגם ציי השקעות כספים בארץ, ואף מסר לא קטן, בדרך המהירה המשתחרר עכשיו מהנכב האמריקאי, שואף לעלות ולהתיישב בארץ.

## תפעולות הממשלה

בשיר הנכב העליון ברמה נערך (זו הפעם הראשונה) השבוע, ראש מועצת הקריה פז שבתאי לוי פיון את שיתוף הפעולה הקיים במועצת קריית חיפה ובניה לבין השלטונות והבין הקוד שהבין החדש יפסיך כשר שרת זה.

הנוצח הודו על קבלת הפנים והבין התפעולות הממשלה הקריה הודו לה עתיד מזהיר, הועדה הממשלתית נחקר החינוך הנכב ששקע השבוע את עדותם של בייכ, המורח, והמפקחים על פעולת חינוכו, המפקחים על בתי-הספר הכלליים, מרכז המור רים, מחלקת החינוך של הונו האומי והמפקחים על מוסדות החינוך של וום הקודמים ונפזי עדות המוסדות שהבין הכרת חובת חינוך חינם — חברי הוועדה נתי קבלו לשיחה אצל הרב הראשי דיר א. א. הרצוג.

פזיונת, המוכיר הראשי עם המתנאים בתלאביב נסבה לשאלת התמדת העזריות על הקרנות, מר שאו ראש המדור לבסל את הודעתו הקודמת של המדור הראש של המפקח ברונו זה, ופיון כי בשעתה לא חיקו הודעה זו, פזיון שפגע המפקח בארץ היה אז מרכז יחיד, וכי המפקח הקדשה בעקבותיה כל, אחריות פזיון וזרים פזיון נוסח על 'הקורן, גם אם האומר לא נוסח ציי המעוררת.

לכך מסר מר י. המסכן בשם כל העתונים העכרים הודעה זו: הורשיתי עליי כל העתונים היחידים העכ' רים למועד ולאשר, כי אינני יכולים לקבל את הודעה כי הקורסם יהיו אחרים אישית לזכרים שותתו עליי העזריות כפי שקבעת בחוד מספר פזיון בחדש שקבר.

כל העתונים היחידים העכרים התחייבו לפזיון יות במקרה של פעולה נזר עתון יחיד עכרי על פזיון המדור הנכב.

לשאלת עתונאי קרבי מסר מר שאו, כי לאחר המלחמה באירופה נעצרו בארץ 431 פזיונים יהודים ופזים 40 שותתו, 15 שולחו לפי בקשתם לחיל והמסכה קודם חבשים למחללת השלטונות, לשאלה אחת קנה המדור כור האש כי הנוקם שנתנו בתלאביב ברו במספר נאמנים בחפשים אף ליווה.

— האמר עבראללה, שליטה של עבריותו, עיר בקור אצל הנוצח העליון בירושלים והתאחד בארופה.

## שבע הימים בארץ

### הנהיגי הציונות מחוץ-לארץ

אחרית העולם של התנועה הציונית בארץ שהי בעו לבאן מקבר למדינות הים התיכון והמדינה נוסח השבוע קנ חנים רחבים של הישוב והשפיעו בפזיון את דבר הקידוש והעזו במלחמתו ובמלחמת כל האומה לקוספיות.

בתחומות האומות קיבל קהל אלפי תלאביב ב-התון המתנאים את נוסח ההסתדרות הציונית בארץ ריקה הרב דיר אבא הלל סילבר שאמר בין השאר: כי לא בחין ולא שרופן, לא האנגלים והאמריקנים, כי גם בוני הארץ יסדעו במירלה ויתרצו את סיסטמה. אנו עדיין בראשית המערכה והיא טרם התכרעה סופית, הוא הביע את אמונתו, כי אף הנושא שרופן יהיה בין תומכיו, העומד הוקדש לסקירת מדינת השרון ועסקי-המדינה אנושי המקומות הללו.

פזיונה נלכבה נערכה לדיר סילבר פזיון עורכי העתונים וחברי הונו בתלאביב שהסכו קטל למעדות הצירים הנכב.

י. המסכן קידם את האומה בברכה וקדם על המר קידו הפזיון ב-הינספדור, ו-אמבאסדור, גם יחד, שהיה המסדק של כל מדינתו כיום הונו, ולפון וונשוב קדם על מולותיו של האומה כוכר ונאם, בסוף הונו קדם רוכשיו קנ ממשלות העתונאים בארץ וביקש מהאומה שיר שיש יד קדושת לעתונות העכרית בשבוע לאמריקה, כשר יחד ביקש את תמיכתו בהקמת בית העתונאים בארץ ישראל — בית מקדוליב.

הרב סילבר הביע בדברי תשובתו את הודתו על קבלת-הפזיון שקרבו לו בכל מקום בארץ, הוא מיהו שהי כעתידינו וז אינו מסכות אליו באופן אשר, כי אם לזכרים בום הוא הונו ולמקום הוא נלחם, כן הביע את הודתו על זכרים שנסכו עליו בעתונות הארצישראלית ופיון שהם סקבל חלק מן העתונאים העכרים בביתו בקליבלנד, יודע לה שיתוף הארץ פזיונים וקדושת-לואת שונות, אך כולם מפזיונים ברמה גבוהה, סכוד עליהם הונום של אשר, רעיונות והתחייבותיות, כולם חודרים רבון חוק לשרת במיטב היכולת את הקוין המשתחרר, אנו מאמין — אשר הדיר סילבר — שאפשר להצוא ורך של עבודה משותפת וחברות בין אנשים העושים פעולה-יחידים של, בניהול-הארץ, הייתי בשנים האחרונות יחסי-האומה המועצה הציונית לשעת חירום באמריקה, הכר ללח 4 קבוצות — ההסתדרות הציונית (פזיון כלליים), הונו, המדור והעל-הידין (גם המדור העכרי, שאינו סיקה רשית במדועה נוסח בהתייצבותו) ועל לומר, שבעבודתי במדועה נהניתי מתמיכת הונו והמסכאל גם יחד, אין לי השקפה מיוחדת כיום למחללת המסכים של השאלה הארצישראלית, לעומת זאת יש לי השקפה מסר ימת על המדור העליון של העכרית, השקפה היא — השקפה הציונית והרעיונית: ספרותיות שלטו הוא, המר יונה והנוצח — פזיון דיר סילבר.

מועצת קריית תלאביב קדמה לאומה קבלת-הפזיון רשית.

י. הוקם, סקדום את האומה בברכה, פיון בתחילת הברו את הפזיון קדמה ליהדות אמריקה, אשר תחת להאבול נעשתה לקדושת-ההון של העם היהודי והנכב את פעילותו המעטת של יהדות אמריקה בכללה (הנכבם הרסה וכו') והתנועה הציונית כפזיון, קולכם למדינה עכרית לא נשקע מאחורי המדור אלא התרומם את התי ביקה ברסה, זאת היתה כנחתה מהפכה משמעותית בשר ביל היהדות האמריקנית, שתחילתה הונו להאבולתה של מדינתו כנון הונוס כראונט, ויליאן פאק, הנבי סילר וקוד (הקול קם לככר את וזרים) גם מדינות מדינות הקני כנון הרב סיסטמה פזיון, לואי לינסקי, י. נולד שטיין וביניהם הרב סילבר, יחסי-האומה המסכרות הודו יות המוללה ביותר בעולם, שהחזירו את ההכרה הנכב בתומדי יהדות אמריקה — אשר י. ריקה, להלן פיון ריקה כי בהתחלטה של הקרי והמסר בארץ לא היה ניכר ביותר רישומה של יהדות אמריקה, לתפזיר גם ליהדות אמריקה, כי אנו ידועים לראותה לא רק מסיקת בחומר אלא גם קרית ובנטי.

הרב סילבר הודה (בעברית) על קבלת-הפזיון וא' אתה, התחלטה המדינה של תלאביב כנחתה מר י. הפזיון, מדינות רבים לה, אך החשוב שבהם הוא ללח סק כוח תחון ואומן לבג של סולל הודו הראשונות, אלה שהיתה להם היכולת לראות סון פזיון במחשבה תחילה — קיד מועדק והודעה על נכבות חיל.

לשאלתו לאמריקה כוכריו פזיון פזיון אשכנזי, כי אף על פי שהשקפה אף שפג שסכב סכות והמאבק לא מצאיו סון אשר, אלא ויתו של הקריה, אנו ונא' ונא' — אשר סילבר בסוף הונו, אר בשות כי המדינה יהדות אמריקה יקדו שסכב אף אנום בעבודה המוללה

## אצל עתונאי ירושלים

העיתונאים בירושלים ערכו אירחת צירים מדינות לאומיות חברי המוללה המסכרות היהודית: מר לואיס ליפסי ק, ברל לוקר, פרום ברוצקי ודיר ג. מלחמן, דיר אבא הלל סילבר היה איתה שעה בתלאביב ולא יכול היה להשי' תת במסכרת, מר ג. סוס קיבל בשם העתונאים בברכה בתיים את מדי האומות וקדם על כל אחד מהם ועל מקום פזיון היהודים וקדושת ישראל, מר אאיוסקי קדם בפזיון אף מר פזיון, שהוא היה רוב בליונות, תאוריות המדי בירושלים ברמה והונו וגם בפזיון השקפה מר לינסקי הכיר על הונויות של עזרות אמריקה על עמדת הישוב, מר לוקר קדם, שאם כי אינו מלא חקרה, אינו ככל זאת גם פזיון, יש לי הרגשה, שבימים האחרונים התחילה באנגליה לאחר המעצמות האחרונות, פזיון התפכחתי יודעה על חשבון קרוב והקדושת של המד היהודי, במסכרות של אומה וזולו נפזיון, שהתבלס בראשונה, הכל תלוי, לזכרו בהתנחלות הישוב וקדושתו ובתפכיתו של יהדות אמריקה ואנגליה פזיון ברוצקי הנכב על הקדושת, שבארץ נשפזים כוחות נכבאים אכירים כאלה, שאין בהם מודר כלל כשכיל ענייני הפזיון, אין זה כי אם יש כאן, פוליטיקה גבוהה, המסכרת למדי לאומים ולא לנו, היהודים ולכן אין ראיות בעמדתה הנכב וונה של המפעלה אקם בלתי ציוני, אנגליה רבים קדמו את עמדתה האחרונה בארץ, פזיונים רק לעשות הכל בתמיכה ואין להחיל סק בעכרית, דיר מלחמן אף הוא מזהיר מן המסכרת בעקרון של, המדינות, אין להתפלל ביותר ואין להאמין ביותר מן הכרה זו או אחרת, העיקר הוא הישוב, אנו נעשית כוח, שאי אפשר בשום אופן לעבוד עליו למדי היום, ואי אפשר לשום מדינה שהוא בלעדיו המסכרת, אנו עומדים בסדק האחרון של מדורן בענינו, מר מאמן, אתר והדינות הנכב.

## This Changing World

By Constantine Brown

Dec. 13-46

A plan for solution of the vexing Palestine problem by resettlement of the Arabs there in neighboring Iraq has been drawn up by former President Herbert Hoover and is understood to be before the White House for study. Also the project, it is said, has aroused the active interest of Rabbi Abba H. Silver, president of the Zionist Organization of America and co-chairman, with Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the political arm of the "back to Palestine" movement.

Mr. Hoover, an engineer by profession, bases his plan on the fact that in ancient times, through an elaborate system of irrigation, the Tigris and Euphrates Valleys probably supported 10,000,000 persons in the Kingdoms of

Babylon and Nineveh, approximately the area of modern Iraq. Over the centuries, however, the irrigation system was either destroyed by Mongol invaders or was allowed to deteriorate. The present population of Iraq is only about 3,500,000.

About three decades ago, Mr. Hoover recalls in his memorandum, a well-known British engineer, William Willcocks, made a study of the ancient Babylonian irrigation system. He arrived at the conclusion that if it were restored by modern methods, approximately 1,000,000 acres of potentially the richest agricultural land in the world could be recovered at a cost of around \$150,000,000.

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The Iraq government was interested

in the project, but because of lack of money and the intrusion of the war, never carried it far. Some years ago, the memorandum points out, it was proposed that the area be developed for the settlement of Jewish refugees, but the proposal did not satisfy Jewish desires for a historical homeland.

Mr. Hoover's own suggestion is that the Tigris-Euphrates irrigation system should be revived with international financial aid to Iraq and that this great land development then be used for the resettlement of the Arabs from Palestine. The latter country, he points out, could then be opened to a large-scale Jewish emigration and colonization.

In support of the project, his memorandum says:

"There is room for many more arabs in such a development in Iraq than the total of Arabs in Palestine. The soil is more fertile. They would be among their own race, which is Arab-speaking and Mohammedan. The Arab population of Palestine would be the gainers from better lands in exchange for their present holdings. Iraq would be the gainer, for it badly needs an agricultural population."

"Today millions of people are being moved from one land to another. If the lands were re-organized and homes provided, this particular movement could be made the model migration of history. It would be a solution by engineering instead of by conflict."

"I realize that the plan offers a challenge both to the statesmanship of the great powers as well as to the good will of all parties concerned. However, I submit it, and it does offer a method of settlement with both honor and wisdom."

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The basic suggestion for settling the Arab population of Palestine in Iraq, Mr. Hoover recalls, was made by the British Labor party in December, 1944, but no adequate plan was offered to implement it. Mr. Hoover believes that the revival of the ancient irrigation system in Iraq provides the logical answer to assuring the transferred Arabs of a comfortable living.

Although Palestine is a rich agricultural country, it already has a high density of population, about 153 persons to the square mile. During the two decades from 1922 to 1942, the population increased by about 833,000. Of these 390,000 were Jews, and of that number 80 per cent represented immigrants.

Many Jewish groups here and in Great Britain are insisting that their co-religionists who were uprooted from their homes by the Hitlerite terror be settled in Palestine. This, plus the rapid increase in population, has caused great tension between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine. A 12-man Anglo-American committee has been set up to study the problem. They may find food for thought in the Hoover memorandum.



# אמריקאנער יידישער

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פרייטיק, 14 דעצעמבער, תש"ו

פון אונזער שטעטל 13 סעפט  
פון 1945 און 1946 12 סעפט

10 ס. און ניו יארק סיטי



ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער

נייער פרעזידענט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע

### ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער

(cont. from p. 42)

נעוואונקען צו רעזיגנאציע פון דער  
פירערשאפט.

עס האט זיך אבער גלייך נעמטן א  
נישט ציוניסטען, וועלכע האבן אויס  
געשטעלט א האפ אומגעווענען סידר  
ווערן צום דירעקטאר. וועלכע איז די ניר  
פ' קליין נעמען איז צאל אבער שטעט  
איז די "אויס" אויסגעשטאפט נעמטן  
פון די ציוניסטען שיקטן פון דער  
ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע. עס האט  
נישט געקאנט מוחל זיין, ווי אזוי ד.ר.  
סילווער איז באזיטיגט געווארען, איז  
די ציוניסטישע סיטיזירטשאפט האט  
געוואלט, אז איז דעם שווערען סאר  
סעט איז דירעקטאר געווען איז דער  
פירערשאפט די באשטעט איז האט  
לעבטן פערזענלעכקייט פון ד.ר.  
אבא הלל סילווער, אונזער דעם ניר  
וועלכעסלעכען דירעקטאר איז ד.ר. אבא  
הלל סילווער לעצטע וועג צוריק  
רופען נעמטן צו זיין אסאך אלס מיט  
שטערטאן פון דער עסירדענעם  
האפטן, נאכדעם וואס ד.ר. סילווער  
זיך באשלייגט איז דער לאנדאנער  
ציוניסטישער וועלטקאנגרעס, און  
האט דארט אויסגעקליבט א גרויסע  
אויסשלוס און איז פונקטליכע ניר  
ווארען אלס סעטליר פון דער ציוניסטי  
טייער וועלט "עקסטרעם" צוזאמען  
פון ד.ר. ווייז און נאך ליפטיק.

די גרופע וואס האט דערפאר צו  
זיין אונזער צו דער פאליטישער סידר  
רעזשאפט איז דירעקטאר נעמטן צו  
דער איבערזעצונג אז אים צו פארזי  
נעמען די אומגעשטעלטע פאליטישע  
שיקע פון ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער איז  
גרויס, אז ער וואלט געוואלט (ווערן)  
אלס פרעזידענט פון דער אמעריקאנער  
ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, ער האט  
זיך לעתחילה געווענעלעך אנגענומען  
דעם אסאך אבער אויפערן דרום פון  
זיין פרייע האט ער מסכים געווען  
צו לאזן ארויסשטעלן זיין קאנדי  
דאטיר, ווען עס איז באקאנט געווארען  
זיין צושטימונג, האט עס פון אלע  
עקסן לאנד צונעמיט אונטערשטיר  
צונגן רעוואלוציעס, זייער פון זייע  
אסאלינגע נענער האט נישט געוואלט  
ארויסצושטעלן אן אנדער קאנדידאט  
און פריי דער ציוניסטישער קאנגרעס  
שאט אין אטלאנטיק סיטי דעם 16טען  
נאוועמבער איז ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער  
אויסגעקליבט געווארען נעמטן אלס  
פרעזידענט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציו  
ניסטישער ארגאניזאציע.

ד.ר. אבא הלל סילווער האט איבער  
גענומען די פירערשאפט און ווער איז  
שווער צייט פאר דער ציוניסטישער  
באוועגונג גלייך נאך זיין אויסוואל,  
איז ער אנגעשלינגען זיין ארץ ישראל  
צו באשלייגן זיך אין א וועג פון  
דער ציוניסטישער וועלטקאנגרעס,  
און האט דארט געוואלט די לויזות  
פון די אויסשלינגע קבנות אין די  
לעצטע אויפגאבעס עס שטעהט אויס  
פאר א שווערע טאקא, ער וועט אבער  
האבען די שטיצע פון אנדערע פאלק.



אין דער צייט פון שווערע פרויען  
סען אין לעבען פון א פאלק איבער  
הויפט אין מיטען פון א פאפאר  
באפרייאונג ערשיינט געווענליך  
אויף דער ארענא א פערזענלעכקייט  
וועלכע דאס פאלק און די באוועגונג  
אנטרעסירט אלס ווארשטאנד און פיהר  
דער. צו דער פאפארענער נעמער  
דער מאדערנער דעוועלופמענט פרויען  
דענס פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניז  
זאציע, דר. הלל סילווער.  
איבערשטאנט אין, אן פונקט מיט  
פערציג יאהר צוריק אין דעוועלופער  
אבא הלל דאן א צוועלף יאהרונג אינ  
נעל, דעוועלופט געווארען אלס פיר  
זייענע פון דעם ערשטען ציוניסטיש  
שען יונגעם פילן אין אסעריע, וועל  
כער האט געמיינט דעם נאמען "דר.  
הערל ציון סילווער". דער ראזנער  
סילווער איז געבוירען געווארען אויף  
דער ניו יארקער איסט סייד ענדע ווי  
סער 1904, נאך נאכ'ן טויט פון דר.  
סעראף הערשל.



סישה און דינה סילווער

די עלטערע פון דר. אבא הלל סילווער, ווי זי האבען אויסגעזעהן צו זייער  
אכציג יאהרונג יובל, וועלכער איז געפירט געווארען אין 1941 אין ירושלים

די איניציאטארע פון סילווער זיינען  
געווען אבא הלל און זיין עלטסטער  
ברודער מרדכי, וועלכער איז איצט  
באזאגט אלס דר. מאקסוועל סילווער.  
די צוויי ברודער האבען דעמאלט ניש  
לערנט אין א ניו יארקער תלמוד  
תורה, אויף העברעא סטודיום וועלכע  
האט געפירט דעם פלינגערנען נאך  
סען "וואלאדזשענער ישיבה". ווען עס  
איז באזאגט געווארען אויף דער איסט  
סייד די שטעלעכע כוונה וועגן  
דעם טויט פון דר. הערשל, זיינען די  
סילווער ברודער געפארען צו זייער  
חברים אין דער ישיבה און פארנע  
שלאנגען, אן עס זאל גינגען א פיל  
אויפ'ן נאמען. פון דעם פרייהייט  
אריינגעברענגען ציוניסטישען פירער  
דר. סעראף הערשל, דער דער פאר  
שלאג איז אנטקעגן געווארען און  
ספעט אלע תלמידים פון דער ישיבה  
האבען זיך אפגעשלאסען. אויף דער על  
טערער סילווער ברודער מרדכי איז  
דעוועלופט געווארען אלס פערזענלעכע  
זייער שטח האט אבער לאנג ניש  
געווען. די ראשי ישיבה וועלכע זיי  
נען געווען גענוער פון ציוניזם, הא  
בען געשטערט, און די יונגע אנדער  
אין מאכענדיגעסאלע, די ברודער  
סילווער וואסען מיט נאך 2 חברים  
קריאל שטייטן אין י. י. אריאסער  
ווייז, האבען באשלאסען ניש אויף  
צונעמען דעם פילן, ווי זיינען אוועק  
אויס צו סילווער'ס מאסער ר' ששה  
וועלכער איז געסלאגן געווען אן העכ  
רעאקטער לענדער אין סחוקי תלמוד  
תורה אויף איסט בראדוויי, א איז א  
שיכיל און א ווארימער ציוניסט, ר'  
סישה האט געוואלט די קינדער אויס  
גיין צו אריאסער'ס דעם פילן, א הייב  
שע צייט איז ער געווען דער אנפירער  
און ביי איהם איז הויז האט מען  
ווי אויסגעשלאסען. ווען דער פילן איז  
גערעט געווארען, האט ער אפגעווא  
סען "זייער פיינטליכע פיהרער אין  
הכנסת אורחים הויז, יעקב סיל, איר  
נער פון די גיידער פון האיאם, האט  
פיל אויסגעוואלטען דעם פילן, דער  
נאך האבען זיי זיך אריבערגעפליגן  
אין דער געביידע פון שטיבל אל דר.  
156 איסט בראדוויי.

די סעמינארים פון פילן האט זיך  
פארגעפירט אויף ציוניסטישער אר  
בייט, ווי אונז, אונז, דער, פארשפריי  
טונג פון דער העברעאישער שפראך  
און תלמוד אברהם פארשפרייטען דער  
פאפאר פון אידישען סטאטער, אין  
פארשידענע ערטער, געווארען אין דער  
ארבייט פון דעם פילן און ער האט  
פאר זיי אנגעהויבן א פיעטע אויף  
העברעאיש "דער פון גלייט", וואס זי  
האבען געפירט, זיי האבען אויך  
אויסגעפירט "משה רבנו", וואס און  
זיינע ברודער, און אבא הלל האט  
געפירט די וואלען פון משה רבנו און  
פון יודות, ר' פארשפרייטען האבען  
געמאכט א פיעטע וואס און האבען  
געוואלט צו פארשפרייטען דער פילן  
לערנענדיג און פילן, עס צווייטע  
יאהר פון דער גיידענע פון דעם פילן  
אין אבא הלל געווענליך געווארען אלס  
דער פרייזענען מיט א יאהר שפער  
סער, 1906, האט דער דר. הערשל  
ציון פילן, וועלכער האט שוין ניש  
עקלעט איבער הונדערט חברים, ניש  
זייט דעם פערזענלעכע אבא הלל אלס  
דעלעגאט צו דער פאנעוועזשער פון  
דער ציוניסטישער פערזענלעכע וועל  
כע איז אפגעוואלטען געווארען אין סע  
נערסוויי, ניו יארק, עס איז געווען  
דאס ערשטע מאל, ווען א דעלעגאט  
פון א געווענליכע ציוניסט וואלד ווי  
באפרייאונג איז א פאנעוועזשער, אבא  
הלל האט געוואלט אויף דער פאר  
ווערנע א דערע אויף העברעאיש, און

ר'אט די שטעלע אנגעוואלטען צוויי  
יאהר, ביי 1917, פון דאס איז ער  
איבערגעלאזען געווארען אין טרעסט  
און רייכטעסן טעמפל אין קליינלאנד,  
וועלכער טראגט דעם נאמען "דער  
טעמפל" נאכדעם, ווי ער איז אויף  
געוועהלט געווארען, האט מען איהם  
איבערגעגעבען, און א צאל מיטגלידער  
פון דעם טעמפל'ס באאד און דירעקט  
טאגס זיינען גענוער פון ציוניזם, און  
זיי האבען אנגעווייזען סילווער ניש  
נען איהם צוליב דעם, וואס מען האט  
זיי איבערגעגעבען, אן ניש לאנג צוריק  
האט ער געהאלטען א ציוניסטישע דע  
רע אויף דער פאנעוועזשער פון דר. דע  
פארס ראביי, ראביי הלל סילווער  
האט צוגעשיקט צום פערזענלעכע פון  
טעמפל'ס דעם טעמפל פון זיין דערע,  
ווי אויך דעם כתבירכנות, וואס דער  
טעמפל האט איהם געגעבען, ער האט  
געקענט דעם פערזענלעכע צו זייערע צו  
אלע מיטגלידער פון באאד, דעם  
טעמפל פון זיין דערע, און אויך די  
פאנען זיי ציוניסטישען ראביי נישט  
פארזייען, באפרייט ער זיי פון דעם  
קאנטראקט, וואס מען האט איהם ניש  
געגעבן.

"דער טעמפל" האט איהם ניש אפ  
געלאזט און ער פארנעמט דאס, ווי  
שטעלע אלס נישטער פירער שוין  
העכער 28 יאהר מיט דער געמיינע  
פארזענלעכע עס האט גענומען יאדער  
ביי איהם האט זיך איבערגעגעבן צו  
ארגאניזירען איהם דעם טעמפל א  
ציוניסטישע סאפייעט, וואס עקלע  
איהם פיל הונדערטער מיטגלידער.

זי ער איז אנגעקומען אין קליין  
לאנד אין סילווער געווארען טעמפל אין  
א צאל שפארטישע און נאציאנאלע  
באוועגונגען אויפ'ן געווענליכעס  
אן פילאנטראפישען געביט, ער האט  
סען זיין טעמינארים געווען די אויף  
סעקראטאריעס פון דער געמיינע אין  
וואשינגטאן, און ווען אסעריע איז  
אריינגעקומען אין דער ערשטער  
וועלטמלחמה, איז ער דעקלירט ניש  
ווארען מיט א ספעציעלער מיסיע פון  
פראנצויזישער, ער האט זיך דאס אויף  
געפירט און איז געווארען געוואר  
נען פון דער פראנצויזישער געמיינע.  
אין 1921, ווען עס איז פארגעקומען  
סען אין אסעריע, דער באוועגונג  
נען סאפ, און דער ציוניסטישער בא  
הענגען צווישען ריכטער בראדוויי און  
דר. תום ווייזאק, אין דר. סילווער  
געווען מיט די בראדווייטעס, די  
ציוניסטישע פאנעוועזשער, וואו דער  
אבא איז אויסגעשטעלט געווארען.  
אין ארגאניזירען אין סילווער, עס  
איז געווען די ערשטע ציוניסטישע  
פאנעוועזשער אין אסעריע אויף וועל  
כער איז ביי אנטווערן געווען און  
איר ערשטע נאך ניש דעם שפארטיש  
וואס, וואס דער יונגער סילווער האט  
דעמאלט געמאכט, ניש לאנג אבער אין  
דר. אבא הלל סילווער פארזענלעכע אין  
דעם לאנד פון די בראדווייטעס, ער  
איז געווען פון די ערשטע אומגעווערען  
ווי צום פון הויז און צו דער צויר  
פאפארענער ארגאניזאציע, און איז אויף  
ביידע געביטען איבערגעפירט געווארען  
נען סעמינארים.

זיין לעבענסבאגלייטער ווייב  
די אריינפירט, האט דר. אבא הלל  
סילווער באגעגענט אין וואלינגטאן, וואו  
ער האט פארנומען זיין ערשטע שטעל  
נעמער ראביי, איהרע עלטערע זיי  
נען געווען פון די אלטע פארנעמטע

מיטגלידער פון טעמפל, ער האט איהר  
געווייזט אין יאהר 1928, זיי האבען  
צוויי יאהר: ניואלי ווייזאק, און ראסל  
דור, ביידע האבען געפירט אין דער  
ארייט אין פארלויף פון דער איצטיג  
נער מלחמה.  
דעם ראשטאג מיטל האט אבא הלל  
סילווער באפרייט אין הויז ווייזאק  
פאלערש אין 1928 און פון דער וועט  
סערן געווען אנטווערסטיט אין 1928.  
נאך פון זיינע נאך יונגע יאדערען און  
איז ער באריכט געווארען פונקטליך  
לאנד אלס איינער פון די גלענצענדע  
סעט דערנער און לעקטורע, ער איז  
אפט איבערגעלאזען געווארען די לעק  
טורען אין די באריכטעסען איינזענער  
סיסטעם ווי האווארד, יעקל וועט  
סערן געווען און פילע אנדערע, זיין  
באריכטעסען האט אויך יעדענאיינס  
אנדערע לענדער, און ער איז אפט  
געווען געווארען אין פארשידענע  
לענדער פאר לעקטורעס, ער האט  
באוועט פארשידענע לענדער אין די  
אינטערעסען פון דער ציוניסטישער  
באוועגונג און איהרע נאציאנאלע  
פאנען, און איז ער אין מיטען פון  
דער איצטיגער מלחמה געפארען אין  
ענלאנד, ווי אויך אין לאטין אסעריע  
פאנער לענדער.

אויסער זיין כתב בעל-פה מיט דער  
נאציאנאלער "איינזענער" צונוי, האט  
האט דר. סילווער שוין הויבט אויסגע  
טאן כסב — מיט זיין שווער, נאך איז  
זייער נאך יונגע יאדערען האט ער אפ  
געווייזט שרייבען העברעאיש און  
ענגליש, ער האט זיך באשולעסן אין  
פערזענלעכע פערזאנלעכע אומגאנגען,  
אנדערע פון זיי האט ער געוואלטען,  
זיין ערשטע געמיינע ווייטענשאפטליך  
כע אריינס אין דערשיינען אין 1927  
אין א בורשטאג מיט'ן נאמען "סע  
מיאניס פאפאליטאט און אריאליזם"  
(פאפאליטאט אומגעווענען זיי און  
דעם), און דעם בור ווערט אויף אן  
עכטווייטענשאפטליכע אומגאנגען אויף  
נעבראכט די אנטווערסונג פון דעם  
סעמינאליזם ביי אדער, און געווייזט  
דעם פארנעם האט דער דאזיגער קליין  
כען האט אנטווערסונג, די פאלעס פאר  
היים און זייער ווייבונג, עס ווערט  
דאס אויך אנאליזירט דער פארשפריי  
כער גלייכע, וועלכער איז געווען  
אויף דער אידישער פארשפרייטען דר.  
סילווער ווייזט איהם אין דעם בור  
אויסגעווענליכע, פערזענלעכע, ווייזט  
און מיטע פארשפרייטען פאר דער  
אידישער אומגאנגען און פילן בור  
ווערט באטראכט אלס ווייטענער דעם  
געווענליכע ביישראן אויף דעם  
נעבלי, ניש קאפערען דעווייז וואס עס  
איז דער פיל געשריבען געווארען  
אויף דער שטעט.

אין 1928 איז צווייטע א צווייטער  
ווייטענער בור פון דר. סילווער און  
סער'ן נאמען "דעמאקראטיש ווייטענער"  
סעס אין דעמאקראטיש ווייטענער, דעמא  
קראטישע סאפייעטאט אין דער אר  
דערע געווייזט, נאך צוויי ווייטענער  
ביידע פון איהם זיינען פארשפרייטען ניש  
ווארען, איינס "ווייטענער פארשפרייטען ניש  
אן אומגאנגענדיגער וועלכע", די  
צווייטע "דער וועלט פרויען און דער  
אויסער פילן", דעם לעצטע בור איז  
ערשינען אין 1941, און באשטעהט  
פון לעקטורע, וועלכע דר. סילווער  
האט געוואלט אויף דער פאפארענער  
פון דעמאקראטישער און אי הארד  
ווארד אנטווערסונג, אין די דאזיגע  
כעסער ווי אס די פרייהערייט בא  
שטעט ער די וועלטאנטיאטאט פון  
דער אידישער פאפארענער אומגאנגען,  
וועלכע האט זיך געשטעלט אויפ'ן ניש  
דאס פון א אידישער פארשפרייטען מי  
סע, און זייענע אס דעם סאפיאטי  
לען וועגן פון דעם אידישע פאלק,  
ווי אויך די היסטארישע שפרייטען  
פון איהרע צוויי איינזענעסען אין  
ישראל אלס א אידישע מדינה, זיין  
שע, ווי זיין צונוי איז שטארק און איז  
בערייטענער, זיין מיטע באשאפטאט  
סעס די אידישע פילוסאפיע ווערנען און  
זייער איינזענלעכע שפראך און זיין  
אנאליטישער שטח, העלפן איהם צו  
סטייגן העכער און העכער אין דער  
אידישער וועלט.

זייער פאפאליטעט האט ער געפירט  
נען פון זיין פאפארענער מיט סשה סילווער  
און זיין מיטער דינה, ביידע וואסען  
זי פון ליסט, זיין פאפארענער יידע רבי  
הלל איז געווען באזאגט אלס דער פיר  
לאנדער מנהל, זיין פאפארענער רבי סשה  
האט געלערנט אין דער פאפארענער  
ישיבה ווי איר איז ווייניג ער האט  
געווייזט און נישטאנטיאטאט, סר  
באלער נאכדעם, וואס די ווייטענער  
שווער פירט און געווען וואליטאט  
בענדער איר און שטיבל אויפ'ן טיף  
נען פון די ווייטענער.

נאך דער מלחמה האט ר' סשה סיל  
ווער פארשפרייטעט לענדען תורה און  
אויך ווייטענשאפט, א נעוויס צייט  
האט ער זיך פארנומען מיט ספער,  
דערנאך מיט לענדען, דאס איז ניש  
שטאט וויינען געווארען געווארען אבא  
הלל, זיין ברודער, זיין אויך 3 שווער  
סער, ווען די פאפאליטעט לאגט אין  
געווארען א שווער, האט רבי סשה  
סילווער מיט זיין שפאטע און יאהר  
1938 פערזענלעכע פילן אסעריעס, אבא  
הלל איז דעמאלט געווען א פיר פון  
וועס יאהר, זי זיינען געווען פון  
אסעריעס און זיך באוועגט אין ניו  
יארק, אויף פערזאנלעכע ספער, סשה  
סילווער איז פיל יאדערען געווען א לע  
רער אין סחוקי תלמוד תורה אויף  
איסט בראדוויי און דערנאך אין סחוקי  
פי תלמוד תורה אין בארש פארט, אויך  
סער לענדען האט רבי סשה סילווער  
זיך אפגעגעבן מיט ווייטענשאפטליך  
כער אויספירונג פון תורה און דער  
העברעאישער שפראך, ער האט איהם  
געווייזט אויסגעווענליכע ליבע צו  
פירער און האט פיל געווייזט אין  
דער נאציאנאלער צווייטע דערפאר האט  
אין נאציאנאלער צווייטע דערפאר האט  
ער זיך אויך פיל אפגעגעבן מיט דער  
ארגאניזירונג פון דער ציוניסטישער  
ווייטענער.

מיט אפגעווען יאהר צוריק זיינען די  
עלטערע פון דר. סילווער'ן אוועק פון  
ארץ ישראל, זיי האבען זיך באוועגט  
אין דער נייט-יורשלים אין תלביה  
ביידע, דער פאפארענער און די סוטה, זיי  
נען טעמיט אין א צאל אידישע איינס  
סיסטעמעס, ווען ס'איז אין 1941 ניש  
מיטען געווארען זייער אבער יעדענע  
געווענליכע האבען אין דער פיל  
רונג אסעריע געווען א גרויסע צאל  
אינטעסטישעס און עס איז אויסגע  
געקען געווארען א ביכעל פיל'ן נאך  
סען "גלייכע פאלק" (דער וועלכער  
בעסער, אין דערעלכער צייט איז ער  
זייער א ווייטענער כער פון דר. סשה  
סילווער — א פירער אויף הויפט ברא  
שית מיט'ן נאמען "השומר כסא",  
נאכדעם ווי אויך ווייטענשאפטליכע הא  
בען דער געלייבט דעם סער, אלע ווייז  
ווען די אויף דער גרויסער און פאר  
שטאט ווייטענשאפטליכע בארייטענער  
פון דעם חבורה.

מיט אפגאנג פון דער הויסלער סטח  
האט זיך דר. אבא הלל סילווער אריינ  
געווארען אין אומזיך נאציאנאלע  
קאסע, ער האט געוואלט ארגאניזיר  
נען די אנטווערסונג פון דעם באר  
קאס, אויף דייטשע סטודיום, ער איז  
אפילו געווען געווען דעם פערנעסטע  
פון סטודיום, וועלכע איז ישראלי האט  
געוואלטען מיט די נאציס, ווען די נאצי  
סען פאר חילת, זיין אויך פאר'ן אויפ  
בוי פון איר ישראלי פילן ווייז ניש  
וואסען אין דר. אבא הלל סילווער  
איבערגעפליכען געווארען אלס שפאר  
טאן פון דעמאקראטישע ארייט  
ישראל קאפערענער דעם האט מיט ניש  
און און אויסגעווענליכעס געווען  
אנטווערסונג דעם פאפארענער, און האט ער  
פארזייען אסעריעס די אינטערעסען  
פון איר ישראלי ווייזען די סטודיום  
"ווייטענער דעמאקראטישע אפילו".

אין מיטען פון דער צווייטער  
וועלטמלחמה, ווען די ציוניסטישע  
פאליטישער לאגט און געווען וועק, א  
שווער, און דער שווערפונקט, פון  
דער פאליטישער סעמינארים אין ארץ  
בערגעווארען געווארען פון אסעריעס  
האט דר. תום ווייזאק, וועלכער האט  
זיך דעמאלט געווען אין אסעריעס,  
אויסגעווארען דר. אבא הלל סילווער  
ער זאל איבערגעבען די פאליטישע פאר  
בייט פון ציון, ער פערזענלעכעס פאפאר  
סעס, ער האט זיך אריינגעווארען מיט  
פאליטישער אריינס, עס האבען זיך  
אנטווערסונג ציינען געוואלטען, זי  
אויסגעווענליכע וועלט זיין אויך די ארץ  
סע, זיינען אויסגעווענליכעס געווארען  
עס איז אריינגעווארען געווארען א  
סיסטעם פון אן אויסגעווענליכעס  
פאליטישען סאפא, ער האט דאן נאך  
אריינס א פאפארענער פאפארענער, אן א  
פאליטישע רעוואלוציע, שטייגענדיג א  
אידישע קאמאניטעט אין ארץ ישראל  
זאל דורכגעפירט ווערען אין ביידע צייט  
דער פון דער געווייזט, אין סטאט  
און איז אנטקעגן אין דעם לעצטען  
סאפארענער האבען זיך באווייזט שפארט  
נען, דר. סילווער (אין נעווען אסא  
שלאסען פארטוועקען דעם האט  
אונטער אלע אויסגעווענליכעס, עס האט  
זיך אבער אנטווערסונג א שפארע  
הלוקי דעמאקראטישער פערזענלעכע  
דעם ציוניסטישען פערזענלעכע  
קאנטיל, דר. סילווער האט געווייזט



# JTA

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### ZIONIST ACTIONS COMMITTEE REJECTS MOTION ASKING RESIGNATION OF JEWISH AGENCY LEADERS

JERUSALEM, Dec. 13. (JTA) -- The Small Zionist Actions Committee today rejected a motion that Dr. Chaim Weismann, president of the Jewish Agency, and the entire executive of the Agency resign in protest against the new British policy on Palestine. The motion was offered by the Jewish State Party and by the Left Poale-Zion Party.

The Committee, at its final session here, did not adopt any decision on the question of whether or not to cooperate with the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission on Palestine, but voted to leave this decision to the executive of the Jewish Agency.

On the other hand, the Actions Committee approved a statement adopted at the ten-day extraordinary session of the Jewish Agency executive, emphasizing opposition to the new British policy on Palestine as outlined recently by Foreign Secretary Bevin. It points out that:

1. The Bevin statement maintains the British White Paper which was condemned by a competent international authority as a violation of the Palestine mandate and which was also repudiated by the British Labor Party as a breach of faith.

2. The document limits Jewish immigration into Palestine for an indefinite period and simultaneously provides for consultation with parties which have no lawful competence in the matter and which have pledged themselves to oppose any Jewish immigration.

3. The Bevin statement leaves intact the land laws under which the greater part of Palestine is closed to Jewish settlement and which represent a measure of racial discrimination against Jews without any parallel in the democratic world.

4. The Bevin statement prejudged the findings of the Anglo-American inquiry commission since Bevin declared that Palestine itself is not capable of even grappling with the solution of the problem of the homelessness of Jews in Europe.

5. The Jewish Agency regards Bevin's statement as irreconcilable with the Balfour Declaration and with the obligations imposed upon the British Government by the Palestine mandate.

The statement of the Jewish Agency reaffirms its "uncompromising opposition" to the White Paper policy, whether in its original or in any modified form. "The Jewish Agency upholds the moral title of every Jew impelled by material or spiritual urge to settle in Palestine as of right," the statement says. "The Agency reiterates its fundamental conviction that the reestablishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is compatible with the full protection and the promotion of the interests of its Arab inhabitants and with the development of friendly relations with the neighboring states.

"The Jewish people," the statement continues, "must reject any political settlement in Palestine which deprives it of its basic and internationally recognized rights, makes the entry of Jews into their homeland contingent on the goodwill of others and condemns them in Palestine to a minority position which has been the cause of Jewish sufferings and degradation in other lands.

"The Jewish Agency calls on men of goodwill in other lands to support the Jewish people in its efforts to rid itself of the curse of homelessness and oppression. The Jewish people will not abandon the struggle for the attainment of its full nationhood and for a new life of national freedom and dignity in its own country. It will spare no effort and sacrifice until the restoration of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is achieved," the statement concludes.



# **ד"ר. סילווער קייבלט פון ארץ ישראל** **רוב וועגען 250,000 נייע מיטגלידער** **פאר דער ציון-ארגאניזאציע**

The Day 12-14-48

נאכדעם וויסנדיג אז דער איינציגער  
 מיינונג פון דעם וועלטער שטערט דעם  
 ישוב אין ארץ ישראל אין זיין קאמף  
 פאר פרייהייט און זיכערהייט אין די  
 אריינפירונגען, וואס ער האט געפירט  
 מיט די פארשטייער פון דעם ישוב  
 אין באזונדערס אנגעזעהן געווארען  
 אויף דער אומגעוויינלעך וויכטיגער  
 באזונדער פון דעם כוח פון אסערו  
 קאנזע ציונים אין איינפירן פאר  
 פאנע. "ישראל אסערוקאנזע" איז פון  
 פאנע קלאר זיין פאזיציע. אין אונז  
 ווער קאמף אין דער איינפירן שטח  
 פון אסערוקאנזע" — האט ד"ר. סילווער  
 פארענדיגט זיין רעד פון ירושלים.  
 פאנערוי באפאנט ווערן ד"ר. סילווער  
 ווערן פאנע האט ד"ר. סילווער פארענדיגט  
 פארענדיגט פון דער אסערוקאנזע ציון  
 נאכדעם אריינפירונגען, מיטגעפירט  
 אז עס ווערן פארענדיגט די ציונים  
 פאנע ווערן פארענדיגט ד"ר. סילווער  
 פארענדיגט זיין צווייטע פון אסערוקאנזע  
 מיט א ליסטע פון די ציונים 100,000  
 נייע מיטגלידער, וואס וועט זיין די  
 שטארקסטע מאינפעסטאציע פאר דער  
 וועלט, אז די אסערוקאנזע אידן  
 שטייען געפירט היינט איס אין דעם  
 קאמף פאר די אידן דעם אין ארץ  
 "ישראל" — האט ד"ר. פארענדיגט

ווערן נאכדעם ד"ר. סילווער (פאנערוי).  
 ד"ר. סילווער פארענדיגט פון  
 דער אסערוקאנזע ציונים ציון  
 אריינפירונגען, וואס ער האט געפירט  
 אין ארץ ישראל, האט געפירט פון  
 ירושלים א רוב פון די אסערוקאנזע  
 ציונים ווערן פארענדיגט ד"ר. סילווער  
 נאכדעם אין דעם איינפירן אומגעוויינלעך  
 רעדנען פאנערוי ווערן, אז דער  
 פארענדיגט קאמפן פאר 250,000  
 נייע מיטגלידער וואס ווערן געפירט ווער  
 דעם מיט א רוב פון דעם ציונים.  
 ציונים אריינפירונגען אין אסערוקאנזע  
 ווערן ווערן אין די שטארקסטע אין  
 אונזער פארענדיגט פון איינפירונגען אין  
 ארץ ירושלים דעם געפירט פון ד"ר  
 פארענדיגט פון אסערוקאנזע ציונים  
 פון, ווערן האט געפירט לעצטעם ווער  
 אריינפירונגען פאר א אידן פארענדיגט  
 אין ארץ ישראל, זי האט געפירט ד"ר. סילווער  
 פארענדיגט פארענדיגט ארץ דעם ציונים  
 שטייער פאר און זיך שטעלן צוואנצן  
 מיט אונז אין דעם קאמף — האט  
 ד"ר. סילווער געפירט פון ירושלים  
 אז ד"ר. פארענדיגט געפירט עס צוואנצן  
 ווערן פון דער אסערוקאנזע ציון  
 אריינפירונגען.  
 ד"ר. סילווער האט באפאנט אין  
 דעם פאנערוי אז די אסערוקאנזע ציון

NEW PALESTINE 12-14-48  
**Abba Hillel Silver** So far as internal affairs are concerned, the forty-eighth Convention of the Zionist Organization of America was not tense. It was tranquil and determined. Its chief decision had been made long before the delegates arrived in Atlantic City. That decision was to elect Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the Presidency of the Organization and thus to place into his hands the leadership of American Zionism in this most fateful hour in Jewish and therefore in Zionist history.  
 It is noteworthy that the General Zionists of America arrived at this decision by a purely democratic process. We Zionists are often accused of a lack of faith in democracy because we cannot honestly see its workings where they do not exist. The truth is that we cannot be deceived because we know democracy and practise it within our own ranks. It was from the broad masses of our membership that there arose the unanswerable democratic mandate that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver be chosen as the leader of the organization and the movement. People in all parts of the country and in various strata came to the conclusion that there was one man today in American Zionism to whom they desired to entrust the direction of Zionist Affairs. With enthusiasm and serenity the Convention sealed and confirmed the results of this democratic process and decision. There is no room for doubt that more than any other single person Dr. Silver represents the moral and temper of the movement—the spirit of resistance and the will to action. We would not expatiate today on the fact that Dr. Silver immediately proceeded to Jerusalem to attend an extraordinary session of the Agency nor on the ringing cabled appeal he sent thence to President Truman, urging the President to avert grim and irrevocable tragedy by insisting at the very least on the immediate entry of 100,000 Jews to Palestine. We would rather commemorate for our membership a moment of some months ago. At a political meeting, amid discussion back and forth, Dr. Silver suddenly and quietly broke in. "I am tired of hearing about refuge and shelter. That is not Zionism. I want to hear about redemption—the redemption of a people from homelessness and artificial pain and grief. Refuge for the exiled and shelter for the oppressed—all of that is included in the goal which is infinitely greater and more resplendent." That is supremely the spirit needed in this hour. That spirit is the supreme validation of leadership in this hour. And we know that Dr. Silver will act within this spirit with unrivalled intrepidity and zeal.



