

Proceedings  
*of*  
Non-Zionist Conference  
Concerning  
Palestine

LOUIS MARSHALL, *Chairman*

HOTEL BILTMORE, NEW YORK  
OCTOBER TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST  
NINETEEN TWENTY-EIGHT

Non-Zionist Conference  
Concerning Palestine

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Verbatim Report  
*of the*  
Proceedings

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October 20-21, 1928

New York City

Non-Zionist Conference Concerning Palestine

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# CONTENTS

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## FIRST SESSION—SATURDAY EVENING, October 20, 1928.

|  | PAGE |
|--|------|
| Address of Mr. Louis Marshall, Chairman..... | 5    |
| Resolutions .....                            | 18   |
| Address of Mr. Felix M. Warburg.....         | 20   |
| Address of Lord Melchett .....               | 22   |
| Address of Dr. Lee K. Frankel.....           | 31   |
| Message from Dr. Elwood Mead.....            | 35   |
| Address of Prof. Jacob G. Lipman.....        | 36   |

## SECOND SESSION—SUNDAY MORNING, October 21, 1928.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Address of Judge Horace Stern.....           | 38 |
| Address of Judge Irving Lehman.....          | 43 |
| Address of Dr. Julian Morgenstern.....       | 44 |
| Communications .....                         | 46 |
| Address of Dr. Cyrus Adler.....              | 48 |
| Address of Col. Herbert H. Lehman.....       | 50 |
| Address of Dr. Abram Simon.....              | 51 |
| Address of Dr. David Philipson.....          | 52 |
| Address of Dr. Samuel Schulman.....          | 54 |
| Address of Mr. David A. Brown.....           | 59 |
| Address of Rabbi William H. Fineshriber..... | 63 |
| Address of Rabbi Louis Wolsey.....           | 65 |
| Address of Mr. James N. Rosenberg.....       | 66 |
| Discussion and Resolutions .....             | 69 |
| Address of Dr. Chaim Weizmann.....           | 72 |

## THIRD SESSION—SUNDAY AFTERNOON, Oct. 21, 1928.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Discussion on Resolutions.....         | 75 |
| Address of Dr. Max Heller.....         | 81 |
| Address of Mr. Harry Sacher.....       | 84 |
| Address of Mr. Louis Lipsky.....       | 85 |
| Address of Mr. Morris Rothenberg.....  | 86 |
| Address of Rev. Z. H. Masliansky.....  | 88 |
| Address of Judge William M. Lewis..... | 88 |
| Resolutions .....                      | 89 |
| Address of Dr. Shmarya Levin.....      | 90 |
| Address of Mr. Samuel C. Lamport.....  | 91 |
| Address of Dr. Isaac Landman.....      | 93 |
| Address of Dr. Leo Jung.....           | 94 |
| Address of Mr. Samuel S. Sachs.....    | 95 |

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The Non-Zionist Conference Concerning Palestine convened at the Biltmore Hotel, New York City, Saturday, October 20, 1928, at 8:30 P. M., Mr. Louis Marshall presiding.

The report of the proceedings follows:

### Address of Mr. Louis Marshall

**M**R. MARSHALL: Ladies and Gentlemen: This meeting of non-Zionists has been called for the purpose of considering the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, and of taking action upon that report.

It may be perhaps desirable, in the first instance, to explain why this Conference has been called a Non-Zionist Conference in contradistinction to the two preceding conferences which gathered in 1924, in the month of February, and in 1925, in the month of March. At the former conferences there were other questions to be considered besides the question of the formation of a Jewish Agency. We were considering the question of the formation of a financial corporation which subsequently was organized under the name of the Palestine Economic Corporation. This meeting is called for the purpose of acting in accordance with resolutions which were adopted at the former meetings, the former conferences, in order to determine whether or not the non-Zionists of the United States are prepared to become members of the Agency.