WASHINGTON, Dec. 13. (JTA) — Senator Robert F. Wagner<sup>12-14-48</sup> late yesterday filed a report in behalf of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in which he stated that the Palestine resolution, which the committee passed, reflects, in its opinion, "a long series of authoritative expressions of American policy and the views of the American people on the subject of Palestine."

"Passage of this resolution," the report said, "will also furnish the occasion for Congress to express itself forthrightly on the horrible plight of the Jews of Europe, 5,700,000 of whom were victims of Hitler and his madmen, according to the indictment presented by the Allied War Crimes Commission."

"The war is over and the need for a Jewish Homeland where the Jewish survivors of these persecutions can live and breathe as free men and women, and where they can establish a free and democratic commonwealth, is greater than ever. Your committee feels therefore that the time is at hand when the long standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled."

#### Senator Connally Says He Opposed Resolution at Truman's Request

In a statement issued last night, Sen. Tom Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, and the only member to oppose passage of the resolution, said he did so at the request of President Truman. "President Truman made it quite clear to me and to the Foreign Relations Committee that he did not desire the passage of any resolution on the subject at this time," Sen. Connally said. "He reported that it would be inadvisable. He stated that the passage of any resolution would greatly embarrass him in his international conferences seeking a solution. He stated that the passage of a resolution might tie his hands. These views of the President were concurred in by Secretary of State Byrnes, who opposes the passage of any resolution at this time."

"In this situation I could not obtain my consent as chairman of the committee to vote for a resolution which would embarrass the President in the performance of his international duties, and would be a hindrance in bringing about an understanding with Great Britain. In my view, the passage of the resolution is not in the interest of the Jewish people. My belief is that the resolution will injure the cause of the Jewish people and that it will bring about a situation making it very difficult for the President to make any progress whatever in the solution of the matter."

The Mizrahi Organization and the Poale-Zion Organization, meanwhile, made public statements welcoming the committee's action on the resolution, and expressing the hope that both the Senate and the House would adopt it without delay.

#### American Jewish Conference Asks Senate to Act on Resolution

NEW YORK, Dec. 13. (JTA) — The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, meeting in all-day session at the Hotel Biltmore today, called upon Congress to act without delay upon the Wagner-Taft resolution on Palestine.

"We hope that the Senate will vote promptly and favorably upon this resolution," the Interim Committee declared. "It reflects the oft-reiterated sentiment of the American people in support of unrestricted Jewish immigration to Palestine and of Jewish aspirations in relation to that land. Through this resolution, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee again asserts the overwhelming American belief in the validity of the principles of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, and its disapproval of the British White Paper."



# The Case for a Jewish Commonwealth

By ROBERT A. TAFT and ROBERT F. WAGNER  
(Joint Memorandum Addressed to President Truman)

EVER since we introduced Senate Joint Resolution No. 112 on Palestine, a continuous campaign, both open and covert, has been conducted against the bill, and more particularly against its basic proposition—that the Jews shall have the right of free entry into Palestine so that they may reconstitute it as a democratic commonwealth. Whoever may be behind this opposition and whatever their motives, their campaign has taken the form of a gross misrepresentation of our position and of the intentions of all who support Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The misrepresentation centers in the astounding and baseless charge that it is proposed to establish in Palestine a "theocratic" state or a state based upon religious or racial discrimination. This insidious campaign has now been carried to the White House in an obvious attempt to influence the Administration. We, therefore, find it necessary to make a full statement of our position in order to dispel such fantastic misconceptions so avidously fostered.

## Party Platform Pledges

1. In drafting our Resolution we had before us the Palestine planks of the Republican and Democratic platforms adopted by the national conventions of the two parties in Chicago, 1944. The relevant words in the Republican platform are as follows:

"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."

The corresponding language in the Democratic platform is as follows:

"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."

Our Resolution is, therefore, no more than a re-statement of the position taken by both major parties representing, as they do, the great majority of American citizens.

## History Reviewed

2. The expression, "Jewish Commonwealth", is not novel. It was not recently invented to represent a new idea. It antedates the Palestine Mandate and was used repeatedly by the leading statesmen of Great Britain and the United States in the crucial years preceding and following the Peace Conference at Versailles when the territorial settlements were in the making.

3. That this was the sense in which the British government had understood its commitment was stated by Mr. David Lloyd

George, Prime Minister at the time of the Balfour Declaration, who testified before the British Royal Commission on Palestine as follows: "It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a national home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a *Jewish Commonwealth*."

General Smuts, Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa, on November 3, 1919, spoke of "an increasing stream of Jewish immigration" and of "a great *Jewish State* rising there once more."

Mr. Winston Churchill spoke in the same vein: "If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime on the banks of the Jordan a *Jewish State* under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial."

The British Royal Commission attested that "Lord Robert Cecil, in 1917, Sir Herbert Samuel, in 1919, and Mr. Winston Churchill, in 1920, spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a *Jewish state*."

4. The position of the United States in favor of the evolution of Palestine into a Jewish state was equally clear. That this was the understanding of the American Delegation at the Peace Conference appears explicitly from the *Outline of Report and Recommendations* prepared by the Intelligence Section of that Delegation, in accordance with instructions, for the American Plenipotentiaries. This Report, dated January 21, 1919, summarized the American attitude in the following recommendation: "That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the (Peace) Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a *Jewish State* as soon as it is a *Jewish State* in fact."

5. In harmony with this position, President Woodrow Wilson on March 3, 1919 declared: "I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a *Jewish Commonwealth*."

6. It cannot be suggested that the statesmen we have quoted, from Lloyd George to Woodrow Wilson, lacked the capacity to express themselves in clear and precise terms. Each of them was a master of the English tongue. Nor would anyone in his senses impute to those enlightened statesmen the advocacy of a "racial state" or a "theocracy" when they used the term "Jewish Commonwealth" so freely. What they obviously intended and stated in so many words was that in Palestine, their ancestral



land, the Jews should be free to grow into a majority and not be kept down artificially to the position of a minority in which they find themselves in every other country in the world. This is the core and essence of the proposal.

### *Jewish Nationhood*

7. It is clear from the foregoing that our Resolution does no more than give renewed expression to the purposes of the British and American statesmen who framed the policies of the Allied nations. Their statements are, if anything, more explicit than the terms of our Resolution. The objective remains simple and clear: to ensure that all Jews who desire to settle in Palestine shall be guaranteed the right of entry so that they may develop and re-populate their ancestral land and so that Palestine may become a Jewish state in the sense that Jews will constitute the majority. Our Resolution adds the proviso that the Commonwealth thus to be created shall be one in which "all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights".

8. This is also the official position of the Zionist movement repeatedly expressed. Time and again, on countless occasions, the Zionist Organization made it crystal clear that it contemplates a democratic state in which complete equality of rights and status shall obtain between all citizens, irrespective of race or faith, and between all religious groups within the state.

Under the circumstances, it should be impossible for any well-informed person to maintain in good faith the fantastic notion that the formula "Jewish Commonwealth" implies any domination of the Jewish religion over the adherence of other faiths.

9. Millions of Jews in the Old World regard themselves and are regarded by their neighbors not merely as a religious denomination, such as Moslems or Baptists, but also as a people with a

distinctive culture, characteristics and traditions. By the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, the nations of the world recognized that just as the Czechs, the Greeks, the Magyars, and the Irish, or any other recognized nationality are entitled each to a homeland of its own, so the Jewish people was likewise entitled to its national home. The Mandate, therefore, speaks of the recognition "given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the ground for reconstituting their national home in that country".

10. We are reluctantly driven to the conclusion that the misrepresentations to which we have referred and the false issues raised with regard to the projected Jewish Commonwealth are intended to confuse the public, to deprive the Jewish people of their established rights, and to assist the British government in evading its obligations under binding international agreements. Neither we, nor other Senators who share our views, nor the American people will be deceived by these tactics.

11. Finally, Mr. President, it is our conviction that the passage of such a Resolution is more urgently required now than ever before, in view of the joint Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry about to be organized. Our country can only proceed on the assumption that the pledges given to the Jewish people and embodied in international covenants shall be honored. If the joint Committee proceeds on that assumption, its hands will be strengthened by the passage of the Resolution. If the Committee is not instructed to proceed on that assumption, it is the more necessary that the traditional and basic position of the United States with regard to the Palestine question should be re-affirmed so far as it lies in the power of Congress to do so.

We trust, Mr. President, that this statement will contribute to a clarification of this question touching an important aspect of our foreign policy.

## LONDON CABLE

THE Palestine issue continues to engage general attention though in superficial, therefore, in a negative manner. No attempt is made anywhere to make a serious, honest analysis of the implications of Mr. Bevin's statement. It gains acceptance by its apparent plausibility and apparent reasonableness and, above all, because it represents the line of least resistance. British Zionists, therefore, are confronted by a difficult situation, which is not made any easier by the fact that the Government feels its position to be quite secure through the existence of an overwhelming Labour Majority in the House of Commons. This is especially the case because the Tory Opposition is generally not pro-Zionist and has a past record of compromises and scuttles on the Palestine question.

Winston Churchill's present attitude is unknown, nor is it known whether he will take part in the debate when it takes place. The debate probably will not

come off till after the Christmas holiday. The Government will not accede to requests for an earlier ventilation of the subject.

Many Labourites who are conscious of the support, as recently as last May, by the Labour Party to the Zionist cause have an uneasy feeling but they are unlikely to act in any way to damage the Government's reputation for the time being. It is known that several cabinet ministers deplore the breach of faith with the Jews but they are unprepared to cause an interval crisis over Palestine. Herbert Morrison, the only powerful personality among them who is committed to the abrogation of the White Paper, could have exercised considerable influence in favor of a more positive policy; it is surmised that Mr. Bevin requested him to bide his time and that Mr. Morrison acceded to the request.

Moreover, Bevin commands greater confidence for his reputed trustworthiness

and sincerity, even if he is mistaken in his approach. He is considered an exemplar of justice and honesty who would do nothing that is wrong. It is also genuinely believed that he is succeeding in securing the cooperation of America for bringing about a solution to the Palestine problem. Bevin has a serious weakness—a tendency to over-simplify problems. His faith in his own ability to handle difficult situations is distressingly reminiscent of Chamberlain. He lacks background and is ill-informed. Actually he suffers from an inferiority complex and accepts views of the "superior expert advisors" of the Foreign Office, most of whom have a pro Arab line.

Since the decision of the Jewish Agency now meeting in Jerusalem, as to whether or not to cooperate with the Inquiry Commission may depend on the names of the Commission members. It is regretted that they have not been announced as yet.

The Zionists in Great Britain are do-



DR. SILVER WELCOMED IN TEL AVIV

From the 7th to the 9th December Dr. A.H. Silver was the guest of the city of Tel Aviv. On the 7th December he participated in a "Vocal Newspaper" meeting, held in the Mograbi Theatre which was filled to capacity, where he declared:

"This is only the first round of the struggle. Our fate will be decided not by Mr. Bevin, the Inquiry Commission or the White Paper, but by the Jews of Palestine and those who want to join them."

Meeting local journalists on the 9th December, Dr. Silver expressed his appreciation of the Hebrew press whose level compared very favourably with Jewish journalism in the Diaspora. He moreover spoke about the Palestinian party strife of which he had heard so much abroad, but which had not prevented in the days of Givath Hayin the emergence of complete unity in all vital matters.

The guest also said in the course of the meeting: "I am interested in the implementation of the classical Zionist programme. I have no fixed opinions concerning the solution of economic questions in Palestine. My knowledge of these matters does not allow me to take sides. At any rate, the problem is one for the Yishuv to decide. Regarding politics, however, I have my opinions: for, the establishment of a Jewish State concerns me too, although I am living abroad,

"I support the Zionism of Herzl as I have always done in the past. His book 'The Jewish State' seems to me the basis of our movement. I am certain that its solution is correct and its approach the only proper one. This is the one line I follow, and I am glad to see that the Yishuv is full of confidence, as is American Jewry today."

At a farewell reception given by the Tel Aviv Municipality Dr. Silver said that he would never forget these days in Palestine and the hours he spent in the fine city of Tel Aviv. He praised the town and its builders, and referred in particular to the achievements of the late Dr. Dizengoff and its present Mayor Mr. J. Rokach.

Dr. Silver concluded: "In a few days' time I shall leave this country and return to the United States. I will tell your brethren what I have seen here, and describe to them your spirit which is free from dependency and despair, and full of courage, confidence and self-sacrifice. I feel sure that they will be on your side in the great effort and the hard, and perhaps protracted, struggle that will be our lot and yours until all the gates of Palestine are flung open never to be barred again, so that Israel may lead a peaceful and honourable life in the land of its fathers."

CONFERENCE OF GENERAL ZIONISTS

Dr. A.H. Silver, Dr. N. Goldman and Professor S. Erodetsky were among the speakers who addressed a national conference of the "General Zionists (Group A) Confederation" and the "Zionist Worker" (Haoved Haionni) Party, held in Tel Aviv on the 8th December.

Dr. Silver said that an independent inquiry recently established that 80 per cent. of American Jews favoured the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine, 10 per cent. were opposed and 10 per cent. undecided.

He added that it was not true that American Jews did not plan to settle in Palestine; he had just received a cable from the Zionist Organisation of America applying for 1,600 immigration certificates for agricultural pioneers. Many American Jewish soldiers who had been in Palestine, planned to return as settlers.



Washington which had established a joint propaganda office. Secondly, missionaries and other Protestant groups interested in spreading Christian propaganda among the Arabs, which drew their inspiration from the American University at Beirut and wielded considerable influence over certain circles. And lastly, the oil magnates whose activities were sufficiently known to the public.

Against these three factors, which had been practically non-existent a few years ago, ramified Zionist activities were being conducted today.

Regarding the Jews of America the speaker declared that, owing to their concentration in six districts without whose support no party could succeed in presidential or other elections, they had a considerable voting power. The late President Roosevelt had been elected with their help. In view of Dr. Silver American Jews had not made sufficient exertions to rescue its brethren in Europe, and this was due to the want of capable leadership.

The speaker believed that President Truman was a man of genuine humanitarian sentiments and of friendly leanings toward Zionism. After having read Mr. Hariman's report about the plight of European Jewry, particularly in the demand for 100,000 immigration certificates, he had asked: Why not 200,000? In spite of recent disappointments Dr. Silver was sure that the President would uphold our cause at the decisive moment. He exhorted the Conference to believe in the power of American Jewry which would yet give us "men and money."

Dr. Silver finally spoke of General Zionism whose essential task it was to become a uniting factor for the entire movement.

Dr. M. Goldman declared that our political fight was beginning only now. The struggle for a Jewish State had not even been taken up yet in earnest despite some preparatory actions in the past. Our position today was much more difficult than after the last war when sympathy with Zionist aspirations was a requirement of international ban-tion.

The fact must be faced that a brutal world was ready to tear us to pieces. But meanwhile Palestine Jewry had become a power which could be relied upon. This factor was of greater significance than all expressions of sympathy abroad.

With further reference to Mr. Bevin's announcement the speaker declared that this did not in his view constitute "the last word" of England which generally refrained from making final decisions in questions of a certain kind. There could be no settlement of the Palestine issue without due regard to the Yishuv and world Jewry.

Professor S. Brodetsky pointed out that the new British policy for the Near East was not a priori directed so much against the Jews as against certain other powers. Its chief concern, of course, was the protection of British interests.

The speaker dwelt on the importance of securing the cooperation of world Jewry in the present struggle and spoke about the 400,000 Jews of England and their great central institution, the Board of Deputies. It was a significant fact that, after discussing the concept of a "Jewish State" as the basis of English Jewry's political demands, 159 votes were cast in favour of the motion, and only 18 against it.

Discussing finally the methods of our fight, Professor Brodetsky expressed the opinion that a reasonable form of opposition to the British Government would be appreciated by many Englishmen. - "There may be difficulties, but the future cannot be in doubt," the speaker concluded.



### יהדות אמריקה לישוב בארץ

האח הרב ר'ד אבאיהלל פילבר (שומר ביום ה', 6 בדצמבר)

מיני עזרת הקירה חרטה, ולא עוד אלא הפעם עומדת גם אמריקה להיות שותפת לפעשה, זה של המיטל המופי.

אבל מכיר אני את רבנותי של העם האמריקני שבאו לידי ביטוי במאות דרכים בשנים האחרונות, מכיר אני את כוונותיו של ההתלבות לסמן הציונות שנתקבלו עליידי שתי המפלגות הפוליטיות הגדולות ושנכללו בשנה האחרונה במצע המדיני של המפלגות הללו, ומכיר אני גם גילויי התמיכה שנילו לעמים קרובות מרעלי אמריקא, המאורגנים לרציון המדינה היהודית, אף יודע אני מקיבוץ את עמדת הקונגרס של ארצות-הברית ולסיכך מוכסחתי שאמריקה לא תתן את ידה לעצמה הפעל הזה בעצמו, והבטיח סיועם לא שינה את דעתו בענין הקהילות היהודיות, שמסלגות חומכת בה מתוך דעה תקיפה, הוא רק שבת את דעתו בנוגע לשאלה, אם רצויה עכשיו פעולה של הקונגרס בענין העצרת-ההחלטה של היינאר מורים וסנס וואגנר, שהוא הנישא ססך את ידיו עליה לפני שבועות מועטים, סבור הוא — וזוהו אנו חולקים עליו — שפעולה כזאת יש בה סיום הקדמת נעשה למשפט לגבי משפטם של ועדות-החקירה המשותפת האנגלו-אמריקאנית, שהוא נתן את הסכמתו לה לאחר שדחה מר אפלי את דרישתו להרשות את עלייתם המדינית של עמא אלף יהודים מהעבריים שבאירופה.

ויצו הפעולה המתועבת הזאת של הקונגרס האמריקאי, אם אכנס יקום הדבר הזה, יהיה המוצא המסמדת השנית שנתגלילה עליידי התעבה על ועדות-החקירה, התוצאה הראשונה הייתה, כמובן, הארכת תוקפה של מדיניות הספר הלכן על כל הגבלות-האזון שהוא מפיל על היהודים, וכן בשטח העלית והין בשטח רכישת הקרקעות, מדיניות זו דחה את עצמו האפולל באירופה, שכבר נהרס ונעצב בשטח המלחמה והסבת האיום שלא היה כמזהו לעולם, להמשיך את דרך היסורים שלו, והריחו מסיסמת לפעשו את חוקי ההפליה הגזנית, שכן הוא עושהק מוהיהמים את זכותם לרכוש קרקעות בבית הלאומי של עם ישראל.

יודע אני גם את רבנותיהם של חסות פיליזי היהודים באמריקה, פעולם לא היו מלוצים באחרות גמורה כזה, שני שהם מלוצים היום בדרישתם לביטול הספר הלכן למיליוני של העזרת-בלפור ושל הקניית המאנדאט, פעולם לא ראינו את יהודי אמריקה בכבש כזה של התעוררות, ועם ותקפיות-הרעק, ההפגנות והמוניות של מאות אלפי יהודים בערים הגדולות והקטנות שבארצות-הברית במסך השבועות האחרונים לא היה כמותן למינות לא רי מנד שיעור היקפן אלא גם במספרותיות הגמלה ובסוב-הראש העמוק שהיה חוסף עליהן.

שנית המלחמה קירבו את יהודי אמריקה במידה מרובה לבציות היהדות האירופית ולבעיות ארץ-ישראל, נתגלחה עליהם בבהירות יחידה האחריות המוטלת על שכמם והתגברת במשפט תחושת הפקיד המנומנות, שישבה ההשי גות עליהם עם חורבנם של מרכזים רבים ועתיק-ימים של ריי ישראל באירופה, המרטייה המבוהלה של אחיהם באירופה דיוקנה אותם עד תוכם נפשם, והשעה הגדולה מצאיהם כשיקיר קיסה הראוי לה, הם פתחו את ידם הנדיבה לעזרת אחיהם המופלים והמנושלים מבתים ומעוני מחיההם, הם התאספו ככל יכולתם להציל רבים

אלה, שמהם שאבו און ועזו להתגבר על כל המכשולים הללו, אכן זהו החומר הנפשי המוצק והקיים, שממנו קודמו צומות גדולות ותרבותיות גדולות. עכשיו עם ביקורי הרביעי בארץ-ישראל מצאנו את הארץ דרוכה בעזו התלהבות לקראת הקיסמה הגדולה של גידול האפשרות, המלחמה קבדה והמוניות, התבניות והאמצעים שנעבדו, הואיל ומחמת ורישיות המלחמה לא ניתן להם מוצא בציטורות של בניה ויפירה, מחכים עכשיו לשחרורם, בכל מקום שאתה פונה הרי אתה חש את להם הביטויים והדריכות ללכת קדימה, מאות אלפי יהודים מארצות אירופה המופלות למשואות ומסקנות שהפכו בחרמם-בכחיים ובזריזות לאחיהם הקדושים והמפני יום, מצטים בתפילה ובתחנונים לעלות לארץ ולהביא את הקהילות, הלימודיות, כשרונותיהם ובאמנותם השופעת מתוך לבבות רוח-שידודת, ויהדות אמריקה אף היא מוכנה לסייע בכל הדרכים האפשריות להתפתחותה המהירה של הארץ, עליידי סיפוק אמצעים לקרנות הלאומיות וגם עליידי השקפות כספים מרשיים, וכמות יעשו גם הקיבוצים והיהודים שבשאר חלקי העולם, מספר ניכר של יהודים בארצות-הברית, וכיחוד מבין העצירים העומדים קמה להשתתף פן העבא, במקשים לכא אל הארץ ולהתיישב בה.

האולם כל אפשרויות ההתקדמות הללו והמוכות המפנות בקן לכל תושבי הארץ הזאת ולכל הארצות השכנות, שהתפתחות זו עשויה להביא ברבה רבה לכלכלתן היהודית, שוב הנופה עליהן הרב הסכנה של נסיון חדש, מאותם המניות הנעשים ונשנים מתקופה לתקופה בכוחה לחנוק את הבית הלאומי היהודי, מר בחוץ גמר אומר להמשיך במדיניות המיטל, שהופרצה ביחד על ידי מאלקולם מאקדוולו, ושוכן ענה אל הדרך הידועה של

כוח גדולה היא שפעלה בחלקי להביא את ברכותיהם של יהודי אמריקה לישוב העברי בארץ-ישראל, בכל עת ובכל שעה נבות קודשה היא לעדם מישראל לבקר בארץ-הקודש, שהר צעדי הוורות פגמר בחללה והוד קרופים-אופף אותך בסות מסתורי שאין כמותו, ועל אחת כמה וכמה שזכות כפולה ומכופלת היא לבקר בארץ-ישראל ולקט כמות, שהיא שעה מכתן לפעשות בניה-האדם ובה יפלה עם את בניו היעוד, האופי והמולדת שבתיו, הרי זה ביקורי הרביעי בארץ-ישראל, ביקורו בארץ בשנת 1940, לאחר מלחמת-העולם הראשונה, ושוב ביקורו בה בשנת 1943, לאחר עלות היטלר לשלטון, הייתי כאן גם בשנת 1947, בעצם ימי המאורעות, והנה חזרתי לבאתי בשנת 1948 עם סיופה של מלחמת-העולם השנית ולסחרת מעשי-הפתורים בבצעת-חיים, שמים ורשפון אף הנבתי הפעם לארץ ביום שחלה בו הקיסה השנה המדינית למדינתה של "אמריקה".

בשעם הביקורים הללו, המפורים של פני תקופה של תצפיות שנים ניתנה לי האפשרות-לראות בהתקדמותו של מפעל נפלא, אשר ממפעלי הגבורות האזורים שבתול-זות אפסחתי, ואשר המפעלים המרהיבים של רוח האדם בזהירות האחרונים, ראיתי את הגידול-המתמיד ואת ההתי פתחות הרעופה של ארץ זו, וראיתי את החנוך, את התעוה והמוציאלית העשויה לכלי תה, כשם שראיתי את האממנה וחירוף הנפש של האנשים והנשים העושים במלאכה הבניין, אף ראיתי את כל אלה לטובה המכי שולים המדכאים לאין מספר אשר הושמו על דורכם, ולטובה המפירות הרעופים לכלום, יפצור ולהשיבת את מלאכה הבניין, שנעשו ונשנו עם כמות הודע ואם במכחי מדיניים או בתעלולי הביורוקראטית, לכן מתמלא באון על אומץ האמונה והרביקות במסדה של בניו ציון

(ממשיך : ד"ר גידר)

ד"ר א. א. פילבר במיתה עם מר א. וואגנר ומר ל. לינסקי







Rabbi Silver . . . attacks British

## Sees Anti-Red Bloc in Palestine Policy

Silver Charges British Seek to Unite Arabs

Opposition to Russian expansion is the true issue involved in British anti-Zionist policy in Palestine, Rabbi A. H. Silver charged today on his return from a three-week visit to the Holy Land.

"British purpose is to cement the Arab world in a solid bloc against possible Soviet penetration of the Middle East," he declared. "Anti-Zionism is being used to unite an otherwise sharply divided Arab state."

Rabbi Silver went to Jerusalem for an emergency conference of the executive committee of the World Zionist Movement, of which he is a member, and, incidentally, to see his parents, both 88, who left the United States to live in Palestine 18 years ago.

"Tension in the Near East," he continued, "is fostered by British agents. The Arab League is a British instrument. The Arabs in Palestine today are not inviting any trouble from the Jews. An equilibrium has already been established which the Arabs understand and respect."

"All the noise and anti-Jewish rioting is the work of non-Palestine Arabs outside of Palestine who have

Turn to Page 11, Col.

"The British are building up in Palestine a great military depot, certainly not to preserve order but in behalf of her imperial interest in the Middle East. The country is over-run with soldiers and dotted with arsenals."

### Charges Manhunts

"Whenever the British Empire resolves to track down some helpless Jewish immigrant who has come in without a certificate and who has taken refuge in some unarmed Jewish settlement, a whole division of British troops, equipped with tanks and airplanes, is turned out to get him."

"British bayonets never were needed to help Jews settle in Palestine but now they are being used to keep Jews out. The coast of Palestine is patrolled by British destroyers to keep immigrants from coming ashore. All of this is a show to impress the Arabs and win their support for the British anti-Soviet policy."

## SENATE VOTE URGES OPENING PALESTINE

NY Times 12-18-45  
One-Sided Ballot on Resolution Rebuffs Truman—Free Entry, Commonwealth Favored

By ANTHONY LEVIERO  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Dec. 17—Rebuffing President Truman, the Senate overwhelmingly adopted tonight a resolution urging the United States to use its good offices toward the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine and for the free entry of Jews there.

The President's opposition to the measure had been expressed by Senator Tom Connally of Texas in the climax of a heated debate.

A series of parliamentary maneuvers had fuffed the resolution for several hours, but at 5:10 P. M. the measure was taken up again. At 6:40 P. M., after the resolution had received its best supporting arguments from the Republican side of the floor, the voice vote came in a crescendo of "yeas," which were followed apparently by the single, drawled "no" of Senator Connally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee.

The resolution requires House action. The House Foreign Affairs Committee will hear its last witness tomorrow, go into executive session and vote whether the measure should be reported to the floor. All indications are that the committee will give its approval.

The point stressed by Senator Connally in urging defeat of the resolution was that it would embarrass Mr. Truman in dealing with Britain, which holds the Palestine mandate. He reminded his colleagues that the British-American Palestine Committee, appointed as a result of an agree-

ment between the President and Prime Minister Attlee, was to examine all phases of the Jewish problem in Europe as well as Palestine. This committee is to report within 120 days on political, social and economic aspects of the problem.

President Truman's sympathy with the plight of the Jews and his efforts thus far to get an increased immigration quota in Palestine are well known, Senator Connally declared. He added that he himself was certainly not opposing the resolution for lack of sympathy with the Jews or because he did not want stateless persons of Europe to emigrate to Palestine. This, however, was the wrong time to act, he said.

### Tells of Truman Opposition

"The President of the United States does not want this resolution passed," Senator Connally declared in a ringing voice. "He didn't say so to the committee [Senate Foreign Relations Committee] himself. He called me over the telephone himself and he told me to tell the committee, and I reported that to the committee. He told me, 'I do not regard it as advisable. I don't want to see any sort of resolution enacted until this commission has completed its inquiry and reported back.'"

"The Secretary of State also is opposed to the resolution. He doesn't want it at this time."

"I believe this resolution is not calculated to help the Jews but to hurt their cause. It is not in the interest of the Jews to pass the resolution at this time."

After Senator Connally had further explained that the British-American committee was to investigate the plight of Jews who had been victims of the Nazis, would estimate how many wished to emigrate to Palestine and hear the testimony of "competent witnesses," Arabs as well as Jews, he asked:

"Is Congress going to overthrow the President in this matter and deal with it itself?"

Senator James M. Mead of New York responded that adoption of the resolution now was justified by what he termed Britain's violation of her mandate and of the Balfour Declaration, which pro-

vided for a Jewish national home in Palestine.

The debate was begun early in

the afternoon by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York, who asserted bluntly that he did not want the British-American committee to substitute its judgment—the judgment of a few—for the intent and determination of the American Congress and people. He said he could see no hope for world peace if the world could not deal honestly with comparatively small matters like the resolution.

### Sees Lesson for UNO

"If the great English-speaking peoples today shrink away from the first small test and challenge placed before them," he said, "will a United Nations Organization be strong enough to fulfill its many fearful and sacred trusts in the future?"

After having said that no further study of the Jewish-Palestine problem was needed, Senator Wagner made this statement:

"But if we are to be sure that the Anglo-American committee of enquiry is to serve a useful purpose, the immediate adoption of this resolution by the Congress is imperative. We want the members of the committee to have discretion in their methods. We want the members of the committee to have discretion in devising the quickest possible means of fulfilling the promises already made for Palestine. But we do not want the committee to have the discretion to make its own decisions on matters of fundamental policy. We do not want the committee to recast promises or re-formulate objectives."

An amendment by Senator Thomas C. Hart of Connecticut which would have removed all language referring to exclusive Jewish privileges in Palestine was defeated by a loud chorus of "noes." He would have deleted such phrases as "free entry" and "Jewish national home" but left the final words of the resolution, which, as passed, are:

"Establish a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

As adopted the resolution asks for a national home for Jews and a commonwealth for about sixty nationalities and sects.

Among those who rallied to the resolution were Senators Robert A. Taft, co-sponsor with Senator

Wagner, Warren R. Austin of Vermont and Brian McMahon of Connecticut.

In the morning the House Foreign Affairs Committee heard testimony against the resolution from Leasing J. Rosenwald of Jenkintown, Pa., president of the American Council of Judaism, an organization of 10,000 members. He said Palestine should not be a Moslem, Christian or Jewish state but one in which persons of all faiths would have equal citizenship.

In reply to a question by Representative James W. Wadsworth of New York, who feared that settling Jews in Palestine would mean further segregation, Mr. Rosenwald said that Jews should integrate themselves as citizens in the countries in which they lived. He did not believe Palestine afforded a solution.

Dr. Emanuel Neuman, who said he represented 500,000 members of the Zionist Organization of America, testified briefly for the resolution.

"To locate and punish these few unfortunates, a whole division of troops, including tanks and armored trucks, were rushed into the area. British planes flew overhead. For what purpose?"

"British bayonets never were needed to help Jews settle in Palestine. Why should they now be used to keep Jews out?"

DR. SILVER said the Jews in Palestine have two outstanding aims—that of providing an asylum for Jewish refugees and that of defending the national rights that were guaranteed the Jewish people a quarter of a century ago.

"They received with distrust and suspicion the proposal to run joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry," he said.

"They are close enough to the scene of Jewish martyrdom in Europe and realize that delay will mean death to additional thousands of men, women and children."

"PRESIDENT TRUMAN's uncertain attitude of the last few weeks also has baffled them. They asked me time and again where the president got the notion that the Jewish people want to create a theocratic state."

"They wonder why the head of the greatest country in the world should yield to British pressure."

## Silver Insists Jews Act Now On Palestine

News  
Rabbi Hits British Imperialism, Tells Of Holy Land Visit

BY WILLIAM DINWOODIE  
News Church Editor

The hour of decision has come. Jews of America must rise in

"Palestine is poised for a remarkable economic advance which will benefit the entire Near East. Merchants and industrialists are eager for American goods and machinery."

### Says Asylum Denied

"Hundreds of thousands of displaced Jews are knocking at the country's doors for admission, but only British imperial interests are constricting Palestine's economic development and denying asylum to the remnants of European Jewry."

"The Jews of Palestine are determined upon two things—at any cost, they will offer asylum to every Jewish refugee who comes. They will defy the government and use every method to aid unfortunate Jews in their efforts to get into the country."

"Secondly, they will see that the rights in Palestine guaranteed the Jews by 32 nations after the first World War are not whittled down."

their might and demand that Palestine open its doors to the homeless refugees of Europe.

If we hesitate now, if we fail to break down British imperialistic policy, we have sealed the death sentence for thousands of innocent people."

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, spiritual leader of The Temple and chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, sounded that warning today when he arrived here by plane from Palestine.

HIS ACCOUNT of conditions in the Holy Land was considered especially significant because it was the first uncensored report of happenings there since news dispatches told of rioting in the streets of Jerusalem and elsewhere.

Sharply critical of British imperialistic policy, Rabbi Silver flatly charged that "the tension in Palestine and in the Near East is fostered by British agents."

"The Arab League," he continued, "is a British instrument and it has but one purpose—the cementing of the Arab world into a solid bloc against possible Soviet penetration in the Middle East which would endanger British imperial interests."

"ANTI-ZIONISM is the catalyst which has been employed to unite the otherwise sharply divided Arab states."

Dr. Silver went on to point out that Great Britain's chief interest in Palestine is to build it up as a huge military base.

"The Arabs of Palestine today, unlike those of earlier years, are not inviting any trouble with the Jews," he said. "An equilibrium already has been established which the Palestine Arabs understand and respect. All the news of anti-Jewish rioting is the work of non-Palestinian Jews."

REFERRING to clashes between the Jews and British troops, the rabbi declared the military takes advantage of every pretext to display their armed force.

"I was myself a witness to one of these demonstrations," he said. "A search was on in a Jewish settlement for several unfortunate Jewish immigrants who had entered the country without certificates."

## Brings Back Report From Holy Land



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER



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# United States Senate

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## MEMORANDUM

Dear Friend:

I am glad to send you copy of  
the Palestine Resolution  
agreed upon almost unanimously  
by our Committee.

Warren R. Austin,



Calendar No. 862

79TH CONGRESS  
1st Session

# S. CON. RES. 44

[Report No. 855]

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## IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

DECEMBER 12 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945

Mr. WAGNER, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, reported the following concurrent resolution; which was placed on the calendar

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## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees; and



Whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic and general economic conditions; and

Whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a "Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry" to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within one hundred and twenty days: Therefore be it

- 1      *Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives*
- 2      *concurring), That the interest shown by the President in*
- 3      *the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that*
- 4      *the United States shall use its good offices with the manda-*
- 5      *tory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for*
- 6      *free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of*
- 7      *its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there*
- 8      *shall be full opportunity for colonization and development,*
- 9      *so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of*
- 10     *Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association*
- 11     *with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as*
- 12     *a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of*
- 13     *race or creed, shall have equal rights.*



House Calendar No. 280

79TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

# H. CON. RES. 113

[Report No. 1463]

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## IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

DECEMBER 13, 1945

Mr. FLOOD submitted the following concurrent resolution; which was referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

DECEMBER 18, 1945

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

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## CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees; and



Whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and general economic conditions; and

Whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within one hundred and twenty days: Therefore be it

- 1      *Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate*
- 2      *concurring),* That the interest shown by the President in the
- 3      solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the
- 4      United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory
- 5      power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free
- 6      entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its
- 7      agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall
- 8      be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that
- 9      they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as
- 10     the Jewish national home and, in association with all ele-
- 11     ments of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic
- 12     commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed,
- 13     shall have equal rights.



79TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

House Calendar No. 280

## H. CON. RES. 113

[Report No. 1463]

### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Relative to the opening of Palestine for free  
entry of Jews.

By Mr. FLOOD

DECEMBER 13, 1945

Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs

DECEMBER 18, 1945

Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be  
printed

WRHS



Calendar No. 862

79TH CONGRESS  
1ST SESSION

## S. CON. RES. 44

[Report No. 855]

### CONCURRENT RESOLUTION

Relative to the opening of Palestine for free  
entry of Jews.

By Mr. WAGNER

DECEMBER 12 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945

Placed on the calendar





## RESTORATION OF PALESTINE AS A HOMELAND FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

DECEMBER 12 (legislative day, OCTOBER 29), 1945.—Ordered to be printed

Mr. WAGNER, from the Committee on Foreign Relations, submitted  
the following

### R E P O R T

[To accompany S. Con. Res. 44]

The Committee on Foreign Relations which has had under consideration several resolutions relating to the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people report favorably a concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 44) expressing the policy of the Congress with respect to the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people, and recommend that the concurrent resolution do pass.

The plight of the Jews in Europe and the indefinite status of Palestine formed the subject of a number of resolutions introduced in recent years and referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. Most recently, three proposals were submitted. The first was Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 37 introduced by Mr. Myers and Mr. Tobey on October 2, 1945. The second was Senate Joint Resolution No. 112 introduced by Mr. Wagner, for himself, Mr. Taft, and Mr. Walsh, on October 26. The third was a proposal in the form of an amendment to Senate Joint Resolution No. 112 offered in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee by Mr. Guffey on November 19, 1945. A subcommittee consisting of Mr. Green, chairman; Mr. Tunnell; Mr. Hatch; Mr. Austin; and Mr. Wiley was appointed to consider these proposals. The subcommittee had a number of meetings, at two of which the Secretary of State was present. The matter was also considered by the full committee at several meetings, at one of which the Secretary of State was present.

Your committee, while cognizant of the appointment of a joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry into the subject and while it commends the President for his interest in the matter, feels at the same time that it is appropriate and timely for the Congress to give expression to its views on the need for the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland.



## OPENING OF PALESTINE FOR FREE ENTRY OF JEWISH PEOPLE

DECEMBER 18, 1945.—Referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed

Mr. BLOOM, from the Committee on Foreign Affairs, submitted the following

### REPORT

[To accompany H. Con. Res. 113]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 113) relative to the opening of Palestine for free entry of Jews, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the concurrent resolution do pass.

The plight of the Jews in Europe and the indefinite status of Palestine formed the subject of a number of resolutions introduced in recent years and referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Your committee, while cognizant of the appointment of a joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry into the subject and while it commends the President for his interest in the matter, feels at the same time that it is appropriate and timely for the Congress to give expression to its views on the need for the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland.

Accordingly the Foreign Affairs Committee, by a unanimous vote, has decided to report favorably House Concurrent Resolution 113.

In the opinion of your committee the language of this resolution reflects a long series of authoritative expressions of American policy and the views of the American people on the subject of Palestine.

This policy and these views go back to January 21, 1919, when the following recommendation was made by the intelligence section of the United States delegation to the Paris Peace Conference:

That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Peace Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact.



## RESTORATION OF PALESTINE AS A HOMELAND FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Mr. WAGNER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the Senate proceed to the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 44.

There being no objection, the Senate proceeded to consider the concurrent resolution.

Mr. WAGNER. I understand the junior Senator from Connecticut has an amendment he desires to propose.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I offer the amendment which lies on the desk, and I ask that it be read.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Clerk will state the amendment.

The CHIEF CLERK. On page 2, line 4, beginning with the word "with", strike out all down to and including line 13 and insert in lieu thereof the following: "to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be opportunity for colonization, so that they may assist to reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall enjoy equal rights."

Mr. HART. Mr. President, the amendment which I have proposed deletes a considerable portion of Senate Concurrent Resolution 44, as reported by the Committee on Foreign Relations, and makes it somewhat similar to Senate Joint Resolution 112, which was introduced by the distinguished senior Senator from New York (Mr. WAGNER) the distinguished senior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. WALSH), and the distinguished senior Senator from Ohio (Mr. TART). Before pointing out what seems to me to be the defect in Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 as it now stands, I wish to say that I have not been in communication in any way whatever with any Federal Department or any other organization—official or otherwise—and have discussed the subject in no way, shape, or form with any individual outside the Senate. What I have to say represents my own thought alone.

The phrase "good offices" as contained in the concurrent resolution and also in my own amendment is most important. Those are key words and agreement on their meaning is essential. According to the dictionary, "good offices" means a mild form of mediation. One contemporary authority states that "good offices" consists merely in either bringing representatives of the disputing parties together for discussion, perhaps under the presidency of the third party, or in passing between the disputants written proposals and counterproposals. In any case, he continues, the third party refrains from giving opinions or advice upon the substance of the question.

In Hackworth's Digest of International Law we find:

The term "good offices" concerns various kinds of action tending to call negotiations



tion for President?

MR. TUNNELL. I do not know. I believe that at that time he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination.

MR. TAFT. No; that is not true in any sense. He was Food Administrator, and American Relief Administrator, and was not a candidate for any office.

MR. TUNNELL. I recall that he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination in four States.

MR. TAFT. He may have been after President Wilson died. I do not know about that, but I am speaking of a time 2 years before President Wilson died, or at least a year before that time.

MR. TUNNELL. Mr. President, in order to get on, we will all admit that Mr. Hoover was highly efficient in feeding starving people in Europe.

I wish to proceed directly to the matter which I started to discuss.

It appears that most of the criticism which we have heard has been coming from persons who are not members of the Foreign Relations Committee. For that I am very glad. The Foreign Relations Committee has exercised considerable pains in connection with this matter. I believe that the members of that committee have a pretty good idea about how the money has been and will be spent. I do not believe there is a situation such as many friends on the critical side of the subject seem to believe. I have no doubt that many things could be done in a better way than they have been done by Governor Lehman. Governor Lehman is only a human being. He has under his authority approximately 8,000 employees in UNRRA. If he were to do all the things which have been suggested, in my opinion he would necessarily require 100,000 employees. I believe that the actual distribution of food would require many more employees than he now has.

I do not entirely agree with those who have said they would favor an entirely American organization, notwithstanding the arguments which might be made in that regard. As I recall, about two-thirds of the money, or perhaps 70 percent of the total funds used by UNRRA, come from the United States. It is my recollection that the subscriptions have amounted to 1 percent of the income of the people of the various countries taking part in UNRRA for the year 1943. We are receiving at least some help from the remainder of the world.

I was very glad when it was shown that the man who had written to the Senator from Iowa thought he was right. That man was offering what he believed to be genuine criticism when he told of the cost of administration. From his statement it might be believed, if one



Dec. 17, 1945

between the conflicting states into existence. Good offices consists in a friendly interposition of a third party to adjust differences and lead to a pacific solution of the dispute between two powers at variance.

Those definitions constitute the most authoritative meaning that I can find and seem to be acceptable. Whatever follows those two words, good offices, in the Senate pronouncement on the Palestine issue should not be in discord with their meaning. We also need to give thought, Mr. President, to what our words may signify to peoples other than the Jews who live in or near Palestine.

Now, in the concurrent resolution as reported, the United States is to use its "good offices with the mandatory power," that is, with Great Britain and, presumably, only Britain. The real disputants in the case appear to me to be the promoters of the Zionist movement or other organizations representing those who wish to live in Palestine on one hand, and the Arabs, who are living in Palestine or its vicinity, on the other. It seems most apparent that, if we are to be effective, our good offices should not even appear to be so directed that the Arab element is ignored.

The Arabs and their position are most important, Mr. President. Palestine has no natural borders and there are Arab communities and states on virtually all sides—notably Lebanon, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. Even Iraq and Egypt are so near to Palestine that the attitude of those states should also be taken into account as we apply our good offices. Those people are all Mohammedans, and Jerusalem is just as much of a holy city to them as it is to the Jews or to the Christians. There are 200,000,000 Mohammedans in the world, and most of them live in that general area.

We need not go into the characteristics of the Mohammedans other than to note that their religion is very important in their general psychology, that they have fanatical tendencies, and that they can easily become most decidedly explosive. Furthermore, it must be remembered that the area has been an Arab home for centuries.

If we properly employ our good offices as such, it seems likely that we could accomplish more with the Arabs than could any other great power, simply because they are more likely to trust the efforts of the United States. We can easily lose that status by ill-judged use of our good offices. I submit, Mr. President, that we will be in danger of losing it if we follow the lines of the concurrent resolution as reported and act upon the terms as therein laid down.

As the resolution stands, our good offices are to be used, with Britain only, toward three ends. The first of them is set forth by the words "that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities." To me those words seem to mean that the full agricultural and industrial potential of Palestine is to be absorbed by the addition of Jews and of Jews alone. Those words do not say that there can be no further Arab immigration into Palestine, but it is difficult to see that those words are intended to

mean anything other than just that. Moreover, that is what the Arabs are likely to think that the Senate means as the end in view.

Any effort by the mandatory power to that end will most likely be strongly opposed by the Arabs. In my opinion, there is grave danger that the opposition will include the direct use of force, which is a long distance from what "good offices" is intended to accomplish.

The second end set forth in the concurrent resolution is somewhat less definite, but the objective is quite similar. The words of the concurrent resolution are "that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development so that they—the Jews—may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine." That says "full opportunity" and "freely proceed" by the Jewish people. The clause does not mention other peoples, even those already living in Palestine. There again, Mr. President, if we of the Congress really mean what the concurrent resolution says, we should foresee that what begins with the simple use of our good offices may lead far too easily to conditions under which force may become the arbiter. The concurrent resolution is discordant, and the amendment which I have proposed is intended to correct the defect.

The third objective stated in the resolution can be interpreted as part of the second purpose just discussed; but there seems to be no certainty that it will be understood as such. It does finally recognize the fact that there are people other than the Jews living in Palestine, and goes on to express a goal with which no one should quarrel. The words are, "In association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

I believe that the word "commonwealth" is questioned by some who worry about this resolution, but I myself raise no point about it.

I believe that the third objective is entirely proper and is fully in accord with the thinking and sentiment of this country. At least the resolution as written does end on a good note which is not out of harmony with the meaning of the phrase "good offices."

Mr. President, Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 deals with a subject in foreign relations which is far from unimportant. The Senate Committee, I understand, reported that resolution with only one dissenting vote. Not being a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations and not knowing the considerations which guided the members in their deliberations, I have hesitated to speak in this matter. I do so partly in the few that, under the pressure of public duties which have been with us over the past few weeks, one of the fundamentals in the conduct of foreign relations may have been overlooked. That fundamental is that the United States should not lay out a course and should not adopt a line of foreign policy which may lead to the clash of arms unless we first answer two questions in the affirmative.

One of those questions is the ready availability of our forces in case the pur-

suit of such policy should unfortunately lead to open conflict. The other question is, Would we be entirely willing to use that force if the policy which we adopt should be opposed to the point of war? History is replete with instances when that fundamental in the conduct of foreign relations has been forgotten. We ourselves have figured in some of those instances.

It is quite true, Mr. President, that the concurrent resolution as reported says only that we shall use our "good offices with the mandatory power." However, when we go on to indicate that the Congress expects to open Palestine for the entry of Jews alone, to the maximum of the country's potentialities, and that we intend that the Jews may freely proceed with the upbuilding of that country for their own purposes, perhaps without evenmasking the wishes of the Arabs, who now constitute a majority of the population, then we face the danger of serious involvement for which we may not be prepared. If we are only urging Britain to efforts along these lines, it is quite true that we make no definite commitment which may lead to the use of our armed forces.