We are not partisans, of course. We have been discussing this question for a long time, calmly and deliberately and after much study. Yet, for purposes of the selection of representatives, if we come to a conclusion that there shall be a Joint Agency along the lines which we have heretofore discussed, it necessarily means that the non-Zionists are to elect the representatives and are to determine how they shall be chosen. Otherwise, you can see at once that there might be a question as to the propriety of having those selected as representatives of the non-Zionists who may be chosen by votes of Zionists. I merely make this statement so that nobody will rest under the impression that we are making an unpleasant distinction between Zionists and non-Zionists.

Now, as I have already said, the subject which we are to consider tonight is not a new one. It was first discussed, so far as we here are concerned, in the latter part of 1923, at which time the Zionist Organization of the World had taken action at one of its congresses for the purpose of enlarging the so-called Jewish Agency so as to include not only Zionists but also non-Zionists.

Dr. Weizmann, the honored head of the Zionist Organization, came to this country for the purpose of interesting such of the Jews of the United States who were not members of the Zionist Organization in the general problem of Palestine and, in particular, with respect to the formation of this enlarged Jewish Agency. Persuaded by him that this was a matter of great importance, a subject which should be carefully considered by the non-Zionists, a meeting was called for the purpose of taking action upon that subject. The call begins as follows:

"The time has arrived when we firmly believe that the duty rests upon the Jews of this country who are not members of or affiliated with the Zionist Organization to consider seriously their relations to the economic problems of Palestine and to its cultural and industrial upbuilding. Great Britain, as the Mandatory of the Holy Land, has established a government for Palestine which is now functioning. Under the terms of the Treaty of Lausanne, provision was made for a Jewish Agency which was to act in an advisory capacity to the government. Until now, the Zionist Organization has constituted such Agency. That body, however, recognizes the desirability of making such changes in the composition of the Agency as to make of it a real Jewish Agency by totally depriving it of the element of partisanship and, to that end, of arranging a plan whereby non-Zionists shall be represented to a substantial degree in the Agency."

Pursuant to that call, there gathered here a goodly number of representatives of non-Zionist organizations and of Jews who are prominent in American Jewish life for the purpose of considering the desirability of acting upon that call. The result of that meeting was that by a practically unanimous vote committees were appointed to give study to the question, to confer with the representatives of the Zionist Organization, to ascertain how and when and on what terms there might be arranged a reorganization of the existing Jewish Agency.

It took a considerable time to come to a conclusion, but the result was that a new conference was called, or the old conference was reconvened, and met, as I have said, in March 1925. At that time there was a very large gathering, and resolutions were passed to which I shall presently refer—and I shall read, because in the passing of the years since 1925 much that took place at that time has been forgotten; at all events, it will not hurt anybody to have

his recollection refreshed as to what was done and what understanding was reached at that time. Perhaps this may be the best time for reading the resolutions adopted at that meeting.

"Whereas, by Article 132 of the Treaty of Peace signed at Sévres on August 10, 1920, Turkey renounced, in favor of the Allied Powers, all rights and title over Palestine, and in accordance with Article 95 of the Treaty, it was agreed to entrust the administration of Palestine to Great Britain as the Mandatory responsible for putting into effect the Balfour Declaration, recognition having been given in the Treaty to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine; and

"Whereas, in accordance with Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate subsequently issued by the League of Nations, provision has been made for the recognition of an appropriate Jewish Agency as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of a Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and subject always to the control of the Administration to assist and take part in the development of the country and the Zionist Organization was recognized as such Agency, with directions to take steps, in consultation with the Mandatory Government, to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home; and

"Whereas, in accordance with Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate the Zionist Organization has heretofore proposed the establishment of an enlarged Jewish Agency in which adequate representation shall be given to non-Zionists to participate with the Zionist Organization in the privileges and responsibilities of the Jewish Agency, and thereupon on February 17, 1924, at a Non-Partisan Conference of American Jews convened in the City of New York it was concluded to be desirable that an appropriate plan be formulated whereby American Jewry might become a part of the Jewish Agency, and a committee was designated to confer with the Zionist Organization and other bodies for the purpose of effectuating this object and in the meantime the principal Jewish communities of Europe, through representative organizations, have taken steps looking to the accomplishment of the same end; and

"Whereas, the Non-Partisan Conference has now reconvened to receive the report of its Committees, which has been submitted and fully considered,

"Be it Resolved, First: That the Report of the Committee and its several recommendations be, and the same are in principle accepted and approved.

"Second: That in order to carry out the plan embodied in such report this Conference appoint an Organization Committee to consist of twelve members who are not members of the Zionist Organization (but who are to act in co-operation with the Zionist Organization), for the purpose of bringing about full participation of American Jewry in the Jewish Agency, and that such committee be instructed to proceed with its activities in accordance with the affairs were to be conducted.

"(a) That it shall proceed to bring about the creation and recognition of a Jewish Agency pursuant to the Mandate which shall consist of a Council and of an Executive Committee in both of which bodies there shall be non-Zionist representatives of responsible American Jewish organizations in the ratio hereinafter specified;

"(b) That on the Council of the Jewish Agency to be formed, 50% of the membership shall be selected by the World Zionist Organization, and 50% by non-Zionist bodies willing in the spirit of the Mandate to co-operate actively in the Jewish Agency;

"(c) That of the non-Zionist members of the Council of the Jewish Agency, 40% shall be representative of American Jewry, exclusive of such American representatives as may be selected by the Zionist Organization;

"(d) That 50% of such Executive Committee as may be selected to administer the affairs of the Jewish Agency, shall be appointed by the World Zionist Organization, and 50% shall be appointed by the Council composed of the non-Zionist bodies participating in the responsibilities of the Jewish Agency;

"(e) That the right of the members of the Council and in the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency to vote by proxy shall be recognized.

"Third: That upon the receipt of the acceptance by a majority of those chosen for membership in the Council representing non-Zionist bodies, of their designation as such members, an assembly of the American members of the Council of Jewish Agency shall be summoned by the Organizing Committee appointed by this Conference.

"Fourth: That due consideration be given at such assembly to the desirability of making the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund) an instrumentality of the Jewish Agency in respect to such financial matters as properly come within the jurisdiction of the Agency and for the unification of the various public efforts as distinguished from economic undertakings, directed to the up-building of Palestine."

But after those resolutions were passed, in the spring of 1925, there were a number of conferences and a great many questions arose as to how to proceed and other historic events occurred, which

it is not necessary now to refer to, which delayed the carrying out of the resolution.

There was a desire on the part of many to be better informed with regard to Palestinian conditions, with regard to the method in which affairs were administered there, with respect to the resources of the country. And in order to meet that situation we had a number of conversations, considerable correspondence, with representatives of the Zionist Organization.

They culminated, in January, 1927, in a determination to deal with this matter not by rule of thumb, not in accordance with pious hopes and wishes or inspiration, but on the basis of actual facts, of a thorough scientific survey of the ground, and as a result of a determination by leading men of large business experience, of great Jewish interests, who on the strength of expert reports which would come to them might make their determination as to the conditions prevailing, as to what should be done and what should not be done and how the affairs of Palestine should be administered in the event that the enlarged Jewish Agency would be agreed upon.

Now, the selection of the Commission took some time, but it was not very difficult, because we had in mind certain intellectual, business and Jewish standards by which our determination was to be guided. And so Dr. Weizmann and I, as representatives of the two groups, arranged for the appointment of Lord Melchett, then Sir Alfred Mond, of London, Mr. Felix M. Warburg of New York, Dr. Lee K. Frankel of New York, and Mr. Oscar Wassermann of the Deutsche Bank of Berlin, as the Commissioners—all of them, as you know, men of unusual experience and men whose judgments are not formed lightly but as the result of mature and deliberate investigation and thought.

In order to enable the Commissioners to act advisedly and with full knowledge of the facts, not as gleaned out of newspapers or out of reports which may or may not have been carefully framed but as a result of an examination, a survey in the best sense of the word of all the resources of Palestine and of all the transactions which had occurred, had taken place and the plans which were then in operation, in order to find out just what the conditions were.