From that viewpoint, Mr. President, the question then arises: Are we fair in asking Britain, as the mandatory power, to take measures which to the Arabs will seem extreme and which will vitally affect their interests, unless we are prepared to join Britain in accepting responsibility for whatever involvement may result? To put it more bluntly, will we have the military power available and will we be resolved to use it in assisting the British to the ends now set forth in the resolution? I submit, Mr. President, that if the Senate votes upon the resolution as it now stands, Senators should have that contingency very clearly in mind.

Mr. President, I share the horror and resentment aroused by the treatment of the Jewish people in Europe at the hands of the Nazis. I hold in full measure the great sympathy which is felt for those persecuted people by the civilized world. The Jewish remnants in central Europe deserve all that we can do in a practical way to alleviate their plight. So far as the use of our good offices is concerned, I submit that we could well employ them in central Europe, where the remnants of the race are still living. Those people are now where, for the most part, they have always been. They have every right to treatment by the non-Jewish elements there which will make their present state and their future prospects fully as good as they were before the Nazis perpetrated those horrible crimes. Those countries in central Europe are all under our allies of this war, and the Congress could well resolve in emphatic language that our good offices should be employed with those Allies in order that the plight of the Jews in Europe may be alleviated at once. We should be able to get much quicker results that way than the Zionist project in Palestine can possibly achieve, because at best that project would take considerable time.

I am entirely ready to join with my colleagues in any action along that line which gives promise of rescue for the Jewish people of Europe. The concu-



rent resolution is understood to have that immediate end in view; but it is not practical for that purpose and I cannot join in its approval.

Mr. President, the amendment which I have proposed is much like Senate Joint Resolution 112, which was introduced by three Senators, The Senator from New York (Mr. WAGNER), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. WALSH), and the Senator from Ohio (Mr. TARR), and which I assume was considered by the Committee on Foreign Relations. My amendment would make the resolution read something like that, and it is not open to the objections which I have raised to Senate Concurrent Resolution 44 as it now stands. It would give full scope and play in the use of our good offices, instead of confining them to the mandatory power. It would not put Congress in the position of saying that the United States should pursue certain policies which could involve this Nation in further hostilities. I hope that the amendment will be accepted.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question.

Mr. HART. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. I wish to ask the distinguished Senator from Connecticut, for whose judgment I have high regard, if when he made the important change suggested by his amendment he considered the obligation which the United States assumed in the covenant between Britain and the United States, agreeing that His Britannic Majesty should administer the government of Palestine? Did he consider that question?

Mr. HART. Does the Senator refer back to the action of 1922?

Mr. AUSTIN. No. I refer to the covenant of December 3, 1924, a covenant which incorporated within its four corners the express terms of the mandate and solemnly agreed that His Britannic Majesty should administer that government. The question is excited by the proposal that we offer to intervene between the wards, as it were, of His Britannic Majesty, both Arabs and Jews. I wonder if the Senator realizes that when we do that we are turning around on our promise that His Britannic Majesty should have the exclusive administration of Palestine. In other words, having made this agreement with Britain, how can we exercise the rights which we have and the obligations which we owe under that treaty, except through the mandatory power, Great Britain? I wonder wonder how the Senator views that question.

Mr. HART. I believe that any answer or the opinion of anyone on that question must be colored by the fact that the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a joint committee of inquiry to examine into conditions in Palestine. Quite naturally, the legalistic aspect of the question—and that, I assume, is rather what the esteemed Senator from Vermont refers to—will receive full examination. It is to be remembered that after trying for 15 years—from 1924 to 1939—to effect an arrangement in Palestine which would be satisfactory to all parties concerned, the British finally were compelled to issue a White Paper

rather admitting that they were unable to bring about such conditions, and proposing other measures, under which they would do far less than they had agreed to do. So far as I recall, that never received the approval of the League of Nations.

Today the status of the League of Nations is rather doubtful; we are not sure just what it is. Another factor now has entered upon the scene. I think it is article 106 of the Charter of the United Nations, which makes provision for an interim arrangement. Under that article, four powers, as I recall, appear to have cognizance over the question.

Therefore, Mr. President, it seems to me that the legal aspect of the matter, if we go back to the early 1920's, is rather buried by practical considerations.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for another question?

Mr. HART. I yield.

Mr. AUSTIN. Does the Senator consider that we go back a single moment from today, in respect to the obligations under that treaty? Are we not bound today, and until that treaty is abrogated, by its terms, its obligations, and its duties?

I am not asking anyone to go back to 1924. I am only asking that we adhere to the obligations of this moment in considering this very dangerous resolution. I fought, as I suppose the committee will assure the Senator, the original wording of the resolution, primarily because it went away beyond the terms of the mandate and beyond the terms of the treaty. Any justification for doing that which may have been contained in statements of distinguished men of those times, I am not willing to accept. I am willing only to go according to the obligations and duties and rights which were established by the mandate and by the treaty which we entered into with Great Britain. If we do that, we shall be on a ground which cannot be the cause of an armed dispute. If we stay within our own jurisdiction, namely, our relations to the mandatory power, we shall not give the rest of the world cause to complain that we have broken into a matter where we have no right to intrude.

I wish to adhere to a position which will be legalistically correct, on account of the consequences which may arise from adhering to a position which may be illegal as to a great government.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I may say to the Senator that I see no conflict whatever between the resolution as I propose to amend it and the situation under our covenant which the Senator has set forth. I see no conflict there.

The other point the Senator raised was that we are not involving ourselves in a commitment. I gave my answer to that in the body of my remarks.

Then the question arises, Is it fair for us to urge upon the mandatory power the British Government, with all the emphasis which this body can put upon the power which now carries all the responsibility, that it should do things involving responsibilities which we are not willing to help it carry?

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I answer that by saying it is not fair. That is why

I wish to have us be in a strictly legal position with respect to the mandatory.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, let me say that I have listened patiently and as well as I could to the argument made by the distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut in proposing his amendment. I am sorry to say I could not hear all of it. However, as I understand the amendment, it would make very substantial changes in the concurrent resolution which has been reported to the Senate. The distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut stated that he thought the Foreign Relations Committee, because of the pressure of other duties, had overlooked the fundamental questions which he wished to bring to our attention.

I may say briefly that the short history of the concurrent resolution is as follows: Several resolutions relating to Palestine were introduced in the Senate and were referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. The committee, after a discussion of them, voted to appoint a special subcommittee to investigate and make a report. The committee itself had a meeting with the Secretary of State. The subcommittee had two meetings with the Secretary of State. They met with other interested Senators. They met with other interested citizens who asked to be heard. They gave consideration to all the facts which have been brought to the attention of the Senate by the Senator from Connecticut and they gave consideration to all other related facts. After that careful consideration, they decided that none of the resolutions which had been presented to them met the situation, in their opinion. It was very difficult to arrive at an agreement among the different points of view, but I am glad to say that in a spirit of conciliation and explanation finally the common purpose of all of them was expressed in the concurrent resolution which the subcommittee drafted and reported to the full committee. The full committee gave it consideration and discussion, with a knowledge of all the facts which the distinguished junior Senator from Connecticut seems to think he alone has discovered.

The result was that the committee voted 17 to 1 to report the resolution to the Senate. I hope the resolution will be adopted without change. It has been very difficult to reach a common agreement in regard to phraseology so delicate as that of the resolution, but the desired result has been achieved, and I certainly hope the resolution will be adopted.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut to the concurrent resolution.

Mr. McMAHON. Mr. President, it is with the deepest regret that I have to take issue with my colleague the respected junior Senator from Connecticut, to whose remarks on this subject I listened with great interest. As I understand the concurrent resolution in the form in which it has been reported by the committee, it calls upon the British Government to fulfill the obligation which it undertook many long years ago. We hereby resolve that we are going to urge, and use our good offices to see, that the



Government which is now in charge of the Kingdom of Great Britain shall fulfill the policy which they proclaimed many times before they came into power.

I refer to a speech which I made on this subject on October 2, 1943. Upon looking at it I note that I quoted the official declaration on Palestine of the British Labor Party, the party which is now in control of Great Britain, and I should like to read it again into the Record, because I think it should be emphasized. This is what the British Labor Party said before it came into power:

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 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.

That, Mr. President, was the declaration of the men who now constitute the ruling power in Great Britain. As I understand the pending resolution, we are going to call upon them, now that they have assumed the responsibility of office, to carry out what they stated to be their principles before they assumed their present responsibilities.

Mr. President, we can do no less than to nail the pending concurrent resolution to our masthead and say, "Here is our position; here is where we stand."

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I have been very much interested in the argument which was presented by the distinguished Junior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. McMahon).

There are three essential differences between the concurrent resolution and the amendment. In the first place, where the concurrent resolution states: "Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities," the amendment would say, "Palestine shall be opened for entry of Jews into that country."

At the present time 1500 Jews a month are allowed to enter Palestine. One of the issues is free entry to the limit of Palestine's economic possibilities. I should be unwilling to agree to any change in that respect in the concurrent resolution.

Secondly, the concurrent resolution provides that "There shall be full opportunity for colonization and development." The amendment says only "opportunity." That also is a definite issue. Today there is an opportunity for colonization of about 1 percent of all the land in Palestine. I do not think we want to make any change there.

Thirdly, there is an omission in the amendment of the words "the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power," and so forth. The suggestion is made that we should use our good offices with everyone. I think the distinguished Senator will admit that the words "good offices" do not mean war or armies. They mean peaceful offices.

They certainly cannot mean that the good offices are confined to the British because we certainly are not going to war with Britain.

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

Mr. TAFT. I yield.

Mr. HART. Does the Senator believe that we are entirely fair in urging upon Great Britain rather extreme measures, or measures which the Arabs believe to be rather extreme—without being willing to share the responsibility which will follow, even to the extent of permitting the use of our own forces?

Mr. TAFT. For all practical purposes, for almost 20 years the British have administered Palestine as a British colony. They have full economic advantage of whatever may take place in Palestine. Palestine is today a part of the sterling area. I have letters from American importers who desire to ship goods into Palestine and cannot do so because the British refuse to allow them to ship goods into that country. The British are in full control in Palestine. We have no right to go to the Arab states nearby and discuss with them what we will do in Palestine. We have no part of the country. Before talking with Ibn Saud, President Roosevelt discussed the matter with Churchill and obtained his permission to discuss the matter with Ibn Saud. I think the President made a great mistake in discussing it with Ibn Saud, because I do not believe that Ibn Saud was the man with whom the President should have discussed the matter. I think we would make a great mistake were we to try to discuss the matter with the Arab nations in the Middle East. In the first place, the British agreed in the mandate of the League of Nations to do this. As it has been pointed out by the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Acheson), in 1924 we made a special treaty with Great Britain, under which she agreed to carry out the mandate which she had assumed from the League of Nations in return for various things which we agreed to do. I assert that they now have a direct treaty obligation with us to carry out the purpose of this resolution.

Mr. President, I think it is very serious to suggest that the President use his good offices and ask the British to carry out a treaty obligation which they have to the world, and to the United States in particular.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, I believe I did not make my question clear. I was speaking of the terms of Senate Concurrent Resolution 44. Those terms indicate that rather extreme measures are to be taken in Palestine insofar as the Arabs are concerned.

My question referred to the situation which might arise under the resolution. I asked the Senator if he believed that we should be ready to accept any share of a responsibility which might result from any trouble which might ensue.

Mr. TAFT. That depends on what the Senator means by sharing the responsibility. We are saying by the concurrent resolution what we think should be done. We are not assuming to say that we are going to send any troops, or do anything else beyond saying that we hope to use

our good offices with the mandatory power, and call their attention to their treaty obligations. If the British chose to say in return, "You take Palestine, that question is a new thing to us," that is one thing. But, up to the moment, they have shown no indication of any such intention. I personally would not be in favor of assuming such a responsibility.

Mr. HART. I gather that the Senator is not in favor of our sending troops into Palestine in the event a necessity arose for them. Will the Senator state why he thinks Ibn Saud was not a proper representative for President Roosevelt to confer with?

Mr. TAFT. It is because Ibn Saud had never previously had any relations in a political way with Palestine. He never had any jurisdiction over Palestine. Palestine was never a part of Saudi Arabia. Both countries were parts of the Turkish Empire. Palestine was set up with an Arab leader as a special state for the purpose of making it into a Jewish commonwealth. It was so understood by the Arabs at the time, and I see no reason for consulting the heads of other states with regard to the matter when they have no direct relation with the obligations which the British assumed in Palestine.

Mr. HART. I merely observe that according to my understanding Ibn Saud is the leader of the Pan-Arabic Organization, and that makes him count for a good deal.

Mr. TAFT. The Pan-Arabic Organization, so far as I know, has no official status of any kind.

Mr. TUNNELL. Mr. President, I shall say just a few words. The Senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Cress), the Senator from New Mexico (Mr. Hatch), the Senator from Vermont (Mr. Acheson), the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Wiley), and I were appointed a subcommittee, and we worked for 2 weeks on this resolution, the others working harder than I myself did. Later there was consultation with the Senator from New York (Mr. Wagner), the Senator from Ohio (Mr. Taft), the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Walsh), I believe, the Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. Myers), and the Senator from New Hampshire (Mr. Tamm). Then there were consultations with others, and, so far as I know, there had been no objection on the part of those who had taken an interest in the matter up to that time.

This resolution has been as carefully studied as any I have known of, and I think it is generally satisfactory. I think that even the one vote that was cast in the committee against it, which has been referred to, was not because of the language of the resolution itself, but was cast on another ground.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. President, I should like to suggest the correction of a mistake in the language of the report which was made when the resolution was sent to the Senate. In the fourth line from the bottom of the report the language is, "and where they can establish," and so forth. That means the Jews. That does not correspond to the language of the resolution itself. There should be inserted there the words "in association with all



to have the correction made, in order that there may be no misapprehension.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is the correction in the report or in the concurrent resolution?

Mr. GREEN. In the report.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, the correction will be made.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I do not care to detain the Senate. I should much prefer not to say anything, but I feel it to be my duty to say a few words to the Senate to explain my position in the Committee on Foreign Relations.

The Senator from Texas voted against reporting the resolution, not because he was lacking in sympathy for the Jewish people, not because he did not want to see the stateless and homeless Jews of Europe immigrate to Palestine, but according to my view we are going about this matter in the wrong way.

In the first place, this is not a primary United States responsibility. Under the League of Nations Great Britain received a mandate for Palestine. We were not members of the League of Nations. In 1922 we adopted a resolution expressing sympathy with the Jewish people, and the hope that Great Britain would permit immigration into Palestine. I do not recall the exact language of the resolution. Great Britain has been permitting immigration into Palestine. At the present moment I think the quota is 1,500 a month. The Jewish people think that is not sufficient.

Mr. President, what I rose to say was that the President of the United States is the constitutional representative of the Nation in its foreign relations. The President has been undertaking to discharge his functions with regard to this particular matter. On the 31st of August 1945 he addressed a letter to the Prime Minister of Great Britain. I have a copy of the letter. I shall not undertake to read it, because I do not want to consume time, but I ask permission that it be printed in the Record.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection?

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

My Dear Mr. Prime Minister: Because of the natural interest of this Government in the present condition and future fate of those displaced persons in Germany who may prove to be stateless or nonrepatriable, we recently sent Mr. Earl G. Harrison to inquire into the situation.

Mr. Harrison was formerly the United States Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization, and is now the representative of this Government on the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees. The United Kingdom and the United States, as you know, have taken an active interest in the work of this Committee.

Instructions were given to Mr. Harrison to inquire particularly into the problems and needs of the Jewish refugees among the displaced persons.

Mr. Harrison visited not only the American zone in Germany but spent some time also in the British zone where he was extended every courtesy by the Twenty-first Army headquarters.

I have now received his report. In view of our conversations at Potsdam I am sure that

copy.

I should like to call your attention to the conclusions and recommendations appearing on page 8 and the following pages—especially the references to Palestine. It appears that the available certificates for immigration to Palestine will be exhausted in the near future. It is suggested that the granting of an additional 100,000 of such certificates would contribute greatly to a sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria, and for other Jewish refugees who do not wish to remain where they are or who for understandable reasons do not desire to return to their countries of origin.

On the basis of this and other information which has come to me I concur in the belief that no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine. The number of such persons who wish immigration to Palestine or who would qualify for admission there is, unfortunately, no longer as large as it was before the Nazis began their extermination program. As I said to you in Potsdam, the American people, as a whole, firmly believe that immigration into Palestine should not be closed and that a reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews should, in accordance with their wishes, be permitted to resettle there.

I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement.

The main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the nonrepatriable Jews, who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed.

Very sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, I wish also to have printed in the Record a statement issued by the President under date of November 13, slightly over a month ago. It refers to an agreement the President made with the Prime Minister of Great Britain. The President's statement reads:

Following the receipt of information from various sources regarding the distressing situation of the Jewish victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution in Europe, I wrote to Mr. Attlee on August 31 bringing to his attention the suggestion in a report of Mr. Earl G. Harrison that the granting of an additional 100,000 certificates for the immigration of Jews into Palestine would alleviate the situation. A copy of my letter to Mr. Attlee is being made available to the press. I continue to adhere to the views expressed in that letter.

I was advised by the British Government that because of conditions in Palestine it was not in a position to adopt the policy recommended, but that it was deeply concerned with the situation of the Jews in Europe. During the course of subsequent discussions between the two Governments, it suggested the establishment of a joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry, under a rotating chairmanship, to examine the whole question and to make a further review of the Palestine problem in the light of that examination and other relevant considerations.

In view of our intense interest in this matter and of our belief that such a committee will be of aid in finding a solution which will be both humane and just, we have acceded to the British suggestion.

ments, are as follows: (a) Two Governmental, (b) one political, economic, and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.

How many Members of the Senate know these conditions? A few who have traveled there in recent years know them, but most Senators do not. I am frank to say that the Senator now speaking does not know.

The statement continues:

2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution, and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.

3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs 1 and 2 above and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for an interim handling of these problems as well as for their permanent solution.

4. To make such other recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under paragraph 2 above, by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

It will be observed that among the important duties of this committee will be the task of examining conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration. The establishment of this committee will make possible a prompt review of the unfortunate plight of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been subjected to persecution, and a prompt examination of questions related to the rate of current immigration into Palestine and the absorptive capacity of the country.

The situation faced by displaced Jews in Europe during the coming winter allows no delay in this matter. I hope the committee will be able to accomplish its important task with the greatest speed.

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

Mr. CONNALLY. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. I should like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee a question. Does he not think that the adoption of this resolution by the Senate now will be an indication, and a wise indication, of the direction in which we wish our delegates to go in the negotiations with the British? I am supporting the concurrent resolution. I have had all the difficulties and doubts which have been expressed, but I think the resolution is in such form that it conforms fully with the treaty obligations, with the Balfour Declaration, and with the plight in which we find the poor Jews in Europe. It seems to me the delegates to the joint conference will be strengthened rather than weakened by having the Senate adopt the concurrent resolution. I ask the distinguished chair-



man of the committee whether he does not agree with that conclusion.

Mr. CONNALLY. I agree with the conclusion, if the Congress is going to overthrow the President's control of the matter and take it over, but I think it is most unwise. We are dealing with Great Britain. The President of the United States and the Prime Minister of Great Britain have mutually agreed to appoint a commission to go to Palestine to investigate all these questions and to bring back a report on the facts. They have agreed to do it within 120 days. A distinguished committee has been appointed to represent the United States, and in that connection I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an article from the New York Times telling who the commissioners of the United States are to be.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

**UNITED STATES, BRITAIN PICK 12 TO STUDY PALESTINE.—TRUMAN CALLS JUDGE HUTCHESON TO SHIELD CHAIRMANSHIP WITH SIR JOHN E. SINGLETON.—BROAD INQUIRY ORDERED.—COMMITTEE TOLD TO INVESTIGATE CONDITIONS IN EUROPE AND TO CONSULT ARAB AND JEWS**

WASHINGTON, December 10.—President Truman named today a six-member group to represent United States interests on the British-American Committee of Inquiry on the Palestine question. The chairman is Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, of the Fifth Circuit Court, of Houston, Tex.

Membership of the committee of 12 was announced simultaneously in Washington and London under terms of reference calling for the "utmost expedition in dealing with the subjects committed to it for investigation" and for a report to the 2 Governments within 120 days of the inception of the inquiry. When the investigation will begin the White House was unable to say.

Members of the American group, besides Judge Hutcheson, include Frank Aydelotte, former president of Swarthmore College and now director of the Institute for the Advanced Study at Princeton and American secretary of the Rhodes Trust.

#### EDITOR IS APPOINTED

Others are Frank W. Buxton, editor of the Boston Herald; O. Max Gardner, former Governor of North Carolina and a Washington attorney; James G. McDonald, former chairman of the Foreign Policy Association and High Commissioner of German Refugees for the League of Nations; and William Phillips, former Under Secretary of State, Ambassador to Italy, Presidential representative in New Delhi, India, and delegate to the London Naval Conference in 1935.

Sir John E. Singleton, judge of the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice, was named chairman of the British delegation and will alternate with Judge Hutcheson as a chairman of the two-power group under and agreed-on plan of rotation.

A White House announcement said: "The procedure of the committee will be determined by the committee itself, and it will be open to it, if it thinks fit, to deal simultaneously through the medium of subcommittees with its various terms of reference."

#### OTHERS BRITAINS NAMED

British committeemen include Wilfred P. Crick, economic adviser to the Midland Bank; Richard S. Crossman, Labor Member of Parliament and former assistant editor of the New Statesman and Nation; Sir Frederick Leggett, former Deputy Secretary of the Ministry of Labor and National Services; Maj. Reginald E. Manningham-Butler, Conservative Member of Parliament; and Lord Morrison, Labor Member of Parliament.

The terms of reference of the Committee were:

1. To examine political, economic, and social conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and settlement therein and the well-being of the peoples now living therein.

2. To examine the position of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they have been the victims of Nazi and Fascist persecution and the practical measures taken or contemplated to be taken in those countries to enable them to live free from discrimination and oppression and to make estimates of those who wish or will be impelled by their conditions to migrate to Palestine or other countries outside Europe.

3. To hear the views of competent witnesses and to consult representative Arabs and Jews on the problems of Palestine as such problems are affected by conditions subject to examination under paragraphs 1 and 2 above, and by other relevant facts and circumstances, and to make recommendations to His Majesty's Government and the Government of the United States for an interim handling of these problems as well as for their permanent solution.

4. To make such other recommendations to His Majesty's Government and to the Government of the United States as may be necessary to meet the immediate needs arising from conditions subject to examination under paragraph 2 above by remedial action in the European countries in question or by the provision of facilities for emigration to and settlement in countries outside Europe.

Mr. President, I am very proud of the fact that as the Chairman of the United States group the President has appointed Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson, of my State. He is a distinguished member of the Fifth Circuit Court, of Houston, Tex., a man of the highest public character, education, and experience.

Mr. President, the point I am making. I will say to the Senator from New Jersey, is that the President of the United States does not want this resolution adopted. He so told the Foreign Relations Committee—not in person, but he told me over the telephone and authorized me to tell the committee, and I did tell the committee what he said. He stated, "I do not regard adoption of the resolution as advisable. I do not want to see any sort of resolution adopted until the Commission can conduct its inquiry and submit its report." I reported that to the committee.

The Secretary of State appeared before the committee and testified that the resolution ought not to be adopted and that it was not wise, and that he opposed it.

Yet, Mr. President, the committee could not wait 4 months. It could not wait 120 days. It had to rush this resolution through.

Mr. President, those are my reasons for objecting to the adoption of the resolution at the present time.

Furthermore, I believe the resolution is calculated not to help the Jews, but to injure their causes. Great Britain is not going to be persuaded by a resolution which she does not want adopted. I assume she does not want it adopted, because I assume that she is expecting to go through with the machinery of this Commission, and to wait its report. I do not believe it is in the interest of the Jews at this time to adopt the resolution.

I shall not argue the situation in regard to the Jews. All Senators know the facts. Senators have seen in the press

that the Arab League is bitterly opposed to the contemplated action of the United States Congress in adopting this resolution.

Mr. President, with the utmost sympathy for the Jews, with the utmost sympathy for those in this country who are sympathizing with their brethren in Europe, I must in the interest of my country vote against the adoption of this resolution at the present time. I shall vote against it because, under the circumstances, I do not believe the President of the United States should assume the obligation of handling this matter, that Great Britain does not want a resolution of this kind adopted, and that the Secretary of State, who is in touch with the international situation, does not want any resolutions adopted at this time.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on the amendment offered by the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. HART) to the concurrent resolution.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, I shall not detain the Senate as long as I really should like to do, for the reason that there is not much on the record to show why we ought to act, and why we should act now on this subject. I think the facts are so cogent that they should be on the record. In order to conserve the time of Senators who are weary, I shall refer only to a few things and then ask permission to insert in the Record some reports made by a Commission called the Hearst Unofficial Senatorial Commission, which studied the crisis in Palestine when it was at its peak. The report was made in October 1936, and as an introduction to the report the Commission said, over the signatures of its members, among other things:

Our own Government, however, cannot be held blameless until it calls sharply to the attention of Great Britain our feeling that the mandate is not being administered as it should be. No matter how pressing may be the demands of a Presidential election, time out must be taken to have the atrocities in Palestine stopped. We cannot shed our own responsibility until we remind Great Britain of its neglected duty and insist upon its performance.

The members of our group will do whatever possible to impress our Government with what appears to us to be its manifest duty. To this end we shall do all we can to fulfill the international obligation, to which our Government is a party, to establish the Jewish National Home in Palestine, with full justice to Moslem and Christian in the Holy Land.

ROYAL S. COVELAND.  
DANIEL O. HASTINGS.  
WARREN R. AUSTIN.

Mr. President, I regard it a duty at this time to place in the Record in some way the facts to which we were witnesses at that time and to which I am a witness now. Because of the nature of the amendment proposed, I briefly refer to the legalistic position which I have taken in interrogating the distinguished Senator from Connecticut.

The United States became a party to the mandate by virtue of the American-British Palestine Mandate Convention of December 3, 1924. It will suffice to refer to two articles in order that it may be perfectly clear that we owe an obligation here, and there is a definite country to which we owe that obligation.



Article I, subject to the provisions of the present convention the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above.

In other words, every detail of that mandate is something that the United States Government has gotten behind in a solemn way and we said, "We accept His Britannic Majesty as the trustee of this great trust. We will not only let His Britannic Majesty perform so long as His Majesty does perform according thereto, but we will be vigilant to perform our duty to our nationals living in Palestine and to all the other wards of that trust, by calling direct and vigorous attention to what we regard as a breach of the trust, a nonperformance of the mandate."

The other article is this:

ART. 7. 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.

Now I ask: Can we, and by after having had brought to our attention, without any opportunity for doubt, very important particulars in which the mandatory is not administering Palestine according to this treaty and is thereby in effect changing the mandate? Is it not equally important for us to try to hold the mandatory to the terms of the treaty in regard to his administration of it as it is to hold the mandatory to the terms of the treaty in regard to a formal amendment of it, particularly when we find this type of change made for practice, namely, cutting down of the area of land into which Jews are permitted to immigrate? That was one of the early changes in the mandate, made without any formal action, by the sole act of the mandatory power. All of Transjordan was cut off from the area of Palestine which was originally comprehended in the terms of the mandate.

Mr. HART. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. HART. Was not that action approved by the League of Nations?

Mr. AUSTIN. I think not. I do not know. Certainly I have never seen any approval of it, and I think it would have been called to my attention in 1936 if there had been any such record.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. In any event, it is entirely clear that the white paper has never been approved by the League of Nations or the United States. That goes very much further.

Mr. AUSTIN. The Senator is distinctly right. Most Senators also recognize, I am sure, that such a formal change as that would have to come to the United States and be approved by the United States under the terms of our treaty with Britain, and that certainly never has been done.

Mr. BREWSTER. Is it not also true that as parties to this treaty, if we continue silently to acquiesce in its violation, which is admitted on all sides, we then lend our acquiescence, and that an estoppel will operate?

Mr. AUSTIN. I am not ready to say that. I once learned in a lawsuit that silence under certain circumstances is probative. Silence under circumstances in which a man or a nation ought to speak is probative.

I am going only a little way into this story, but I go this far: Aside from the treaty, we were asked by Britain to make her load as light as possible, to help her. Lord Balfour, the author of the resolution which is recited in the preamble of this concurrent resolution, wrote to Secretary of State Hughes on January 13, 1922, during the negotiation of the treaty between Great Britain and the United States, as follows:

The task which the British Government have undertaken in Palestine is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy. . . . However this may be, the duty has devolved upon Great Britain, and I hope the American Government will do what they can to lighten the load.

In the report which I have before me appear two short paragraphs which I wish to read, because they were fresh when they were written, with the facts immediately before me:

American public sentiment should be frankly expressed in support of the mandate and in approval of its strict administration according to the British policy laid down during the negotiation of its terms. It would strengthen the arm of the mandatory and discourage the employment of violence and civil disobedience to induce either the abrogation of the mandate or a modification of its essential obligations.

Again, quoting from another part:

In fulfillment of the principles of the mandate and the declared policy of the mandatory power, a stable supporting public sentiment among the American people, frankly announced, may be of great value. It may help to lighten the load assumed by the mandatory, in accordance with the spirit of Lord Balfour's letter to Secretary of State Hughes, in the performance of the great task of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine.

With respect to the terms of Concurrent Resolution 44, it will be noticed that it does not declare for a Jewish state. That was the supreme issue in the Foreign Relations Committee of the United States Senate, and the original draft was changed in that particular and peculiar regard to make it absolutely clear that we were not asking the mandatory to go beyond the terms of the treaty or of the mandate itself and undertake by bayonets—and that is what it would ultimately mean—to set up a Jewish state anywhere, certainly not in a tiny lane which is in a humble position as a result of the war.

The language of the resolution recognizes the other nationalities. There are approximately 60 of them. The population of Palestine is not all Jew and Arab. To be found there are the Christian religion, the Moslem or Mohammedan religion, the Hebrew religion, and various cults. There are many sacred shrines which must be respected according to the terms of the mandate.

On the point of a Jewish state, I think only this language is necessary to bring to light the essential difference between the original resolution which was offered and the one now pending, which is

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 44. This is taken from a Government paper published while we were negotiating our treaty with Great Britain. It became a royal instruction. It contained the following language:

A Jewish national home will be founded in Palestine. The Jewish people will be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. But His Majesty's government have no such aim as that Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English.

Nor do His Majesty's government contemplate the disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language, or culture. The status of all citizens of Palestine will be Palestinian, and no section of the population will have any other status in the eyes of the law.

We entered into the treaty with that language before us. Who can now say that we would be doing a wise act if, as the Senate of the United States, we should adopt a resolution calling upon the mandatory to establish a Jewish state? Much as I am devoted to the cause of the Jews, I cannot bring myself to that point, primarily because I know that the repercussion from such a position would do the Jews more harm than anything they have suffered in the long, long centuries. Their prospects would not have the promise and hope that they now have, and that they would have by the adoption of a resolution which is reasonable and which recognizes the rights, according to the Balfour Declaration, of other peoples, religions, and shrines in Palestine.

I quote from the concurrent resolution. This is the point:

So that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home—

Note the following—

and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

I have talked with many Jews. I have talked with some of the leading rabbis of the world about this matter. During our last consideration of it this note, which was finally adopted by the State Department, came to the committee through the hands of the distinguished Senator from New York (Mr. Wagner) from three brilliant Jews who drafted the language.

In my opinion this recognition of the status of all people who live there is the proper attitude for the United States Senate to take, while undertaking to say to the mandate, "Open the doors of Palestine to the free immigration of Jews and to the full settlement of the land. Do not answer us by saying, 'No; we cannot do it; the land will not support them all; it will not support all the population that is there and the additional ones that come in.' That will not do at all."

The facts which I shall introduce, if I am permitted to do so—I shall ask unanimous consent to have them placed in the Record—show that immigration is a dynamic thing, that Palestine has never arrived at the limit of her capacity to receive immigration, and that all the time she has been receiving just as many



Arabs as Jews. Her doors have been open to them all, and they have come in; but, as I have said, Palestine has not yet reached the limit of her capacity to receive immigration or her capacity for agricultural development.

The resolution provides a limit, for it says:

Shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development.

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

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. BREWSTER. Can the Senator inform me whether there is any restriction on the immigration of Arabs at the present time, or whether there has been in recent years?

Mr. AUSTIN. None that I know of.

Mr. BREWSTER. Is it not rather extraordinary, in questioning the good faith with which the mandate has been administered, that we find that the Arab population has actually increased more than has the Jewish population, during the 30 years since Palestine was promised as a homeland for the Jew?

Mr. AUSTIN. Senator Copeland discussed that point fully, and he said it is not the result of an increased birth rate, but is the result of the improvement in water supply, the extension and development of cultivatable lands, education, better control of disease, higher level of wages, higher standard of living, and similar factors which make a country productive. That is what causes the Arabs to flock into Palestine. They go there in order to enjoy the dynamic power which has come to Palestine. Please understand, it is almost a visible thing. The spirit of the people is most amazing. It is miraculous how they have had a rebirth, how happy they are, and how they have swung into this project of restoring the Holy Land, the home of their fathers, to great productivity, and to get upon that sacred soil.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, will the Senator further yield?

Mr. AUSTIN. Yes; but before yielding I should like to place in the Record something which is an admission by the mandatory. This is taken from the report of the Palestine Royal Commission, submitted at London in 1937:

The Jews in Palestine, to begin with, are happy. They are not as happy as they were before the outbreak of the last war. . . . But, speaking generally, whether it be the Jew who has been driven from a comfortable life in a cultured "milieu" and is now digging all the day in the fields and sleeping in a bare cottage, or whether it be the Jew who has emerged from a Polish ghetto and is now working in a factory at Tel Aviv, the dominant feeling of both is an overwhelming sense of escape. The champions of Zionism have always held—and on the whole they are now proved right—that a Jew released from an anti-Jewish environment and restored to Palestine would not only feel free as he had never felt before but would also acquire a new self-confidence, a new zest in living from his consciousness that he was engaged in a great constructive task.

Mr. President, I shall ask unanimous consent to have these papers printed in the Record. They prove that the Jews

are engaged in a great, constructive task, and that they have accomplished miracles, thus far, and give great promise for the future.

Now I yield to the Senator from Maine.

Mr. BREWSTER. Mr. President, assuming that the Arabs who were living there at the time of the League of Nations mandate and the treaty with the United States have their rights which are fully provided for and protected, can it be said that the 400,000 Arabs who have come there from outside or who have appeared there in the new population during this period can claim any similar rights of protection, inasmuch as Palestine had been promised, and under the mandate and the trusteeship was designed, as a homeland for the Jew? If there is any saturation point, do not the Jews have priority, insofar as new immigration is concerned?

Mr. AUSTIN. My answer will have to be "No." In my opinion it is "No." I think the Arabs are there as a matter of right. They have not violated the law by entering Palestine. They are just as much citizens as if they had been born there or had gone there when the other inhabitants went there. Being there as citizens, it is only one of the incidents which I regard as a failure to administer the mandate strictly that there has not been the immigration of Jews, the fostering of the development of a form of government which will advance the Jewish national home, and all the other provisions which are provided for in the mandate. It is a failure to go through with those things which have caused the slow-down. The slow-down has been caused by unduly limiting the number of Jews who could enter that country. The Arabs, at the time when I was there, were clamoring to cut off the immigration entirely. They did not succeed in that, but they succeeded in having it limited.

I wish to say before I conclude that not all Arabs are opposed to having the Jews go to Palestine. Some of the finest of them told us—and I took verbatim minutes of their statements, and some of them will be placed in the Record—that there is no reason why Jews and Arabs should not get along together in Palestine. They are cousins; and so far as the economic status of Arabs is concerned, they benefited in all kinds of ways by the coming of the Jews. So far as health, education, and culture are concerned, the Arabs have benefited by the coming of the Jews. The only point was that those who were so strenuous in their efforts and desires to cut off the further immigration of Jews had a great fear of being overwhelmed by the Jewish population, so that ultimately, some time in the future, the Government of Palestine would become Jewish.

What I hope to see the mandatory do is carry out the policy expressed in this concurrent resolution, which looks to a government formed as we form one here in the United States—not based on a racial stock but containing many races, stocks whose nationals shall not be known as either Jew or Arab but—just as we are known as Americans—shall be known as Palestinians. If one race or another outstrips in population the other races, that is in the hands of the Al-

mighty, and we do not have much to say about it.

Mr. President, I conclude by asking unanimous consent to have printed in the Record at this point the reports of the Hearst Unofficial Senatorial Committee.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. President, will the Senator yield for a question?

Mr. AUSTIN. I yield.

Mr. SMITH. The Senator from Connecticut raised a very important point, namely, that the action which we are requested to take might conceivably lead to hostilities, and involve a question of responsibility. I feel that if we ask the British to take action, we should be willing to assume our share of the responsibility for it and my belief is that it would then put the matter into the hands of the United Nations Organization. Is that what the Senator's judgment?

Mr. AUSTIN. Will the Senator give me an opportunity to reply without saying "Yes" or "No"?

Mr. SMITH. I think the United Nations Organization is the organization to be concerned with the entire problem.

Mr. AUSTIN. We now have a commission which was appointed jointly by the mandatory and by the United States Government to investigate these facts. We will learn from that Commission the facts which we do not now have. We will obtain a better foundation for a decision concerning the precise character of changes which are to be made, than we have at the present time. We will perhaps learn whether it is possible to reach an agreement between Jews and Arabs. At one time an agreement was entered into. If the mandatory had adhered to the agreement and had hued to the line, we would not be where we are now in respect to the Palestine situation.

Mr. SMITH. I agree with the Senator.

Mr. AUSTIN. If the matter is handled rightly, I believe that it will be possible to secure another agreement. But if it is not possible to do so, undoubtedly Great Britain will be the actor. She now has power under the United Nations Charter to say whether she will give up her trusteeship to the United Nations, or to someone else. I doubt if it would be appropriate for us to make any recommendation. That is why I should not like to make any commitment or statement as to what should be done.

Mr. SMITH. My thought is that the situation might lead to interference on the part of the United States.

Mr. CONNALLY. Did the Senator from Vermont receive permission to have printed in the Record the reports to which he referred?

Mr. AUSTIN. I asked for such permission.

Mr. CONNALLY. Reserving the right to object, I heard the Senator use the words "Hearst Unofficial Senatorial Committee." What kind of a committee is that?

Mr. AUSTIN. The name was probably given by Hearst, but it was a committee consisting of three Senators.

Mr. CONNALLY. But it was not a committee which had been appointed by the Senate.



Senate did not participate in the expense of the commission, or anything concerning it.

Mr. CONNALLY. I merely wanted to have that fact made clear.

Mr. AUSTIN. I was trying to identify the document.

Mr. CONNALLY. I am not complaining to the Senator. I merely wanted it to be understood that when the Senator stated "Unofficial senatorial committee" the reports to which he referred were the reports of a purely voluntary committee and were not reports of a committee which had been appointed by the Senate.

Mr. AUSTIN. Mr. President, the reports were not made by a committee authorized by the Senate. I have referred only to the title of the document so that the printer may know what I am talking about. The document is entitled "The Crisis in Palestine. Reports of Hearst Unofficial Senatorial Commission."

Mr. CONNALLY. Of course, if it were a Hearst commission, it was not a Senate commission or a Senate committee.

Mr. AUSTIN. The Senator is correct. The PRESIDENT pro tempore. Is there objection to the unanimous-consent request of the Senator from Vermont?

There being no objection, the document referred to was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

#### THE CRISIS IN PALESTINE—REPORTS OF HEARST UNOFFICIAL SENATORIAL COMMISSION

##### PURPOSE OF THE INQUIRY

The following statement, issued by the members of the Unofficial Senatorial Commission on their arrival in Palestine on August 23, 1936, is reprinted from the Palestine Post:

"We have come to Palestine not as officials, but as citizens of the United States. We do not commit the American Government by anything we say or do.

"Mr. William Randolph Hearst, the publisher of many newspapers in America, expressed to us the desire to get accurate and unbiased information concerning the situation in Palestine. We agreed to come here for that purpose.

"This is no official mission, but we are mindful of the fact that the information we hope to get will be of value to us as United States Senators.

"We are mindful of the fact that our Government is greatly interested in the problems of this country.

"We are mindful of Lord Balfour's historic letter to Secretary of State Hughes, of January 13, 1922, in which he expressed the hope that 'the American Government will do what they can to lighten the load' undertaken by the British Government in Palestine.

"If we can get accurate information and make an unbiased report, it ought to be helpful to the millions of Americans who are interested in the reconstruction of Palestine.

"We are here, free from all bias and prejudice. We seek reliable information and invite the aid of all who can help. We wish to hear from all sides, so everybody may be sure that our survey is conducted with strict impartiality.

"Regardless of religious or racial origin, all Americans have a genuine interest in the peace and prosperity of Palestine, a land sacred to Christian, Moslem, and Jew alike. In the midst of the world-wide depression from which our country suffered so deeply,

"Our people have contributed greatly toward the reconstruction of Palestine, so as to confer benefits upon all elements of the population. We are confident that an early return to peace will insure the continuation of American economic aid to this country. And we pray that there may be unbroken progress on the part of all the people of the Holy Land toward an era of lasting prosperity."

##### "WHOSE RESPONSIBILITY?"

The following statement, issued in New York by the members of the Unofficial Senatorial Commission on their return from Palestine, appeared in the New York American on September 18, 1936:

"We found Palestine in a state of terror. Shootings, bombings, and every other form of violence had become part of the daily routine during the past 5 months. Murder is a common occurrence. Nearly 1,000 lives have been lost in the present turmoil, including those of Arabs, Jews, and British soldiers.

"In spite of the fact that thoughtful Jewish and Arab leaders strive for mutual peace and lasting understanding, the intolerable state of affairs in Palestine continues. It is a condition for which, as we see it, the mandatory government must be held responsible. Its failure in this matter is of concern to the United States.

"Great Britain holds the mandatory power over Palestine. It is charged by the world with the responsibility for good government there. The United States has a treaty with the British sovereign, a treaty which includes every word of the original mandate designed to guarantee a Jewish national home in Palestine and to give unfailing justice to the Moslems and other religiousists in the land.

"In consequence of the solemn treaty, it is our right, and probably our duty, as citizens and as United States Senators, to investigate and report upon the fulfillment of the convention which we believe is not being administered in accordance with its letter and spirit.

"We found the High Commissioner of Palestine to be a fine gentleman. In matters so fundamental, so vital to the welfare of Great Britain, so interlaced with the affairs of England in the Near East, we cannot believe that the High Commissioner is acting upon his own initiative. Undoubtedly, he is an able and honest man, but open to the accusation of indecision and weakness, because he must be loyal to whatever is the 'policy' of the British Government.

"The failure to make conciliatory and peace-promoting moves culminated in the present 'strike,' with its horrible record of murders and destructive acts. Failure to deal sternly with the lawbreakers and to end the inexcusable acts of violence would bring discredit even to the police department of a second-class American city. Al in all, there has been created a cleavage between Arab and Jew, which will take years to close. In the last analysis, the British Government must take the blame for the chaos in the Holy Land.

"Our own Government, however, cannot be held blameless until it calls sharply to the attention of Great Britain our feeling that the mandate is not being administered as it should be. No matter how pressing may be the demands of a Presidential election, time out must be taken to have the atrocities in Palestine stopped. We cannot shed our own responsibility until we remind Great Britain of its neglected duty and insist upon its performance.

"The members of our group will do whatever possible to impress our Government with what appears to us to be its manifest duty. To this end, we shall do all we can to fulfill the international obligation, to

REPORT BY SENATOR ROYAL S. COPELAND  
ARTICLE I

"ROYAL S. COPELAND,  
"DANIEL O. HASTINGS,  
"WARREN H. AUSTIN."

#### REPORT BY SENATOR ROYAL S. COPELAND ARTICLE I

We arrived in Palestine at the height of the reign of terror which had been sweeping the land for 4 months. Even before we stepped off the boat at Haifa we were made aware of the fear which filled every heart.

The country was an armed camp. A state of warfare prevailed, without the martial law warranted by the activities of the Arab terrorists.

Yet we were amazed at the sight of Haifa. Here was a beautiful harbor created by Jewish endeavor and sacrifice where but a decade ago no port facilities existed. The harbor presented a busy appearance.

Freight was moving. A cargo of immigrants, Jewish refugees from Russia, was being disembarked in the land of promise.

But there were also some British warships at anchor ready for instant action. These warships were part of the armed forces which Great Britain had been assembling in Palestine ever since the outbreak of the Arab strike and campaign of assassination.

It was a sight typical of all Europe today, where civilization is being eclipsed by the shadows of guns and marching armies.

Haifa did not look at all like Asia. It impressed me as a miniature Naples, a beautiful modern city which dotted the slopes of Mount Carmel down to the blue waters of the sea. It was as if the frontiers of Europe had been shoved eastward by a magic hand.

Modern buildings, hotels and cafes, schools and hospitals, theaters and shops, all bore witness to the peaceful conquest of the Near East by a host of Jewish pioneers and builders from the West.

We were welcomed upon our arrival by representatives of the American Jewish community in Palestine and by the representative of the Jewish Agency. The latter is recognized, under the Mandate by Great Britain as the official body in charge of the restoration of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

We proceeded with the inquiry, which was the purpose of our visit. Shortly after landing we held a series of conferences with both Jewish and Arab spokesmen in Haifa. Although our stay in the Holy Land was limited, the size of the country made it possible to conduct a pretty thorough investigation in a couple of weeks.

The area of Palestine is about one-fifth larger than that of Massachusetts or New Jersey. The entire population is less than one-fourth of either of these two States. The Holy Land is provided with excellent modern highways which have been built largely by Jewish labor, capital and engineering.

One of the vital questions which concerned us was the absorptive capacity of Palestine.

In view of the burning need for a haven for millions of persecuted Jews in eastern Europe, it was imperative to settle the problem: Can Palestine house a population of several millions?

If Palestine, with an area a little less than that of Belgium, could ever maintain the density of population equal to that of Belgium, it would have room for at least 6,000,000 souls. If Palestine were ever to rival Massachusetts in density of population, it could harbor over 10,000,000 people.

It is obvious that the answer to the absorptive capacity of Palestine lies in the development of industry and commerce. For Palestine is the maritime frontier of a vast hinterland which is fast beginning to awaken to the call of civilization.



Haifa supplied us with some hopeful indications that the future of Palestine, as a home for millions of Jews, may be made possible by the development of industry, without minimizing the role of agriculture. We inspected some industrial establishments in the vicinity of Haifa. It will suffice to cite but one example of the industrial progress of the Zionist movement, the Kremmener foundry on the Plain of Zebulun.

But 3 years ago there was nothing but sand where the busy plant is now turning out bathtubs and plumbing fixtures for Palestine and the neighboring countries.

The creator of the foundry was a victim of the Hitler campaign against the Jews. He left Germany, and with small capital launched and built a plant equipped in ultramodern fashion.

He trained his workers, many of whom are German refugees who had never done manual labor. He developed a market which has never been tapped in that part of the world.

As we surveyed the operations of the foundry and conversed with the workers I sensed the great happiness of these begrimed men. There was a pride in their stride and in their faces which said to me:

"At last we are now in our own home. We have been driven from pillar to post long enough. We have come to rebuild our land and our land has already rebuilt us."

#### ARTICLE 2

Between Haifa and Jerusalem lies the major war zone of the present strife in Palestine. The railroad connecting the two cities is periodically cut by Arab night raiders. In spite of patrol engines running ahead of them, trains are derailed. Marauders from the hills shoot at the passing coaches. All night traffic is suspended. Highway travel is even more precarious because of terrorists lying in ambush.

The British Mandatory Government of Palestine was deeply concerned over the safety of our party. We had been formally notified when we entered the harbor of Haifa that we must not travel to Jerusalem except by air and that we must not go about the countryside. Naturally, some of us wondered why the mandatory power, after 4 months of turmoil, was unable to maintain law and order in the land entrusted to its care.

We called on the district commissioner of Haifa, Mr. Keith-Roach, who eventually arranged for our trip to Jerusalem. We proceeded in two stages, by rail to Lydda, and thence by motor to the capital of the country. We had the protection of a special conveyance consisting of a detachment of 30 soldiers. The men, armed with rifles and machine guns, were under the command of Captain McAllister of the Cheshire Regiment.

Our baggage preceded us in our two hired cars, driven by Max and David, two Jewish drivers who had come up from Jerusalem through the Arab-infested back country. Max is a deputy constable. A native of Palestine, he went about his business undisturbed by the daily toll of murders. Indeed, it was remarkable to watch the fortitude with which the entire Jewish population conducted itself in the face of constant danger.

In the compartment adjoining ours in the railway coach was a detail of soldiers. At both ends of the coach were armed soldiers who alighted at every stop, with their guns ready for action. Ahead of the train was a special patrol car, a converted open Ford truck on railway wheels. The sides of the truck consisted of half-inch armor plate. This "lookout trolley," as the Tommies in Palestine call it, ran ahead of the train at a distance of a couple of miles. It carried five soldiers and a machine gun.

It was perhaps an unusual experience for three United States Senators, accompanied by their wives, to find themselves traveling under conditions which resembled those of a battle front in wartime. We passed Athlit,

on the Mediterranean, where Richard the Lion Hearted landed with his crusaders. It was not difficult to imagine what his feelings were in the long ago.

The train proceeded through a zone dotted with flourishing Jewish colonies. Citrus groves enriched the landscape. It was a scene to gladden the eye.

But all along the way were dugouts in which soldiers nestled behind sandbags. Now and then we passed encampments. Bayonets gleamed in the sun. New youths just from England and veteran soldiers of Allenby's triumphant army were sharing alike the hardships and hazards of guerrilla warfare under a civilian administration.

The train slowed up. We could see the fresh embankment over which we were passing. Laborers were at work repairing the roadway. Here a train had been derailed a few days earlier, resulting in many casualties. A favorite trick of the marauders is to creep up in the night and loosen the rails by removing the bolts. It is one of the purposes of the "lookout trolley" to test the roadbed and to watch for loose rails, running at a speed of about 40 miles an hour.

We were approaching Hadera. The stretch beyond, as far as Tui-Karm, was exceptionally dangerous. Although it was forenoon, Captain McAllister warned us that the train might be fired upon. In that event, he said, it would be safest for the party to leave the compartment and stay in the passageway of the coach, on the side away from the hills. Fortunately there was no shooting that day.

Some of the soldiers were bitter and outspoken in their remarks. One officer had lost four of his men in an engagement with an Arab band. He was a veteran who had marched into Jerusalem under the banner of Allenby's victorious army.

Another officer with whom we talked on that trip said:

"This was a wasteland when I first saw Palestine. The Jews simply transformed the country. For centuries the Arabs did nothing. The Jews took the desolate land and turned it into gardens and groves. They built villages and cities where no man thought it could be done. The Arabs sold the land for big money. Now they want to keep the money and they also want the land back."

It was clear that many British soldiers chafed at the leniency with which the Arab terrorists were being treated. They are pinning for a Kitchener or an Allenby. About two score British soldiers have already been killed during the latest disturbances. Yet in the absence of martial law no soldier was allowed to fire on an Arab, even if the latter was taking aim at him. He was only permitted to shoot when actually fired upon.

After 3 hours of travel by train, we alighted at Lydda, where we were met by the American consul from Jerusalem. Seated in three cars each of which carried an escort of soldiers and followed by a special car containing a machine-gun crew, we started on a wild dash to Jerusalem. The winding road traversed the hills of Judea. In the recesses of these barren hills lay hidden the main bands of the Arab terrorists.

We were approaching the City of Peace, but the atmosphere was that of war. We received the news of the latest outrages in the land, and we asked ourselves:

"Has Great Britain not the power to make human life safe in the Holy Land entrusted to her care by the nations of the world?"

#### ARTICLE 3

"Will the British Government take stern measures to suppress the guerrilla bands or will it yield to the terrorists by making concessions to the Arab high committee?"

This was the overshadowing question when we arrived in Jerusalem on August 23. The 450,000 Jews of Palestine were in a state of despair, in the belief that the mandatory power was about to nullify certain vital pro-

visions of the mandate as the price of a temporary peace.

It should be noted here that the restraint of the Jewish population, which includes at least 50,000 World War veterans from all countries, has been truly remarkable in the face of the prolonged Arab campaign of assassination and arson. This was later confirmed by the British High Commissioner, Sir Arthur G. Wauchop.

The arrival of the Hearst unofficial senatorial delegation, in these circumstances, assumed an historic character. The entire Jewish population welcomed our coming as a godsend.

Was our presence in Palestine at that critical moment welcome to the British authorities? If so, they did not go out of the way to demonstrate it. It is true, we referred publicly upon our arrival in the Holy Land to the standing invitation issued by Lord Balfour to Secretary of State Hughes in January 1922, in which the United States was asked to do whatever possible "to lighten the load" assumed by Great Britain under the mandate. But it was clear that the British did not like being reminded of that document, and of America's recognized interest in the administration of the mandate.

We were deluged by requests for audiences and conferences from responsible public bodies. The entire press of the country, both Jewish and Arab, as well as the large contingent of foreign correspondents now in Palestine, displayed the deepest interest in our mission. We proceeded with our inquiry without delay and found ourselves in the vortex of conflicting Jewish, Arab, and British claims and counterclaims.

Although Jerusalem resembled in some ways a besieged city, no handicaps were placed in our way. The government had placed at our disposal a special detail of soldiers but within a day or two we dispensed with their services. It appeared that traveling about the city in the company of an armed soldier offered the greatest temptation to Arab snipers.

All the gates to the city have barbed wire fences, guarded by armed patrols. The streets and squares are similarly patrolled. The evidences of the Arab strike are everywhere. Arab shops are closed. In the walled old city, the narrow lanes which are usually crowded to capacity by vendors and shoppers are now deserted. Here both the Jewish and Armenian shops are shut, too. Only bread stores are open.

At 7 o'clock every evening the curfew law descends upon Jerusalem, and all movement is stopped, except by the few who possess special passes. Such passes were provided upon request to members of our party and to such callers who had appointments with us. Not a night passed in Jerusalem during our stay there without shots being echoed among the hills on which the city is built.

Yet it was exhilarating to be in Jerusalem. Probably no city in the world has had so much written about it. But the full story of Jerusalem can perhaps never be written. It has to be experienced.

Coming from torrid southern Italy and Egypt, with reports before us of temperatures ranging as high as 105° back home, Jerusalem late in August proved a haven of delight. Situated at an elevation of 2,700 feet above sea level, the climate of the Holy City was blessed indeed. Even during the hours of brilliant sunshine there was always a balmy breeze. The nights and mornings were invigoratingly cool.

We had worried on our journey as to the hotel accommodations in Jerusalem. Now astonished we were when we found ourselves in one of the finest and newest hotels in the world, the King David, which has no peer in the entire Near East and which is not surpassed by any hostelry in the United States.

That hotel alone, erected 6 years ago, is a monument to the miraculous transformation of Palestine in recent years. Jerusalem 10-01



Forcing the Arab to a position of surrendering metropolitan in the machine, new substantial quarters, modern edifices rub elbows with historic relics of stirring antiquity.

But the Physical face of Jerusalem is secondary to its soul. Who can capture the mood which hangs over the city at sunrise and at sunset? It is truly unique. That alone can explain the rise within its cradle of the three great religions of the world, of which the mother religion was that of the Hebrews.

And now the descendants of those Hebrews, come to redeem the land of their forefathers under a pledge made to them by the nations of the world, were fearful of the repudiation of that pledge by the trustee, Great Britain.

The Jewish settlers in Palestine were hoping that the United States, which ratified that pledge by an act of Congress and which consented to the British trusteeship by a solemn treaty, would, through our delegation, take their case before the supreme court of world public opinion.

#### ARTICLE 1

On the night of August 23, the date of our arrival in Palestine, a quarter of Jerusalem inhabited largely by American citizens of Jewish faith was subjected to a fusillade on three sides. The press and the official bulletins reported nothing about the attack. We did not learn of it until some days after we reached Jerusalem.

The matter was brought to our attention in an appeal for help presented to us by a delegation of the United Brethren of American Jews in Jerusalem, an association comprising about 600 citizens of the United States. From this report it appeared that the atrocities being committed by the Arab terrorists were jeopardizing the lives of thousands of American citizens now settled in Palestine.

The status of these American citizens, it should be noted, differs from that of our citizens in Spain or other foreign zones of trouble. Palestine is under a mandatory government, and is not a colony or a possession of Great Britain. Under the treaty concluded between the United States and Great Britain in 1924, American nationals are guaranteed protection of their lives and property in Palestine.

The plea made to us by the Jewish American community in Jerusalem is, therefore, a document of vital concern to the Government and to the people of the United States. At the same time it recites facts which cannot be ignored by our Department of State.

"We left America not as a result of persecution and hatred," reads the petition presented to us by six representatives of the United Brethren of American Jews in Jerusalem.

It continues:

"We were animated by the high ideal of the restoration of our ancestral holy country, of the revival of our people, of the realization of the vision of our prophets: 'From Zion goes forth the Law.'"

"The American Jews invested millions of dollars in Palestine. They founded new settlements. They erected hospitals and clinics. They built health centers. And their share in the foundation and development of the Hebrew University is a prominent one.

"But all these achievements are for the moment menaced by destruction. Wild bands are uprooting our groves, burning down our buildings, ambushing our men and our women, and not sparing even children. There is no security on public roads, no security for life and property.

"We came to Palestine relying on the solemn declaration of Great Britain, supported by 25 other governments. We put our trust especially in the treaty signed between Great Britain and the United States of America. But we had to experience that the mandatory power is far from keeping its solemn pledge.

And what has been going on during the last 5 months is beyond any imagination. The Jews are almost outlawed. And not only are they not given sufficient protection, but they are also hindered in the elementary right of self-defense. The police and authorities investigate with no results. The courts do not punish adequately. And the Arab bandits are treated like an enemy's army.

"We desire to give here but one concrete example of the dangerous position to which the majority of us here have had the unfortunate experience of being eyewitnesses. On Sunday night, August 23, between 10 and 11, our quarter, known as Kerem Abraham, was violently attacked by shooting from three sides. The firing came from very close range and we heard the bullets strike the stone walls.

"We woke the children and together we got down on the floors for safety. There was no help from police or soldiers. In the morning, boys picked up bullets on the streets. On one shutter, there were more than 20 bullet marks. One missile pierced the iron grating and entered the home.

"Panic-stricken we went to the American consul, who gives us his valuable aid at all times. We fear, however, that the chaotic conditions here are fast reaching the point beyond the aid of the consulate.

"In danger and distress we appeal to you, honorable representatives of our great and beloved country and of the noblest traditions of human rights, asking you to bring our lament before the people and the Government of the United States, and to cause friendly intervention in our favor."

The petition was signed by Rabbi S. Winograd, Rabbi S. Bernstein, Rabbi H. Kaufman, Sieman Shafer, I. W. Wolf, and Harry Leyton.

It was the prayer of these delegates, as expressed to me, that Washington would take note of their plight and that of the other Americans in Palestine whose rights and lives were in constant peril.

#### ARTICLE 2

Do the British police authorities actually play into the hands of the Arab terrorists? Are means of defense denied and proper protection refused to the terrorized colonies, thus inviting invasion by bands of vandals? Are the lives and property of American nationals safeguarded by the mandatory government, in accordance with the provisions of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain?

The case of the American citizen, Sava Kwartin, whose orange grove was ravaged during our stay in Palestine, presents a striking answer to the foregoing questions. It is a case typical of the havoc being wrought in the Holy Land under a lax administration.

Several days after our arrival in Jerusalem, we received the following telegram from Tel Aviv:

"THE AMERICAN SENATORS COPELAND, HASTINGS, AUSTIN.

King David Hotel, Jerusalem.

"Kindly grant interview at your stay in Tel Aviv. I wish to present precarious condition of American residents and their property here. The day before yesterday approximately four thousand trees were uprooted in my grove. Local authorities have refused all adequate protection.

"SAVAL ZERULON KWARTIN."

An investigation upon our arrival in Tel Aviv disclosed to me the following facts which should be of interest to our Department of State:

On the night of August 26, a band of 50 Arabs, armed with guns, invaded Mr. Kwartin's orange grove, 3 miles from the Jewish settlement of Hedera. The vandals held up

at about \$15,000, without committing the loss of income to the proprietor involved in the destruction.

Now 2 months earlier the same grove had been similarly invaded and several hundred trees then uprooted. Mr. Kwartin had applied to the district police office at Rehovoth for permission to keep on the property a number of armed constables. His request was flatly refused. He was permitted to supply his laborers temporarily with two shot-guns.

Toward the end of July, a police patrol searched the grove and found one shotgun and one old Turkish rifle in the possession of the chief watchman, who had apparently failed to renew his license. The arms were seized, the watchman and his two helpers were arrested. The grove was left without any protection, at the very time when the owner was frantically trying to secure from the higher authorities a special police guard.

Three days before the destruction of the orange grove, on August 23, Mr. Kwartin went to the deputy district superintendent of police and to the assistant district commissioner of Gaza to plead that at least four special constables be placed on his plantation. The situation in the country was tense. The answer he received was:

"The matter is receiving attention."

Following the devastation of the grove on the night of August 26, the desperate Mr. Kwartin requested of the authorities in Gaza that a British officer be entrusted with the investigation of the act of vandalism. Instead, an Arab officer was assigned to the case. When we were in Tel Aviv, the culprits had not yet been discovered.

A week after the invasion, on August 31, Mr. Kwartin received from police headquarters in Jaffa a notice that his application for armed constables had been refused.

Scores of thousands of trees, planted with love and sacrifice, have been destroyed in the Holy Land in recent months. Homesteads, barns, livestock have been destroyed by fire. Factories have been burned to the ground. Much of the damage suffered was sustained by American citizens.

There is considerable evidence available that the indifference of the local authorities is responsible for the continuation of the reign of terror. It is, indeed, a mockery that while the British Army in Palestine is striving to extinguish the blaze of arson and assassination, many of the civilian officers are either wittingly or unwittingly encouraging the spread of that blaze.

Mr. Kwartin, a cantor of international reputation moved to Palestine under twofold assurances. As a Jew, he went there to participate in the rebuilding of the Jewish national home guaranteed by Great Britain and all the nations of the world, including the United States. As an American citizen, he went there with the knowledge and belief that the solemn treaty existing between the British Government and the United States was intended to protect American nationals and interests.

In the course of our investigation we received many complaints from injured settlers in Palestine, indicating that the terror is not due to the inability, but to the unwillingness, of the British to cope with it effectively.

In Palestine, as elsewhere, a policy of yielding to violence begets more violence. As our inquiry progressed it became clearer that both Jews and Arabs who were bent on pursuing their peaceful labors were suffering from the malfaisance of the mandatory administration of the country.

#### ARTICLE 3

Next to the great sanitation work carried out in Panama by American genius there has been no greater achievement in the field of public health anywhere in the world than the



sanitation program put into effect in Palestine by American Jews.

Into a land infested with malaria, reeking with disease, peopled by backward and superstitious races, the Zionist pioneers brought the most modern methods of preserving human life and health. The best that we have in America has been transplanted and successfully established in the Holy Land.

At a moment when Arab terrorists were assassinating Jewish nurses and planning bombing in Jewish playgrounds it was inspiring to visit the Nathan Straus Health Center and Hadassah Hospitals where the work of mercy was being carried on in the interests of both Jews and Arabs.

Even the shocking murder of the two young Jewish nurses at Jaffa, a few days before our arrival in Palestine, served to emphasize the Jewish contribution to the welfare of the Arab people. For the two sisters of mercy were killed while reporting to work at a hospital filled mostly with patients belonging to the race of their murderers.

The inscription over the door of the Nathan Straus Health Center in Jerusalem, "For all races and creeds," epitomized to me the broad humanitarian character of the Jewish reconstruction work. Knowing and loving Mr. Straus and having talked with him many times years ago about his plans for Palestine, I rejoiced to see how fully they have been realized.

The death and infant mortality rates in Palestine show a steady and unusual decline during the last decade. The death rate among the Jews fell from 13.45 to 8.97 per thousand from 1937 to 1939. Among non-Jews the corresponding reduction was from 31.4 to 22.2. During the same period the infant mortality rate dropped from 115.3 to 64 among Jews and from 213.4 to 146 among non-Jews.

Who would have thought a decade ago that the infant mortality rate in Palestine would be among the lowest in the world and approximate that of the healthiest cities in the United States? In the adjacent Arab countries that rate is nearly twice as high as in the Holy Land.

Where in the Near East, and, in fact, all Asia, is there to be found a public-health budget per head of the population comparable with that of Palestine? Although the Jews contribute the major part of the Government's revenue, the Palestine health budget is devoted mainly to the needs of the Arabs. The Jewish Health Service is almost self-supporting.

The total health expenditure in Palestine is over three times as high as that of the highest of the neighboring countries.

More than \$2,000,000 have been expended by Jewish public funds on drainage works, resulting in an amazing reduction in malaria cases. The superior efforts at the improvement of health conditions in Palestine are further illustrated by the fact the Holy Land imports per head of population five times as much medicine as Egypt and three and one-half times as much as Syria.

Take such an American commonplace as the pasteurization of milk. When our party reached Egypt on the way to Palestine, we were warned not to drink milk or consume any dairy products. For days we touched no butter. Pasteurized milk is almost unknown in the Near East.

But in the Nathan Straus Health Center in Jerusalem I found a modern pasteurization plant, installed by the Hadassah organization some years ago. And the children in the various clinics bore witness to the value of fine milk and other modern facilities and care given them.

This health center and that of Tel Aviv, which I inspected, are model institutions, equipped with experimental kitchens, dental clinics, nurseries, prenatal and postnatal dispensaries, visiting nurse services, and excellent medical staffs.

As a former health commissioner of the city of New York, I could not fail to recognize the monumental progress in the preservation of human life made in Palestine by the Jewish settlers, aided by their co-religionists throughout the world.

As a United States Senator conducting an inquiry into the general status of the Jewish National Home under the mandate, I could not but feel outraged over the wanton destruction of innocent children's lives in the country, due to a lax government.

When I returned from my inspection of the health center in Jerusalem, where the tots romped about me so gaily, I found a copy of a letter addressed to the high commissioner waiting for me. It had been penned by the bereaved grandmother of three little children who, together with their father, were murdered in their beds on the night of August 13 by Arab rebels. The letter read:

"Self-assured and with a fearful calm, the murderers stood shooting their bullets one by one into the hearts of the children. . . . After they had shot their bullets at two of the children, whose souls departed at once, I threw a sheet over the third child and sat upon it to protect him, but the murderer flung me off the sheet, wounded me and shot the death-dealing bullets at my third grandchild before my eyes and the eyes of the unhappy mother, who never ceased entreating the murderers to leave her at least one child alive. . . ."

"Were they not killed because the representatives of the government in the town did not provide any guard for their lives? Yes. They fell as sacrifices to the dreadful mistakes of your government representatives. And from whom can I demand the blood of these sacrifices?"

"Your Excellency, you have, to be sure, seen more than enough bloodshed in your life. But have you also seen the blood of children on their cot? Have you also seen the blood of a babe gushing across its mother's knees?"

#### ARABIC STREET

With sandbags lining the observation roof of the Hebrew University and barbed-wire gates barring the road to Mount Scopus, on which it is situated, the condition confronting that astonishing center of learning in Jerusalem brought home to us as nothing else in Palestine did, the great tragedy of the people of the Book.

If there be a modern prophet in Israel, Dr. Judah L. Magnes, the chancellor of the Hebrew University, a native of the United States, comes nearest in my opinion to that stature. A firm believer in peace between the Jews and the Arabs, he continues to reside in an Arab quarter of the city in spite of imminent peril to his family.

I have seen many universities in Europe and in the United States in my lifetime. But the Hebrew University in Jerusalem which is only 10 years old, impressed us all as an incomparable achievement.

It was thrilling to go through the University Museum of Biblical Botany, where the plants mentioned in the Bible are on exhibition. It was fascinating to stand in the Untermyer Open Air Theater on the university grounds and behold the magnificent panorama stretching as far as the Dead Sea and the Jordan.

It was impressive to walk through the fireproof stacks of the university library containing more than 300,000 volumes, the largest collection in the Near and Middle East.

The departments of the university cover a vast range of subjects, from the Bible to chemistry, from archaeology, to physics, from Arabic history to cancer research. All of the courses are conducted in the Hebrew of the Bible, which has become once more a living tongue in Palestine.

Despite the terror in the country, plans were being completed while we were in

Jerusalem for the laying of the cornerstone of the medical center of the university. The Jewish Physicians' Committee of the United States, in cooperation with Hadassah, has been mainly instrumental in creating the building fund for the new institution.

The medical and the lay public will be surprised to learn, as I was, that Jerusalem harbors one of the finest cancer research institutes in the world. It is now housed in the Nathan Straus Health Center, but is part of the university, and will be transferred to the medical center when it is constructed.

It was my good fortune, as a medical man, to meet Professor Halberstaedter, one of Europe's greatest cancer radiologists, now a refugee from Germany. We were joined by Prof. B. Zondek, numbered among the world's leading gynecologists. Both of these renowned medical authorities are associated with the university.

Many other leading physicians from central Europe have migrated to Palestine. It is no exaggeration to say that their presence would grace the leading medical schools in the United States.

Palestine bids fair to become a universal center of education. If the Jewish national home is allowed to develop unhindered. In Haifa our party visited the Hebrew Institute of Technology, founded through the munificence of the late Jacob Schiff, of New York. The shops and the laboratories of the institution testified to the ability of Jewish youth to master the applied sciences.

New building materials which were being tested there showed how the Jews are making use of the advance in modern science in the reconstruction of the Holy Land.

In Tel Aviv I had occasion to inspect the Balfour High School, as modern a school of its kind as is to be found anywhere in America. The enthusiasm of the teachers was most revealing. Incidentally, this newest city in the world boasts of a 100-percent school attendance. The entire elementary school system of Tel Aviv is maintained almost entirely at the expense of the Jewish municipality.

The mandatory government is entrusted with the maintenance of the educational system in Palestine. Actually it supports almost entirely the Arab schools, but grants about 14 percent of the budget of the Jewish public school system. The Jewish National Council stressed this point to us as evidence of discrimination against the Jews and of the benefits accruing to the Arabs from revenue largely derived from the Jewish population.

The total public-school expenditure in Palestine, on a per capita basis, is four times as great as that in the adjacent Transjordan, and nearly three times as great as that of Iraq, the latter two countries being almost exclusively Arabic.

In Palestine, 1 out of every 11 of the population is a school child. Across the Jordan, where no Jews are to be found, 1 out of every 27 is provided with schooling facilities.

As our survey progressed it became ever clearer to us that the Jews brought to Palestine an improvement in social welfare which is still undreamed of in the neighboring Arab countries. They poured into the desolate Holy Land their boundless energy, large streams of capital, and scientific abilities. Within 15 years the Zionist pioneers raised the standard of living of the entire population to a level which stands out high above that of the Asiatic environment.

Yet the peaceful march of civilization in Palestine was being challenged before our very eyes by certain violent agitators among the Arabs, who demanded the stoppage of Jewish immigration. The reign of terror in the land plainly showed that economic blessings to not spell political peace. In Palestine, as elsewhere, a virus is at work which was designed to destroy the best gains of civilization.



into who throw bombs and seize at possession in the streets and on the highways. The other is conducted silently by the Mandatory Government of Palestine against the proper administration of justice.

The prolongation of the terror in the Holy Land is due, in a large measure, to a manifest sympathy for the vandals and assassins displayed by many officials who are sworn to uphold the law.

It is an inconceivable but indisputable fact, too, that not a single capital conviction was handed down by the courts of the country during the first 4 months of the terrorist campaign.

Yet during that period hundreds were killed, other hundreds were wounded in many bloody attacks, including dozens of British soldiers, and scores of terrorists were seized while perpetrating their crimes.

During our stay in Jerusalem the press of Palestine, and even that of England, furnished ample evidence of this unique state of affairs, creating a condition which could not but shock any American observer. At the height of the terror 23 interned Arabs were released from the concentration camp. Cases against terrorists were dismissed by judges on flimsy technicalities. There was daily proof, if not of official encouragement, at least, of no apparent discouragement to the murderers and lawbreakers.

What an astonishing situation. Here was a government solemnly pledged to the establishment of a Jewish national home. Here was an open and ugly rebellion conducted by the foul means of assassination, which spared not women and children. And here was the most vital branch of the Government apparently flagrantly obstructing the machinery of justice.

The Palestine judiciary is part of the civil service of the mandatory government which is nothing but a trustee for the Jewish national home.

An investigation disclosed that about 52 percent of the total number of judges of the supreme court are Arabs and about 75 percent of all district officers in the country are Arabs.

In addition, a considerable number of English judges and court officials sworn to carry out the provisions of the mandate could not disguise their opposition to the mandate and their prejudices in favor of the rebels.

Three days before our arrival in Palestine, an Arab terrorist, Ahmad Mustafa, was arrested by the military during an engagement with a large Arab band. At that moment there was a widespread outbreak of violence in various parts of the country.

The case came up on August 31 before Judge Sherwell, the president of the district court of Haifa. The prisoner was charged with possessing ammunition when caught. Lance corporals Tetlow and Atkinson gave evidence.

The prosecutor was Ibrahim Bitar. Judge Sherwell acquitted the prisoner and censured the prosecution for failing to present the prisoner 4 days earlier.

A similar striking example occurred in Jerusalem when another judge dismissed the case of an Arab terrorist charged with murder, because the chief witness, a British Army officer, had been temporarily called out of the country in the performance of his duty. Instead of continuing the case, the court set the prisoner free.

On August 26, the Palestine Court of Appeal reduced a number of sentences passed upon Arabs caught at the scenes of their crimes.

One Abdullah Ghannwi, who had been sentenced to 8 years' imprisonment for setting fire to crops in Heredia, was given a new sentence of 1 to 3 years.

Another convict, Yusuf Yacoub, sentenced to 5 years' hard labor for being in possession

which serve to create the impression that many of the Palestine judges and magistrates are condoning the terrorists, thereby encouraging murder, and palpably violating their oaths of office.

Many such cases have been cited in petitions and memoranda submitted to the High Commissioner by responsible bodies without any seeming effect.

On the other hand the judiciary shows no leniency in its treatment of Jewish prisoners, despite the fact that the Jews are under attack in their own national home. That they have displayed exemplary self-restraint under extraordinary provocation, was volunteered to me by the High Commissioner himself.

There was the case of two young Jewish watchmen in Jerusalem who were sentenced to 5 and 7 years' hard labor respectively for carrying arms. These watchmen, it was not denied by the prosecution, were defending property in the section where shooting was common.

This was not an isolated case. The records show numerous instances of Jews receiving heavy sentences when arrested in the course of resisting Arab attacks, and under circumstances where no police or military protection was available.

While we were in the country two Arabs who had been seized in the act of attacking soldiers were brought to trial. The court acquitted the bandits of the capital charge of shooting at the soldiers on the technicality of the delay in preparing the case, and sentenced them to 7 years' imprisonment for possessing rifles.

The plain fact is that the British judiciary is sabotaging the British military in Palestine in spite of the state of warfare.

"It is hardly fair to the soldiers who risk their lives to let them think that those who shoot at them, if caught, may escape with 7 years' imprisonment," observed the Palestine Review of August 26 regarding this astonishing decision. Similar comments were heard by us.

How can the terror be stamped out in Palestine when the civil service in effect stimulates civil disobedience? How can the mandatory trusteeship for Palestine be fulfilled when many of the trustees are unfaithful to their trust?

How can the lives of 12,000 American nationals of Jewish faith in the Holy Land be safeguarded under our treaty with Great Britain when the Palestine judiciary treat the mandate as a scrap of paper and abuse justice in a manner which cries to heaven?

#### ARTICLE 5

If you would behold a living monument to individual initiative and the eternal pioneering spirit in man, in these days of collectivist regimentation, go to Tel Aviv, the magic city on the blue Mediterranean in Palestine.

Without any 5-year plans, without the drive of dictatorship, there has arisen on the sands of the desert this modern city, the only new city built in the world since the great war.

The story of Tel Aviv is the story of modern Palestine. The first entirely Jewish city of our times, with a population of nearly 150,000, Tel Aviv throbs with the energy and zeal of a wandering people at last come into its own.

When our party left Jerusalem to drive to Tel Aviv, escorted by the usual machine-gun crew, there was still fresh in our minds the protest of certain Arab leaders against Jewish immigration into Palestine on the ground that the Jewish settlers were displacing the Arabs.

When at the end of our drive through the barren hillsides there came suddenly into view the city of Tel Aviv, it furnished a strik-

ing contrast with the old city which had harbored almost 40 percent of the entire Jewish population in the Holy Land.

Tel Aviv is no mushroom town. Its 225 streets, its boulevards and theaters, its shops and cafes, its factories and schools, its superb beach, modern hotels, playgrounds, and massive residential quarters, fully justify Sir Herbert Samuel's description of it as "Palestine's city of miracles."

Perhaps it would be even more fitting to describe Tel Aviv as the city of the healthy children. All of us were equally impressed by the extraordinary physical appearance of the children of Tel Aviv. It was clear that they owe their vigor not only to an outdoor life in continuous sunshine, but also to the emphasis on child welfare underlying the policy of the Jewish national home.

Tel Aviv is a melting pot of Jewish immigrants from over 50 different countries. Here sturdy refugees from Salonika and Yemen rub elbows with their coreligionists who were compelled to flee from Russia and Germany. More than 15,000 refugees from the far country settled in Tel Aviv in the last 2 years.

The industrialization of Palestine is reflected most in this modern city which houses about 1,600 industrial plants, giving employment to about 30,000 workers. The manufactures include textiles, electrical appliances, building materials, chemical products, and even artificial teeth in the first establishment of its kind in the Near East.

We visited this plant which supplies false teeth as far east as Siam and as far west as London. It was a revelation of the industrial possibilities of the Holy Land in relation to the markets at its disposal. Many of the Tel Aviv factories are running even now on two shifts, turning out products for export to the neighboring countries.

A vital factor in making Palestine a center of international trade is the Levant Fair, the grounds of which we inspected at Tel Aviv. Here several foreign nations have permanent exhibition buildings. This fair promises to do for Palestine what Leipzig does for Germany and what Nizhni-Novgorod used to do for Russia once—to serve as a mart for far-flung traders.

Yet, even in Tel Aviv, which is the safest place in Palestine today, the specter of the terror was felt. In one of the buildings of the Levant Fair we saw a large company of Jewish youths enrolled as special constables undergoing military drill. The city is rigidly policed by regulars and volunteers along its boundaries. Within Tel Aviv there is now but a handful of police, yet crime is almost unknown.

In spite of the guards in the environs Arab terrorists occasionally slip through in the night. A time bomb was planted in this manner in the sand of a playground, and only by its accidental discovery was a tragedy of major dimensions averted.

The municipal authorities of Tel Aviv, led by Acting Mayor Rokach and by the president of the American Jewish Association, Nathan D. Kaplan, formerly of Chicago, met us upon our arrival at the city gate. There was a grand reception in our honor at the town hall, where a huge American flag was on display.

Later we met the notables of Tel Aviv and the representatives of the American Jewish colonies who came from their farms especially to greet us. In addition to the valuable information furnished to us, we felt during our stay the pulse of invincible youth in the ancient Hebrew people and the undying spirit of a reborn race of pioneers in a decaying old world.

#### ARTICLE 10

At the very heart of the Palestine knot is the problem of immigration.

The execution of the mandate entrusted to Great Britain is organically connected with



14. The Arab "strike" is based mainly on that capital issue. The development of the country is entirely dependent upon immigration. The solution of the Jewish tragedy in central and eastern Europe is largely related to the absorptive capacity of Palestine.

As a member of the Committee on Immigration of the United States Senate who has wrestled for years with this problem, I was especially interested in its various phases. Many thousands of relatives of naturalized American citizens have in recent years found their only available refuge in Palestine.

In 1935 alone, 62,000 Jewish immigrants were admitted into the Holy Land, a number which equals the annual influx into the United States in the prewar years when immigration was unrestricted. How was a country as small as Palestine able to absorb them, and how did they affect the economic and political conditions in their new home?

A study of the records even on the way to Palestine revealed a number of authoritative reports, compiled by British officials as well as certain Jewish and Arab experts as recently as 8 years ago, which conclusively proved that Palestine was economically unfit to absorb any appreciable stream of immigrants.

The reality belied these authorities. In the last 4 years alone the Jewish population of Palestine was doubled. The total population of the country increased from 751,000 in 1922 to 1,315,000 in 1935, a rise of two-thirds. During the corresponding period the population of Egypt increased only 13 percent.

Yet, we found no unemployment in Palestine. The incoming settlers are absorbed by the thriving industries as rapidly as they land. Tel Aviv took in more than half of all the Jewish immigrants during the 4-year period. Haifa increased its Jewish population by 34,000 since 1931. Jerusalem added some 14,000 new residents in the same period.

What has been the effect of this Jewish immigration upon the Arab population? Did it provide a justifiable cause for the political agitators and terrorists among the Arabs?

The Moslem population showed its greatest growths precisely in those centers where the Jewish immigration was largest. The striking feature was disclosed by an inquiry into official statistics. The Arab community in Haifa increased by 117 percent since 1922. In Jerusalem, the corresponding growth was 47 percent. In Jaffa, which adjoins Tel Aviv, the increase in the Arab community was 69 percent.

On the other hand, the Arab towns far removed from the zones of Jewish development show for the same period but an insignificant growth, such as 12 percent for Jenin, 8 percent for Nabulus, and an actual decrease for Gaza.

Has Jewish immigration been the cause of Arab emigration? Before the war, the Arabs were migrating from Palestine by the thousands. Since the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, the Arabs in neighboring Syria, under a French mandate, have been emigrating at the rate of 9,500 annually.

Over 100,000 Arabs from the surrounding countries entered Palestine as immigrants since the beginning of the Jewish development of the country. This striking fact is but part of the tale of the new Palestine. For even more remarkable has been the total increase of the non-Jewish population of the country since 1922. It shows a growth of nearly 40 percent in 14 years. It is a growth which surpasses by nearly 13 percent that of the rapidly increasing population of Japan during the same period.

What a commentary on the prosperity brought to Palestine by the Jewish pioneers. But what accounts for this tremendous rise in the Arab community? Surely not a sudden expansion of the birth rate. Our survey showed that the main cause of the population rise was due to a decrease in the

Arab death and infant mortality rates and to a raised standard of living.

Both the Arab and the Jewish populations retain their rural and urban ratios of distribution. In spite of the great tide of immigration, about three-quarters of all the Jews in the country settled in cities and one-quarter remained on the land. The claim of some Arabs that the Jews were acquiring their land is disproved by Government figures showing that the proportion of Moslems engaged in agriculture in relation to their urban population has remained constant.

Today the Jews of Palestine number about 30 percent of the total population. By their performance they have demonstrated that there is room in Palestine, including Transjordan, for millions more of their persecuted brethren if the British Government carries out the terms of the mandate for the facilitation of Jewish immigration.

#### ARTICLE 11

In the recurrent bloody strife between the Arabs and the Jews in Palestine, the agents of Moscow have been quick to exploit the opportunities for their own ends. In the present reign of terror, according to information we gleaned in Jerusalem, the Communists early joined the campaign by inciting the Arabs against the Jewish settlers.

In my candid opinion, there is no more solid anti-Communist body in the world than the 400,000 Jewish people in the Holy Land. Many of them hail from Russia where Zionism is persecuted and the Hebrew tongue outlawed. One of our chauffeurs was a Jewish youth typical of this class of immigrants. He had been exiled to Siberia for his Zionist beliefs. His mother arrived in Palestine on the day our party landed in Haifa. She had buried her husband in Siberian exile and was ransomed from Soviet captivity by her son.

The powerful Palestine Federation of Labor, which numbers nearly 100,000 members, and which represent virtually all the Jewish workers in the country, has a standing rule which automatically bars any Communist from joining a labor union.

We were reliably informed that the Jewish section of the Communist Party in Palestine numbered less than 200 persons. It was difficult to ascertain the extent of the Arab Communist movement.

The recent policy of Moscow has been to align the Communist with the Arab nationalists, under the disguise of a united front, and to identify the Zionist leadership with British imperialism. The latter has been done despite the obvious cleavage between the responsible Jewish leaders and the British authorities.

The policy of the Jewish community in Palestine, in the face of Communist proclamations encouraging massacre, has been to deliver known Communists to the authorities for deportation. A group of such deportees was being taken in a prison car to the Haifa port in the same train which carried us there on the way out of Palestine.

The Palestine Review, leading Jewish weekly of the country, commented:

"It is impossible to give as yet a complete account of the atrocious part played by the Communists, Jewish as well as Arab, in the present riots. The facts so far known suffice to make it amply clear that they have been even more active than in 1929.

"Never were the Jews of Palestine so deeply revolted as now by these activities . . . and never were they as determined to rid Palestine of the Jewish section at least of its Communist Party."

In the course of our investigation of the phase of the terror, we received from a high official source the text of a Communist proclamation, issued in Haifa this August, written in English, and addressed:

"To all British soldiers, members of the navy and the air forces in Palestine and Transjordan."

This remarkable document described the terrorist strike as "the struggle of the working masses in Palestine for liberation."

It took up the agitation for an "independent Arab federation" of all Arab countries. It proceeded to fan Arab nationalism by representing Palestine as "an organic part of Syria," torn away by Imperialistic Great Britain and turned over to the latter's "partner"—Zionism.

"And what is the purpose of this partnership?" read the text of the appeal, giving answer as follows:

"An eternal subjugation, cruel suppression, limitless exploitation of all inhabitants of the country. And all this for what purpose? For the creation of a Zionist state, which will serve as a secure point of support in order to get out the highest possible profits for the British-Zionist capital!

"The Arabs will become a minority in their own country, and on the ruins of their cities and villages shall be built by the Zionists . . . under the protection of the British bayonets, a new dominion, a national home for the international capital.

"Limitless suffering has been caused to the working masses by the Zionists, who are evicting them from their lands and robbing them of their places of work, and by the British imperialists who are sucking out the country's sap and are shedding the blood of its inhabitants."

The proclamation then proceeded to call on the British soldiers and marines to join the Arab insurgents. It closed with the following battle-cry:

"Long live the Soviet Government, a government of deputies of workers' and peasants' councils, in a federative republic of all the working people of the Arab countries!

"Long live Soviet England!

"Long live the world social revolution!"

This document indicated to us that Moscow was ready to take over the most bigoted arguments in order to foster civil war. It offered proof that while the Soviet Government was attempting to fraternize with Great Britain in Europe, it wielded the assassin's knife in the East. And it furnished evidence, if any was needed, that the Communist international still adhered as firmly as ever to the cause of world revolution.

#### ARTICLE 12

While the Arab High Committee in charge of the strike is officially demanding the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, some of the prominent Arab leaders active in that committee are quietly trying to sell land to Jewish buyers.

Several such cases were brought to our attention. The most striking of these involved no less a personage than T. A. Hussein, a relative of the Grand Mufti, the religious head of all the Moslems in Palestine, and the dominant figure in the present strike. The Hussein family exercises an almost dynastic influence upon the political and economic life of the Arab population.

The strike in Palestine broke out on April 19, with the avowed purpose of bringing about a stoppage of Jewish immigration and acquisition of land. Twelve days later, at the very height of the Arab movement, T. A. Hussein, of Jerusalem, addressed in his own handwriting a letter to a prospective Jewish customer in Tel Aviv, offering to sell to him four plots of land. A facsimile of the letter is in our possession.

An interesting feature of this attempted transaction is that the intermediary, Mr. Fud Farah, is one of the Arab leaders of Jaffa, where the strike was particularly violent at the time.

The cry of the Arab strike leaders has been that the Jewish colonies are robbing the Arab fellahin (peasants) of their land. The evidence disclosed by our investigation revealed that the Arab offenders (landowners) are the sellers of large tracts of land to the Jews. Yet these very offenders, who are not compelled to sell their holdings, incite



Many of the tracts owned by wealthy Arabs have been assembled during the last 15 years from the neediest Arab peasants, at the lowest possible prices, to be disposed of at high profits to Jewish settlers.

It was, however, somewhat of a surprise to discover that the Jews own altogether but 5 percent of the land in Palestine, although they form 30 percent of the population. In view of this fact, the agitation against the sale of land to Jews seemed to us to be purely artificial in origin and political in purpose.

Moreover, an analysis of the official records showed that the Palestine Government has consistently discriminated against the Jews and favored the Arabs in the disposition of state lands.

The mandate for Palestine contains an unequivocal undertaking, to "encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not require for public purposes."

Has the mandatory government carried out this provision in good faith? It has not.

The government of Palestine came into the ownership of 943,141 dunams (a dunam is one-quarter of an acre) of state lands. In view of the solemn obligation imposed upon it by the mandate, it is of moment to trace the distribution of this area among the Arabs and the Jews.

Nearly 149,000 dunams, or 15.7 percent of this area, were leased by the government to Arabs. Over 532,000 dunams, or 56.3 percent, have passed out of the hands of the government into Arabic possession. Thus 72 percent of the state lands went to Arabs.

The total of state lands leased or concessioned to Jews amounts to 50,483 dunams, or 5.3 percent. This is what happened under an administration committed to the encouragement of Jewish settlement on the land. The remaining 22.7 percent of this area is either owned by the government or is under litigation.

Now, what happened to the state lands which passed into Arab and Jewish hands? A typical and illuminating case is that of the Hule concession, comprising 57,000 dunams, leased by the government to Selim Bey Salam of Beyrouth, Syria. One-half of this area was swampland.

The Arab concessionaire immediately entered into negotiations with the Zionist organization for the sale of his lease. The deal was consummated at a price of \$1,500,000. The Jewish holders undertook to spend another \$5,000,000 for the reclamation of the land. Before consenting to the transaction, the government exacted the condition that 15,000 dunams of the improved land be turned over by the Jews to the Arab squatters.

Under the mandate, the Jews had a prior claim to the purchase of the land. Under the original concession, the tract yielded a handsome profit to an Arab from Syria. Under the present arrangement, the Jews are redeeming thousands of acres for Arab cultivators at a cost of \$1,500,000. When the reclamation is completed, the balance of the land left in the hands of the Jews will cost them about \$600 an acre.

One could go on citing other illustrations of large tracts of land turned over to Arabs by the government, on easy terms, which are not being cultivated or developed. They are being held for speculative purposes. Whenever parcels in these areas do pass into the hands of Jewish settlers, the face of the land is immediately changed by the labor and enthusiasm of the Zionist pioneers.

No impartial observer of Palestine today could find any basis for the agitation against the extension of Jewish agriculture, which has set the pace for the rebirth of the Holy Land.

We met and visited with many of the Arab leaders during our survey of conditions in Palestine. Fairness requires the statement that we found them to be a highly cultured and charming class of people. Among the Christian Arabs there are numerous physicians and lawyers and journalists of ability.

There is a wide chasm dividing the upper sphere of Arabs and the great mass of their race. From the time the Arabs conquered Palestine, 13 centuries ago, there has prevailed what is in effect a feudal system, both economic and social.

Wealth and influence among the Arabs are centralized in a small number of effendi families, the landowners. These are split into parties by deep-seated rivalries and bitter competition for religious as well as political leadership.

In the main, the ruling Arab clans fall into two major camps, one headed by the Hussein family and the other by the Nashashibi family. According to the evidence gathered by us, the British exploited this rivalry in their political maneuvers.

It has been the aim of the mandatory government to prevent the concentration of too much power in one Arab family or group. The policy of dividing the plums was therefore adopted. Amen Hussein was made grand mufti and president of the Supreme Moslem Council. Ragheb Nashashibi was made mayor of Jerusalem. Unfortunately for the British and for the peace of Palestine, this balance of power was upset by the defeat of the mayor in the last municipal election, and a Hussein elected in his stead.

To repair the damage, the High Commissioner advanced the proposal for a legislative council. Although designed to solve peacefully the existing differences between the Jews and the Arabs, the council also represented a scheme to restore the balance of power among the effendi families, the landowners. The defeated mayor was to become the president of the legislative council, according to report.

The High Commissioner was to receive the power to appoint a sufficient number of members to insure proper control.

The Grand Mufti and the Husainis violently opposed the plan. Jewish leadership also adopted a negative attitude toward it. The British Parliament vetoed the proposed reform, but not before the outbreak of riots and the attacks on the Jewish settlers.

Temporarily the divided Arab interests joined hands on the issue of the mandate and Jewish colonization. The Grand Mufti sponsored the demand for the stoppage of Jewish immigration and for the prohibition of land sales to Jews. The strike really became an attempt to nullify the mandate and the provision for the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine.

One of the Arab spokesmen in Jerusalem to whom we are indebted for generous entertainment, even advanced the theory to us that the mandate represents an instrument illegally conceived and executed. He founded this conclusion on certain secret promises allegedly made by British representatives to Arab leaders in the early stages of the World War.

It is a theory which we cannot accept. If any such promises have been made by one or another power, they could not but have been tentative. The war was won by the Allies collectively. No matter what the Arabs elsewhere did, those of Palestine did not contribute to the victory. The mandate was set up by the joint decision of the Allies with the express consent of the United States. Until it is repealed or modified by some method yet unknown, it must stand as the last word of those who broke the shackles of Turkish bondage.

In their conversations with us, the Arab leaders stated that many Jews have entered Palestine illegally. Our personal observation convinced us that the numbers smuggled into Palestine must be very small, for the frontier control is remarkably efficient. The official Government report shows that in 1935 there were 7,874 persons remaining in the country illegally. Of this number only slightly more than one-half were Jews.

It must be emphasized that immigration into Palestine is highly regulated on a selective basis. A financial test is imposed upon all admissions. Many are required to possess \$5.00 or more upon entering the country. Skilled artisans must produce a substantial sum of money, while immigrants with a minimum earning capacity are held down to a mere handful.

We found no evidence that immigration into Palestine has been excessive. Yet London by its very passivity encouraged certain elements in Palestine to believe that under political pressure, the mandatory government may actually suspend all immigration for the sake of a truce.

#### ARTICLE 14

Palestine is the key to a vast territory, to great oil deposits, to regions of vital value to Great Britain. Its loss by the British Empire might be fatal to its interests in India, in Egypt, and the Suez Canal zone.

Fifteen years ago the British regarded Palestine in a different light. In a letter to Secretary of State Hughes, dated January 13, 1922, the late Lord Balfour wrote:

"The task which the British Government has undertaken in Palestine is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy. At Paris I always warmly advocated that it should be undertaken, not by Britain, but by the United States of America, and though subsequent events have shown me that such a policy would never have commended itself to the American people I still think that, so far as the Middle East is concerned, it would have been best."