Now, in selecting these experts, we exercised extreme care. The important desideratum was, first, that of thorough scientific training, of men who had a reputation and who had gained a reputation as agriculturists, industrialists and experts in various departments of human activity, men who would not lightly risk injury to their reputation and who, therefore, would proceed with great care. We were anxious to avoid the selection of anybody who might be claimed to be a partisan, who might be regarded as belonging to one or the other of the two Jewish groups, Zionist or



non-Zionist—and I might have added, if there were any (I think there are none left) of anti-Zionists.

It was also believed that the men who should be selected should be those who were connected with some government in an official capacity. It was immaterial to us whether it was one government or the other. But it happened that the majority of the experts were Americans and were either officials in the Department of Agriculture or of some of the other departments of our national government or were engaged as teachers and instructors and professors in institutions of learning. There were some, also, who had held high position in Great Britain. And we also had the benefit of the experience of men who had large dealings in commercial operations.

Now, merely to give you an idea of the men that were thus selected, I will rapidly read their names.

On Immigration and Settlement—Sir John Campbell, who had been Vice-Chairman of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission, a distinguished English scientist.

On Agricultural Colonization—Dr. Elwood Mead, United States Commissioner of Reclamation in the Department of the Interior; Professor J. G. Lipman, who is with us this evening, Director of the New Jersey State Agricultural Experiment Station and President of the International Soil Survey Congress of 1927. Associated with them were Professor Frank Adams of the University of California, whose subject was Agricultural Economics; Mr. C. Q. Henriques, former member of the Public Works Department of the Government of India, on the subject of Irrigation; Mr. Knowles Ryerson, Horticultural Adviser to the Government of Haiti, on Horticulture; Mr. A. T. Strahorn, of the Bureau of Soils of the United States Department of Agriculture, on Soils.

Dr. Leo Wolman, Labor Adviser to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union of New York, was asked to report on Labor and Co-operative Institutions.

Professor Milton J. Rosenau, Director of the School of Public Health at Harvard University, and Dr. Charles F. Wilinsky, Deputy Commissioner of Health of the City of Boston, were engaged to report on the subject of Public Health.

We also had the benefit of the advice of Sir Robert Waley Cohen and Mr. Walter Cohen, Honorary Secretary to the Economic Board for Palestine, who gave us a report on Industry.

We also had a very careful report made as to the financial status of Palestinian organizations by Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Company.

We also had the benefit of the services and the ability of Dr. Maurice B. Hexter and of Mr. Michael Naamani, who acted as Secretaries of the Commission.

There were others who gave us information and who supplied us with data.

You will, therefore, see, that this work was not undertaken in an amateur manner. We have tried to get the best men to make the most thorough examination. They didn't do it from a swivel chair in their offices, far from the scene which they were to describe and upon which they were to sit in judgment; but they went through the country, literally, from Dan to Beersheba. And the report which they have rendered (and some of you have probably seen this report; if not, you will get copies of it) is really a volume which I think, for the first time, informs the world of Jewry what Palestine is and what it is not, what can be done and what cannot be done. This is a volume of 750 printed pages, and there isn't a superfluous word in it. It gives anybody who desires to know what the situation is the fullest possible knowledge upon the subject.

Now these reports were completed before the Commission undertook to act. And before they even saw the reports, each of the four Commissioners—and this is the remarkable thing—men whose interests are of the greatest importance (I do not think that you really appreciate how important they are) left their businesses, proceeded to Palestine, spent weeks there in going over the ground, in familiarizing themselves with conditions. And so Lord Melchett, who had been in Palestine before and was well acquainted with it, Mr. Warburg, who had previously been in Palestine, and Dr. Frankel and Mr. Wassermann, who had not, spent very weary weeks. But I think that they were repaid for their efforts in the satisfaction they got from becoming acquainted with the land. They spent these weeks in themselves making an inquiry and an investigation.

And some of these gentlemen are experts in various directions. It is not necessary to go into detail, but their experience is world-wide. And they, therefore, when they reach an opinion, bring to the task years and years of observation and minds that are trained to deal with facts and to understand the value of facts when presented to them.

The Commission met in England on the first of June of this year. And for three weeks there was constant conference. The reports had been previously read or digested and summarized, drafts were made of various sketches of the report, there were discussions which lasted sometimes from early morn to midnight. And then, finally, the Commission, after having given this careful study to the subject, met and voted.

And the astonishing thing is that four men of this caliber, who had never before met together (several of them had never met any of the others; they are citizens of various countries), when they came to vote, were unanimous in their opinions as to all of the

matters which were discussed and which were formulated in the report which I have here, and of which a great many of you have received copies and which you have had an opportunity to study.

These copies were sent out as rapidly as they could be to those who had been at the previous conferences and to some, in addition, in order that when this meeting would convene you would not be here without knowing what had been done but that you would be able to form your own judgment by having had an opportunity to read the text of these reports.

I have had a great many experiences in a rather busy life during the past fifty years or more, during which I have attended many conferences, and have met men in various vocations in life of all types. But I must say, and I say it with pleasure, that I never have met a body of men who worked so earnestly, so conscientiously, so seriously upon any problem as the gentlemen who constituted this Commission worked on this report. And there was not a word which is contained in the report, not a recommendation that was made, that was not carefully weighed and studied and thought out before it finally saw the light of day. (Applause.)

In order to make a record, I now present to the Conference, first, the volume containing the reports of the experts and, then, the volume containing the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission.

Those of you who have seen the report do not require any particular explanation. But, briefly, I shall give you the captions of the various parts of the report, in order that you may see what the subjects were which engaged the attention first of the experts and then of the Commissioners.

First of all, there is an Historical Introduction.

Then come the Findings of Fact, as relate to Physiography, Boundaries, Topography, Soil Survey, Climate, Demography, Mining, and Commerce.

Then comes a consideration of the subject of Immigration, and important facts are set forth dealing with that problem.

Then comes the very important and vital subject of Agricultural Colonization. And the heads of the topics discussed with regard to that branch of the subject are Land Acquisition, Fruit Farming, Cereal Farming, Dairy Farming, Various Types of Settlement, Employment of Hired Labor, Afforestation, Irrigation, Agricultural Education, Research, Government Co-operation for the furtherance of Agricultural Settlement, Cost of Settlement.

Then comes the subject of Industry, with the subject heads: Present State of Industry, Tariff Problem, Export Possibilities, Fisheries, Dead Sea, Palestine Electric Corporation, Tourist Traffic.

A study on the subject of the Co-operative Movement follows, under which heading are discussed the topics: Solel Boneh, Hamashbir, Nir, Misrad Hakablani, Problem of Labor Co-operatives, Pardess, an orange selling corporation.

Banking and Credit then occupies the attention of the Commissioners, and they discuss under that head: Anglo-Palestine Company, Palestine Kupath Am Bank, Workers' Bank, Artisans' Bank, Mizrachi Bank, Loan Bank, Merkaz, Central Bank of Co-operative Institutions in Palestine, Co-operative Bank Bnai-Benjamin, Palestine Building Loan and Saving Association, Palestine Economic Corporation, Palestine Corporation, General Mortgage Bank of Palestine, Other Banks, and Credit Facilities.

The next subject is Public Health. A monumental report was made by Dr. Rosenau and Dr. Wilinsky, discussing: General Conditions, Hadassah Medical Organization, Kupath Cholim, Bicur Cholim, Shaare Zedek, Misgab Ledach.

Then comes the subject of Labor, based largely upon the report of Dr. Wolman, which is sub-divided into the heads of: Statistics, Jewish and Arab Standards, Legislation, Cost of Living, Labor Movement and its Activities, Artisans, Industrial Relations.

Then come the important subjects of Finance, Education, the Organization of the Jewish Community, and finally a monograph on the subject of the Function of the Government under the Mandate.

That constitutes Part I of the report. It consists of findings of fact on all of these numerous subjects. You can see how comprehensive the investigation was. I should have said that before the experts went abroad, they were supplied with a questionnaire, which had been carefully prepared, calling attention to the various subjects which were to be investigated under the different heads—the idea being that these gentlemen were to cross-examine Palestine and give the answer to all of the queries that had been asked with regard to it. And this report is the result of that cross-examination.