Lord Balfour was right. It would have been far better for the Middle East and for Palestine to entrust the mandate to America. Of course, it could not have been done because of our traditional attitude of opposition to foreign alliances and entanglements.

But the doubtful gift of 15 years ago has now become a coveted prize, thanks to the astonishing transformation of the land by the Jews. Its value as a maritime frontier, its newly discovered mineral resources, its unforeseen agricultural and industrial potentialities, have been brought to light by the Zionist development.

The international status of Palestine, however, remains unchanged. It is not a British colony or possession. It is held in trust by Great Britain under the mandate. The mandatory is responsible to the League of Nations for its proper administration. It is responsible to the Government of the United States under special treaty, for the execution of the mandate.

Now the Government of Palestine is in power by virtue of the terms of the mandate, which is the supreme law of Palestine. The Government of Palestine must carry out these terms correctly, firmly, and fairly, without prejudice or favor, but it cannot alter the basic law, nor can it formulate policies which violate international undertakings.

"We can return a mandate if we find that we cannot carry it out or if we object to its terms," declared Lloyd George in the House of Commons on June 19, 1936, 2 months after the outbreak of the present terror in Palestine. The war statesman, who was intimately identified with the launching of the mandate, went on to say:



"Then the League of Nations can consider whether they will hand the mandate over to somebody else . . . . But we cannot forget the obligations of the mandate. They are obligations of honor, and, as the Secretary of State has said, we cannot go back upon it . . . . The obligations of the mandate are specific and definite. They are to encourage the establishment of a national home for Jews without detriment to any of the rights of the Arab population . . . . The Arabs are demanding practically that there shall be no more Jewish immigration. We cannot accept that without dishonoring our obligations."

No one can question that it is the duty of the mandatory to guard against the admission of immigrants beyond the capacity of the country to employ them. But to yield on the issue of immigration under the pressure of political agitation and highway terror is another matter.

A pertinent observation on this point is to be found in the blue white paper, published by the New Zionist, in criticism of the official Zionist policy. "That no country can be colonized even to a hair's breadth beyond its economic capacity is a truism," reads the statement. It continues:

"But that capacity can be increased by judicious application of capital on the one hand, and of appropriate economic and social legislation on the other—exactly what is implied in a mandatory Government's obligation to further the development of Jewish colonization."

"Secondly, it is totally wrong to pretend that a country's 'absorptive capacity' is mainly conditioned by its acres, quality of its soil, cubic meters of running water, etc."

"Its 'capacity' depends, above all, on human conditions: First, on the quality of the colonizing element, its skill, endurance, devotion, resourcefulness, financial power, and world connections; secondly, on the action of the state. As to the first condition, the Jews are doing their share; what remains is to bring the state into line."

But how can the state—the British Government—be brought into line with its obligation? Our Government is a party to that obligation, by virtue of a pact with the British Sovereign.

It seems clear to me that our country cannot evade its responsibility under the treaty. We owe it to ourselves to inquire why the great British Empire has failed to make safe the small population of Palestine. It is our duty to find out why the mandatory power has done nothing to bring together the Arab and Jewish leaders in an effort to promote a lasting peace. It is our right to question the wisdom of bringing into the Palestinian conflict the neighboring Arab chiefs in the capacity of mediators, a policy calculated to fan the blaze and extend the warfare.

REPORT BY SENATOR WARREN R. AUSTIN

#### ARTICLE I

The grounds for the inquiry conducted by the Hearst unofficial senatorial commission into the crisis in Palestine are rooted in solemn international agreements. Further cause of our inquiry into the serious events now disturbing the Holy Land is the presence there of many American nationals.

Great Britain, to whom was entrusted a mandate for the administration of Palestine which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, is now confronted by demands of the Arab population involving either abrogation of the mandate or modification of it in the following essential obligations:

1. Closing of the doors to Jewish immigration.
2. Prohibition of the sale of land to Jews.
3. The establishment of a national government in Palestine.

These demands have been brought to the attention of the world through the medium of violence and terrorism, accompanying a

strike against the mandatory government and the closing down of Arab commercial and industrial establishments.

These demands, being in conflict with the mandate, are of interest to the American people. The Government of the United States became a party to the mandate by virtue of the American-British Palestine Mandate Convention of December 3, 1924, signed by Frank B. Kellogg, United States ambassador to Great Britain, and Joseph Austen Chamberlain, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and properly ratified by both governments.

The provisions of this treaty which have an especially important bearing upon America's concern in the situation in Palestine are cited here:

"Whereas the Government of the United States and the Government of His Britannic Majesty desire to reach a definite understanding with respect to the rights of the two Governments and their respective nationals in Palestine. . . . The President of the United States of America and His Britannic Majesty have decided to conclude a convention to this effect. . . ."

"Article 1. Subject to the provisions of the present convention, the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above. . . ."

"Article 7. 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."

The express consent given by the United States to the British administration of the mandate for Palestine and the express assent of the United States required in any modification of the mandate, which is fully contained in the treaty, constitute legal sanctions for our inquiry.

Under this treaty, Americans are clearly entitled if not obligated to investigate the lawlessness, civil disobedience, and criminal conduct prevalent in Palestine, and to consider the grievances and demands for abrogation or modification of the mandate which are the objectives of the leaders of the strike and rebellion in the Holy Land.

The United States also has reason to consider the grievance of many Zionists against the divorcement of Trans-Jordan from the original territory of Palestine. The withholding of the benefits of the mandate from Trans-Jordan and the barring of Jewish immigration from there has been questioned as an unwarranted modification of the mandate.

In an exchange of notes between the parties to the British-American treaty, in August and September 1924, the undertaking was embodied that any changes which may be made in the administration of Trans-Jordan will not be of such a character as to conflict with the terms of the convention.

Moreover, the vigilance of American public opinion with regard to Palestine was expressed by both Houses of Congress in a joint resolution adopted in 1922, which recognized the principle of the historic Balfour Declaration of 1917 in the following words:

"That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected."

That is natural and appropriate for Americans to conduct an investigation into the Palestine problem is also evidenced by the standing invitation of Lord Balfour, extended in a letter to Secretary of State Hughes of January 13, 1922, as follows:

"The task which the British Government have undertaken in Palestine is one of extreme difficulty and delicacy. . . . How-

ever this may be, the duty has devolved upon Great Britain, and I hope the American Government will do what they can to lighten the load."

Finally, American intellect, capital and labor have poured into Palestine a life-giving stream. Graduates of American agricultural colleges, technologists, experts in irrigation, water production, horticulture, swamp drainage, health service, industrial experimentation, research and education, and rabbis and religious instructors, all of American nationality, with an American base of operation, are actively promoting the redemption of the Holy Land.

These thousands of American nationals, whose ideal is the redemption of the Jewish people, went to Palestine under the guarantee of the mandate and the British-American Convention. Their welfare is legitimate ground for an inquiry into the present state of affairs in Palestine.

#### ARTICLE 2

The Hearst Commission to Palestine first visited Egypt and obtained a basis of comparison between the condition of the Arabs there and that of the Arabs in Palestine.

Palestine is about the same size as Vermont. It is surrounded by Arab countries which form a Moslem crescent whose horns reach the Mediterranean, the western boundary of Palestine. The circumscribed area comprehended in the Balfour Declaration and in the mandate, drafted in 1922, was pinched down in the east as far as the Jordan by an act of the British Government known as the Declaration of Amman of May 15, 1923.

By this act, the benefits of the mandate were withheld from Trans-Jordan and the existence of an independent Arab government under Emir Abdullah Ibn Hussein, was recognized in the latter territory. The validity of this act has been frequently challenged by many Zionists.

The geographical and ethnological matrix which contains the Palestinian jewel now being cut cannot be carved off or disregarded. The location of the Jewish national home is in an area less than one-hundred-twentieth part of the whole area inhabited by Arabic-speaking peoples.

Vast stretches of desert, however, separate Palestine in the east and in the south from the great Arab centers of population and form natural protection barriers around the Holy Land where the right has been granted to the Jewish people to establish a national home without prejudicing the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities.

Eighty percent of the blood that was in Palestine on the promulgation of the mandate had been there since long before Moses was put in the bulrushes, we were informed. The peasants were Canaanites. A very small percentage were Bedouins, who constituted the majority in Trans-Jordan. The remainder, save for the Jews, consisted of city dwellers representing a mixture of Arabs, Greeks, Byzantines, Romans, and others. The Jews were small in number relatively but were faithful keepers of the light of Judaism.

It is certain the Arabs of Palestine represent an amalgam; every invasion, Persian, Assyrian, Greek, and Crusader, left a residue in the land. The census of 1931 shows 66 languages and dialects spoken in Palestine.

It is undeniable the spiritual vigor and self-discipline on the part of the Jewish immigrants, and a determination to redeem the prostrate land of their forefathers and to erect a home for their race in the Promised Land, have achieved miraculous transformations there.

Deserts have become forests, swamps have become orchards and vineyards. "Milk and honey" has become again descriptive of that part of the land cultivated by the Jews. Health for Jews and Arabs alike has been promoted by the purification of the water and the amplification of its supply. Drain-



especially the health centers and the excellent hospitals and dispensaries operated by the Hadassah, have materially improved the lives of all the inhabitants.

The death and infant mortality rates within the last decade dropped sharply. Educational facilities were widely developed, culminating in excellent universities, both Jewish and Arabic. Palestine boasts the highest per capita school budget in the Near East.

The tendency of wages has been upward for Arabs, as a consequence of Jewish standards. The wage of unskilled Arab workmen in Palestine is twice as much as in Egypt and probably three times as much as it used to be before the coming of the Jews.

The opportunities for Arab employment have greatly increased. There are about 1,500 Arabs employed in Jewish industry and about 8,000 Arabs working in Jewish agricultural settlements. In 1921 there were 80 men employed as laborers in Haifa Harbor. In 1936 about 1,500 Arabs were employed there, thanks to the building of the new port by Jewish enterprise.

The value of land in Palestine has been raised beyond the wildest dreams of two decades ago. With the exception of 5 percent of the land owned by Jews, the Arabs control or possess all of the country. Because the Jewish settlers are eager to acquire land, Palestine represents in the real-estate field a buyers' market. A large stream of capital has in this fashion been poured into Arab coffers.

Notwithstanding the strike, capital and labor of Jews and Arabs have in some instances been working together in peace all along as in the case of the potash plant on the Dead Sea and the cement plant at Haifa.

The political and economic issues involved in the reconstruction of the Holy Land under the mandate compel the attention of American public opinion.

In addition, the monumental example, set by the Jews of Palestine, of obedience to constituted authority and exercise of self-restraint under terrific provocation during the prevailing terrorism justifies a sympathetic interest in the promotion of the national home for the Jews by all friends of humanity and peace.

#### ARTICLE 3

Palestine is probably the only country in the world today where the treasury can boast of a surplus adequate for 2 years of the Government's budget. This surplus has been accumulated during the last 4 years, when immigration was heaviest and the Government expenditures were on the increase.

This phenomenon is understandable in the light of the finding that about \$450,000,000 of capital has been brought to Palestine by the Jews all over the world, and constructive use made of this huge fund in agriculture and industry and public works and services.

Measured on a per capita basis, each of the 200,000 Jewish immigrants who entered Palestine since the establishment of the mandate carried into the country \$1,800. Of course, a substantial part of this sum represents endowments by coreligionists abroad.

This singular feature of the Jewish colonization of Palestine is emphasized by the fact that more than \$50,000,000 had been invested by Jews at large, through national funds, without any expectation of a commercial return. These funds have been applied to the direct reclamation of the land, with benefits to all the inhabitants.

Palestine has escaped in a remarkable degree the excessive cost of capital which accompanied all colonizing projects. It suffers from no crushing or even moderately heavy interest burden. It has imported large amounts of capital, but its external debt is negligible.

Other parts of the world have been developed principally by the pioneering labor of persons of little or no wealth, equipped with capital provided by a totally different

body of capital, against the service of the Middle East Bank. "The result has been that year by year the developing country has had to provide, out of its own surplus or by fresh borrowings, a growing amount of funds abroad for interest on its external debts.

"In Palestine, by contrast, the settlers have brought with them the great bulk of the funds required for development, so that a relatively small obligation remains to remit abroad for interest."

Significant evidence of the development of Palestine in the last 15 years is furnished by the growth of its foreign trade. In 1920-21, Palestine imported goods valued at \$26,000,-000. In 1935 the imports amounted to \$80,-000,000. During the same period there was a fivefold expansion of exports.

When the Palestinian foreign trade is compared with that of other Arab countries, the result is indeed remarkable. On a per capita basis, Palestine's foreign trade is almost four times as great as that of Egypt, six times that of Syria, and five and one-half times that of Iraq. This is reflected in the standard of living to be observed in the Holy Land.

The astonishing progress in foreign commerce made by Palestine because of Jewish endeavor is in turn responsible for the development of the country's shipping facilities, such as the building of the new port of Haifa and the projected construction of a harbor in Tel Aviv. It has been justly declared that these are developments of revolutionary consequences to the arterial system of the British Empire.

Palestine has acquired a new strategic role as an outlet for the Mosul oil fields as a key to both land and air routes to the east. Its ports are performing functions hitherto fulfilled by the Egyptian ports on the Suez Canal. Haifa is on the way to become the key Mediterranean harbor to the hinterland of Syria, Iraq, and Persia. Its tonnage has more than doubled since its completion a few years ago.

It is apparent that the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine, accompanied as it is by a steady influx of new capital, lifted the country upward while the rest of the world was sinking into the depths of depression. Bank deposits steeply increased in recent years. Business expanded at an accelerated rate.

In 1934, when Jewish immigration reached large-scale proportions, 327 new companies, both Jewish and Arab, were incorporated with a total authorized capital of \$11,000,000. An additional 35 companies trebled their capital. The revenue of the government grew correspondingly, and its beneficent expenditures were widely diffused. Thus the treasury was able to remit a large part of the agricultural taxes which weighed heavily on the poor Arab peasants and to launch public works for the employment mainly of Arab labor.

The dynamic power which the Jewish pioneers brought to Palestine cannot, however, be measured merely with yardsticks of economics. It has redeemed and liberated the soul of the Jew. When the conscience of mankind recognized the right of the Jews to have a national home in the land where their kings ruled, their prophets led and their psalmists sang, where their religion, language, culture, ideals, and folklore were developed and changed the history of the world, it set in motion a powerful national revival.

It was natural that this resurrection of the Jewish national spirit in the land of their ancestors should flower forth, among certain elements, in an ambition for a Jewish state.

It is an ambition which is not justified by the terms of the mandate, although Secretary of States Hughes, in his communication to Balfour of January 27, 1922, referred to the Jewish national home under the mandate as "a Jewish state."

This ambition was in direct conflict with the Pan-Arab nationalist movement, and it served to sharpen the conflict between the two main elements of the population of Palestine.

#### ARTICLE 4

Our interviews with the Grand Mufti, with the members of the Arab Commission to England, now back in Palestine, and with many offenders of intelligence and probity lead to the conclusion that there is trouble ahead from time to time unless the fears of both Jews and Arabs are terminated. This can be done either by agreement or by a different administration of the declared British policy under the mandate.

The Arabs, treating all who are combined in striking and terrorism as such, form two-thirds of the residents of Palestine. There are Christian and Moslem Arabs. There are many political factions among them. There is a wide gulf between the social status of offenders and fellahin (gentry and peasants).

The leaders of Arab opinion, among whom are many who possess a large share of the wealth of the country, represented to us that in the present strike and warfare all Arabic-speaking people in Palestine are united. The cultured priests, businessmen, landowners, and professional men among the Arabs claim that the masses of their race follow their leadership.

On the other hand, the murder of many Arabs by their coreligionists during the present disturbances, the strange absence from the country of certain Arab chiefs such as the mayor of Haifa who sought safety in Syria, the remaining of thousands of Arab workers on their jobs despite the terror of the strikers, all indicated disunity in the Arab camp.

The cause of the strike and the campaign of violence, as stated in the memorandum submitted by the Arab Women's Committee of Jerusalem to the World Peace Congress at Brussels, in September 1936, is:

"It arose out of the nature of the mandate which was forcibly imposed upon the Arabs and which they persistently refused to recognize or accept."

Instating their case to us, the Arab spokesmen laid emphasis on the following claims:

That the rapidity and effectiveness of the development of a national home for Jews in Palestine had frightened them;

That it is contrary to natural justice that they who have been for 13 centuries a majority in a country they call their own, should be reduced to a position of numerical, political, and economic inferiority;

That they deny any right of the victorious Allies to impose on them what they call a foreign dominion, and that force would constantly be necessary to maintain a Jewish state in Palestine;

That the Arabs had been promised during the war, as the price for helping the Allies, unity and independence of the Arab countries which they claim comprehended Palestine; and

That Palestine is geographically and ethnically an essential part of the Arab world, which should be included in a Pan-Arab federation.

We probed deeply into all of these grievances, in the course of our investigation, and frankly presented them to the leaders of the Jewish agency and the Jewish National Council, whose statements will be reported by me in subsequent articles.

"The Arabs need the Jews and the Jews need the Arabs," one influential Arab told me. "We are cousins and have no racial antipathy. Difference in religion does not cause the difficulty; we fear the Jews dominating us."

It was apparent from the beginning, however, that the Arabs have a powerful economic hold on the country, and that there was little merit in their claim of Jewish economic domination. In addition to the Arab



ownership of 50 percent of the land of the country, the Arabs own at least one-half of the main industry of Palestine, the citrus development.

The banana trade of Jericho is wholly Arab, and the larger part of the vegetables in the Holy Land are produced by Arabs. In the last 6 years alone, the Arabs extended their olive, fig, and vine cultivation from 197,000 to 533,000 dunams. (A dunam is one-fourth of an acre.)

The primary political character of the conflict in Palestine is shown by the appeal of the Arab women's committee to the World Peace Conference, in which it is alleged:

"In no other land in the world one feels so unsafe or insecure as in Palestine . . . because a riot is liable to take place for the simplest reason and might be accompanied by acts of violence on either side, irrespective of the consequences."

Thus far the evidence is conclusive that the acts of violence are premeditated and almost entirely committed by Arabs. The insecurity of the situation is shown by the four different strikes and outbreaks by Arabs which have occurred in 1921, 1929, 1939, and 1944.

#### ARTICLE 2

"We want the Arab population of Palestine to be contented. We want the good will of the Arabs. At the Birth of Christ the population of the country was 4,000,000, sustained by the standards of production of that time. There is room for the Jew in Palestine. There is no other place for him to go."

The speaker was Moshe Chertok, the official head of the Jewish Agency in Palestine. This body is recognized under the mandate as a governmental instrument for the establishment of the Jewish National Home. In the course of our conference with the leaders of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, Mr. Chertok presented to us an effective answer to the Arab claims.

After extending to our commission an official welcome in the name of the Jewish Agency, Mr. Chertok began:

"The Arab case divides itself into economic and political claims. On the economic side, the Arabs have no case. The Jewish development of Palestine has made the Arabs richer. The huge funds of capital poured into the country by the Jews since the World War have filtered through and been diffused among the entire population.

"At every step, the Jew had to pay the Arab. When the Jewish immigrant arrived, he had to pay the Arab boatman to bring him ashore. When he looked for shelter, he paid rent to an Arab. When he bought land, it was from an Arab. When he purchased food, he paid an Arab for it.

"As the Jews developed their own production, they also developed markets for export to neighboring Arab and other foreign countries. At the same time there has been a rise in imports to Palestine. This development gave employment to everybody, and enormously increased the revenue of the government.

"The government mainly serves the Arab population. The Jew is able to take care of himself. If the Jews are exploiting the Arabs, as it is claimed, why is there no exodus of Arabs from Palestine? Why do the Arabs in the neighboring countries migrate to Palestine? Since the war, the Arab population has increased over 50 percent in this country, and the increase has been greatest in the location of Jewish settlements.

"On the political side, the majority of the Arabs might say that they prefer to eke out a poor living, so long as the country remained Arab and not Jewish.

"This point of view the conscience of the world cannot accept. There is no other country open to the Jews of Germany, Rumania, Poland. The Jews do not seek to establish themselves here at the expense of the Arabs. We have proved that our coming has improved the condition of all.

"Moreover, the Arabs have received as a result of the war independence in several countries. They have Iraq—Mesopotamia, they have the Medias, they have Trans-Jordan, they have Egypt, and they have a semi-independent status under the French mandate in Syria.

"The 25,000,000 Arabs have a habitable area 30 times as large as that of Palestine. They have all the room for development and unity. Are not the Jews entitled to a corner of their own?"

"When the Jews were promised by the Balfour declaration a national home in Palestine, it included both sides of the Jordan. The Jordan was never a boundary. Subsequently, the British tore off Trans-Jordan and made it Arab. The Jews are denied the right to settle there. Yet it is 50 percent larger than Palestine and has only 25 percent of the population of Palestine."

When asked what was the stand of the Jewish agency with respect to the Arab demand for a stoppage of Jewish immigration, Mr. Chertok declared:

"Immigration must continue. In 1934 the country absorbed 45,000 immigrants, and yet there was a shortage of labor. In 1935 it absorbed 62,000 Jewish immigrants, and we still have a shortage of labor. So long as immigration can be economically absorbed without injury to the Arabs, it must continue.

"If a sudden change should occur in the economic condition of the country, we are prepared to come to an agreement with the Arabs. We are prepared to undertake not to buy land which would in the future displace Arabs, or to exchange land with Arab holders."

It was represented to Mr. Chertok that the Arabs claimed to fear the Jews becoming a majority in Palestine, to which he replied:

"An agreement not to become a majority would be impossible. The Jews of the world are pressing to enter the country. If we entered into such an agreement, what would prevent the upsetting of the balance?"

"Look at Trans-Jordan. In the law, it does not exclude Jews. But in reality, Jews are not allowed there. Yet Trans-Jordan was promised to both Jews and Arabs, and the British Government decided to reserve it for Arabs only.

"The present controversy on immigration would be settled if Trans-Jordan were to be opened to our people. One hundred thousand Jews would gladly move there from this side of the Jordan. They would break ground and make room for more settlers.

"Politically, we Jews feel that a part of our body has been separated from us by cutting off Trans-Jordan from Palestine. But behind the Arab claims is the dream to abrogate the mandate and to build an independent Arab empire.

"In such an event, the alleged fear of the Jewish majority is meaningless. Even if we did bring in 5,000,000 Jews into Palestine, we would still remain a minority among the 25,000,000 Arabs in their proposed confederation or kingdom."

#### ARTICLE 3

The Jews of Palestine are willing to assure the Arabs permanent parity in the government of the country as a solution for Arab apprehensions of being dominated in the future by a Jewish majority.

A declaration to this effect was officially made to us by Mr. Bernard Joseph, the solicitor for the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, in the presence of Mr. Chertok and Dr. Ruppin, in the course of our conference with the three leaders.

"Numbers need not determine control," stated Mr. Joseph when the Arab claims of being frightened at the prospect of Jewish domination was called to his attention. "The control of a country is secured through the machinery of government. The answer to the problem is permanent parity of the two races in the government."

"We propose an international undertaking by Jews and Arabs not to seek control of the government, regardless of their numbers. It could be done by the Jewish Agency entering into a waiver of right to dominate."

"We deny the right of the Arabs to exclusive control of Palestine. We admit their right to remain here. We claim, however, that this is our country as much as their own. The right of the Jews to come here is recognized by the entire world."

In answer to the argument of certain Arabs that Palestine had for 13 centuries been their country and that the Jewish immigrants were invaders, Dr. Ruppin, a recognized economist and historian, replied:

"One hundred years ago Palestine had only 100,000 inhabitants. The Jews have always been in Palestine. Through the centuries Jewish communities remained in the Holy Land. The Arabs were not a distinct national group in Palestine; they were only a fraction of the whole.

"Besides, the country was not Arab. It was Turkish. Turkey ceded it to Great Britain. The Jews fought on the side of the Allies against Turkey. The Arabs of Palestine did not."

Mr. Joseph pointed out:

"There can be no comparison of the coming of the Jews to Palestine with a foreign invasion, for the situation of Palestine has no parallel in the world and the situation of the Jews has no equal among the other peoples."

"We made the history of Palestine. The Jewish people have no other national home. We have demonstrated that Palestine is capable of absorbing large masses of immigrants."

Mr. Joseph denied that there was any widespread fear among the Arabs that they might lose the country to the Jews and pointed out that but 6 months ago the two peoples lived and worked together in amity. He continued:

"But even if such a fear has come into existence because of political agitation, justice requires that we should be allowed to settle here in spite of that feeling.

"The Arabs are well provided for. They have ample space for their people and the development of their culture. They ought to be just to the Jews."

"The Arab claim that the promise early in the World War made by the British high commissioner for Egypt, McMahon, to the shérif of Mecca to give the Arabs unity and independence also comprehended Palestine came up for discussion next.

"The Zionist records showed that King Feisal, the son of the shérif of Mecca, had entered into a solemn agreement with Chaim Weizmann, the leader of the world Zionist organization, specifically recognizing the Jewish national home in Palestine as guaranteed by the Balfour Declaration.

"In the course of a conference with a group of Arab leaders in Haifa our senatorial commission was flatly informed that this agreement had never been signed, and was in fact a Zionist invention. I therefore pursued this matter in our interview with Mr. Chertok and his associates of the Jewish Agency, who promised to produce irrefutable proof of its authenticity.

When our commission reached Brindisi, Italy, on the way back from Palestine, we were met by Mr. Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency, who produced a facsimile of the original treaty between Mr. Weizmann and King Feisal, which contained a reservation purporting to be in the handwriting of the King himself.

King Feisal was an intimate of Lawrence of Arabia, who was his chief counselor. It so happened that Lawrence himself made the translation of Feisal's note. This document of Lawrence, the champion of the Arab cause, was published in the London Times on June 10, 1926, as a reproduction of his own handwriting, and is sufficient to establish the



authenticity of the historic Arab-Jewish convention.

The pact, signed in London on January 3, 1919, is a treaty of friendship between the two races. It provides for measures "as will afford the fullest guarantees for carrying into effect the British Government's declaration of November 2, 1917."

It specifies that "All necessary measures shall be taken to encourage and stimulate immigration of Jews into Palestine on a large scale, and as quickly as possible to settle Jewish immigrants on the land."

The reservation translated by Lawrence makes the pact dependent on the fulfillment by the British Government of the demands of King Feisal's memorandum in which he asked for the independence of Arabic areas in Asia.

Feisal had accepted Palestine from the area, in his address to the supreme council of the peace conference of January 29, 1919, as follows:

"On account of its universal character, I shall leave Palestine on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties interested. With this exception, I ask for the independence of the Arabic areas enumerated in the memorandum."

#### ARTICLE 7

"The Arabs in Palestine cannot get along without the Jews. The Jews in Palestine cannot get along without the Arabs."

This striking statement was made to me by an educated Arab of distinguished family, whose identity must be withheld. His point of view was so at variance with the official Arab attitude, and his approach to the Jewish question so constructive, that it shed a new light on the crisis in Palestine. He commented:

"So long as we live in the same country as cousins, we ought to cooperate. The Jews make the mistake of not employing more Arabs in industry. It would build up means of negotiation and maintaining peace."

"I am an Arab and if I want to put up a building I engage some Jews for the job. But if a Jew wants to build, he does not engage Arabs. The Rutenberg Electrical Works has some 800 employees, but there are only 5 Arabs among them."

"The Jews should include the teaching of Arabic in their schools, just as we have introduced the study of Hebrew in our schools. Twenty percent of the Arabs know Hebrew perfectly, while 30 percent of the Jews do not speak Hebrew themselves."

"The Arabs, on the other hand, do not cooperate with each other. The Arab who has a government position is always exposed to attempts of other Arabs to put him out and get his place."

"If Palestine were given over completely to the Jews they could not survive here, because they would be subject to constant attacks by Arabs from Syria or Iraq or Egypt. As a small state, they would be surrounded by enemies. A Jewish kingdom could never survive."

"The Arabs could not live alone in Palestine and make progress, because they have not enough capital to run the show. Where there is mixed Jewish and Arab capital, as in certain banks, cement works, potash plants, it works all right. The Jews cannot boycott the Jewish interests, and the Arabs cannot boycott the Arab interests."

When asked for the cause of the present conflict in Palestine, this Arab spokesman laid it to the desire of the Mufti to have sole control of the budget of the Moslem community, which furnishes a revenue of about \$600,000 annually. He declared:

"The proposed legislative council was the cause of the strike. The Mufti wanted to keep his power. If we had a legislative council, it would have the power to check the books of the Supreme Moslem Council. Now the Mufti controls all the money himself."

"It was planned to have proportionate representation in the legislative council of

all the Arab parties. The Mufti would have one representative but seven others would represent the other parties. These seven would insist on auditing the books of the Mufti."

"It was for the same reason that the proposal for a legislative Council made to the Arabs by Sir Herbert Samuel in 1922 fell through. Then the Jews would have had but one representative and the Arabs eleven. The Mufti wanted to keep his hands on the Treasury of the Supreme Moslem Council."

"The Mufti stays in power with the help of the British Government. This government wants to have two Arab parties, so as to let them fight each other."

On the sore point of the land question in Palestine, my Arab informant differed sharply from the Arab leaders of the strike. He said:

"If Arabs in the agricultural districts have been dispossessed, it is the fault of the Arab owners. Take the case of an Arab woman proprietor of several small villages. If she sells a village to Jewish colonists, the Arab occupants have to move out. A law enacted about a year ago requires that the dispossessed be provided with other lands or funds for the purchase of parcels elsewhere."

"Most of the Arabs who have sold agricultural tracts for Jewish colonization are not Palestinians, but Syrians."

The main theme of this Arab spokesman's statement was the view that it was mutually advantageous for the Jews and the Arabs to cooperate. Because of the prevailing terror, it was not a popular stand for an Arab to take. Many of his compatriots had suffered direct consequences for preaching a Jewish-Arab understanding.

#### ARTICLE 8

Where Sodom and Gomorrah were wiped out by brimstone and fire, according to the Bible, a miracle of modern industry has appeared since the present world depression. The minerals of the Dead Sea are now supplying the life of fertilizer to many corners of the earth.

The potash industry of Palestine today epitomizes the epic of the industrialization of the Holy Land. But a decade ago the agricultural output of the country far exceeded industrial production. Today the output of industry in Palestine is already greater than all the farming produce, including that on the citrus groves.

The potash deposits of the Dead Sea, where up-to-date chemical plants began operations in January 1, 1930, are sufficient to supply the present demands of the world for 3,000 years (they contain over 2,000,000,000 tons of potassium chloride, an article vital to all vegetation. Every year the Jordan carries to the Dead Sea, which lies 1,300 feet below sea level 10,000 additional tons of this valuable salt).

During our stay in Jerusalem we came into frequent contact with Maj. Thomas G. Tulloch, a Scot, one of the original promoters of the Palestine Potash Co., who has spent most of his time in Palestine since 1928. The credit for the pioneering work in the exploitation of the Dead Sea minerals belongs to a Jewish engineer, Mr. Novomeysky, now the managing director of the works, who as early as 1911 envisaged the vast possibilities of the industry for Palestine.

Despite the strike and the terror, the potash Co. was operating on a normal schedule while we were in Palestine.

Said Major Tulloch:

"The Arabs and Jews in our plant are friendly and work together peacefully. For every vacancy we have there are 100 applications by Arabs to work with the Jews."

"At the north end of the Dead Sea we employ 400 workers—one-half Arabs and one-half Jews. We pay the Jews twice as much for an 8-hour day. The Jewish worker has to pay dues to a sick-benefit fund, to a library fund, to the food commissary, and for transportation. These deductions from

the pay envelopes are made by the company, by arrangement with the Jewish Federation of Labor. At the end of the month the Arab takes home more money than the Jew."

"Besides, the Jew does more work than the Arab. He has more stamina. He does his job more intelligently. Many of the Jewish workers are university graduates."

"We have much work that requires skilled labor. The Arabs are not up to it."

"The Arab laborers do not protest against the lower wages paid to them. Sometimes the effendi try to make a stir about it. When a certain Arab political leader kicked against our wage scale, I replied 'When you Arab employers pay your Arab workers as much as we pay the Jews, we will do likewise.'"

"During the last riots the leading firebrand of the white-collar effendi, while out on bail, held a meeting in the market place of Jericho. He appealed to the Arabs to get their guns and follow him. The whole country, he asserted, was going to be given over to the Jews, and the Arabs should fight against it."

"We don't care, effendi, if the government gives the land to the Jews," replied the Arab workers. "They treat us better than the effendi do. Will you take care of our wives and children if we are killed in the fight?" The meeting broke up in an uproar."

Major Tulloch, who emphasized the fact that he was neither a Jew nor an Arab, was of the opinion that the Jews and Arabs wanted to and could live peacefully together.

The disturbances in the country, according to him, were not due to economic grievances, but to a political agitation instigated by certain Arab politicians who seek political power so as to retain their domination over the Arab peasantry.

The industrial development of Palestine, due to Jewish initiative, is still in its infancy, according to Major Tulloch. His company is now building a second plant at the southern end of the Dead Sea. Being a newcomer in the field, the Palestine potash industry encountered fierce competition in the world market. After 5 years of existence, it was recently admitted into the international cartel which fixes the world price of potash.

The development of a chemical industry in the Holy Land, like the whole process of the industrialization of Palestine, provides a refutation of the claim that the Jews have been displacing the Arabs. The industries of Palestine were virtually nonexistent 15 years ago. They do not draw upon the wealth of the country, but bring to Palestine entirely new sources of wealth, new opportunities, new fields of employment. The Economic Research Institute of Jerusalem observes:

"In their capital, the Jews bring from abroad the original wherewithal for the erection of new enterprises. In their persons, they bring the skill, intelligence and labor needed to set the factories in motion, and the consuming power on which success must depend."

"In industry, there can be no element of displacement; it represents in its entirety a net addition to the wealth of the country."

#### ARTICLE 9

The handwriting on the walls of Palestine today spells out the question:

What will Great Britain do to satisfy the conflicting ideas and ideals of her wards?

Great Britain, between opposing interests of Jews and Arabs, between imperial policy and international obligations, occupies a position of "extreme difficulty and delicacy," as Lord Balfour characterized it in his letter to Secretary Hughes.

We found complaints against the mandatory by both Jews and Arabs. By Jews, that the mandatory is not executing the mandate in maintaining peace and security; that it is not actively putting into effect the Balfour Declaration; that it is delinquent in pro-



teering industry by tariffs; that it discriminates against Jews in respect to taxation and government support for education and public health. By the Arabs, that the mandate is unjust and that it ought to be abrogated or revised or differently interpreted and enforced.

Arab independence and unity is in the atmosphere. The Hedjaz, Lebanon, Egypt, Trans-Jordan, Iraq, and Syria have come into the promised state of independence. This excites the Arabs of Palestine to maneuver into a condition for unity with them, when and if a consolidation is made.

This agitation is promoted on the theory that Palestine was included in the British promise made to Arabs to induce them to join the Allies against Turkey.

Assuming that legally all prior promises became merged in the mandate, nevertheless, politically, the question enters into the cause of every Arab strike.

Therefore one of the definite acts of the mandatory tending toward peace and tranquility ought to be the clarification of the record which the British claim proves that Palestine was excerpted from that promise. The white papers of 1922 asserted:

"The whole of Palestine west of the Jordan was thus excluded from Sir H. McMahon's pledge."

The mandate in terms agreed to July 24, 1922, did not come into effect until September 29, 1922. If the Arabs disavowed, they ought to have spoken then, but did not do so. Nevertheless, today the point is debated largely because there is disagreement regarding the record.

An alternative thereto is to treat Palestine as a conquered country—a country which failed to join its Arabic neighbors against Turkey—and to face boldly and firmly the continuing resentment of the conquered people.

To temporize by suspending labor immigration and making concessions every time the Arabs strike, as has been done in the previous strikes, settles nothing and invites further lawlessness and disorder.

As a consequence of the war, Palestine ceased to be under the sovereignty of the state which formerly governed her, and she was, therefore, placed under mandate.

Great Britain's obligation under the mandate differs from that of other mandates in other mandates in this particular:

"The mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political administration and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Therefore, all details of government should promote that objective, and should not hinder it.

British policy under the mandate was published in Palestine July 7, 1922, and made binding by royal instructions August 14, 1922, and contained the following:

"1. A Jewish national home will be founded in Palestine. The Jewish people will be in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance. But His Majesty's Government have no such aim as that Palestine should become as Jewish as England is English.

"2. Nor do His Majesty's Government contemplate the disappearance or subordination of the Arab population, language, or culture.

"3. The status of all citizens of Palestine will be Palestinian, and no section of the population will have any other status in the eyes of the law."

Vigorous execution of that policy probably would put an end to the discussion about an independent Arabic state in Palestine. Moreover, it would prevent the growth of the ambition, now budding, for a Jewish state in Palestine.

American public sentiment should be frankly expressed in support of the mandate and in approval of its strict administration

according to the British policy laid down during the negotiations of its terms. It would strengthen the arm of the mandatory and discourage the employment of violence and civil disobedience to induce either the abrogation of the mandate or a modification of its essential obligations.

#### ARTICLE 10

"After 14 years Great Britain should have accomplished in Palestine the following policy proclaimed in the royal instructions of August 14, 1922.

"His Majesty's Government intend to foster the establishment of a full measure of self-government in Palestine, and, as the next step, a legislative council with a majority of elected members will be set up immediately."

I am persuaded that a legislative council in which parity of representation of Jews and Arabs is maintained would allay the fears of both respecting majority and minority rights. There would not be so much emphasis on immigration as a cause of turbulence. Numbers of population need not determine control. Control is maintained through impositions of government, regardless of numbers.

The duty of Great Britain respecting immigration is not definite. It is discretionary as to what will prejudice non-Jewish "rights and position," and what are "suitable conditions." But the mandatory "shall facilitate Jewish immigration," while insuring the rights and position of other sections of the population.

British policy on this vexed subject was, in 1922:

"Immigration will not exceed the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."

Here the passivity of government has changed the yardstick into a sliding scale.

In 1920, experts reported that the economic capacity of absorption was exhausted. Since then the Jewish population has more than doubled and the Arab population has increased by 13 percent. There has been no growth of unemployment and no evidence that the indigenous population has been prejudiced in rights or position.

On the contrary, standards of life have risen. Health and education have reached out their benign influence farther over all sections, the country's wealth has surpassed by several times the total progress of the first postwar decade, on which the experts based their inquiries.

The capacity for absorption is dynamic, not static. It does not depend on nature conditions alone. The opportunities for absorption have been created by immigration itself. A market of buyers, a supply of laborers, and the importation of capital are the ingredients of economic expansion. All these have been brought by the immigrants.

Government can increase further the capacity by the provision of lands—public and waste—the protection of industry and labor with protective tariffs, the granting of concessions and credit facilities.

There is no economic reason for suspending immigration now. A clear and definite denial of this demand of the Arab high committee ought to be made and adhered to.

The mandatory will no doubt establish the fact that there is no just ground for grievance in the purchase of land by Jews from Arabs. The price paid is high. No Arab is obliged to sell. Every cultivator must be assured another location, if he wishes it, before a purchase can be consummated. The government requires this. This Arab right is a stiff brake on Jewish purchasers.

There are large stretches of waste but potentially rich soil offering vast possibilities of development. With irrigation and other forms of capital investment there is reason to believe that Palestine may continue

to expand in population and prosperity to the point of equalling more densely populated countries of the world.

Her density of population compares with some other agricultural countries as follows:

Palestine.....	46.7
Rumania.....	63.7
Hungary.....	93.0
France.....	76.0
Italy.....	154.1

A comparison nearer by is:

Palestine.....	43.7
Lebanese Republic.....	92.91

Land purchases should not be prohibited. On the contrary, articles 6 and 11 of the mandate, providing for facilitation of settlement of Jews on the land and intensive cultivation, should be actively administered.

Trans-Jordan, which was included in the Balfour Declaration, and regarding which Great Britain made a proviso in the Amman Declaration enabling her to fulfill her international obligations in respect of the territory, should be opened up to Jewish settlement whenever it becomes necessary in the performance of the mandate. Trans-Jordan is 80 percent larger in area than Cis-Jordan (Palestine west of the Jordan) and has a population of only 23 percent of the latter.

#### ARTICLE 11

It was a mistake on the part of the British authorities in Palestine, in our opinion, to deal with the Arab strike and violence leniently in the beginning.

As early as May 8, 1936, after anti-Jewish riots many murders and destruction of fruit trees and crops had taken place, the High Commissioner received the members of the Supreme Arab Committee and addressed them to the effect that:

They should set their faces "against all illegal acts, whether of murder, arson, or any form of civil disobedience"; that they should send a delegation to London instead of supporting the strike; and that they should "make it known without delay to the public" that they do not associate themselves with any illegal acts.

And this was the Arab reply given the same day:

"The strike would continue; the district committees had already decided to favor a civil disobedience movement; they had already decided to defer the mission to London."

One hundred and fifty-one Arab officials of the government of Palestine issued a memorandum directed against the essential features of the mandate under which they hold office and to the support of which they are bound.

Subsequently, the British armed forces in Palestine were augmented, we were informed, until there were understood to be 18,000 of them when we left the country.

Following our departure, the British Government decided to increase this military force considerably by moving from England fresh reserves under the command of Lieutenant General Dill.

Yet martial law was not imposed upon the localities where crime and destruction were most frequent. From day to day the situation got more out of control, and several major engagements were reported in the press.

If, in the initial stages of the outbreaks, the interior ordinance passed 3 years ago had been put into effect, the mandatory government would have been implemented to suppress all the disturbances.

"Leniency to the individual is severity to the state," mildly represents the lesson taught by the situation in Palestine today.

Last week, it was officially announced, the strike was called off in Palestine by the Supreme Arab Committee. But the violence let loose through a mistaken policy has not



ground, according to the dispatches in the press. The attacks by guerrilla bands on Jewish settlements are reported to continue. What will Great Britain do to settle the conflicting interests?

It is my guess that she will suppress with a stern hand the lawlessness, defiance, and sedition, which terrorize the inhabitants and threaten the efficacy of the mandate as a form of government.

After that, from the standpoint of the British Empire, she will shake off the passivity which has encouraged the repetition of these threats to a rebuilt Palestine, loyal to her, and engage with vigor in the execution of her declared policy under the mandate.

She will promote the economic welfare of her colonial system by encouragement of the already great expansion of wealth involved in the creation of the Jewish national home. And she will smother the spark of plots and conspiracies against British Government elsewhere which the success of Arab civil disobedience might blow into a conflagration.

Diplomatically, Great Britain cannot afford to back the wrong horse. On the issue now raised of performance or nonperformance of the mandate, the contenders are not limited to the Jews of the world against the Arabs of the world. They include the treaty nations, of which the United States is one.

Therefore, it is rational to expect that after peace and order are restored in Palestine, the unfounded ambitions of certain Jewish and Arab elements that the mandatory could or would hand to either of them political control over the other, will probably be definitely nullified. A government in which all citizens are Palestinians and in which Jewish and Arab parity of power is guaranteed will be fostered.

These are the deductions of one to whom the facts seem clear and compelling. By the achievement of these measures, a new, permanent, and responsible political entity would be brought into being in a zone where good order and strength are needed for the peace of the world.

In the fulfillment of the principles of the mandate and the declared policy of the mandatory power, a stable supporting public sentiment among the American people, frankly announced, may be of great value. It may help to lighten the load assumed by the mandatory, in accordance with the spirit of Lord Balfour's letter to Secretary of State Hughes, in the performance of the great task of establishing a Jewish national home in Palestine.

#### REPORT OF SENATOR DANIEL O. HASTINGS

##### ARTICLE I

If one is to get an accurate picture of the present troubles in Palestine, it is necessary to know something of the background of the recent political control of the country. For something like 400 years prior to the World War, Palestine was in the hands of the Turks.

As early as 1891 that heroic Jewish figure, Theodor Herzl, became the leader of the idea of a Jewish state. Herzl insisted that the Jews are a distinct nation, whose problems can be solved only by restoring them to a normal national life in a land of their own. By 1903 he had interested the British Government in his plans. He died early in life, but not until he had given the impetus to the Zionist movement and organization throughout the world.

There appear to be three distinct views today among Jews with respect to Palestine. One view is that Palestine must ultimately become a Jewish state, a nation of Jews, controlled by the Jews. The second is that Palestine must be looked upon merely as a spiritual center for Jewry.

Then there is a third view, the view of the present Jewish Agency for Palestine which is somewhere between these two, namely, that Palestine must offer to the Jews of the world

a place of refuge, and that they must be permitted to immigrate as rapidly as the economic condition of Palestine may warrant, and the fact that Jews may ultimately become the majority in Palestine must not be taken into consideration.

The official Zionist leaders who adhere to the third view do not demand that Palestine be now considered as a Jewish state, and express the willingness to assure the Arabs that regardless of their numbers they will never demand anything politically more than parity.

Those Zionists who insist that Palestine shall become a Jewish state call attention to the statement made by President Wilson, in responding to a memorandum formulating the Jewish claims to Palestine, namely:

"I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish commonwealth."

Stress is also laid in this connection upon a statement by Secretary of State Hughes, in a communication addressed to Lord Balfour on January 22, 1922, to wit: "Even in case a Jewish state should survive (in Palestine). This reference to a Jewish state was made in the course of the negotiations for the British-American convention in which the United States gave its consent to the British trusteeship over Palestine."

The Balfour Declaration was made on November 2, 1917. The American Jewish Congress, meeting in Philadelphia on December 13, 1918, in approving the Balfour document, added the very significant words "Jewish commonwealth."

When Dr. Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, was asked at the peace conference in Paris, in 1919, by Mr. Lansing, the American representative, what he meant by the Jewish national home, he replied that "There should ultimately be such conditions that Palestine should be just as Jewish as America is American and England English."

On December 2, 1917, Lord Cecil, a member of the British Cabinet said:

"Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judea for the Jews."

A study of the history of the Balfour Declaration shows, in my opinion, quite conclusively that the Jews of the world were justified in believing that the issuance of the Balfour Declaration intended to assure them a country they could control and call their own.

I think also that the Jews of the world were justified in believing that Palestine meant the country on both sides of the Jordan, and not the present western area from which Trans-Jordan has been severed and set up as a separate Arab kingdom under the aegis of the British High Commissioner in Jerusalem.

When the World War was over and the time came to translate a general declaration into a specific contract, we find a remarkable document known as the mandate for Palestine, which the Jews were, of course, compelled to accept.

There is, in my judgment, but one important definite promise in the mandate in which the Jews are interested, and that is the promise to place the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home in Palestine.

There is a technical way out for the British Government of every other promise in it. You may offer strong arguments against the British and Arab interpretations of the mandate, but it is difficult to put your finger on anything definite. There is nothing in the mandate itself to justify the claim that the Jews have a right to make Palestine into a Jewish state.

One of the great troubles of the situation in Palestine today, as I see it, is that the Jew

were led to believe for a year or more, in 1917, when the Balfour Declaration was made, in 1922, when the mandate was approved, that ultimately Palestine was to become a political unit, a nation belonging to the Jewish race.

##### ARTICLE 2

The Jews have made wonderful progress in Palestine in all things that make for healthier and better lives. They have made the Holy Land a progressive country with modern improvements, whereas it had made practically no progress for centuries before the war. This progress is due, in a large part, to the loyalty and generosity of the Jews in all parts of the world outside of Palestine, particularly the Jews of the United States.

One of the greatest assets to the world in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine is that it has "become a center in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride." In these words did the British Government, on the eve of the approval of the mandate, define one of its objectives in Palestine.