The second part of the report consists of the conclusions and recommendations of the Commissioners. They are numerous and are carefully phrased. There is a first, a preliminary statement. Then there are recommendations on the subjects of Immigration, Agriculture, Industry, Education, Public Health, Labor and Finance.

I hope that a very large percentage of those here present have done more than to read these headings and that those who had the opportunity (and many have had the opportunity to do so) have read this report from cover to cover. It was our intention that they should. We made up our minds that the determination that

was to be made at this meeting was to be one made in the light of knowledge and not on trust, that each individual was to have the chance to make up his own mind if he desired to do so. If he didn't, he would possibly have to depend very much upon the views of those who are interested in this meeting and who will give you the benefit of their information.

Personally, I always like to read for myself reports of this character, so that I may find fault with nobody but myself if I make an erroneous decision. It would be a most happy day in my life if I knew that you had all read this report, because there is nothing to be concealed. We have given all the facts. We have asked a full report. If you expect to read this report with the idea of finding captious criticisms, you will be disappointed. If you read this report with the idea that you will find a scandal uncovered, you will be disappointed. If you read this report with but one idea, to get the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth, you will not be disappointed. (Applause.)

This report is now before you. In the regular order of business, it will be proper to introduce a resolution either to favor the adoption of the report or to reject it. Of course, it should not be rejected unless you know why you are rejecting it. It should not be adopted unless you have confidence in those who have made the report, first as experts and secondly as Commissioners, and of those who have devoted a great deal of time to this subject.

When you remember that these men, these Commissioners and those associated with them, have had no interest in this matter except the public welfare, no axes to grind, no cause to combat, no interest of any kind except that of the public good and the welfare of Israel, that should be considered as a most important factor in the determination of the action which you are to take.

Now this report, naturally, has been presented to the Actions Committee or Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization. You probably have read in the newspapers of the long meeting that was held in Berlin in July, where this matter was carefully discussed. I say "discussed." (Laughter.) Of course, the report itself was scarcely at that time in form in which it could be generally read. A great many of the people who were at the meeting, even if they had had the report, would not have been able to follow it as well as we, because it is in the English language, and I am sure that at that time there had been no translation of that report.

And there undoubtedly have been various interpretations of some of the provisions. But the remarkable fact is that after the subject was subjected to microscopic scrutiny, where every word of that part of the report which was then published (namely, the recommendations) was analyzed and weighed, that by a vote of

42 to 4, the report was adopted with, shall I say, a few reservations—that being the fashionable thing, a style which has been contributed to world thought by the United States. There were these few reservations.

Now they are, in my judgment, unimportant. They can be very easily arranged and adjusted. They really require little more explanation. They relate to the subject of Immigration. So far as that is concerned, there can be no possible difference of opinion. So long as the country is in a condition to absorb immigrants and enable them to earn a livelihood, everybody wants as many immigrants to come into Palestine as possible. And nobody desires to have any immigrants except those who are fit and strong enough to do productive work, who have the mental and physical power to help in the development of the land. So on the subject of immigration, there can be no real difference.

Then there was some question as to a recommendation with regard to what are known as the Kvutzoth. I think there is a misunderstanding of the language of the report in that regard. But that can be easily explained and adjusted.

Then there is a third subject with regard to the National Fund. There seemed to be an idea that there was an attack upon the National Fund—which was the greatest misunderstanding possible. Nobody had any such idea in mind (the only point suggested was that side by side with the National Fund, additional funds should be gathered for acquiring land, if it could be done prudently). Nobody had the idea of encouraging speculation in land. I have always considered it a crime for a Jew to speculate in land in Palestine. (Applause.) In fact, three years ago, when I crossed the Atlantic and a man from Brooklyn told me that there was a great chance to make money in land in Palestine, I asked him in what way. He said, "By speculation." I said, "If I was strong enough, I would throw you overboard now." (Applause.) If I had been seasick, I think I would have done it. It would have given me a great deal of relief. (Laughter.)