The trouble in Palestine today is partly due, as former disturbances have been due, to a lack of a definite policy with respect to the interpretation and the administration of the mandate.

Any conflicts arising between Jews and Arabs, as to their respective rights in Palestine after the World War, can be settled only in the light of the provisions of the mandate, plus any papers interpreting it.

The obligations of the mandate are placed upon the British Government and consist chiefly of the following:

1. "For placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home . . ."

2. "Shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions . . . while ensuring that the rights and positions of other sections of the population are not prejudiced."

The British Government has given its own definition of what is meant by the development of a Jewish national home by stating that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community. The official definition continues:

"But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right and not on sufferance."

The policy that immigration into Palestine may be permitted as rapidly as the immigrants can be economically absorbed is resented by Arabs because of the fear that the Jew may become a majority in Palestine and ultimately impose upon them Jewish control.

If immigration is permitted until the Jews have a majority in Palestine and then it should be determined that the country was in a position to manage its own affairs and British control and protection were withdrawn, you would have all that the most ambitious Zionist could expect.

It is this condition and this fear on the part of Arab that underlie the present crisis between the Jew and Arab in Palestine depends upon a firm policy of the British Government declaring a definite parity between the two races in the political control of the country.

It might be well to note here what the Arab has been doing since the 16th of April last. The Arabs began to organize in the fall of 1935 preparatory to calling a strike. When the strike was called and the order given to close all the business establishments, those of the Arab owners who did not obey found themselves in real trouble. They were



beaten, their property was destroyed, and a real reign of terror was inaugurated.

The Arab political leaders admitted to us their responsibility for closing the shops, as part of the strike program, but did not admit their responsibility for the murders and other acts of violence in the country. But the general impression in Palestine was that these leaders were doing nothing to stop the terror. There has been instilled in the minds of the Arab youth the idea that he is fighting for his freedom and that what he is doing is a patriotic service to his country.

The Arabs admit that the Jews have done great things for Palestine. The good roads, schools, hospitals, and other modern improvements are largely due to Jewish influence and capital. The Arabs have sold lands to the Jews at enormous prices.

An acre of poor undeveloped land in Palestine, which can be made suitable for the growing of oranges, can be readily sold for \$500. An Arab peasant will work in a Jewish orange grove, learn how to cultivate oranges, save his money, sell half of his land to a Jewish settler, and use the money to put the balance of his land in a condition to raise citrus.

A thousand and one instances could be given as to how the Jews have helped the Arab improve his standard of living. But the Arab political agitators disregard these economic factors and pay no attention to the statement of the Jewish representatives in Palestine that the Jews are not seeking political domination.

My own judgment is that there is no foundation for the fear propagated in the minds of the Arabs that the Jews are about to purchase all the Arab land and thus drive the Arabs from the country. There is enough cultivable land, or land that could be made cultivable to take care of several hundred thousand more Jewish agriculturists, and all to the advantage of the Arabs in Palestine.

#### ARTICLE 2

Perhaps the greatest miracle of the Jewish colonization of Palestine has been the transformation of small traders and intellectuals from eastern Europe into successful farmers. These children of the Ghetto, who had been removed from agriculture for many centuries, not only changed their habits overnight, but changed the face of the Holy Land almost overnight.

No traveler in Palestine today can fail to be impressed by the large stretches of redeemed soil which had lain barren and arid for generations prior to the coming of the Jewish pioneer. Forests, groves, and orchards dot the country side and offer a striking contrast to those deserted tracts still awaiting the labor of rejuvenation.

The report of the high commissioner on the administration of Palestine says:

"The most striking result in this sphere that has been achieved during the last few years has been in the Valley of Esdraelon. When I first saw it in 1930 it was a desolation. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest, the country was uninhabited.

"There was not a house, not a tree. Along a branch of the Hejaz Railway an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The River Kishon, which flows through the valley, and the many springs which feed it from the hillsides, had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes and, as a consequence, the country was infested with malaria."

Then the Jewish National Fund acquired about 51 square miles of the valley. Young pioneers descended into it, formed labor gangs, crushed rock, built roads, dug trenches, erected houses and schools and factories. Continues the report of the High Commissioner:

"All of the swamps and marshes within the area that has been colonized have been drained and cases of malaria are proportionately rare. An active trade in dairy produce has sprung up, mostly finding a market by means of the railway, in Haifa.

"The whole aspect of the valley has been changed. The wooden huts of the villages, gradually giving place to red-roofed cottages, are dotted along the slopes; the plantations of rapidly growing eucalyptus trees begin to give a new character to the landscape; in the spring the fields of vegetables, or of cereals, cover many miles of land, and what 5 years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into a smiling countryside.

This valley is now the most compact Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine. In the last 15 years the number of Jewish land colonies has grown from 45 to 173. In 1919 there were 15,500 Jews in rural communities. In 1935 there were 72,700.

Striking is the intensive farming methods introduced by the Jews in the country. The Jewish farmer produces more than twice as much wheat per acre as the Arab peasant, three times as much grapes, and the yield of milk of the Jewish dairy farmer per cow is actually seven times as great as that of the Arab.

The application of scientific farming by the Jewish settlers has brought agricultural machinery into Palestine for the first time in its history. The import of these modern farming implements has been growing rapidly in the last 5 years. As compared with Palestine, the three neighboring Arab countries show a negligible use of agricultural machinery. Even Egypt, with its great cotton industry, imported in 1934 but 7.1 per head of population of the Palestinian import of such machinery.

Jewish enterprise has made Palestine, within the space of a little more than a decade, into the second citrus-exporting country in the world. The area under oranges and lemons has increased more than eightfold between 1922 and 1935. The value of the exports of this commodity rose from \$1,000,000 in 1921 to nearly \$18,000,000 in 1935.

Nothing is as dramatic, however, in the story of agricultural progress of the Jew in Palestine as the discovery and development of the country's unknown or unused water resources. For centuries the Arabs squatted on the land, without troubling to dig for water even in such places where a little effort would have brought it to the surface.

The Jewish immigrants pioneered in this direction with remarkable zeal and perseverance and tapped hidden water sources which miraculously expanded the seemingly limited arable area of the country. In the valley of Esdraelon alone 70 borings were made, of which 34 were successful.

Water-boring machinery of the most modern type is now being imported into Palestine at an increasing rate by the Jews. Not only have many old wells been made to yield greater supplies, but in Galilee and Samaria and other parts of Palestine water was discovered in places where hardly anybody even dreamed of finding it.

Although the Jews own but one-twentieth of all the land in Palestine, the transformation which they wrought in its primitive agriculture within a decade and a half can be felt and seen from one end of the country to the other. That it has been accomplished by a people whose agricultural tradition goes back 2,500 years is a revelation of the love and sacrifice which they brought to the land of their ancestors.

#### ARTICLE 3

One of the main demands of the Arab political agitation in Palestine has been for the stoppage of Jewish purchase of land in the country.

An inquiry into this sore phase of the crisis in the Holy Land shows that there is no economic justification for the Arab claim. On the contrary, there is unquestioned evidence that the settlement of Jews in Palestine has brought great benefits to the Arab peasantry, or fellahin.

The price of land in Palestine is 20 times as high as it is 30 miles east of the Jordan for a unit of the same quality. The poor Arab peasant, who is usually in the clutches of the Arab usurers, has been enabled in recent years through the sale of some of his land to achieve independence for the first time in his life.

An impartial government investigator, C. F. Siricland, reports:

"There is in general much to be said for encouraging the fellah to sell a part of his irrigable land and to repay the claims of his creditors from the sale proceeds, and develop the remainder of his irrigable land with any surplus remaining."

Jewish immigration and agricultural developments have raised large numbers of poverty-stricken and degraded peasants to a new level of existence. It must be remembered that the greater part of the indigenous population of Palestine is just beginning to emerge from a semi-feudal state. The fellahin are dominated in every way by the powerful landlords, who are not interested in the development of their great estates.

The director of the agricultural experiment station in Syria as recently as 1936, reported:

"The fellahin, who work the land, live under conditions comparable with that of the Bondsmen of the Charlemagne dynasty. No more than 20 percent of the gross product of the land remains to the fellah. . . . It may almost be said that the big landlords are engaged not in the exploitation of the land, but in the exploitation of its cultivators. . . . As under the existing system of taxation no charges are paid on uncultivated land, the big landlords can leave large areas untilled without incurring any losses."

This Asiatic condition has been profoundly disturbed by the coming of the Jewish colonists. The Jews are driven to buy land at any price, which makes the Jewish colonization effort different from any similar undertaking in the past in other parts of the world. The Arabs are not compelled to sell their holdings. Commercial considerations do not determine the price of land in Palestine.

Another boon to Arab agriculture has been the urbanization of the country as a result of Jewish industrial development. The fellahin suddenly found at their thresholds an undreamed market for their produce, a market which has grown rapidly and demanded a varied supply. The Arabs went in for mixed farming, whereas before they depended on one or two cereals.

As the depression in the United States has demonstrated, this kind of farming does not suffer much from world conditions, as its output does not depend upon world prices. In Palestine, the Arab agriculture escaped the great slump which struck the fellahin in Syria, Egypt, and Trans-Jordan in recent years.

The modern farming methods introduced by the Jewish colonists have not passed without beneficial effect upon Arab villages. They have begun to take on an improved appearance, an officially attested in the report of the High Commissioner. The march of progress in the country could not but leave its influence on the entire population. Jewish agriculture has awakened all agriculture, and set a new pace of enterprise and competition for the Arabs.

Due to the influx of Jewish capital and the flourishing condition of public finances in Palestine, there has been an astounding increase in the tax burden on all agriculture in the country. In 1922, the agricultural



income in Palestine furnished 25.4 percent of the government's revenue. In 1934, the percentage was 24.5. In absolute figures, regarding the growth of the country, the fall in agricultural taxes has been from \$1,502,000 to \$550,000.

Since the majority of the Arab population is engaged in agriculture, this is a stupendous benefit provided largely from Jewish sources. Moreover, the government of Palestine has been enabled through its increased revenue to confer many other benefits on the fellahin, such as free distribution of seeds, low-interest loans, and agricultural exhibits and instruction.

There is little doubt that the break-up of the primitive feudal system in Palestine, with its attendant changes in the mode of life and educational standards of the Arabs, offers opportunities for agitators against the carriers of the new order of things, the Jewish immigrants.

The demand for the prohibition of Jewish acquisition of land is a political slogan, hooked up with the pan-Arab nationalist movement which seeks the abrogation of the mandate. Strangely enough, it is a demand voiced mostly by Arab effendis who have disposed of large tracts to Jews and who have gained much from these transactions.

All the visible economic signs and official data in Palestine refute this political cry, and show that the coming of the Jews has brought a new era of prosperity to the Arab agricultural population, to the landlord as well as to the peasant.

#### ARTICLE 5

The British administration in Palestine has been weak and vacillating, and neither Jew nor Arab is satisfied with it, because he does not know what to expect next.

The olive branch is extended first to one side and then to the other, leaving both sides to believe that, with a little more pressure, a little more force, or a little more violence, additional concessions can be obtained.

It is true the British Government has an exceptionally hard position to fill under the mandate in Palestine. But I think the Jews do have a real grievance, because of a lack of vigorous effort to rid the country of the lawlessness that has existed for the past several months.

The mandate definitely promises security for the Jews in the establishment of a national home. No such security is now being given, although many thousands of soldiers are being maintained in Palestine.

If the British Government would announce a definite policy, and place officials in charge who were in sympathy with such a policy, and if necessary use such military power as was required to enforce it, there would, in my judgment, come into existence in Palestine a reasonably satisfactory condition.

A lasting solution, however, of the political antagonism between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine must be sought in Arab-Jewish cooperation.

Dr. Judah L. Magnes, the chancellor of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, which, I believe, will soon become one of the great universities of the world, had a real contribution to make on this subject. When I solicited his opinion, he referred me to a statement of his made in 1929, with the remark that it held good in 1936.

Said Dr. Magnes:

"I think I need hardly tell you my attitude towards the basic problem of the living together in the Holy Land of two peoples, Arabs and Jews, and of their religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

"You are aware that in my opinion it is necessary to find, and I think we have all of us not been nearly diligent enough in finding, ways of living and of working together, culturally, economically, socially, politically, and in every other way.

There is no doubt, however, that the Jews cannot find ways of peace and understanding, if the only way of establishing the Jewish National Home is upon the bayonets of some empire, our whole enterprise is not worth while, and it is better that the eternal people that has outlived many a mighty empire should possess its soul in patience, and plan and wait.

"It is one of the great civilizing tasks before the Jewish people to try to enter the Promised Land, not in the Joshua way, but bringing peace and culture, hard work and sacrifice and love, and a determination to do nothing that cannot be justified before the conscience of the world."

How sensible and inspiring. And it comes from a recognized spiritual leader of the Jewish community. If but the Arab spiritual leaders spoke the same language.

As a result of the persistent efforts of the Zionists for 50 years or more there exists in Palestine today a Jewish national home. There are something like 400,000 Jews there, and it is now possible for the Jewish child to begin at a Hebrew kindergarten and complete his education in a Hebrew university, without ever speaking anything but the Hebrew of the Prophets.

He may work on a Jewish farm, in a Jewish factory, live in an all-Jewish city, read a Hebrew newspaper, visit Hebrew theaters, have his controversies decided by a Jewish judge. This can be truly said to furnish the spiritual center for Jewry.

This is a great accomplishment, and the Jews of the world have a right to be proud of their achievements. But what satisfaction does the persecuted Jew, who has been driven from his native land, get from a spiritual center established in Palestine?

He may properly take pride in it, but from a practical point of view, what he needs is a place to live in and pursue a natural course without complaint and persecution by those about him.

I agree with Dr. Magnes that it is not practicable to find a suitable place for the Jewish refugee if the maintenance of law and order in such a place depends upon "the bayonets of some empire."

What, then, is the solution to the pressing problem of the millions of oppressed and destitute Jews forced to emigrate from central and eastern Europe? I shall try to indicate it in the next article.

#### ARTICLE 6

The immigration question is the paramount issue in the crisis in Palestine. To the Zionist, the continuation of large-scale Jewish immigration into the Holy Land is of surpassing moment. To the Arabs, the stoppage of such immigration is a foremost political battle cry.

To the non-Zionist Jews and humanitarians of the world, the need for some haven for the persecuted Jews in central and eastern Europe is one of the great tragic problems of our times.

Is there a constructive answer to this question? I believe there is. While I see no place for all the many millions of persecuted Jews who might want to come to some such land as Palestine, I do see an opportunity to take care of large numbers of such refugees.

In my opinion several hundred thousand more Jews could be accommodated in Palestine itself. And several million additional Jewish fugitives could be provided for if they could cross the Jordan and be allowed to settle in Trans-Jordan.

Trans-Jordan was believed by the Jews to be included in Palestine proper at the time of the Balfour Declaration in November 1917. And I think it offers the hope in solving the practical and acute question of Jewish immigration.

The boundaries of Palestine were redrawn by the British Government 5 years after the Balfour Declaration so as to exclude the east-

ern half lying beyond the Jordan from the area of the Jewish National Home. Under the Turkish Empire, the frontiers of Palestine were part of a Province which comprised various loose and arbitrary districts.

This was officially recognized by the British Parliamentary Commission, headed by Sir Walter Shaw, sent to Palestine to investigate the causes of the riots and massacres in 1920. The Shaw report states:

"Viewed in the light of the last 4 centuries, Palestine is an artificial conception. Under the Ottoman regime, it formed part only of an administrative unit, the remainder of which consisted of areas now within the jurisdiction of the governments of other neighboring mandated territories. Its frontiers, too, are largely artificial. In many parts, they are frequented by nomad tribes, who, by intergovernmental agreement, are allowed unhindered passage across these frontiers."

The eastern frontiers of present-day Palestine are wide open to Arab migrants. But they are tightly closed to Jewish immigration. There seems to be considerable ground for the deep Jewish resentment against the chopping off of Trans-Jordan from Palestine and its exclusion from the sphere of Jewish settlement.

As far back as 1921 the conference of the British Labor Party protested against this policy in a resolution which declared:

"The conference calls upon the Government to put an end to the unnatural and harmful division of the British mandate territory and to effect the unity of eastern and western Palestine."

The British Government, however, effected an independent Arab kingdom in eastern Palestine or Trans-Jordan. The economic consequence of this measure has been the barring of Jewish immigration from Trans-Jordan.

Now Trans-Jordan is one and one-half times the size of present-day Palestine, and harbors but one-fourth of the population of the latter. It is a spacious and fertile land, sparsely inhabited, with no cities and hardly developed. The Arab King and leaders of Trans-Jordan are understood to be eager for Jewish settlement and enterprise.

If Trans-Jordan could be opened to the Jews through a change of policy on the part of the British Government which controls it, it would soon become a rich country. If the British Government could work out some plan of peace and good-will between the Arabs in Palestine and in Trans-Jordan, and have the mandate modified accordingly, it would not only go a long way in solving the problem of the Jews, but it would make out of these two countries rich and prosperous states.

It ought to be possible. The British Government has undertaken the administration of the mandate for Palestine. There is much to be said in favor of the British Government because of the natural difficulties involved in performing its duties under the mandate.

It is rather difficult, however, to find an adequate excuse for the plain violations by that great Government of the following provision of the mandate:

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

The situation in Palestine is not only serious for that country. It may involve world peace.

The opening of Trans-Jordan to the Jews would not only strengthen the position of Great Britain in the Near East, but would provide a solution to the urgent problem of Jewish immigration, which is at the bottom



of the Arab-Jewish conflict in present-day Palestine.

In my judgment, this is the way to satisfy the patriotic visions of the conservative and reasonable people, both Jewish and Arab, who now occupy Palestine.

#### THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

[From the Sunday New York American and other Hearst newspapers of December 3, 1936]

The hearings before the British Royal Commission, headed by Earl Peel, now in session in Palestine, have already confirmed the salient findings of the unofficial senatorial commission sent to Palestine last summer by the Hearst newspapers.

The facts brought to light by the Royal Commission on the two major issues of the crisis in Palestine—immigration and purchase of land by Jews—are strikingly identical with those unearthed and reported by Senators Copeland, Austin, and Hastings.

While the Royal Commission is empowered to investigate the causes of the recent Arab strike and reign of terror and to recommend changes in the policy of the Palestine government, it has not been endowed with the right to alter the basic law of the mandate for Palestine aimed to establish a Jewish national home. Indeed, it could not be otherwise, for the mandate is a trusteeship given to Great Britain by all the civilized nations of the world.

American interest in Palestine is in no sense a matter of meddling in foreign affairs.

It is an interest grounded in a solemn treaty concluded between the Government of the United States and the Government of His Britannic Majesty on December 3, 1924.

This convention, designed to protect the interests of American nationals in Palestine, recites in full the terms of the mandate.

According to the American-British Convention, the United States has given its consent to the British trusteeship over Palestine and has stipulated that its assent is required for any modification in the terms of that trusteeship.

It is noteworthy that it was the British Government which solicited America's active interest in the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine, as expressed in a formal communication from the late Lord Balfour to Secretary of State Hughes.

It follows that any inquiry into the situation in Palestine by Americans is fully warranted.

The observance of the treaty concerning Palestine is a matter of proper concern to the people and the Government of the United States.

The Jewish tragedy in central and eastern Europe, which is so interwoven with the upbuilding of a Jewish national home, makes it imperative to find a constructive solution for the crisis in Palestine. That such a solution can be found is indicated by the findings of the members of the unofficial senatorial commission, which may be summarized in the following six points:

1. The crisis in Palestine has two main-springs:

First, the lack of a consistent and firm British administrative policy.

Second, the political conflict between Jewish and Arab aspirations.

As for the policy of the mandatory power, Great Britain as trustee assumed the obligations to place Palestine under conditions "as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" and to "facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land," without impairing the rights of other sections of the population.

These are plain duties. Admittedly they are difficult to carry out. A steady and definite policy is required in their performance.

Yet it is an open secret, as shown by Senator Copeland, that certain elements of the mandatory civil administration in Palestine are not in sympathy with the trust of their office, and look with disfavor upon the establishment of the Jewish national home.

This accounts for the vacillating policy pursued by the mandatory, which in turn cannot but encourage lawlessness and strife in the country.

2. The mandate definitely promised security to the Jewish settlers in Palestine.

The failure of the British trustee to provide such security is manifest. According to all the members of the Commission, there can be no adequate excuse for the patent violation of this elementary provision of the mandate. There can be no justification for the outrages committed against innocent Jewish men, women, and children in recent months in the Holy Land.

The injuries suffered by many American nationals, who had settled in Palestine under the protection of the American-British Convention, serve but to emphasize the deplorable failure of the mandatory government to maintain law and order in the land under its care. No compensation for their damaged property can adequately make up for months of exposure to a reign of terror.

3. The basic cause of the Arab-Jewish discord is political.

Certain Arab agitators, who are identified with the Pan-Arab nationalist movement, seek the establishment of an Arab state in Palestine, and make much of the fear that certain Jewish elements may seek the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

Now, there is nothing in the mandate to justify such ambitions on either side.

The responsible Jewish leaders have offered the Arabs a mutual parity pact, which would insure both sides against domination by either.

If Great Britain would reaffirm her declared policy under the mandate in a manner making it unmistakable that Palestine can become only a Palestinian state, the road would be clear for an understanding between the Arabs and the Jews.

4. The Arab demand for the suspension of Jewish immigration into Palestine is an issue of life and death to the persecuted Jews in central and eastern Europe. It also goes to the root of the mandate, for the stoppage of Jewish immigration would reduce the terms of the mandate to an absurdity. Only the economic incapacity of Palestine to absorb such immigration could serve as a cogent reason for its suspension.

The inquiry by the Senatorial Commission has demonstrated that there is no economic reason for suspending or curtailing Jewish immigration now.

Palestine has no unemployment problems.

The large stream of Jewish immigrants and Jewish capital has not only raised perceptibly the standard of living of the entire population. It has increased the capacity of the country to absorb more immigrants.

As for the Arab fear of an eventual Jewish majority, numbers of population need no determine control. Control can be maintained through implements of government regardless of numbers. Fear of subjection of Arabs to Jews and vice versa should be terminated by the establishment of a legislative council in which Jews and Arabs would have parity of elected representation.

5. The Arab demand for the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews, like that for the suspension of immigration, is political in nature.

The findings of the Senatorial Commission have clearly shown that there is no just economic ground for the stoppage of Jewish land purchases. No Arab landowner is obligated to sell his property to Jews. Moreover the government requires that Arab squatters must be provided with other grants before a deal for any tract of land is closed.

The Jews now own no more than 5 percent of the land of Palestine, although they form 30 percent of the population.

The members of the Commission were profoundly impressed by what the Jewish pioneers, hailing from the ghettos, have done with the barren and rocky and sandy soil of the Mold Land. They have elevated agriculture to the position of the leading industry of Palestine and raised the level of the Arab peasantry.

There is still enough cultivable land in the country to take care of several hundred thousand additional agriculturists.

6. The practical question, however, of finding an immediate refuge for the several million Jews who are forced to flee or to emigrate from their native lands can be solved, in the opinion of Senator Hastings, if Trans-Jordan were to be opened to Jewish immigration.

Trans-Jordan was originally comprehended in the area of Palestine covered by the Balfour Declaration, but was severed from present-day Palestine in 1922 and set up as a separate Arab kingdom under the supervision of the British High Commissioner for Palestine.

The Arab ruler of Trans-Jordan is understood to be eager for Jewish enterprise and settlement. His country is backward and sparsely populated, but potentially it offers opportunities for development just as great as Palestine on this side of the Jordan.

All friends of humanity will concur with the Senatorial Commission that it would be an act of great wisdom on the part of Great Britain to bring about a friendly arrangement between the Jews and the Arabs of Trans-Jordan.

The opening of the latter territory to Jewish immigration would relieve the tension in present-day Palestine.

It would be an act of justice in the face of the plight of millions of homeless Jews, which would gain for Great Britain the approbation of American public opinion and of the great civilized nations of the world.

At the same time, it would assure for her the additional prize of a greater and more prosperous Palestine, which would serve as a bulwark for peace and progress at the vital junction of the British Empire.

Mr. MEAD. Mr. President, I had intended to speak at great length on the concurrent resolution which is now before the Senate, but with permission to have printed in the Record at a later date my remarks, I shall merely invite the attention of the Senate to what I believe is its obligation at this particular time.

Any student of this question who will review its history must come to the conclusion that as a result of the enthusiastic embrace of the subject matter contained in the Balfour declaration, Britain was given the mandate over Palestine by the League of Nations, and that the mandate was confirmed later by a special convention which was acted upon by the Senate of the United States. The very terms of the mandate were made part and parcel of that convention. As a result of the convention, and by reason of our action in that connection, Britain was to make no change whatever without first consulting with us and securing our consent.

Mr. President, a review of the history concerning this subject will reveal the fact that Britain made many changes. It is my judgment that the whole matter is a sorry and sad story of diplomatic relations between the two countries, which a review of the subject will reveal.

One change which was made by the white paper was very objectionable, and



it was made without our consent. As a result, Mr. President, the mandate is no longer a mandate to facilitate Jewish immigration to Palestine. That is what it was intended for, but it is no longer that.

One of the subsequent changes put immigration on a restrictive quota basis. But the worst changes of all took place recently when that so-called homeland, as named in the Balfour declaration—one which we all hoped would be permanently created—was made the one place where Jewish immigration is not only to be restricted, but absolutely prevented and barred.

So, Mr. President, in view of the fact that we agreed in a solemn convention with Great Britain that no changes would be made without our consent, and in view of the fact that changes have been made, and made without our consent, I believe that we are wholly within our duty, in fact, it is my judgment that it is our obligation, to call this matter to the attention of Great Britain and register our protest.

Mr. President, I compliment my able colleague and other Senators who joined with him in bringing this concurrent resolution to the attention of the Senate. I hope that it will be agreed to by unanimous vote. At a later date I shall make further mention of my sentiments in connection with this subject.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the amendment of the Senator from Connecticut (Mr. HART).

The amendment was rejected.

Mr. WALSH. Mr. President, in view of the lateness of the hour and the extensive and able debate on the pending concurrent resolution, and having previously spoken on the subject, I shall merely ask, on behalf of myself and my colleague the junior Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. SALTONSTALL), that a telegram, which contains resolutions adopted by some of our constituents in Massachusetts, be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

BOSTON, MASS., December 17, 1945.  
Senator DAVID I. WALSH,  
Senate Office Building,  
Washington, D. C.

The following resolution has been unanimously adopted at the fifth annual meeting of the Associated Synagogues of Greater Boston, held at the Temple Mishkan Tefila schoolhouse, Roxbury, Mass., on December 16, 1945, composed of 10,000 families.

"Whereas the Jewish people, which has lost 6,000,000 of its number under Nazi tyranny, and has endured untold suffering for the past 2,000 years since it has been exiled from its national homeland; and

"Whereas the Jewish people, whose historic connection with and moral right to the land of Palestine has been recognized by the Balfour declaration issued by Great Britain and adopted by 52 nations of the world, including the United States; and

"Whereas this declaration has repeatedly received the approval of vast millions of the American people, the Congress of the United States in 1922, and every President of the United States from Woodrow Wilson up to Harry S. Truman: Be it therefore

"Resolved, that in keeping with the dictates of justice as set forth in Holy Writ, the Associated Synagogues of Greater Boston record themselves as being in favor of the immediate opening of the gates of Palestine to the Jews of Europe who are in desperate need of a home and have indicated their strong desire to emigrate to Palestine as testified by Dr. Earl O. Harrison, the president's personal envoy and Mr. Harvey Gibson of the American Red Cross. We believe that the establishment of an independent democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine will give an opportunity to the unhappy survivors of Nazi persecution to once again live their lives in freedom, happiness, and human dignity in the name of Almighty God. The Jewish people can be satisfied with nothing else."

We urge upon our Senators to vote for the resolution to be reported by the Foreign Relations Committee.

ABRAHAM CLORE, President.

Mr. MYERS. Mr. President, my colleague the senior Senator from Pennsylvania (Mr. CURRY), is absent on important public business, and I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Record a statement by him in support of Concurrent Resolution 44.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR JOSEPH P. CURRY, IN SUPPORT OF SENATE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION NO. 44

Mr. President, one of the greatest tragedies of the war in Europe was the persecution of the Jews, surpassing in violence all the pogroms of recorded history. When we read the record of primitive savagery and blood-lust we can only wonder how any survived. Yet thousands, somehow, did survive. By force of arms, we have liberated them from Nazi tyranny. But liberation is not enough. They are still homeless, still seeking some refuge where they can begin again.

That refuge can be made available. It is the purpose of this resolution to make it available. In recommending that the United States use its good offices to clear the way for free entry of Jews into Palestine, the resolution reaffirms an historic American policy. Nearly a quarter of a century ago we placed ourselves on record in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jews. Today the need for such a homeland is more urgent than ever before. President Truman has recognized that need, and has taken steps toward its fulfillment. We can do no less.

We are committed to a policy of international cooperation for maintenance of the peace. Many problems arise in which we, as one of the great powers, must raise our voice and exercise our influence. This is one of them. We cannot evade the responsibility. In simple justice, the least that we can do is to assist the homeless Jews of Europe, victims of the barbarity of Nazi Germany, that they will have some place in all the world where they can live in peace.

There is more involved here than the question of common humanity, although that looms large. There is the question of the rehabilitation of Hitler's victims, the restoration of an important part of Europe's people to full civic usefulness.

Much has been said on the other side of the question. But I submit, without considering or discussing these arguments in detail, that the safeguard of full religious liberty for all races and creeds, which you will agree is fully capable of enforcement, is adequate to meet these objections.

Solution of the Palestine question has been too long delayed. Because of that delay, many have suffered greatly. The suffering of those who have already lived for years

under the yoke of the oppressor with the stark knowledge that they were working to their death and danger of the question as rapidly as circumstances will permit. This resolution is part of the effort being made in that direction. I therefore urge every member of the Senate to give it full support, so that there may be no question of where America stands. We must stand, as we have always stood before, on the side of the oppressed. They beg for an opportunity to reestablish their lives. We cannot deny them that opportunity.

Let us act quickly. While we are delaying, thousands are needlessly dying.

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The question is on agreeing to the concurrent resolution. The concurrent resolution (S. Con. Res. 44) was agreed to. The preamble was agreed to.

#### LEAVE OF ABSENCE

The PRESIDENT pro tempore. The Clerk is in receipt of a letter from the Senator from Georgia (Mr. GEORGE) asking permission to absent himself from the Senate for the remainder of the present session. Without objection, leave is granted, and, without objection, the letter will be printed at this point in the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

UNITED STATES SENATE,  
December 14, 1945.

Hon. KENNETH McKEELAN,  
President pro tempore of the Senate,  
United States Senate,  
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: It is necessary for me to be absent from the Senate from Friday, December 14, to the end of the session, assuming that the Senate will recess the latter part of next week.

I will appreciate it if you will submit this request for leave of absence.

With great respect, I am,  
Sincerely yours,

WALTER F. GEORGE.

#### COMMITTEE SERVICE

Mr. WHITE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the junior Senator from Connecticut (Mr. HART) be excused from further service on the Special Committee of the Senate to Study and Survey the Problems of Small Business Enterprises. I may say that I do this with his full concurrence.

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

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. WAGNER. I move that the Senate proceed to consider executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGES REFERRED

The PRESIDENT pro tempore laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States submitting sundry nominations, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

(For nominations this day received, see the end of Senate proceedings.)

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. WALSH, from the Committee on Naval Affairs:



ערשטע שטאטער  
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# צוק רעזערוואציע

## בלויז איין סענאטאר'ס שטימע געהערט קעגן ציון באשלוס

וואשינגטאן, דעס. 17 (א.פ.א.) — דער סענאט האט דאס היינט אנגענומען די וואנער-פעס דעלאציע וועלכע איז ארעסטירט אין ישראל, מיט די פראצעדור פון סענאטאר סאם קאנעלי, וועלכע האט געהאלטן אין איין סענאט, און דער פאליטישער שטאט אין קעגן דער דעלאציע.

די דעלאציע איז אנגענומען געווארן דורך א היי-נער מערהייט, נאך דעם ווי עס איז דורכגעפאלן אן אפער-סענט פון סענאטאר סאם קאנעלי.

דער סענאט האט כמעט איינשטימט אנגענומען די דעלאציע, בלויז סענאטאר סאם קאנעלי איז געווען דער איין-צינער, וועלכע שטימט עס האט זיך געהערט קעגן דער דעלאציע.

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### SILVER CONDEMNS 'ABSURD' BRITISH

Scores Sending of Destroy-  
ers 'Against Refugees'

BY JOSEPHINE ROBERTSON

British imperialism has reached absurdity when it sends destroyers and whole divisions of men and tanks against defenseless refugees from Berlin and other Nazi concentration camps who are seeking sanctuary in Palestine, Rabbi A. H. Silver of the Temple said yesterday on his return from Palestine.

Rabbi Silver left Cleveland Nov. 23 to attend a meeting of executives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. He was one of three representatives from the United States. While there he visited the

graves of eight men and women killed and called on many wounded persons in hospitals who were victims in a British search for illegal immigrants.

"They were peaceful, completely unarmed members of agricultural settlements who were attacked by police and an armored division of British troops," Rabbi Silver said, "although they didn't fire a shot or use any violence."

#### Tension British Made

"Palestinian Jews are determined to give protection to Jewish refugees with or without certificates. All the trouble in Palestine reported by the press centers about the protection of such refugees. The tension there is British made. The British government is converting Palestine into a huge military base, not to preserve order but to protect the British imperial interest in the Middle East."

"The tension in Palestine is not between Jews and Arabs. They have found equilibrium. It is because Great Britain is keeping out refugees in violation of the terms of its mandate. Palestine will never consent to a system in which right of entry into the Jewish national homeland is denied to people who are otherwise doomed."

Rabbi Silver expressed the belief

that the Jews and the Arabs would get along peacefully if the British government would remove itself. He said that the noise-makers among the Arabs were not natives of Palestine but of Syria, Iraq or some other Arab state and that all anti-Jewish rioting by Arabs had been done outside Palestine.

He said that there was room for three millions more Jews in Palestine, but that only a million and a quarter needed entry.

Under the terms of the mandate Britain is to remain in authority until Palestine is capable of self-government, or until there is a Jewish majority, but Britain is blocking attainment of that majority in order to stay in control, Rabbi Silver asserted.

#### WASH. FAIRCHILD AS Base

"Britain will have to get out of Egypt," he said, "and is moving out of Syria. She wants Palestine as a base for consolidation of the Arab world against possible difficulties with the Russians. Anti-Zionism is a catalyst to bring this about. It is a decoy in the world of power politics."

"The ultimate solution of the Palestinian problem will be up to the United Nations. Palestine occupies only 10,000 square miles in an Arab area of 1,200,000 square miles."

"It would be a fine thing if the United States and Great Britain would go to the Arabs and say: 'We are ready to help you, improve your economy, raise your standard of living, set in motion great projects. But the Jewish people also need help. They need the national home that they have lacked through the centuries and that they were promised after the last war.' If an agreement could be made along such lines that would be real statesmanship."

דאן א. ה. סילבער  
דער טעמפל  
1050 N. 11th St.  
Cleveland 4 Ohio







Committee shall rise and report the same back to the House with such amendments as shall have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the concurrent resolution amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I am indeed gratified that the Members desire to consider the bill made in order by this resolution. So as not to delay its consideration, I shall use no further time unless the gentleman from Michigan wishes to be heard.

Mr. MICHENER. This is the Palestine resolution?

Mr. SABATH. This is a rule making that resolution in order.

Mr. MICHENER. Is it the understanding that if no time is taken on the rule the resolution will be explained by the Committee reporting it?

Mr. SABATH. Yes; except that I am obliged to make an observation, but I will be brief.

Mr. MICHENER. I hope that Committee will advise the House fully as to the attitude of the State Department on this most important piece of legislation touching this international subject.

I realize this is a concurrent resolution only and that it has no force or effect other than a moral one, but our country has always respected its moral commitments almost as much as it has its legal commitments.

I have no requests for time on this side, but I hope the matters I have suggested will be made clear to the House.

Mr. SABATH. I am satisfied they will be.

The Sixty-seventh Congress, on June 22, went on record as favoring the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine and providing that nothing be done to prejudice the religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities.

Every Member knows that I have abstained from, though I have been frequently urged, to speak on Palestine and on the unfortunate lot of the Jewish people of whom, as reported, nearly 6,000,000 have been ravaged, tortured, starved, and burned alive by the bestial, murderous "super-race" of Nazis. There are only about 1,250,000 Jews left in Europe, many of them still in camps on bare subsistence, and deprived of most of their belongings and their homes destroyed.

This resolution provides that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country but only to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities. Thus they would be given opportunity for colonization and development so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

This resolution really expresses the views and the sentiments and the desire of our President, who is now endeavoring to secure the entry of about 100,000 of these persecuted, suffering people into

their homeland. Within the last 35 years the Jews have turned the barren lands into extremely fertile soil by irrigation and have built modern cities and great institutions of science and learning. With extraordinary application and by hard work they have increased the value of all the surrounding property and lands, which are bound to inure to the benefit of the Arabs. Therefore, I cannot quite understand why there should be any opposition from them to the admittance of the Jewish people to what they consider their homeland, but, unfortunately, not only the Arabs but many Christian people have also from time to time shown, unjustifiably, their prejudice against them.

Have not the Jewish people given to the world the moral and ethical principles which are the foundation not only of their own religion but of Christianity itself? Have they not given the greatest Teacher for good, who advocated justice, charity, and brotherly love and whose teachings not only I, but the other Jewish people follow? In this country years ago there were some who charged that Jews controlled the international banking systems of the world, including the United States. That has been proven. I am sure, to be a falsehood, because that control is only about 5 percent. I know of only one outstanding banking institution in the United States in which there is Jewish participation and that is not controlled by Jews. That is the Kuhn, Loeb Co., which is controlled by Christians. That being disproved, now Jews have been charged by many unscrupulous bigots with being Communists. Surely they are not both financiers and Communists.

I fully appreciate that when they were driven from their fields and agricultural pursuits due to jealousy in years gone by and were herded into the ghettos, they were forced to devote themselves to commercial pursuits. This is the reason so many in this and other countries have not followed their cherished and much-loved agricultural pursuits. In years gone by discord and dissension have been propagated in various kingdoms to start anti-Jewish propaganda, but such is not the case in our beloved country. Why, then, do men try to utilize the Jew baiting and propaganda unless it is done to attain political and financial ends?

Mr. Speaker, knowing the membership as I do, I have the utmost confidence that the House will pass the resolution by an overwhelming and nearly unanimous vote.

(Mr. SABATH asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the resolution for the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, now under consideration, should receive the unqualified support of all the Members of the Congress.

It is indeed regrettable that it becomes necessary to even consider legislation of this kind. It is a sad commentary on the efforts to secure international peace that one of our major allies in the last war has seen fit to break its pledged word. Liberty loving people everywhere are surprised to find the new British

#### PALESTINE JEWISH HOMELAND

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 466 and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read 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 concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 113) relative to the opening of Palestine for free entry of Jews. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the concurrent resolution and shall continue not to exceed 1 hour to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, the concurrent resolution shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of the reading of the concurrent resolution for amendment, the Com-



But I am this provision in the conference report is most violent discrimination against the man who comes home and goes to work and asks for nothing except to get his uniform off and get back into civilian life.

Mr. KEARNEY. I cannot see any justice, Mr. Speaker, in paying the same amount under an adjusted-service-compensation bill to a man who served 90 days in a camp in this country as compared to one who has been in the front lines for months and years.

Mr. RANKIN. That is what you are doing, except that you are leaving out the man who comes home, strips off his uniform, and goes to work.

Mr. Speaker, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. SAVAGE).

Mr. SAVAGE. Is it not true that if a veteran is on compensation and is offered a job and refuses to take the job, he automatically is off the compensation roll anyway?

Mr. RANKIN. Yes; but that does not happen very often. But I will tell you what it is doing. All these servicemen working in those factories that are on strike are getting nothing from the Government, and will get nothing under this conference report. That is all because they have not built up their reserves, as they call it. But the man who has been working all the time gets his unemployment compensation pay. A serviceman must stand there and get nothing, and he will stand there and get nothing if this conference report is adopted. But if we paid this \$20 a week compensation to all men who served the required length of time, then these men would be getting theirs, whether they worked or not.

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield.

Mr. SCRIVNER. I notice in the conference report the section relating to education has been materially changed from the provisions originally in the educational feature in the Readjustment Act. I think one reason we have gone astray is because we do not call it by its proper title, which is the Serviceman's Readjustment Act. That is its purpose, to help them readjust themselves on their return. It was sold to the Congress and the American public on that premise, that we were taking every year a million or more young men of 18 years of age and depriving them of their opportunity to get an education. This was an attempt on our part under a system of readjustment to make them whole, as it were, and send them back to school with some maintenance so that those who wanted to could help themselves through. In this conference report all of that phraseology which said that they would be entitled to an education if it had been interfered with, impeded, or delayed, has been stricken out. The original bill said it would be automatically assumed that a man who went into the service under the age of 25 had had his education interfered with or impeded.

So to school whether his education was interfered with or not. My impression was that this was a bill for the benefit of veterans and not for the benefit of the educational institutions of this country.

Mr. RANKIN. That is right.

Mr. SCRIVNER. I would like an explanation from the chairman as to why that change was made in the conference.

Mr. RANKIN. Simply because we had a raid of college professors or college presidents. Somebody said this ought to be dubbed "the bill for the relief of college professors." They made a drive on us here to get that law changed. As a matter of fact, whether the conference report is adopted or not, the man who goes to college will get his expenses paid. If no adjusted compensation bill is passed in the future, it will make no difference to him. But if one is passed, my contention is he should be willing to have taken out of that pay which is given him by the Government at least a portion of the money that has been supplied in that way.

I yield to the gentleman from Alabama.

Mr. JARMAN. Therefore, since no Adjusted Compensation Act has been passed, the gentleman from Georgia is mistaken, is he not, in the belief that Congress is not keeping faith with that young boy who left college because the voting down of this conference report would not keep that boy from getting that education, would it?

Mr. RANKIN. No; he is being treated far better than the servicemen of the First World War were.

Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California (Mr. McDONOUGH).

Mr. McDONOUGH. With reference to the statement which has just been made, there is anticipated an adjusted compensation law because section 1505 anticipates that by its very wording. There should certainly not be any penalty imposed on the man who educates himself through the benefits under the bill so that he would have to pay for it out of any adjusted compensation bill later.

Mr. RANKIN. I appreciate the optimism of the gentleman from California, who is a new Member of the House. His argument shows it. A few years ago when I forced through my amendment to raise the base pay of the men in the armed forces to \$50 a month, I heard a similar argument. After the last war it was agreed by everybody in Congress that we owed the servicemen adjusted compensation. Do you know how long it took to get it? It took 17 years. We went through four elections and two depressions before they ever got that adjusted compensation.

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. RANKIN. I yield to the gentleman from Georgia.

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. As I understand, the gentleman from Iowa (Mr. COWMICHAM), and the gentleman from Mississippi (Mr. RANKIN), do not agree about the effect of taking section 1505 out of the bill. The gentleman from

him if he does not feel that if future bonuses are earmarked on this college education question it will tend to discourage vocational training and college education of the veteran in the future?

Mr. RANKIN. No. Besides it is not a bonus. It is adjusted compensation.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the conference report.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. RANKIN) there were—ayes 134, nays 23.

So the conference report was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.



Labor Government in agreement with the policy of the British white paper.

The new British Government was enthusiastic in its campaign pledges for a solution of the Palestine problem, and it is now appalling to learn that it has rejected its former promise for the re-establishment of Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

We Americans have little use for double talk—the apparent language of British international diplomacy.

The ruthless persecution of the Jews in Europe has aroused the sympathies of the American people. As every Member of Congress knows, this persecution has not been of recent origin, but has extended down through the generations. In spite of this persecution, the Jewish mind and heart has grown with deep-seated affection to Palestine, the home of Jewry and the birthplace of Christendom. It is time that the world aid this minority race to establish a permanent homeland. The hour has come when justice must be done, when oppressions cease, and the doors of Palestine be opened as a haven to the millions who seek its shelter.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration, 23 years ago, the Sixty-seventh Congress went on record to establish a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

America's mind has not changed, but it is unfortunate that on account of political causes Great Britain has done an about face. Unless the British Government sees fit to carry out its former promise, Palestine will become a community surrounded by a wall of politics without the just protection of the nations of the world.

When world leaders gather about a peace table to draw up articles which should protect the world against future wars, their agreements will indeed be shallow if the principles of independence, democracy, and justice regarding Palestine are not included.

The issue is not between Arabs and Jews in Palestine—it is a political issue between the rulers of the other nations surrounding Palestine, a question of maintaining the traditional balance of power in that region.

I hope and trust this resolution will be unanimously passed by the Members of the House.

Mr. D'ALESSANDRO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to congratulate the Committee on Foreign Affairs for reporting this Concurrent Resolution 113 to the House for action today. I appeal to the membership to pass this resolution, as it is high time that we fulfill our obligations.

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 whatsoever 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. 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 the 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.

Great Britain must not refuse to grant this request of our President for immigration certificates for these dying Jews of Europe.

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.

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, I intend to vote for the Flood resolution calling for free entry of Jews into Palestine. I call attention to the fact that this resolution does not propose a state which will exclude other parties which have a just claim to participate in the affairs of Palestine. The preamble of the resolution declares:

It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

I have studied at first hand as a member of the Wickersham committee, the plight of the pitiful remnant of displaced Jews in Europe, and I see in this resolution a means of providing them with a haven and refuge in which they can rebuild their shattered lives.

No one who has beheld the abject misery in which they were living in Europe during the midsummertime and knows how their suffering would be intensified by the rigors of wintertime, could hesitate for a moment in demanding for them a more tolerable existence.

That more tolerable existence is ready for them in Palestine. Within a few days I was transported to Palestine and saw there what these persecuted people might be enjoying if only immigration restrictions now enforced could be lifted at once.

The Flood resolution now before us demands that Palestine be opened to "free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development." From what I observed in Palestine, I am convinced that the same initiative and energy which raised Tel Aviv out of the desert sands can provide other Tel Avivs in other parts of Palestine.

Mr. ANGELL. Mr. Speaker, I am glad that we are having the opportunity to vote on House Concurrent Resolution 113. As long ago as 1922 the Sixty-sixth Congress unanimously passed the following resolution:

Resolved, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

We in the United States on numerous occasions have publicly evidenced our sincere wish and desire to do our utmost to provide a national home for Jewish people in Palestine. This resolution will be an evidence of our intention to do all within our power to bring that about. This resolution merely provides:

That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

Mr. Speaker, the brief statement set forth in the report of the committee definitely shows the merits of this resolution, from which I quote as follows:

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 113) relative to the opening of Palestine for free entry of Jews, having considered the same, report favorably thereon without amendment and recommend that the concurrent resolution do pass.

The plight of the Jews in Europe and the indefinite status of Palestine formed the subject of a number of resolutions introduced in recent years and referred to the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Your committee, while cognizant of the appointment of a joint Anglo-American committee of inquiry into the subject and while it commends the President for his interest in the matter, feels at the same time that it is appropriate and timely for the Congress to give expression to its views on the need for the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland.

Accordingly the Foreign Affairs Committee, by a unanimous vote, has decided to report favorably House Concurrent Resolution 113.

In the opinion of your committee the language of this resolution reflects a long series of authoritative expressions of American policy and the views of the American people on the subject of Palestine.

This policy and these views go back to January 21, 1919, when the following recommendation was made by the intelligence section of the United States delegation to the Paris Peace Conference:

"That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Peace Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact."

In harmony with this position, President Woodrow Wilson on March 3, 1919, declared:

"I am persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Pal-



time than he laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

In the course of recent years, this policy was repeatedly endorsed by numerous Members of Congress, notably in a petition addressed to the President of the United States on November 2, 1943, by 70 Members of the Senate and 194 Members of the House of Representatives, and, on July 2, 1943, by 54 Members of the Senate and 231 Members of the House of Representatives, as well as by the governors of 37 States.

This policy was also endorsed by the national conventions of the Democratic and Republican Parties meeting in Chicago in 1944.

It also received the personal endorsement of the late President Roosevelt on October 15, 1944, and, during the same week, of the Republican Presidential candidate, Mr. Dewey.

Passage of this resolution will also furnish the occasion for the Congress to express itself forthrightly on the horrible plight of the Jews of Europe, 5,700,000 of whom were victims of Hitler and his madmen, according to the indictment presented by the Allied War Crimes Commission. The war is over and the need for a Jewish homeland, where the Jewish survivors of these persecutions can live and breathe as free men and women, and where they can establish a free and democratic commonwealth is greater than ever. Your committee feels, therefore, that the time is at hand when the long-standing pledges to the Jewish people should be fulfilled.

Mr. Speaker, I hope that this resolution will receive the unanimous support of the House as a Christmas good-will offering on the part of the American people to help provide a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Mr. SABATH. Mr. Speaker, there being no further requests for time I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 113.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 113, with Mr. FOGARTY in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the concurrent resolution.

By unanimous consent, the first reading of the concurrent resolution was dispensed with.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I believe that all of the Members of the House are very well informed with reference to this concurrent resolution. It is exactly the same resolution that passed the Senate the other day with only one dissenting vote.

The gentleman from Michigan asked a question, and that is about the only thing I want to talk about at this time, and that was whether we received any report from the State Department regarding this matter. May I say to the gentleman and to the Members of the House that when it comes to a simple resolution of this kind that has no effect of law, we do not ask the State Department for its opinion regarding such resolution. It is merely an expression of the Members of the House with reference to

their ideas regarding the matter contained in the resolution.

The most important part of the resolution is that there should be permitted free entry of Jews into Palestine. The President has already requested of Great Britain that 100,000 Jews be permitted to enter Palestine immediately. That is the President's opinion and naturally the State Department takes its instructions with reference to our foreign policy from the President of the United States.

I would like to point out at this time that this resolution does not call for a Jewish commonwealth, a Jewish state, or anything of that kind which was included in previous resolutions that received the approval of the Congress. This resolution says only "a national home for the Jews." I would like to point out to the gentleman from Michigan that that is the law today. That is the same language is contained in the Balfour declaration; it is exactly the same language as contained in the treaty of 1924 between the United States and Great Britain. There is no difference in the wording of it at all.

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Michigan.

Mr. MICHENER. The thing I want understood, and I think the gentleman knows I inquired about it in the Rules Committee, is as to the attitude of the State Department in reference to this purely international matter which is of concern to the diplomats of the country and the President. I would like to have the gentleman tell the committee whether or not the State Department and the administration have expressed an opinion to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, so that if we vote for this resolution we are not rebuffing the administration and the State Department. Some dispatches appearing in today's paper would so indicate. Of course, the great Committee on Foreign Affairs would not bring a resolution before the House dealing entirely with foreign affairs, until that committee had at least consulted and knew the attitude of the State Department. I am asking for this information.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I think I have answered that, but I would like to say further to the gentleman, to give you an idea of how the Committee on Foreign Affairs acts in a resolution of this kind, that we did not get an opinion from the State Department on the Fulbright resolution, and that has been acclaimed all over the world as one of the greatest resolutions of its kind ever passed by the Congress. We never do that, and it never has been done before. This resolution is the law today because it is in the Balfour Declaration and in the Palestine mandate as well as in the treaty of 1923. That treaty specifically states that nothing in the treaty entered into between England and the United States can be changed without the consent of the Government of the United States. Now England has changed that treaty, and we say it is wrong. They have closed the gates of Palestine to the

Jews which is in express violation of the terms of the mandate and the convention between the United States and Great Britain.

The violation of the mandate is even more tragic in the light of the deplorable condition of the Jews of Europe who seek to go to Palestine in order to reconstruct their lives and in order to live as free men and women.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BLOOM. I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. I might say to my colleague the gentleman from Michigan (Mr. MICHENER) that he asked a question of me yesterday when I was before the Committee on Rules, and I thought I gave him from a legislator's angle a most satisfactory answer. I thought it was so satisfactory that the gentleman would not be prone to again ask the question today. Does the gentleman want me to give the House the answer I gave him yesterday?

Mr. MICHENER. Yes; because it was so indefinite. The gentleman said that he "assumed" that the State Department knew about it, but he had no definite information.

Mr. McCORMACK. There is nothing indefinite about it. I thought my answer to the gentleman was very frank and very specific and direct to the point. What I said to the gentleman yesterday was this, that I was unable to state what the State Department's position is, but from a legislator's angle there were certain facts from which we were justified in drawing deductions. The fact remains, as I said to the gentleman yesterday, that a resolution was introduced in the Senate. That is a fact. Nothing was heard from the State Department; at least, I have heard nothing. The fact is that the Senate committee considered it. We assume the State Department knew that fact; at least I did, and I assume they did. Nothing was heard. We know as a fact that the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs considered it, and they drafted this compromise resolution. That is another fact. Nothing was heard. We also know that the full committee reported it out. That is another fact. We also know that the Senate acted upon it. That is another fact. Those are all public facts from which we are drawing inferences. We also know as a fact that the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. FLOOP) introduced a resolution in the House. I think nobody will contradict the fact that the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House has held hearings. That is another fact. I think nobody will contradict the fact that they reported the resolution out. That is another fact.

I do not want to overwhelm the gentleman with facts, but I have a few more. The Committee on Rules held a hearing yesterday. We can all draw inferences from that that the State Department is aware of those facts. I have heard nothing from the State Department. The inference I draw from that is, with all those established facts, that the State Department was overwhelmed with the



justice of the case, which they ought to be, for they had no opposition to the passage of this resolution. At least, as a legislator I have no evidence from the State Department which I must consider, and that being so, I have no evidence with plenty of facts from which we can draw the inference that, if the State Department has any facts in opposition to this resolution, that they would communicate them to the leadership of the House, and no such facts have been communicated.

Mr. MICHENER. Possibly I am a little direct.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further for the moment. I do not want the other side to use all my time.

Mr. MICHENER. I appreciate that the gentleman has control of the time.

Mr. BLOOM. I have the floor. I am going to yield, but I want to find out what is happening to my time. Mr. Chairman, may I ask how much time has been consumed, because the other side has been using all of my time.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from New York has consumed 10 minutes.

Mr. BLOOM. Now, I shall be very glad to yield.

Mr. MICHENER. All I wanted to say was this: Possibly I am a little direct. The State Department is a part of the executive branch of the Government. It is charged with the duty of making our foreign bargains and conducting our foreign affairs. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs usually consults with the State Department.

Mr. BLOOM. No, Mr. Chairman, I refuse to yield further.

Mr. MICHENER. If it does not, it should, and the House should know it. If this committee refuses to tell the House how its own State Department feels on this matter, then I think we ought to vote down this resolution until we have that information.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I do not like the gentleman from Michigan to make the statement that the Committee on Foreign Affairs is doing something or has been doing something it should not have done. I say that on concurrent resolutions of this kind the State Department is not asked for its opinion. I take as an example the Fulbright resolution. The State Department was not asked for an opinion on the Fulbright resolution. We do not ask for opinions when it comes to a simple resolution that does not become a law. This is merely an expression of opinion, which the House is entitled to make. That has been the rule and the custom of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I do not think it is proper for the gentleman from Michigan even to suggest that the Committee on Foreign Affairs has done something or is doing something that is not regular.

Furthermore, this resolution is on all fours with what the President of the United States has suggested, that Palestine should be immediately opened for 100,000 Jews to meet the emergency in Europe today. Further, the language of the resolution is exactly the same as the law made by a treaty signed by Presi-

dent Coolidge in 1924 with Great Britain, which includes verbatim the Palestine mandate. The mandate specifically states what is in this resolution.

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield for a question?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; I am delighted to yield to the gentleman from Connecticut.

Mrs. LUCE. I am informed that when a similar resolution was reported out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs a year ago and then sent to the Committee on Rules the State Department and the War Department were consulted as to their views, and that they said then that they disapproved of the resolution, and it was then tabled. Why was no such similar course of inquiry followed this time by the Rules Committee?

Mr. BLOOM. I will yield to the gentleman from Illinois, the chairman of the Committee on Rules, to answer the question.

Mr. SABATH. May I answer the gentleman from Connecticut by saying that after the Committee on Foreign Affairs reported that resolution last year, I think it was—and it was a stronger resolution; there were provisions in there that this resolution does not contain—I received word from Secretary of State Stettinius and General Marshall, and even from the White House, that they thought it would be wise at that particular time not to report the resolution, although the Committee on Rules was in favor of and ready to report it, as the gentleman knows. When that information came to me, and I received word that we should delay its consideration, I did not grant a rule because I believed then and I believe now, my country first above anything else. I yielded to the request and no action was taken. But this is a different resolution.

Mrs. LUCE. Is the gentleman saying that the present resolution is meaningless?

Mr. SABATH. I am merely explaining that I had no request or statement from the State Department nor from the Secretary of War or the White House that they were opposed to this resolution. If they had been opposed, I know that they would have notified me the same as they did on the last resolution. Have I made myself clear?

Mrs. LUCE. Quite clear.

Mr. BLOOM. I would like to explain further to the gentleman that there was no request made to the Committee on Foreign Affairs at that time. At that time after it was reported out by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, please remember that that resolution called for a Jewish commonwealth. There was a great deal of discussion as to what a Jewish commonwealth really meant and how it would operate. After we reported this resolution out of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, we went to the Committee on Rules. In the meantime, General Marshall and Secretary Stettinius went before the Senate committee and stated they preferred at that time not to have the resolution acted upon.

Mr. SABATH. We were at war at that time.

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; we were at war at that time. There is no emergency now of any kind.

Mrs. LUCE. Will the gentleman yield for one further question?

Mr. BLOOM. Yes; certainly.

Mrs. LUCE. I would like it to be quite clear that I am for this resolution, but it is a most troublesome matter for those of us who are for it as a matter of principle and what seems to us justice and decency in racial relations to hear the rumor current all through Washington that the State Department and the War Department still think that a political crisis exists in the Near East which this resolution will aggravate, why is there presently no word from either the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House or of the Senate which would really clarify the point of view of the State Department?

Mr. BLOOM. May I say to the gentleman from Connecticut that perhaps there is a lot of rumor as the gentleman says. But I have never heard of it. But it is a fact, not a rumor, that hundreds of Jews, millions of Jews in Europe today have no place to go. The only place they can go where there is no doubt that they will be safe is Palestine. Palestine is where they are wanted and where they will be welcomed.

Mrs. LUCE. That was equally true last year.

Mr. BLOOM. Now, if we want to help these poor Jews who are dying and being murdered today in Europe, about which there is absolutely no question—I know it to be a fact—this resolution might do some good. If England is closing the gates of Palestine the same as it is doing today and these Jews have no other place to go, it is our duty to at least express our opinion that these Jews should be permitted to go to Palestine where they have a right to go and where the law says they have a right to go according to our treaty. I have studied this question and I have kept quiet on this floor many, many times when I wanted to speak. But I know now that this is the only decent thing we can do, to at least express our opinion that these poor Jews who are being murdered now throughout Europe shall have an opportunity to go to Palestine in order that their lives may be saved. That is what I have to say on this resolution. This is the law as expressed in the treaty between Great Britain and the United States. The law was enacted in order that Palestine could be a haven for distressed Jews.

Mrs. LUCE. I am in complete accord with the gentleman.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. Does the gentleman have any assurance that these unfortunate Jews who will be sent to Palestine will not be murdered by the Arabs?

Mr. BLOOM. Well, Mr. Chairman, of all the ridiculous statements I have ever heard here, that is one of them. We are taking that chance. Are you going to vote against the resolution?

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I am for the resolution but I would like to have the assurance that it will not cause these Jews to be treated no better than they are at the present time.



Mr. BLOOM. Are you going to vote against this resolution because while you want to save the Jews you are afraid they may be killed by the Arabs? We will take that chance. You let us alone. The Jews of Europe, the people most concerned, are willing and eager to take that chance.

Mr. BENNETT of Missouri. I saw in the papers where the gentleman wanted to send the armed forces of the United States over there.

Mr. BLOOM. That is not true. You know it is not true. That is not true.

Mr. Chairman. I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Oklahoma (Mr. WICKERSHAM).

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, prior to the time a group of us Congressmen went to several foreign countries, especially to Palestine and the Arabian countries, Iraq, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon, Egypt, and these Arab-occupied countries, I signed the Zionist petition, but today, after seeing first hand and knowing the conditions as I do, I absolutely would not; not only in the interest of the United States but in the interest of the Jews themselves.

The Jews in Germany, Poland, and in other occupied countries today are receiving better attention than the civilians there. In the face of the shortage of housing facilities in Palestine and lack of an understanding with the Arabs, they cannot improve their condition by going to Palestine at this time, antagonizing those countries where it is estimated there are from forty to seventy million Arabs; 1,350,000 Arabs in Palestine alone, compared to 650,000 Jews there. They are endangering not only national unity but their own lives. It is something that should not happen. Many of the Members who have advocated this who, like myself, are good friends of President Roosevelt, have not quoted what he said. Neither of the Presidents have advocated anything like this resolution, without the consent and the agreement of the Arabs. If you want to throw dynamite into nitroglycerin, just pass this resolution.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Is it not a fact that President Truman has also suggested that a hundred thousand Jews should go into Palestine?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. By and with the consent of the Arabs.

Mr. BLOOM. Did the gentleman read this resolution? We have conditions in this resolution.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. But this is predicated on the assumption that our President favors it.

Mr. BLOOM. Will the gentleman yield further?

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Yes; I yield.

Mr. BLOOM. Does not the gentleman think that we Jews ought to know what is best for us? We have investigated. I want to say to the gentleman that I have evidence that Jews in Poland today are being killed just the same as they were in the war. The Jews in Germany are not living as well as the gentleman says.

has said there was not any evidence of any danger in Palestine. After we came back, I pointed out the danger that was likely to occur in Palestine, and since then there has been a great deal of bloodshed. If you run over the Arabs in this manner, you will have more.

This can be handled in a proper manner, by mutual agreement with the Arabs in Palestine, and the Jews, and you would not have any trouble. Not knowing the conditions, you cannot judge them unless you see them over there. I am telling you again you are putting your own people in a precarious situation by adopting this resolution. Our own servicemen may be called to Palestine to settle the controversy. Few people in the United States realize the great importance of the great oil fields located in six or eight countries of the Arabic world. The future peace and economic security of the world may rest with those who have control of the oil valves of this vast area which has a proven oil capacity of 5,000,000,000 barrels, and an estimated probable reserve of twenty to fifty billion barrels. American interests hold operating leases and option contracts running to the year 2000. The American and British oil companies control another large portion of the area. At the time the leases were obtained, other countries, including Japan, France, Holland, Germany, and others were bidding for same. The oil is so strategically located that it may actually become the determining factor of future wars or peace. Please refer to our committee's report made on the floor of this House October 15, 1945.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Oklahoma has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I should like very much to have both parties stop bluffing the Jewish people and bluffing the country. I think we have before us today a resolution that is fair. It is not binding but expresses the sense of Congress that wants justice for the Jewish people. I feel it will do no harm. The Jews certainly will be no worse off than they are today. I believe it will help the situation. If the Members will read the resolution, it provides on page 11:

Establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

Certainly, nothing could be more fair than that, and I do not think the Arabs can object to establishing Palestine as a democratic commonwealth. I think testimony before our committee by the Arabs proves that they did object to an entirely Jewish commonwealth.

I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts that if the President of the United States and the State Department and the Army and Navy wanted us not to pass this resolution, they would have told us. Certainly, Mr. Chairman, they should tell us if they have them. There is not any danger in it to this country. Time and time again they have asked us not to pass legislation because the security and the safety of the country were at stake. I believe they would tell us

message if he objected.

I hope, Mr. Chairman, that the resolution will pass. The Jewish people really have suffered untold tortures during the past years. We should try to do something for them.

The testimony before our committee pointed to the fact that not so many Jews would enter Palestine, but it is a place where they can go if they wish and where, in my opinion, they should go. I hope the resolution will pass.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Nebraska (Mr. MILLER).

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, I am in favor of this resolution and feel it should be adopted. In view of the discussion as to whether the State Department and the President concurred in this resolution I think the committee should have the following information, and I quote from page 12349 of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD of December 17, a statement made by the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the other body. He said:

Mr. President, the point I am making, I will say to the Senator from New Jersey, is that the President of the United States does not want this resolution adopted. He so told the Foreign Relations Committee—not in person, but he told me over the telephone and authorized me to tell the committee, and I did tell the committee what he said.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I cannot yield further, I am very sorry. Too many members of the committee have asked for time.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. But the gentleman from Massachusetts gave me a minute, and my time has not expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. I did not realize the gentleman's time had not expired.

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Let me finish the quotation. The balance of his statement reads:

He stated, "I do not regard adoption of the resolution as advisable. I do not want to see any sort of resolution adopted until the Commission can conduct its inquiry and submit its report." I reported that to the committee.

The distinguished senior Senator, Mr. COWLEY, also stated:

The Secretary of State appeared before the committee and testified that the resolution ought not to be adopted, and that it was not wise, and that he opposed it.

It seems the House Committee on Foreign Affairs failed to call the State Department. I do feel, in spite of the opinion of the State Department, that this resolution should be approved, and I will vote for its adoption.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself 1 minute.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Massachusetts is recognized for 1 minute.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I may say to the gentleman from Nebraska that if the President of the United States did not want us to pass this legislation he certainly should have told the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House or the chair-



man of the Rules Committee. It was a very simple and easy thing to do.

Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from New York (Mr. WADSWORTH).

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, it is with a good deal of hesitation and trepidation that I rise at this time to express some views upon the Palestine situation, not merely upon this resolution.

The mandate was originally entrusted to Great Britain by the League of Nations and also by ratifying action of the United States as primarily a humanitarian program. As such it was doubtless welcomed by people all over the world. That the people of the Jewish faith in Europe have suffered in ghastly fashion there can be no doubt whatsoever. It makes one's heart ache to hear what they have gone through. That they are in need of relief or a refuge where they can find relief there can be not the slightest doubt.

I have stood willing to support any measure which would bring relief to them whether it be in Palestine or elsewhere, and I am still ready to do so. I have been deeply concerned, however, in recent months at noting that the original objective of this movement has in effect been superseded to a considerable degree by another objective, and that objective is political. I cannot boast of intimate knowledge of the political situations in the Near East. However, I cannot resist attempting to cast my view ahead down through the years. I would not make this attempt were it not for the fact that in recent months it has been announced again and again by a large number of proponents of this and similar resolutions that in addition to the humanitarian objective they are aiming toward a political objective, that is, the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish state. I see that repeated time and again in advertisements, but it was more definitely cleared up in the hearings held before the Foreign Affairs Committee on this particular resolution the other day when in response to questions, some of them put by myself, the representative of the great movement here in the United States in support of this and similar resolutions admitted that ultimately it was their intention to bring about the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine. There is your political objective. Relief having been accomplished the intention will persist in the hearts of these people to establish such a state. Indeed, a leader of the movement who is its agent in Palestine has already stated that the term "national Jewish home" is synonymous with Jewish state.

Why is it that I am concerned about this? And here I realize, Mr. Chairman, that I am treading, perhaps, on delicate ground. In this country a person of the Jewish faith is an American citizen first and I hope to heaven he will always be regarded as such. He is entitled to his belief in his own religion and no one should ever interfere with it; but he is first an American citizen in our eyes.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman three additional minutes.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Chairman, I hope and pray that that same state of affairs shall finally exist all over the world. It has existed in some countries, the United States and Great Britain for example, and with certain exceptions in the western European democracies. It has not existed in other countries, some of which call themselves civilized.

Frankly, the thing I dread about this political objective is that if it is attained it will tend to segregate people of the Jewish faith away from their neighbors and, perhaps, furnish fuel to that stupid, unforgivable, horrible thing known as anti-Semitism. I do not want to see those who are obsessed with that idea, and it does exist, we might just as well admit it, to our dismay, I repeat, I do not want those who are obsessed with that hideous prejudice to have an additional peg upon which to hang their hats.

I say that the establishment of a separate Jewish state will tend to further segregate the Jewish people all over the world from their neighbors. That is the thing that has been in my mind for several months. And I would feel much happier about this whole Palestine situation if the proponents of this resolution and especially the Zionists would drop their political objectives. There, I fear, is the dynamite.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. FOLGER. I ask the gentleman if that is not indicated by the language of the resolution itself, which in part reads:

For colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home.

It is not far from that to state, is it?

Mr. WADSWORTH. It is on the border line.

Mr. FOLGER. And dangerous withal itself, along the line the gentleman has pointed out.

Mr. WADSWORTH. If we are perfectly candid about it.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has again expired.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself half a minute.

In answer to the gentleman from New York, I do not want the Members to think that this is something new that we are talking about, because on March 1, 1919, President Wilson declared:

I am persuaded that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth.

That is nothing new. They have always spoken of that since the time of the Balfour Declaration up to the present time, and that has nothing to do with his resolution at all.

(Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 5 minutes to the gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. MARTIN).

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I rise to support the resolution.

I am sorry, as indeed everyone must be, that we do not have clear information as to the position of the State Department and the Executive. From the fact they have not said anything about it, either one way or the other I must interpret their silence as being favorable to the resolution. Certainly the administration, if it was opposed, it had a duty to say so plainly. That is an obligation because the administration should know about our foreign trends and they should not fail to keep Congress advised. So I must conclude the administration is in favor of this resolution although for some reason or other it is strangely reticent. This is unusual reticence because they have not failed to give us plenty of advice in the past.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina.

Mr. FOLGER. Did the gentleman not hear read the statement of a gentleman in the other body to the effect that he had been specifically told that they did not want this resolution?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I also heard that statement contradicted by the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I yield to the gentleman from Oklahoma.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. In view of the fact that there is a 20,000,000,000 to 50,000,000,000 barrel oil reserve in these Arab countries of 40,000,000 people, does not the gentleman think the future economy and peace of the world are tied up in it in that whoever controls that oil valve over there controls the peace and economy of the country in the future?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I am not getting into any discussion about the oil rights in the Near East. That is a question by itself.

Mr. WICKERSHAM. That is important.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I am for this resolution because I believe it is right. I believe these poor, unfortunate, persecuted, oppressed Jewish people must have some place where they can find peace and security. We in the United States for the last 25 years have on many occasions recorded our belief in permitting Jewish settlement in Palestine. I am supporting the resolution also because it was incorporated in the Republican platform in 1944. Our party recorded itself definitely in favor of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.

I hope that this resolution will be adopted. It is only, as anyone can readily see, a recommendation to the President that this great humanitarian objective shall be brought about. The final responsibility is, of course, with the President.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Is it your idea that this is simply carrying out the commitment England made 25 years ago?



Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. It is trying to put into effect the promises that the Jewish people have had since the last World War. It was originally promised by Great Britain in the Balfour Declaration.

Mr. JOHNSON of California. A specific commitment was made by England, was it not, that the Jews would be allowed to go in there?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. The Balfour Declaration was a definite commitment for a Palestine home for the Jews. No one can dispute that.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. I yield.

Mr. LESINSKI. I agree with the gentleman that we owe the Jews something. There is one exception that I want to make, and that is to the statement by the chairman of the committee that Jews are being killed in Poland and Germany. I believe that is a misstatement.

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. May I say to the gentleman that I do not know about that. However, as long as Poland has been mentioned, I want to express my conviction that I would like to see a little more justice to the Polish people, too. Certainly there is room for more consideration for our gallant Polish allies—allies who stoutly fought on during the darkest days of the war.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. CANFIELD).

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I saw the extermination factories at Buchenwald. It was there they gave the Jews the works. They died by the thousands. I also saw on the Continent of Europe thousands and thousands of displaced persons, most of them Jews, looking for homes. I hope in the name of suffering humanity that during this Christmas period the House will stand firm for this resolution.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Chairman, I favor the passage of this resolution because it expresses clearly the intent and purpose of this Congress on a very controversial question which has been before us for a long time. The Jewish people are entitled to the assurance of this Congress that we favor action by the British Government to conform with the terms of the Balfour resolution which has too long been sidetracked. When we pass this resolution we are providing a haven for thousands of Jewish people in Europe who have no place to go and who desire to be reunited with their relatives and friends from whom they have long been separated.

#### A CONGRESSMAN'S CHRISTMAS MESSAGE

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Chairman, nearly 2,000 years ago a child was born in a manger. The birth of Christ Jesus meant the same thing to the shepherds, to the wise men and to Mary and Joseph that this sacred event means to us in these far distant times. It meant—and it means today—simply this: Peace on earth, good will to men.

It has been to the eternal sorrow of the world that the beauty and the truth

of the Christmas message has been imprisoned in the hearts of men even as, through centuries and through eons, the power to move the universe has been imprisoned within the atom. This Christmas is the first Christmas in 5 years when this country of ours has not been engaged in war. Many of our boys will be at home. Many more will live only in the waking and sleeping thoughts of their loved ones. In either case, the responsibility is ours. We must make ourselves the protons of our God, break through the atomic shell that imprisons the enduring truths which were born with Christ and which are Christ, so that "the peace that passeth all understanding" will be released for all men, all women, all children on every continent. It is our privilege, at Christmas, 1945, to contribute—as earlier generations have never been able to contribute—to the universal cause of peace and righteousness for which Christ was born, for which He lived, and for which He died.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from New Jersey (Mr. HAND).

Mr. HAND. Mr. Chairman, in view of the confusion which has prevailed, I would like to ask the distinguished chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs one specific question, if he will answer it, and that is whether or not he can state to this committee that the Chief Executive is in favor now of the passage of this resolution.

Mr. BLOOM. Oh, I hope I did not give the impression that the President is in favor of this resolution. But I did say that the President has asked England and requested England repeatedly to permit 100,000 Jews to go to Palestine.

Mr. HAND. I understand that, Mr. Chairman, and I would like to assure the chairman that I am thoroughly in favor of this resolution. But can you answer my question yes or no?

Mr. BLOOM. I do not speak for the President at all. I do not know what the President thinks about it.

Mr. HAND. You cannot answer the question in any way? You cannot answer the question?

Mr. BLOOM. I cannot answer it. I do not know anything about it at all.

Mr. HAND. I thank the chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New Jersey has expired.

(Mr. SMITH of Ohio addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 1 minute to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. EBERHARTER).

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Chairman, I strongly favor the passage of this resolution at this time.

Before the passage of this resolution by the other body, I introduced a resolution in the House containing exactly the same provisions, word for word. I think it would be in line with the promises we have made for the last 20 years to pass this resolution, to bring all the effort we can to alleviate the conditions of these oppressed people. I think we would be derelict in our duty if we did not declare to the world that it is our

carry out the promises that were made in the Balfour Declaration, in the treaty that was made, and in the repeated resolutions that were passed by this Congress, regardless of practical considerations which might be brought in about other interests from an economic standpoint.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. EBERHARTER) has expired.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from New York (Mr. KEARNEY).

(Mr. KEARNEY asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

(Mr. KEARNEY addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I yield 4 minutes to the gentleman from Connecticut.

(Mrs. LUCE asked and was given permission to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. LUCE. Mr. Chairman, the most sickening aspect of what is called western Christian civilization, which extends from our Pacific shores to those borders where the Soviet Union begins, is the mass hypocrisy that prevails within it on the subject of racism. National and international hypocrisy—and to some measure each of us is implicated—on the question of Jews, Negroes, and other racial and religious minorities, of all the stench that rise from this earth, is undoubtedly the greatest stench in the nostrils of God.

Now the Members who are voting against this resolution today give, in general, two reasons for their course of action. Their sincerity I certainly do not question, though I think they are wrong.

First, they say that they fear the passage of this resolution will make political trouble, leading to the necessity for our military intervention in the Near East.

In giving this reason for the basis of their vote, are they not playing the game of which we have all been guilty at some time or other in this House, of being rostrum secretaries of state and cloak-room generals?

Indeed, I agree with those who claim here that if the State Department and the War Department felt that the passage of this resolution would put an eventual burden on American arms, or a serious strain on our relations with the Arab and other nations of the Near East, they would have clearly so notified the Foreign Affairs Committees of the Congress, in writing. To say that they are in reality against this resolution, but have failed to testify to their disapproval openly and on the record, is, in effect to accuse the State Department of being either uncertain of the international implications of this resolution or of being afraid to speak up against it, lest it cost the administration Jewish votes in the next election. I do not like to believe that the State Department is either guilty of indecision or ignorance of the repercussions this resolution must have in the Near East, nor do I feel we should accuse it of



political pandering for Jewish votes, just because its position today on this legislation is obscure. I prefer to believe its silence gives sincere assent to this resolution.

The second reason given here today for voting against this bill is that its passage will be bad for the Jews; that it will eventually aggravate anti-Semitism in the Near East, and abroad. That may be as it may be, but there are hundreds of thousands of Jews who would rather live in Palestine, live and breathe and eat and sleep and work there, and be badly thought of abroad, than to die as they will do, if they do not get there, and be thought a little better of. No doubt there are those like the gentleman from New York who sincerely believe that the attempt to create a homeland in Palestine will create more anti-Semitism, and for that reason are against this resolution for the sake of the Jews. But anti-Semitism will not be abated by the mere solution of the Palestine question, one way or another. Those who wish to think ill of the Jews will always be zealous in their search of reasons, and reasons will never be lacking, for there is no race on this earth which has not given cause for offense to other races, as there is no individual within a race who does not often give cause to his brother to dislike him. We are all of us, individuals, nations, and races, devilishly apt in finding reasons to praise ourselves and to belittle others.

The tragic result of such thinking is the disastrous belief that every man is his brother's enemy, no nation is a peaceful nation but a defeated or enthralled one, and in this instance that no Jew is a good Jew but a dead one. Some people who feel that way will express it in more diplomatic language. They will seize upon the opinion that to give the Jews in Europe sanctuary or a homeland in Palestine will fan the fires of anti-Semitism and, expressing a desire to save Jews, condemn great numbers of them to homelessness, persecution, and death.

It is high time that we in America were brutally honest with ourselves about this Jewish question. There are only three things that we can do about the Jews.

First, we can, if we will, open our immigration doors to the Jews by establishing a quota for America of suffering European Jewry, and then let this number come to our country. Other nations can do what they wish about their quotas—if any. But our consciences will then be satisfied that we really do care about saving Jewish lives. To speak without acting is simply to massage our sore consciences with meaningless humanitarian utterances.

Or second, we can, if we will, insist that by diplomatic measures our administration must find a place of refuge for the Jews in Europe or in Africa, or in the place they prefer, which is Palestine, and then guarantee their right to this place, if necessary, by force of arms.

The Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Mr. Bloom) seemed indignant when it was suggested by some Member on this floor that he had said America should guarantee, by force of arms, the commonwealth sought by this resolution in Palestine.

Now, if the spirit of this resolution be right and humane and just, and if it proposes a solution to this question of which this whole Congress sincerely approves, then this Congress and this Nation should be prepared to back its approval to the utmost. I do not believe that there would be the slightest danger of war in the Near East, if the will of America in this question were firmly expressed and firmly upheld. What makes the situation in the Near East explosive is our lack of firmness and our failure to uphold our will. We talk hot for Palestine and blow cold the minute we are challenged to prove that we mean it. Is it any wonder that we are creating, with our hot talk and cold actions, a situation in that part of the world which gives joy to our enemies, who claim that we are hypocritical in all our democratic promises, and grief to our friends who have believed them, and that leaves all the peoples of that part of the world in turmoil and uncertainty? The Near East is, and always has been, an international tinderbox, but if and when the flames of riots or war break out there the wind that will fan them to a holocaust will be the wind of hypocrisy on the Palestine question. There will never be peace in the Near East until the Palestine problem is settled. Let us settle it in a manner worthy of a great idealistic nation, according to our consciences, firmly and without diplomatic equivocation and double talk.

Should we have to make some small display of American arms to prove that we meant it? I do not think we should ever need to do so. But let us reflect that American equipment—equipment marked "made in America"—is being used today in Java to shoot down the natives there who are seeking their independence. When are we going to get around to keeping to the dispirited peoples of the world the high promises made in the Atlantic Charter? Shall we make more promises to the ears of suffering Jewry with this resolution, and break it to their hearts the minute it looks as though the promises we give are going to be the slightest bit troublesome? Far better to make no promises at all.

For there is a third thing we can do about the Jews—we can let them die and wash our hands of their immemorial and current tragedy, simply because we think that it is to our national interest not to become involved for their pitiful sakes, with more powerful peoples in the Near East. But the one thing we dare not do, as an honorable Christian nation, or Congress, is to weep crocodile tears over the cruel fate we have then helped to seal for them.

I hope that this resolution will not be considered as some seem to feel, a pious but meaningless gesture, which will soothe our consciences but commit us to nothing; a resolution which, in the words of many, "can do no harm, and may catch or hold some Jewish votes." I hope it will pass and mean what it promises—a permanent homeland for suffering Jewry.

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Chairman, I believe this resolution will pass. I deplore in our own country any

anti-this or anti-that or anti-the-other. I believe that the passage of this resolution will not make people anti-Jewish. It will hold out and give a haven of refuge and of peace to the Jewish people. I remind the House that the Prince of Peace, whose birthday we commemorate next Tuesday, was a Jew. I believe it will pass and I hope unanimously.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California (Mr. HOLIFIELD).

Mr. HOLIFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I rise in support of this resolution.

(Mr. HOLIFIELD asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from North Carolina (Mr. FOLGER).

(Mr. FOLGER addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

(Mr. FOLGER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. BIEMILLER).

(Mr. BIEMILLER addressed the Committee. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix.)

(Mr. BIEMILLER asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield such time as he may desire to the gentleman from California (Mr. DOYLE).

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, relying upon the wisdom and stanch patriotism of the distinguished chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee of this House in his matter, insofar as its present status with the State Department is concerned, I am for the passage of this resolution now.

There is no time like the present for appropriate expressions of good will, good faith, tolerance, and understanding of the problems of minority groups or peoples.

The Balfour paper, the treaty of 1925, these form a documentary foundation for the hopes and aspirations of these peoples. But what good is an international paper if it is treated as though it did not exist.

This resolution is not in effect a law when passed. It is only the sincere, clear, expression of the American Congress for the hearts and heads of the American people.

The Senate yesterday passed the self-same wording with only one negative vote. We should not do less with so few Members on the floor to vote at this late hour.

(Mr. DOYLE asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I yield one-half minute to the gentleman from Illinois (Mrs. DOUGLAS).

Mrs. DOUGLAS of Illinois. Mr. Chairman, I also have seen the poignant conditions of this stateless people who have suffered most keenly from the Nazi terror and the urgency of their need. I



cannot believe we can quibble over such a homeopathic resolution as this, which surely can do no harm but may, in expressing our sympathy, do some good.

**Mr. BLOOM.** Mr. Chairman, I yield the balance of my time to the gentleman from Massachusetts the majority leader [Mr. McCORMACK].

**Mr. McCORMACK.** Mr. Chairman, as I have sat here and listened to the argument on this resolution, the technicalities advanced by some of my friends, and their mental ingenuity in opposition to this meritorious and humane resolution have amazed me. With all due respect to my distinguished friend the gentleman from New York [Mr. WASWORTH], it is very difficult for me to follow him, and I invariably do in his reasoning, to the extent that he advanced today that the passage of this resolution, and assuming that later there were established a Jewish state in Palestine, would increase anti-Semitism. It is rather difficult for me to follow also my friend the gentleman from Oklahoma [Mr. WICKESHAM] in the brief observations he made. As far as the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. SMITH] is concerned, there are several observations he made which I believe the historical facts leading up to this resolution contradict. He said, "This is not the time to press for action." That is what we heard a year ago. He said, "Why rush this through?" This is not being rushed through. Resolutions in various forms have been before the committees of both branches of the Congress for at least a year and this is only the culmination of a history going back over a year of efforts along this line. Furthermore, the resolution has been considered by the Senate committee. Everybody knows about it. Certainly it was carried extensively in the newspapers. I was conversant with it and I knew of the action of the subcommittee and the full committee.

The gentleman also said that the President has appointed a committee and we should wait for the report of that committee. The President himself has not said that, so far as 100,000 unfortunate Jews of Europe going into Palestine is concerned. The appointment of the American members of the Anglo-American commission was made with the understanding that the President would press his efforts in relation to trying to get 100,000 unfortunate Jews into Palestine. I know that. That was carried in the newspapers, but I know it myself from direct conversations I have had.

**Mr. Chairman,** we have got to look to the substance of this resolution and get away from the technicalities of it. Now, looking at the substance of it, what do we find? We find that 6,000,000 people have been killed during the last 4 years because of the accident of birth. It is only the act of God that none of us, outside of those American Jews who are Members of Congress, were born of Jewish blood. Through accident of birth 6,000,000 people were exterminated. That is the evidence that has been presented within recent days in the Nuremberg trial; that is the evidence coming from official sources in Nazi Germany and admitted by our own representatives at that trial.

The substance of it is what appeals to me, the human side of it, and, as the gentleman from Connecticut well said, as I interpreted her statement, it is a challenge to Christianity. This is a challenge to the western civilization which is the Christian civilization.

What does the resolution do? There is nothing in it that should disturb anybody voting for it. In one of the whereases it is stated:

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of 100,000 additional Jewish refugees.

What is wrong with that? The other important part of the resolution is that the United States "shall use its good offices." We have done that repeatedly and on many other occasions in the past. Certainly, this humane and just resolution ought to pass and we should not permit mere technicalities to interfere with its passage.

**THE CHAIRMAN.** All time has expired. The Clerk will read the concurrent resolution for amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of 100,000 additional Jewish refugees; and

Whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and general economic conditions; and

Whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within 120 days; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic possibilities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

**Mr. FLOOD.** Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word, and I ask unanimous consent to proceed for five additional minutes.

**THE CHAIRMAN.** Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Pennsylvania?

There was no objection.

**MR. FLOOD** asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

**Mr. FLOOD.** Mr. Chairman, this resolution is in my name. I have the honor of being a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I regret that I could not take the time during general debate to answer a number of the interrogatories directed to the committee. However, I think the distinguished majority leader and the distinguished minority leader and the gracious, distinguished, and brilliant lady from Connecticut have disposed of them far better than any power I possess.

I would like to say to the distinguished gentleman from New York and to the committee as well that there is not in this resolution, as it is before this House or as it was passed in the Senate, the intent either of the framers of the resolution or, as I see it and hear it and understand it elsewhere that there be created in full bloom from the head of this Congress a political entity, a Jewish state. I want to hasten to add this, that I have the highest regard for the sincerity, the earnestness, and mental honesty of the gentleman from New York and I know exactly what he means. Segregation is a term of aspersion. These Jewish people want to go to Palestine. There is no intention or purpose to create here an international ghetto, nor is there any intention to create here a temporary ghetto, a mere expediency. The Zionist leader, Dr. Neumann appeared before our committee. In the colloquy in answer to the gentleman from New York there is discussion relative to the Zionist movement of the creation of something in the nature of a dominion status. There is as well discussion for the creation of something that may be in the nature of that which exists with relation to Ireland and the British Empire. I asked Dr. Neumann this question: "Doctor, do you and the Zionists resist any of these propositions?" He said, "No; none." Lloyd George, when Prime Minister, in interpreting the Balfour Declaration, made it clear in reply to interrogatories similar to the statement of the gentleman from New York that he had no objection to such a proposition in due course.

**Mr. FLOESER.** Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

**Mr. FLOOD.** I yield to the gentleman from Missouri.

**Mr. FLOESER.** The gentleman confuses me. I am strong for this resolution.

**Mr. FLOOD.** I am glad to hear it.

**Mr. FLOESER.** I believe in the Balfour Declaration and in the treaty.

**Mr. FLOOD.** Excellent.

**Mr. FLOESER.** I believe in it from a moral standpoint, and I never misinterpreted in my own mind as to what "national home" meant. I thought it meant a state. I endorse that, too, if that is the desire, but the gentleman says that it does not mean that.

**Mr. FLOOD.** I go to some pains to assure the gentleman that he misunderstood me. I concur in the statements made by the gentleman in support of the purpose and intent of the resolution.

**Mr. Chairman,** feeling that the hour has arrived for Congress to give appro-



priate and timely expression to its views on the need for the restoration of Palestine as the Jewish national homeland, I introduced House Concurrent Resolution 113, which was reported out by the unanimous vote of the Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I am a member, on December 18. It is this resolution that is before us today for final action, and it is in support of this resolution that I now speak.

There is no doubt whatsoever that the language of this resolution reflects a long series of authoritative expressions of American policy and the views of the American people on the subject of Palestine. In the course of recent years this policy was repeatedly endorsed by numerous Members of Congress, notably in a petition addressed to the President of the United States on November 2, 1943, by 70 Members of the Senate and 194 Members of the House of Representatives and, on July 2, 1945, only 5 months ago, by 54 Members of the Senate and 251 Members of the House of Representatives, as well as by the governors of 37 States. This same language is to be found in the resolution passed on Monday of this week by the Senate by a *vive voce* vote with only one vote against it. At this point in my remarks, Mr. Chairman, I insert the text of the resolution:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christians and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of 100,000 additional Jewish refugees; and

Whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and general economic conditions; and

Whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within 120 days: Therefore be it

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

I would like to make it clear that the support that I have received in bringing

this matter to the floor has been non-partisan. Before the Foreign Affairs Committee hearings this week, both the majority leader, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. McCosmack), and the minority leader, the distinguished gentleman from Massachusetts (Mr. Martin), were eloquent in their pledge and avowals to the spirit and the intention and the purpose of this resolution. Likewise, from both sides of the aisle my colleagues have expressed gratification with this action. That is a true and heartening response from you who speak for your people, for this declaration is expressive of a deep-seated sentiment in favor of the Jewish homeland in Palestine, which is widespread among the American people and represents, as I have said before, a striking reaffirmation of the traditional American policy. It was only because of the war that this Congress did not earlier state its position. It was the wish and the desire of the membership to do so, but for the good of the common defense, for matters of state, it was thought best not to do so. But time is now of the essence and the contrary is rather the fact. I feel that we are impelled to reiterate our position at this time by the horrifying reports which have been pouring in concerning the mass slaughter of European Jews—acts of brutality which have shocked decent humanity everywhere. Thank God some of these vile creatures who perpetrated these acts, the leaders at least, are being brought to justice and retribution finds its way. But these terrible facts not only call for condemnation of these godless beings who would make a god of the omnipotent state, and for sympathy for their victims, but also demands of us a statesmanlike, constructive policy which would provide a more secure and dignified future for the Jewish people in the democratic world of tomorrow.

This resolution refers to the action of the Sixty-seventh Congress on June 30, 1922, when by unanimous action this purpose was upheld. The urgency of the situation is identified by the request of President Truman for right of entry for 100,000 Jews into Palestine and the general improvement of economic and other conditions resulting, historically, from such influx in the past. Reference is then made to the Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry as to conditions in Palestine and Europe as they relate to the conditions of the Jews, and finally in the resolving clause, the action of President Truman is commended and the United States is called upon to use its good offices to the end that Palestine be opened for the free entry of Jews to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities. The measure provides further that this Government shall support "full opportunity for colonization and development", so that Jews may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine and the Jewish national home and in association with all elements of the population establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

I might say, at this time, that as far as I am concerned, personally, this resolution does not go far enough; but in the

best interest of the purpose sought to be accomplished, and for the greatest good of the greatest number of those who believe in law, agreements and treaties, as well as justice and humanity, I embrace this instrument. I am convinced that great good will come, and that immediately, from the passage of this declaration and certainly no harm can arise. I feel strongly that this is the psychological moment when the sweeping opinion of this mighty assembly will tip the scales in favor of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness for a people who have suffered to an extent beyond the magic of words to describe.

Here there is no purpose to create an international Jewish ghetto, so that evil, degrading curse of anti-Semitism might be encouraged. It is the Jewish people themselves who wish this haven. Here there is no purpose to create overnight a political entity; but rather to seek a democratic commonwealth through the evolution of time and circumstances which will combine through democratic processes to permit such an establishment "in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights." This is no racial or religious separatism. There is no concept of race-state or church-state relationship. A homeless people wish to go home. This is not the time to engage in a play on words, intention must not in the fullness of its spirit be sacrificed to mere form. Let us not succumb to the attractive blandishments of dialectics, never mind which came first, the chicken or the egg, or how many angels can dance on the point of a needle—people—human beings, are starving and dying and our honor to our promises, our pledges and our covenants are at stake.

At the same time, I have the deepest and most understanding respect for those who honestly and sincerely fear that this action will encourage rather than allay the vice of anti-Semitism. And in supporting this resolution, in the desire to have some action taken, your nobility of spirit and your statesmanlike conduct is to be even the more commended. I speak for millions in expressing this regard and gratitude to you.

All of the great talk at high levels about mandates, declarations, white papers, and international relations, simmers down to a case involving the lives of human beings and the future of a people. That states the problem succinctly. Appeasement as a national policy has never worked. Everywhere that it has been tried, it has failed. This is as true in Palestine as elsewhere.

There is every indication that events are moving swiftly, though cautiously, in the direction of evolving a definite program with relation to Palestine. The recent statement of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Bevin, indicates that the objective of a Jewish national home is not beyond the acceptance of His Britannic Majesty's Government. A firm American stand, if diplomatically presented, would mobilize liberal British opinion. In fact, sections of the British public have appealed to American sympathizers to help them in their efforts to bring about a change of policy. As in so many other fields of international



between nations, but between emerging world democracy and the forces of reaction, hate and decay.

Today, in this historic hour, when the general structure of international security has been outlined, and the fate of the nations of the world is about to be decided, let us again stand united in our pledge to the Jewish people so that remnant of Israel in Europe may be saved and assured of a national home as a free and democratic commonwealth.

The Christian world approaches the eve of Christmas. Truly in this year of our Lord 1945, this birthday of the Christ child, will be a joyous feast day. There is present the spirit of freedom and rebirth that is so inspiringly set forth in the ancient cry "Peace on earth, good will among men." On this Christmas eve the Christian peoples and the Jewish peoples and all other peoples stand delivered from the plague of destruction, from the scourge of oppression and from the chains of bondage. A terrible era, desecrated by the Pharaoh curse which extended to all mankind, and the wild ride of the horsemen of the Apocalypse has come to a close; an era in which people were decimated, in which millions perished and the living were scattered to the four winds, doomed to misery, wandering, and want. On this Christmas let us sing of the miracle of deliverance and of the realization of the hoped for journey to the promised land. Let us hold out to the Jews of the world the pledge fulfilled, of the mission of the ancient Jewish homeland, in our own day, bursting upon them miraculously to provide once again the homeland and the refuge from hatred and death. Let the Christian world join in a great feast of fulfillment.

As Americans, we cannot avoid the moral problem that Palestine and the immigration of the Jews pose for us. We joined ourselves with the British in the approval of the Balfour Declaration. We joined in recognizing the British mandate over Palestine. By our passivity in the early days of Hitler's rule in Europe, we were moral partners in the disintegration of the world democratic will—a disintegration that became clear in its results—as testified to by so many of our colleagues here in the House—at Belsen, Dachau, and Buchenwald. By our action in the war, however, we became moral partners in the commitment to salvage as many of Hitler's victims as we could, and make further victimizing impossible. This, then, is an American problem as well as a British. This is the answer to those few who say, "Why should we bother? Palestine is a British headache; it is none of our business." We do not have a legal mandate in the matter; but we have the mandate of human conscience which is just as strong as any League of Nations parchment. Let us not look to a project to give the refugee Jews merely a new and temporary ghetto, but give them their old and permanent home, where they are wanted and will be cherished, where they can make a living and a life. The Holy Land, the birthplace of the Christian and Jewish religions, can with all justice be given back to the people from whose travail a great religious

impulse incorporated in two great religions had radiated throughout the world for thousands of years. It is our mission to spread further than ever before among the people of the earth the belief which all Americans cherish so deeply—that no man's liberty of conscience must be questioned as long as he does not question that of his neighbor and that men of varying faiths may live together in harmony and good will.

Mr. Chairman, I appeal to this House, whose deep love of freedom is reflected in its great generosity and devotion to the suffering of humanity, to help in this realization. I ask this for the sake of the living remnant of a great people. I ask it for the sake of the dead. I ask it for the sake of the Jewish people everywhere, so that there may be some end in sight to its sorrow and pain. I ask it, at this very hour of the turning point in the history of the world, because Palestine is the only land that can receive and redeem not hundreds but hundreds of thousands. I ask it because this is the hour of unique opportunity, of direct necessity, of greater urgency. This is the hour, Mr. Chairman, for the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States, to point the way as a beacon, to a haven of peace after the long voyage home, to declare that Palestine offers the strongest bridgehead to the shores of true freedom and true deliverance for our brothers in the great brotherhood of man who are sons of Israel.

Mr. Chairman, I submit the resolution—House Concurrent Resolution 113—and ask its immediate and unanimous adoption.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FLOOD. I yield to the gentleman from New York.

Mr. EDWIN ARTHUR HALL. May I make this observation about something that was mentioned earlier, that is, the courage the Committee on Foreign Affairs has shown in bringing out this resolution. I do not think it is any business of the State Department or anyone else. We should legislate in this hall and not depend on the State Department.

Mr. FLOOD. I thank the gentleman for his usual helpful remarks.

Mr. FOLGER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last two words.

Mr. Chairman, I think the unkindest cut of all which could be offered in presentation of one's position or against another's position in the matter of this resolution is the indication or intimation that any man worthy of occupying the high position as a Member of the House of Representatives of the free United States of America would be moved in his action by anything relating to religion, race, creed, or color. I deny and I challenge the accusation, whether it be made with reference to one's action on the right side of the aisle or the left. It is a matter of judgment as to whether at this particular time we are doing a service or a disservice to the very people we would all like to help in every way under the sun. It is the opinion of the speaker at this time that there is great danger

that it may prove to be a serious disservice.

There is no probability or potentiality, connected with this resolution, which would offer, help, aid, or security to the Jewish people of the world who are in distress and toward whom every one of us has the deepest sympathy and for whom every single one of us has the greatest concern. Why press this resolution at this time in face of the fact that the President of the United States has made arrangements by which the United States of America, in its deep concern for all the peoples of all the world, has provided what is referred to as a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry with the admonition and requirement that that committee shall act promptly and shall report within 120 days the result of the inquiry which shall have been made. We will have the benefit of that report when that time shall have expired. I think it is quite unkind also to stand and deny that the President of the United States has requested that we do not superimpose ourselves upon his efforts in this great and important matter by passing the resolution in the face of the provision he has made for this Anglo-American inquiry and its report. My position is that we will do a great disservice for the people we are trying to help. I have no disposition to act on the basis of race, creed, or color, as I have demonstrated with regard to the Negro race in this House. I do not have to answer for bigotry as to any race or creed. We may do the greatest disservice, by the adoption of this resolution, to the very people whom we want to help. That can be no more than a gesture and one that could be costly to them as well as to our country, of which many of them are citizens. Why not give this President's committee an opportunity to work out the problem intelligently.

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Chairman, I move to strike out the last word.

Mr. Chairman, I shall not take too much time, but I want to clear up one or two misunderstandings that have developed during this debate.

At the inception I want to speak of a prophecy made many centuries ago by the great Hebrew prophet, Isaiah, when he said:

Therefore the redeemed of the Lord shall return and come with singing into Zion.

I pray that that prophecy may now be fulfilled.

You ladies and gentlemen of the House would do well to adopt this resolution, consonant with that prophecy of that great Jewish prophet Isaiah.

Remember, the immigration bars are up all over the world. There is no place on God's green sward where the Jew is not unwanted, except in Palestine. There he may live in dignity, unafraid. Now a cruel colonial policy of the British Government seals the doors of Palestine. The Jews have a right to go to Palestine. It has been proclaimed time out of mind their national home. The mandate that Great Britain was given over Palestine was given with the understanding that Great Britain would exercise only trusteeship, not ownership, over Zion, to the end that there would be established,



through the instrumentality of His Majesty's Government, a Jewish national home.

We adopted in this Chamber in 1922 a resolution almost word for word with the resolution you are going to adopt today, whereby we proclaimed again Palestine as the Jewish national home, and we entered into a solemn treaty with Great Britain in 1924 where we reiterated that Palestine was again to be the national homeland for the Jews.

We further stated by that treaty, and agreed with England, that England would not have the right to discriminate on the basis of race or religion with reference either to the immigration into Palestine or land ownership in Palestine. But in 1939 Great Britain adopted the nefarious and infamous Malcolm-McDonald white paper, which flatly, blatantly, and with the greatest perfidy violated the treaty with the United States, violated the mandate that Britain had over Palestine, violated the Balfour Declaration. Britain did in that white paper discriminate against the Jews only. Nor was this discrimination on religious and racial ground. The mandates committee of the League of Nations, when England asked whether she could have the right to issue that white paper, not only said to Great Britain, "You have no right to issue that white paper precluding the Jews from Palestine, but we denounce in no uncertain terms your attempt to deny Palestine to the Jews."

Now we are trying to rectify those errors by this resolution. We call Britain to task for her perfidy. We challenge her to continue her injustice to the Jews. There has never been any doubt over the years that "Jewish national homeland" means a Jewish commonwealth. The Big Four, after the first World War, Lloyd George, Clemenceau, Wilson, and Orlando placed that interpretation on Jewish national home. Marshal Smuts, Lord Wedgwood, Harding, Coolidge, Roosevelt, all spoke of a Jewish democratic commonwealth.

Churchill himself, when he denounced the white paper on Palestine in 1939 which first limited and then barred completely Jewish immigration into Palestine, called it a filing of petition in moral bankruptcy.

Attlee, Morrison, and Bevin, Labor Party leaders, loudly proclaimed before election that they would see to it that there would be: First, unlimited Jewish immigration into Palestine; second, the ultimate establishment of a democratic Jewish commonwealth; third—and here they went further than anybody else—the shifting of Arabs out of Palestine to let the Jews enter.

Our own two major political parties in the last Presidential campaign came out solidly for a Commonwealth and both Presidential candidates endorsed that plank in the platforms.

A Jewish state simply means a state where the Jews will be in a majority. It means they will not live in a ghetto subject to the wiles, machinations, and maneuver of the leaders of a hostile majority.

It was never intended that Palestine should be set up as an Arab state. That is what "perfidious Albion" desires.

There is no idea in a commonwealth of a theocracy. There is no idea of a religious state. It simply means a state where the Jews will be in a majority and need not forever live in a ghetto.

Contrary to the views of the gentleman from New York (Mr. WADSWORTH), a commonwealth does not mean all Jews must go to Palestine. That is absurd. Some of our smug, self-satisfied economic Bourbon Jews say that. They speak falsely. The American who is a Jew remains firmly, indissolubly an American. The American who is a Jew is an American first, last, and all the time. No one can argue to the contrary. It would be absurd to argue that the Irish-American who advocates the unification of Ireland must go back to Ireland, or because a Polish-American is in favor of a "greater Poland," he must go back to Poland. Contrary to the observations of the gentleman from New York (Mr. WADSWORTH), there is no danger of a greater segregation. Unfortunately, anti-Semitism is so deep that it will exist no matter what we do with this resolution.

The gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SMUTS) asks why the rush? He speaks of the Anglo-American commission of inquiry. That is only a dodge and a stall for British delay. Whenever the British are forced to make a decision, they invoke the trick of a commission of inquiry. There have already been numerous commissions and reports—the Crane report, the Peel commission, the mandates commission, the Harrison report, the Eisenhower report, the Rikind report, the joint distribution committee report.

All facts are known. There is no need for any more reports with consequent delays. The Jews are languishing in concentration camps. They are dying by the thousands by the roadsides. Their disembodied spirits could not wait for inquiries. The winter's cold does not wait for the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. SMUTS). Death awaits no one, not even the recommendations of the Anglo-American commission of inquiry.

We must now have action to implement promises.

Let Britain dare to refuse to abide by the resolution we passed today. She will then stand condemned before the court of public opinion the world over.

Somebody spoke of our doing a disservice to the Jews if we pass this resolution. The Jews themselves are the best judges of the worthwhileness of this resolution. They want it. They do not fear the Arabs. The Jews can take care of themselves. They have before.

If permitted to have their own brigade as well as a few airplanes and tanks, they could easily disperse and defeat the horsemen and camel riders of the desert. No one has asked for the use of American troops in Palestine. They are not needed there.

Pass this resolution as an act of mercy, as an act of justice, as an act of righteousness.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from New York has expired.

All time has expired. Under the rule, the Committee will rise.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. FOGARTY, Chairman of the Committee

of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that Committee having had under consideration House Concurrent Resolution 113, pursuant to House Resolution 468, he reported the resolution back to the House.

The SPEAKER. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. Speaker, I move to recommit the resolution.

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, I make a point of order that the motion comes too late.

The SPEAKER. Just a moment.

The Chair really thinks the gentleman from New York is too late with his motion.

Mr. WADSWORTH. I was seeking recognition, Mr. Speaker, vocally at the time.

The SPEAKER. If the gentleman says he was on his feet for that purpose, the Chair, of course, will accept the gentleman's word.

Is the gentleman opposed to the resolution?

Mr. WADSWORTH. I am.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Mr. WADSWORTH moves to recommit the bill to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The question was taken; and on a division (demanded by Mr. WADSWORTH) there were—ayes 36, noes 133.

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of Senate Concurrent Resolution 44, relative to the opening of Palestine for free entry of Jews.

The Clerk read the title of the resolution.

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

There being no objection, the Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Whereas the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

Whereas the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

Whereas these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of 100,000 additional Jewish refugees; and



Whereas the influx of Jewish immigration into Palestine is resulting in its improvement in agricultural, financial, hygienic, and economic conditions; and

Whereas the President and the British Prime Minister have agreed upon the appointment of a Joint Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry to examine conditions in Palestine as they bear upon the problem of Jewish immigration and the Jewish situation in Europe and have requested a report within 120 days; Therefore be it

*Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.*

The resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

By unanimous consent, the proceedings by which House Concurrent Resolution 113, relating to the opening of Palestine for free entry of Jews, were vacated and the resolution was laid on the table.

#### FREIGHT FORWARDERS DESIGNATED CARRIERS OF BONDED MERCHANDISE

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. SIMPSON].

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (S. 914) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended, so as to permit the designation of freight forwarders as carriers of bonded merchandise.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

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

There being no objection, the Clerk read the bill, as follows:

*Be it enacted, etc., That section 551 of the Tariff Act of 1930 (U. S. C., 1940 ed., title 19, sec. 1931) be, and it hereby is, amended to read as follows:*

"Sec. 551. **BONDSMEN OR CARRIERS.**—Under such regulations and subject to such terms and conditions as the Secretary of the Treasury shall prescribe, any common carrier of merchandise owning or operating a railroad, steamship, or other transportation line or route for the transportation of merchandise in the United States, or any freight forwarder, as defined in section 402 of part IV of the Interstate Commerce Act (U. S. C., 1940 ed., Supp. III, title 49, sec. 1002 (5)), upon application, may, in the discretion of the Secretary, be designated as a carrier of bonded merchandise for the final release of which from customs custody a permit has not been issued."

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I move to strike out the last word.

Senate bill S. 914, which was passed in the Senate October 22 and reported favorably by the Committee on Ways and Means in the House December 17, with-

out amendment, is an important, although simple, amendment to section 551 of the Tariff Act of 1930, as amended. The nature and purpose of the bill is more fully explained in the report of the committee. Specifically, it simply authorizes the Secretary of the Treasury to designate freight forwarders as carriers of bonded merchandise, along with railroads, steamship lines, and other common carriers. The purpose of Section 551 as it reads now is to protect bonded merchandise while in the possession of a common carrier. Bonded merchandise consists usually of imported articles received at various ports of entry in the United States and immediately shipped to their respective destinations where the required duty is paid.

As stated in the committee's report, only those common carriers who own or operate railroad, steamship, or other transportation lines or routes are eligible to transport such imported merchandise in bond. But for more than 10 years the Treasury Department has interpreted this section as being applicable to freight forwarders, and many freight forwarders have, pursuant to the statute, been designated as carriers of bonded merchandise. This conception of the statute was not questioned until recently when the Treasury Department advised a company engaged in freight forwarding that its bonding would be discontinued because the old regulation was deemed to have been upon a misconception of section 551 of the Tariff Act.

Now it transpires that all freight forwarders are threatened with a loss of their bonds and will no longer be eligible to carry bonded merchandise. This presents a very serious situation, which must be corrected immediately because the Treasury Department has indicated that they can no longer designate freight forwarders as bonded carriers after December 31, this year.

The bill will not change any present administrative practice or policy. It creates no new power or authority in the Secretary of the Treasury, and from the standpoint of the Department is entirely acceptable.

The resolution was ordered to be read a third time, was read and the third time, and passed, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. LESINSKI asked and was given permission to extend his remarks and include a news release under today's date relative to FHA loans to veterans.

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, previously permission was given me to extend my remarks in the Record and to include a copy of a letter I addressed to the Attorney General of the United States on December 10 relative to the gas rebates in the Detroit area and a copy of his reply dated December 14, 1945, to which are attached several exhibits. The Public Printer advises that the material will make approximately 5 pages in the Record and that the cost will be \$268. Notwithstanding the additional cost, I ask unanimous consent that this material may be printed in the Record.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, notwithstanding the cost, the extension will be made.

There was no objection.

[The matter referred to appears in the Appendix.]

#### SHORTAGE OF HOUSING

Mr. RABIN. 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. RABIN. Mr. Speaker, when the emergency of war came upon us, the Nation responded with a determination and with a virility that astounded the world. We met that emergency. We needed ships, planes, tanks, and guns. We needed factories in which to build them. We built these factories. We produced the necessary war materials—without delay. There is another emergency upon us now, and it is an acute one. I refer to the shortage of housing. The problem is most serious, and yet we appear helpless in the face of that emergency. Why cannot this Government meet this situation with the same determination, with the same spirit, and with the same energy with which it met the great war emergency? We must build houses and build them now. We can build them, and we can build them now.

I need not discuss at length the seriousness of the housing situation. Recently I read in the New York Times the report of the mayor-elect's emergency committee on housing. In that report the committee states that some form of shelter must be provided in the city of New York for at least 40,000 families—for 140,000 persons. Add to that report the statement of Mayor LaGuardia that at a recent conference of mayors it was disclosed the same situation exists throughout the country. It is disheartening to read in the same report that, except for makeshift expediences, there can be no hope of any new housing ready for occupancy until 1947. I cannot accept that conclusion. We need not accept it. I repeat, we must build, and build now. It must be done, and it can be done.

What is holding up this building program? I can understand why private industry will not build. They tell us you cannot expect a man to build, not knowing what return he will get on his investment. Likewise, how can you expect private industry to build when industry cannot now know whether essential building materials will be available? Nor can the cost of construction be figured, not knowing what the cost of materials and what the cost of labor will be. Mayor LaGuardia, in his radio speech of last week, pointed out the seriousness of the situation when he stated that he could not let a contract for construction of a housing project because no contractor could estimate today what it would cost to build. The reasons for the delay may be good or bad—but that is beside







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# „הריז" האפט אנגענומען אדמירל-ישראל רעזארביע

4 קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע



דאקטאר סילבער



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דאקטאר סילבער

## ארץ ישראל רעזארביע-וואס איז נעכטען אנגענומען געווארען אין רעזערווע-מאנדאטן

אין ארץ ישראל איז דער רעזערווע-מאנדאט אדמירל-ישראל רעזארביע, וואס איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע.

דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע.

## רעזארביע קריגס-רעזערווע-מאנדאט אין רעזערווע-מאנדאטן-וואס איז געווארען אנגענומען

ציון-פירער, סילבער און ייזעל, דאנקען  
טעלעגראפיש פירער פון סענאט און „הויז"  
פאר אננעמען דאס ישראל רעזארביע

וואשינגטאן, דעם 19. — דאס רעזערווע-מאנדאט-וואס איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע. דער מאנדאט איז געווארען אנגענומען דורך די קאנדידאטן-מאנדאטן, וועלכע האבען געהאלפן דורכפירן די ציון-רעזארביע.

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וְהַיְתָבֶנּוּ בְרִאגָּם דַּעַם נֶאֱמָר מֵן יֵי  
שְׁכֻמְאַרְטֵן הַזֵּנְדֵּר אֲזִי מֵקָם,  
וְאֵם הַזֵּבֶן יֵי שְׁאָרְנֵסְלֹאנְטֵן.

הארגון הזה, דעקלערירט 19 (י)  
אויף פירט) — די דעמאנ  
קען דער צווייטעלער, איי  
ער זי איז אנטשטענענדיג  
אן רעפערענטאנטענדיג, הא  
קליינט א שטויט אן א האט  
וואסן די האט האטן אנטש  
קענען אן דער דעמאנ אן זי  
אנטשענדיג קלייט לויט אן זי  
אן זי האט אנטשענדיג אן זי

וואס זינט מען, דעם 19 (איטא) —  
דאס רעדערענאנטען הייז האט  
היינט, מיט א ריזיגער מאיאליסעס,  
אנגעקומען די רעוואלוציע פאר  
פאקע אידישער איינוואוינערס  
קען איר ישראל און פאר א דעמא-  
קראטישער אידישער קאמאנוועלט.  
די אפשטימונג איז געווען דורך

י"א" און "גיון", און בלויז דער א  
קליינע צאל האט געשטימט "גיון".  
פאר דער ענדליכטער אפטייל  
האט האט דער קאנגרעס מיט א  
ערדטייט פון 133 געגען 36 צווייט  
געזינדע אן אפערטיינעס פון טאג  
געשטאן דוועניס. ו. האט  
דערפון פון ניו יארק, פון זאל די  
אויסגאבע צווייטע און דער  
מיט דעזע אומלעגנדיקע און  
אומלעגנדיקע.

הארכהאזירטה האם געקאמט אין  
דער דעכאטע, האט האם גערויערט  
אנדערהאלבען שטונדע, אז אנצו  
קענען די רעאליזירטע אונזער האלט  
עסייזם ארויסצורופען א כוואליע  
פון אנטפערטעסיום — א יאר, האט  
די האם שטארק בארויערט.

די אנטקענסטען רעזולוציע איז  
די זעלבע ווי די, וואס דער שטאט  
האט מאכטאב געטעדייטן און

[illegible]

הוא שיהיה צורך צדקה  
במקום אחר, אולי  
במקום אחר, אולי

[illegible][illegible]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

[illegible][illegible]

THE UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535

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7-20-48  
ESTINE; CALLS FOR AMERICAN RESOLUTION  
Abba Hillel Silver, who returned from  
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tain to help develop Palestine's re-  
said;

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The Yishuv asks of American Jewry today  
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is the country.

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...ON SACRIFICING.

2-20-95

CLEVELAND, Dec. 19. (JTA) -- Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, who returned from Palestine last night, said today that "the sole tension in Palestine today is caused by Great Britain's illegal interference with the free entry of Jews into the country." At the same time, he appealed for American cholutzim to help develop Palestine's resources. In a statement issued here Dr. Silver said:

"I found the Yishuv more normal than I was led to anticipate, busily at work and full of post-war plans for rapid development and expansion. Within a decade or two Palestine stands to revolutionize the economic life of the entire Near East, if the straitjacket of political and economic restrictions which confine it today, is removed.

"Everywhere there is a great demand for American goods, machinery, and technical skill. Above all, for American cholutzim to come and make their contribution to the next phase of the country's progress. The Yishuv asks of American Jewry today not only financial support, but also gift of hand and mind.

"The sole tension in Palestine today is created by Great Britain's illegal interference with the entry of Jews into the country, hundreds of thousands of whom are knocking at its gates. All the clashes have been with the police and military forces of the country, not with the Arabs. An equilibrium of strength has already been established which the Arabs understand and respect. All the noise and the rioting are the work of non-Palestinian Arabs outside the country.

"The Yishuv is resolved on two things: to protect at all costs, and regardless of sacrifices, those who seek the sanctuary of the Jewish National Homeland, and to accept no final solution which will whittle down the national rights of the Jewish people in Palestine.

"The Yishuv is disciplined, more united than ever before, and in a determined and militant mood. It was bitterly resentful of Bevin's statement and of the Joint Commission of Inquiry. It was also baffled by President Truman's contradictory attitude. I am sure that it will be greatly heartened by the action of the Congress of the United States, which it was awaiting with keen eagerness."







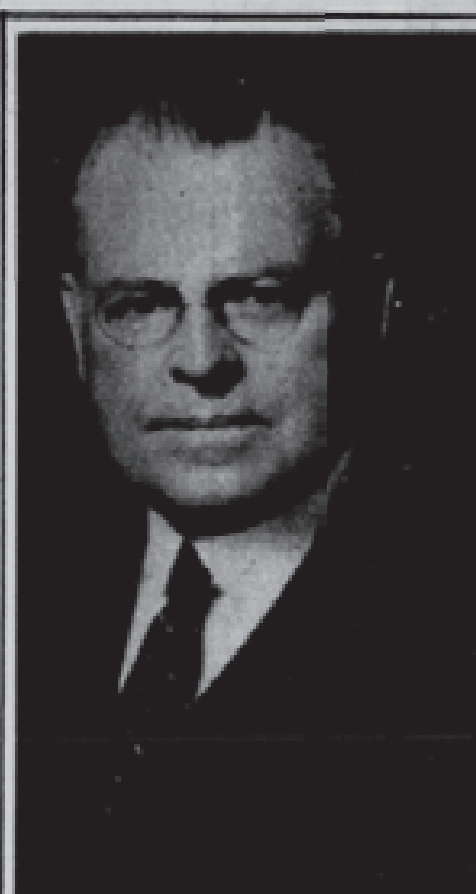




וועלט-עקזעקוטיווע פאשטימט דזפען דעם קומענדיגן ציין  
קאנגרעס אין ארץ ישראל, פאר'כטעט דר. סילווער

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, ZOA President, visits George Goetz, one of the wounded from Rishpon. *New Palestine* 12-30-43





ווי האבן דורכגעפירט א היסטארישע אקט לטובת אירע אין אנטריקאנער קאנגרעס — סינעלידער פון סענאט און רעפארעזענטעטיוו וועלכע האבן געארבעט פאר דער רעזאליציע. און אסאך ריכטער רעגירונג וואס ווירטען איין ענטאנד צו עפענען אירע יארטל פאר פרייע אריבער איינצונעמען און צו זאפן דאס א אידישע, באפאפולעטע. די רעזאליציע איז אנגענומען געווארען מיט א ריזיגע בערגהייט אין בירע הייזער פון קאנגרעס. ווי באוואוסט, איין די בילדער אין דער איבערשטער הייזע געפינען זיך דעמס צו לינקס: סענאטא ווארען אסטין, א רעפובליקאנער, פון ווער סאנט: סענאטאר בראיען סענסעטא, דעמאקראט, פון קאנעטיקאט; סענאטאר דאכערט, א וואנער, דעמאקראט, פון ניויארק; סענאטאר ראבערט טעטס, רעפובליקאנער, פון ארייזא, אין סענאטאר רעזייד וויליאם א דעמאקראט, פון באסטאניוועסט, אין דער אונטערשטער הייזע געפינען זיך דעמס צו לינקס: קאנגרעסמאן דזשארדזש סאמאטיוועסט, וועלכער איז דער פירער פון דער דעמאקראטישער מאיאריטעט אין רעפארעזענטעטיוו; קאנגרעסמאן אידעס נאדס ראדוועסט, פון באסטאניוועסט; קאנגרעסמאן סליער בוסה לוס, פון קאנעטיקאט, און קאנגרעסמאן דזשארדזש דעמאקראטישער מאיאריטעט אין רעפארעזענטעטיוו; די דעמס רייז ווינק רעפובליקאנער.

**SPONSORS OF THE HISTORIC RESOLUTION**, adopted by the Senate and House, urging the United States to "use its good offices" with Britain to permit free entry of Jews into Palestine and facilitate the establishment there of a Jewish commonwealth. Top row, left to right, are Senators David I. Walsh (D), of Massachusetts; Robert Taft (R), of Ohio; Robert F. Wagner (D), New York; Brien McMahon (D), Connecticut, and Warren R. Austin (R), Vermont. Bottom row: Representatives Joseph W. Martin (R), Massachusetts; Clare Booth Luce (R), Connecticut; Edith Nourse Rogers (R), Massachusetts, and John W. McCormack, of Boston, Mass., Democratic floor leader.

(International News Photos)









**A — PD**  
Dr. Silver Calls for Firm  
Faith to Keep Integrity

"If the laws and ways of God are difficult to understand in the physical and material world they are even more difficult to understand in the spiritual. We simply cannot fathom the depths, the inscrutable mystery, of the divine purpose. At best we can only know the outer edges of His ways. The wisest attitude is one of acceptance and resignation. One has the right to complain, but the noblest quality of man is acceptance and resignation to the will of God, whose ways are not always known to us."

Misses Benjamin, Maurice Bernon, Louise  
B. Bing, H. Edward Braverman, E. Cohen,  
R. E. Bricker, Ralph Armstrong, E. Cohen,  
Samuel S. Dananberg, Abe Gitman, Benjamin  
Goldstein, Mrs. M. Albert, Goodman Myerov,  
Goldstein, Phyllis J. Haber, David Hahn,  
Germ. Irving Kahn, Mrs. Louis Kaufman,  
Helen Hahn Klein, Max I. Kohnman, Ben-  
J. Levine, George Mayer, Gertrude Maurer,  
Alexander Mintz, A. E. Perlin, George  
Pillerdorf, Rabbi Israel Porath, A.  
Levack, Rabbi Abraham Rosenthal, Mrs.  
Joseph Roth, Samuel S. Schar, Joseph H.  
Shurt, Mrs. S. Schar, Max Simon,  
Miss Marya S. Schar, Nathan Stern, Harry  
Schar, Albert A. Wolman.

destitute. It will be virtually impossible to rehabilitate most of them, for already anti-Semitism breaking out in tragic fury in the liberated countries."

"Political anti-Semitism has been thoroughly discredited on a vast stage for all the world to see in this war. It is hardly likely that any nation will again attempt this device of aggression."

"Co-operation is the American way which has stood us in good stead for 150 years while other forms of government and ways of life have crashed," Dr. Silver declared.

"This, I believe, is the American way," he said. "This was the dream of Walt Whitman and the dream of Washington, Lincoln and Franklin D. Roosevelt. We are starting a new day—behind us are the ghosts of yesterday and the dead."

of Columbus Luncheon Club; Frank Cullitan, County Prosecutor; George Pasket, Les Monroe, Frank Wilberding, Owen Kelly, Wm. Cannon, Dick O'Brien and Ray De Crane of The Cleveland Press. We were happy to have had them with us and hope they enjoyed themselves. This is America!





Shriners and Knights of Columbus throng Statler ballroom for interfaith meeting.

## K. of C. Guests at Shrine Luncheon

With an overflow crowd in the Grand Ballroom of Hotel Statler, the Shrine Luncheon Club today was host to friends and business associates who are members of the Knights of Columbus.

Chief speaker was Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of the Temple, whose topic was "Our Common Heritage and Our Common Talk."

There was a liberal sprinkling of priests and ministers in the crowd and Arthur G. Hopenraft, past potentate of Al Koran, had as his guest Stanley J. Nemeo, master of the fourth degree of the Knights of Columbus.

Attendance in the crowded ballroom was almost equally divided between members of the two groups. Grand knights, faithful navigators and fellow knights of the K. of C. were intermingled with illustrious potentates, venerable prophets and nobles of Al Koran Shrine.

Stanley J. Nemeo, master of the fourth degree of the Knights, was the guest of Arthur G. Hopenraft, past potentate of the Shrine.

"What they proclaimed on the platform concerning rights of the strong and superior race they practiced with whip and implements of torture upon the broken bodies of men and women in a hundred concentration camps and torture chambers."

"This too," said Rabbi Silver, "was not to destroy a country or a continent, but a civilization. The civilization which our great religions through the centuries helped to fashion."

"Thank God that the all but successful attack on western civilization and its ethical foundation has finally collapsed. The Bible and not Mein Kampf will remain the faithful guide and teacher of mankind."

"There is ground for rejoicing, but also for soul-searching and sober thought for tomorrow. There are storm and trying days ahead. Eras of reconstruction are dangerous eras."

"Demagogues and political adventurers will again seek to exploit bigotry and intolerance to rise to power. Hate movements follow every war. There may set in in our country a period of depression and unemployment and people will again be looking around for scapegoats. Some already have their scapegoats tethered in their back yard."

"Guard against the whispering campaign of hate. Propaganda has been developed to an unusual degree during this war. Let us not judge men collectively, but treat our fellow citizens as individuals on the basis of individual worth, character and action."

"Let's not talk about the rights of minorities but rather of the rights of men. This is the way which has stood us in good stead for 150 years while other forms of government and ways of life have perished."

The lilac bush at the church's front door was in full bloom and its fragrance filled the May air as the congregation passed quietly in for Sunday morning service.

On the sidewalk at Madison avenue and W. 99th street, the round, benevolent minister stood talking with several parishioners who had sought him out for counsel.

So pleasant was the morning that other small groups lingered about until it was time for church to begin, and in one particular group were several couples whose words carried to the minister not far away.

They were unkind words, singularly inappropriate for a Sunday morning in front of a church, and the Rev. Thomas Blackburn made a little grimace as he heard them.

"It has always interested me," he said, "that people can get themselves all cleaned up on the outside for special occasions like going to church, but they have some difficulty cleaning themselves up inside. A thousand and one baths will not remove so much as a single particle of uncleanness or hate from a man's soul."

A little later, inside his church, the Trinity M. E. Church, the Rev. Blackburn was saying from the pulpit:

"I had intended to deal with a quite different subject for my sermon this morning, but I have changed my mind. I am going to talk about 'Cleansing the Human Soul, as Well as the Body.'"

The Rev. Thomas Blackburn is well along in years now, and isn't preaching from the pulpit these days. Yet the elderly minister and his words were with me as I sat in the crowded ballroom of Hotel Statler the other noon where the Al Koran Shrine Club, of the Masonic Order, was host to the Knights of Columbus, and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple was the speaker.

There was something cleansing to the soul to be there—just to be part of a great gathering whose sole purpose was the meeting together of men of differing faiths, and races, and outlooks.

"A thousand and one baths will not remove so much as a single particle of uncleanness or hate from a man's soul," the Rev. Blackburn had said, and sitting in the ballroom of Hotel Statler with the hundreds of Catholics, and Jews and Protestants, I seemed to realize then, more than

## Unity in Practice

The seeds we sow in the interest of unity, will far outweigh the songs we sing about unity when the day of the harvest arrives. For this reason, the News will endeavor to place emphasis on the deed rather than on the words. *News 5-7-45*

Last Friday the Shrine Club of Cleveland swung open the gate and took a step toward unity. It invited members of the Knights of Columbus to be its guests at luncheon. The invitation was accepted and acted upon. So two groups sat down at a common table to break bread and learn a little about each other. The speaker invited to address this joint luncheon was Dr. Abba H. Silver of the Temple.

Here we have the seeds of unity being

sown. Like those seeds in the parable, some will fall on barren ground, but some will produce good fruit. Dr. Silver explained the formula for planting when he said: "Let's stop talking about the rights of minorities and begin talking about the rights of man. In this way we will help eliminate many of the frictions which are bound to come as an aftermath of this war. Let us treat our fellow citizens on a basis of their individual character, worth and actions."

This is the primer for those who would make unity something more than a word.

ever, exactly what Rev. Blackburn meant to say by those words.

The feeling of fellowship manifested by Knights of Columbus for Mason and both for Jew in that crowded room was like the spark, the light, the flame of democracy itself. Here in this big room was the very thing that was democracy—democracy in actual flower, the finest expression of "men are created equal in the sight of God."

And Rabbi Silver, for 30 years a powerful spiritual leader in the community, was saying to this fusion of men of all faiths:

"This is what Adolph Hitler wanted to destroy. This is what hate and intolerance wants to destroy. This is democracy. This is free men—free men in free spirit and good will toward one another come together under one God and in one country."

*News 5-7-45*

It will be a long time before as many hear again as eloquent an appeal for brotherhood and understanding among men as this Jewish rabbi made before Catholic and Protestant and Jew.

When Rabbi Silver had finished, there was spontaneous rising of tribute to him and to the cause of human understanding which he had preached before this unusual gathering in these times of stress and strain.

And, Rev. Blackburn, it did seem to all of us who were there that there was a kind of bath which could cleanse the soul of its hatred. To be sure, as you said, it was not the physical bath done a thousand and one times which "will not remove so much as a single particle of uncleanness or hate from a man's soul."

It was, however, as if 600 men of differing faiths and races had come together in a big, refreshing spiritual pool in the very center of Cleveland, "the city on a hill," and there in a noon-hour had cleansed themselves in common communion of the dreaded thing which has infected so much of the world.

It was as if, when we all left, we had received this spiritual bath, and eyes were brighter, skins were held higher, souls seemed fresher, and I am sure there are at least 600 men, Catholics, Protestants and Jews, who will in the days to come be a firm barrier against that insidious virus which has done so much hurt to mankind for so long.—L. J. S.

MONDAY, MAY 28, 1945

## SUMMONS TEMPLE TO POSTWAR TASKS

Silver Says Needs of Service People Must Be Met

The congregation of the Temple was called upon by Rabbi A. H. Silver to increase and expand its services and opportunities especially in relation to the 735 young men and women who will be returning from the services, at its 20th annual meeting last night.

"Our young people who have served with distinction in the armed forces are going to come back to us far more mature than before, and they are going to have many problems," Rabbi Silver said.

"Our religious institution will have a rare opportunity to minister to these young men and integrate them in its life. They, on their part, can contribute their newly won experience and knowledge to the strengthening of this institution."

Rabbi Silver asked for suggestions from members of the congregation as to how the Temple could best meet the needs of its returning service people. He also suggested that as soon as total peace came the Temple should think of expanding its services in adult Jewish education.

### Postwar Era Hard

"The postwar world will be a hard world," Rabbi Silver continued. "A reconstruction era is always a difficult era. We need religion and the faith that comes from religion in order to fight the disillusionment and emotional fatigue which is ahead. We shall have to sink our anchor deep in a great faith if we are to master the postwar problems."



Mr. Nemeo

Rabbi Silver

Mr. Hopenraft



# Dr. Silver Elected Head of U. S. Reform Rabbis

7-6-45 *Detroit Jewish Chronicle*  
Central Conference of American Rabbis at its annual conference last week in Atlantic City elected Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland as president. The Conference also passed a resolution attacking the action of a New York rabbinical group in excommunicating Dr. Mordecai M. Kaplan for publishing a modernized prayer book. The Central Conference is a Reform group.

Rabbi James C. Heller, Cincinnati, was elected to the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Other officers elected by the Central Conference of American rabbis include:

Vice-president, Abraham Feldman, Hartford, Conn.; administrative sec'y., Isaac E. Marcuson, Macon, Ga.; financial Sec'y., Sidney L. Regner, Reading, Pa., and treasurer, Henry S. Margolis.

Members of the Executive Board are:

Stanley R. Brav, Vicksburg, Miss.; Herbert I. Bloom, Kingston, N. Y.; Abraham Feinstein, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Solomon B. Freehof, Pittsburgh; Alan S. Green, Houston, Tex.; Aryeh Lev, Washington, D. C.; Jacob R. Marcus, Cincinnati; S. Felix Mendelsohn, Chicago; David Polish, Waterbury, Conn.; David Wice, Newark; Louis Witt, Dayton, O.



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

## PEACE GREETINGS SENT BY SILVER

Rabbi Wires Temple Congregation From London

In a cable message to the congregation of the Temple, sent from London, Rabbi A. H. Silver said yesterday:

"From the heart of rejoicing London I send to all joyous greetings on world peace. May all our families soon be reunited and may God bless our country in all the coming years."

Rabbi Silver, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, has been attending the World Zionist Conference in London.

The doors of the Temple will be open tomorrow from 10:30 to noon, in accordance with the request of President Truman, for a service of music and meditation, it was announced by Assistant Rabbi William M. Kramer.

MONDAY, AUGUST 20, 1945

## Rabbi Silver's Peace Prayer Sent to Temple Worshipers

Several Jewish synagogues of Cleveland held special services of thanksgiving and prayer yesterday in observance of President Truman's proclamation.

At the Temple Rabbi William Kramer conducted a prayer service including reading of psalms. The following prayer, written by Rabbi A. H. Silver and printed in advance, was distributed:

"O Lord of Hosts, our Fortress and our Strength, this is the time for which we have hoped, the hour for which we have toiled and waited. Long and bitter have been the years when those of sinful heart planned evil and wrought destruction. We have seen truth mocked, justice perverted, mercy despised, and millions of Thy children crushed beneath the yoke of suffering and grief. Many of them were driven to exile. Many were done to death. O Father of mankind, all of us in every land have learned the pain of parting and bereavement, of loneliness and fear. We have been schooled in sorrow and are well acquainted with grief.

"O Thou Sun and Shield, we who have walked in darkness now behold the dawning light. The night of oppression at last is ended. The power of the tyrants is broken. Their plans are frustrate and void. Their armies are scattered and helpless. Their air fleets can no longer spread the rain of death over peaceful habitations. We dread no

more that error which fleeth by night and the destruction which wasteth at noontime. Thou hast brought us out of the valley of the shadow into the radiant day.

"How can we thank Thee, O Lord, for the abundant blessing of this great deliverance? If our lips should overflow with song and our tongues with joyous praise we should still be unable to voice the gratitude which wells up from our hearts. We can but humbly acknowledge our debt to Thee. Not ours, O God, but Thine are the triumph and the glory. Often in the years of danger, when the powers of evil seemed unconquerable, our courage faltered and our faith was shaken. But Thou didst strengthen our hearts and summon us to renew our confidence that by Thy spirit we would yet prevail.

"Speed the day, O Father, when our men and women will return home from battlefield and ocean to their dear ones. Send Thy help to the wounded. Shield them from pain, grant them healing and restore them speedily to health. Into Thy hands, O God, we commit the souls of the departed, the helpless victims of the tyrants, and the heroic soldiers who have given their lives that evil may be dethroned; and send Thy consolation to the multitudes of the bereaved. world where men need never learn

"O Lord of Hosts, thou hast

strengthened us in tribulation, guide us now in this hour of triumph. May the knowledge which sorrow has taught us and the strength we have gained in battle now be placed upon Thine altar and dedicated to the task which Thou hast given us to establish a world where men need never learn the arts of war again."

## Rosh Hashonah Services Voice Call for New World

A call for America to throw off the shackles of the past and march forward bravely toward the better world of tomorrow was voiced by the city's rabbis at Rosh Hashonah services today.

Welcoming the Jewish New Year 5706, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of The Temple declared that this nation's industrial advances

since Pearl Harbor "proclaim that a new heaven and a new earth can be created in this gracious land once we free ourselves from the rust and tarnish of cynicism and complacency."

"In a real sense we are just at the beginning of man's intellectual and spiritual evolution and only on

the threshold of our country's heroic destiny," the rabbi said.

"WHEN OUR young men and women return from the distant battlefronts to our cities and to our homes, may they grasp the opportunities of the new day and age and may they face the tasks of tomorrow with eager spirits and with stout hearts."

MONDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1945

## HITLERISM ALIVE, SILVER ASSERTS

Rabbi Urges Free Palestine as Only Solution

There are many disconcerting evidences that Hitlerism, far from being dead, is still spreading, said Rabbi A. H. Silver, speaking on the question "Is Hitler Really Dead?" at the first Sunday morning service of the season at the Temple yesterday.

"From a practical point of view it is of very little moment whether Hitler is alive or dead," Rabbi Silver said. "His potential for evil is nil, and Germany lies prostrate under the feet of the conquerors."

"But it is of deep concern whether Hitlerism is alive or dead. If it is alive the war has been lost. If the poison of Hitlerism is still alive in the world, it may yet again bring disaster on mankind. If Germany has not been de-Nazified, what have we fought the war for? What hope is there for democracy in Germany or the rest of Europe?"

"From many reports anti-Semitism is rampant in Europe, even in the countries liberated by the Allies. In Poland there have been pogroms inspired not by the government but by sections of the population hostile to Jews. In Slovakia there have been attacks on Jews by the Hlinka guards."

"In Holland, the refuge of the free spirit of man for centuries, there has been increasing anti-Semitism the evil fruit of the German propaganda. In France, where hatred of the German is so intense, the hatred of anti-Semitism is not so tense."

"What was the storm signal announcing the coming of the World War? It was anti-Semitism. When reaction began its death march in the world, what is inscribed on its banner? 'No, hatred of the Jew.' "Hitlerism is not dead. Were it dead, then this war would have put an end to anti-Semitism in Europe. In the past few days I have personally received cables from Jewish leaders in Berlin and elsewhere in central Europe, and they plead for the opportunity of leaving Europe and entering Palestine. They are asking to be rescued from the miserable conditions still in the concentration camps."

"Over a week ago I had the privilege of speaking to President Truman, who had sent a humanitarian appeal to the British government to issue 100,000 certificates for the admission of Jewish emigrants to Palestine. I asked him whether he felt his request would be granted. He said he was very hopeful that it would be, and he spoke of the request as being only the first step in the progress toward solution of the Jewish problem."

"Jews are not going back to their old status in Europe. Constitutional guarantees of citizenship rights mean nothing to them in actuality. The problem of homelessness can only be solved by establishing a place of refuge for the Jews, a place where they can go as of right and not of sufferance."



# PANORAMA: "What Hitler Read Last"

By DAVID SCHWARTZ

The last book Hitler read before taking a "misemeshunch" was a biography of Benjamin Disraeli.

I have this from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. The other night I attended a little ceremony in Richmond Hills, New York, where friends of Sol Cohen, prominent New York Zionist, were giving him a little celebration and were also celebrating the "burning" of the mortgage on the Jewish Community Center in which Mr. Cohen is very active. Dr. Silver and Sol Cohen have been life-long friends and Zionists—their Zionism having a common inception in the first boys Zionist club, the Theodore Herzl Zionist Society of the East Side of New York.

So Silver came to see his friend honored—and spoke, not in the usual way. There was no oratory. It was rather a kind of fireside chat, in which Dr. Silver spoke ramblingly of many topics—from cabbages to kings—and particularly about books.

As I was saying, he said the last book Hitler read was a biography of Benjamin Disraeli. Dr. Silver cited as authority for this, Congressman Fulton, who recently returned from Europe. The Congressman, visited the

Chance-lory, headquarters of Hitler—and on the library table, amid the ruins, lay this book—life of the great English Jewish statesman.

Hitler in his last moments apparently had an opportunity to review the life of a man who did succeed in building an empire. He should have taken lessons from Disraeli earlier, but apparently he had to be brought to the end off his rope before he would consider a Jew.

Disraeli also wanted to build an empire—and did—without noise, without bloodshed. Hitler was going to build one which would endure for a thousand years. His German empire today is a concentration camp.

In this connection, Dr. Silver recalled that after the Bolshevik Revolution he travelled to Russia and visited the Czar's palace. The Bolsheviks had cleaned out the Czar's family, but they left the palace untouched, and Dr. Silver went through the rooms along with many other visitors. Finally, Silver came to the private library of the Czar and what do you think Nicholas had apparently been looking at just before they dispatched him to his ancestors? It was Israel Zangwill's "Dreamers of the Ghetto."

How Zangwill would have liked to know that. It might have served him for the begin-

ning of another book, perhaps "The Irony of the Ghetto," and its theme would have been how these oppressors of the Jew, these who shout for the extermination of the Jews, who resort to murder and every other crime against them, are conscious of the lies that their mouths speak, and shudder before the blood on their hands—and they die with the still small voice of the Jew thundering in their ears.

Hitler, we know from his own generals, was in a nervous state, beyond all powers of sedatives to calm him, in his last days. The Jews he murdered were talking to him. He tried to shut them out—but he couldn't. They spoke so low as to be outside the range of the human voice—and finally they pulled him to the shelf of books and forced him to read a book which shows how a decent and intelligent being goes about building an Empire.

Dr. Silver referred to "these last books of tyrants" in connection with the newspaper story which represents the fat Goering as spending his time awaiting trial as a was criminal reading the Old Testament.

He is too late, remarked Dr. Silver. Had he read it earlier, and perhaps the parts which Silver said he would have liked to underscore, what happened

might not have happened. Silver mentioned as some of the parts he should have underscored, the injunctions, "Thou shalt not kill," "Thou Shalt Love Thy Neighbor as Thyself," and "One law shall thou have for the stranger and the native."

But the Nazis would not have even talked of reading the Old Testament during their days of arrogance. The Old Testament was the Book above all books which they attacked, and well might they have attacked it. It was the English historian, Lecky, who said that the defenders of liberty throughout the ages have always quoted from the Old Testament—and liberty was the one thing next to the Jews, and even more than the Jews, which the Nazis wished to exterminate.

There was one passage of the Talmud which Dr. Silver quoted which I think every would-be tyrant ought to be forced to read. It was a saying of an ancient rabbi, that any city in which the roofs of the buildings are higher than that of the synagogue of the city would be destroyed.

There is precious ore in this saying. It is, of course, symbolic. Yet, it is terribly true that any city—any empire which elevates the material above the moral will in the end suffer extinction.

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Oct. 23, 1945 (Boston Advertiser)

## West End Synagogue Praised

Governor Dewey and Mayor La Guardia sent greetings yesterday to West End Synagogue, 160 West Eighty-second Street, on the occasion of its 100th anniversary observance. Both officials praised the congregation for its contribution to the spiritual progress of

the city. The anniversary service will be held Friday and Saturday. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, will preach Friday evening. Rabbi Hyman J. Schachtel, the only living ex-abbi of the congregation, will come from Houston, Tex., to conduct services Saturday morning.

## 100th Anniversary Observed

The Congregation Shaaray Tefila started last night a series of services commemorating its one hundredth anniversary. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, president of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, preached the sermon at the West End Synagogue, 116 West Eighty-second Street. Rabbi Hyman J. Schachtel of Houston, Texas, the only living former rabbi of the congregation will conduct this morning's services and the anniversary dinner will be held this evening at the Plaza Hotel. Tomorrow afternoon the anniversary pageant, "Opening the Gates," will be presented.