I merely make this statement so that in presenting this matter to you, you will have all the facts, and my recommendation is, if you get to the point of approving this report, that a clause shall be contained in the resolutions which will be adopted in due time, to find a way to bring about an adjustment of these specific subjects.

Of course, nobody who worked on this report, not even the experts, is willing to say that the last word has been spoken with regard to Palestine. What has been done, however, is to make a report which under existing conditions indicates what should or what should not be done.

We know how conditions change in every country, sometimes every decade, sometimes every year. And if the Joint Agency is

organized, why the Joint Agency naturally would deal with all of the questions that from time to time will arise. It will be the body which will ultimately shape the policies. But you must have something to start with. This report is what we recommend to be the basis, subject to such few changes that may be made as a result of an adjustment, or possibly which may not be made as the result of the adjustment. They are to be considered seriously and thought out and, then, action taken. Ultimately, however, as I once more say, the Agency will be the body which will determine all of these problems. Let there be no mistake about it.

Knowing these fundamental facts, knowing the theory upon which this report has proceeded, knowing the theory upon which the Agency is to be organized, no fair-minded man ought to have any difficulty with regard to any part of that report.

Now, you all know the Balfour Declaration. It is not necessary to read it to you. You probably know it by heart, you have heard it so often. It is one of the most remarkable documents in the world, because it covers only about five or six lines and is very comprehensive. It has been interpreted by the British Government and by the League of Nations. And the Mandate is the outcome of the Balfour Declaration.

The Balfour Declaration was first adopted by England, but other nations followed. France, Italy, ultimately the entire League of Nations recognized it. And the Mandate speaks the voice of the League of Nations. And although the United States has not become a member of the League of Nations, nevertheless, in 1921, the Congress of the United States, the Senate and the House of Representatives, unanimously adopted a resolution which reaffirmed the Balfour Declaration. So you gentlemen and ladies who are citizens of the United States need have no compunction with regard to your following the lead and the advice of the Congress of the United States, which is not frequently unanimous. (Laughter and applause.)

Now there may be much more to say on the subject. As the Chairman of this Conference, who should be entirely dispassionate—and I assure you that I am—but who, nevertheless, is very much interested in this subject, I think I have performed my function in opening the case, giving you the salient facts, so that you may listen with an appreciation of what we have in mind when you hear the gentlemen whom I shall ask to discuss this matter for you.

I do, however, feel that it is desirable before I close these remarks to make some observations with regard to what the Jewish Agency is. Primarily, under Article IV of the Mandate, which I read to you (at least the recital of it as contained in the resolutions adopted at the meeting of March, 1925), the Jewish Agency is

to act in an advisory capacity to the Palestinian Government. Knowing that the purpose of the Balfour Declaration was, as well as of the Mandate, that a Jewish Home should be established in Palestine and that the Jews should have certain opportunities there which would enable them to live their own lives, to develop their cultural interests, it was naturally important that the Jews should have something to say in respect to the manner in which Palestinian affairs were to be conducted.

Now, it also naturally followed that this advisory body was not merely to sit around and act as a sort of "kibitzer" (Laughter.), but that it should also do practical work, that it should see to it that those who came to Palestine to live there should have opportunities, that there should be land acquired upon which they might live and earn a livelihood and help to build up the country, and that there should be opportunities for industry, for labor and for commerce.

All of these things were important and necessary. And so the Jewish Agency naturally evolved into what has now become a very important activity of the Jewish people in connection with the rebuilding of the home of our fathers, the land of our fathers, in such a manner as to make it an object of pride to every right-thinking Jew.

Now, that is what the Jewish Agency is—advisory in one way, active and constructive in another.

Temporarily, under the terms of the Mandate, the Zionist Organization was named as that Agency. It was, however, contemplated, and so it is expressed in the Mandate in terms of clarity, that all other Jews who desired to associate themselves with this work were expected to co-operate. And the British Government has indicated, in the way that it has carried out the Mandate, that this is its desire, as it should be.

We are now confronted with the question as to whether we, the non-Zionists of the United States, in conjunction with the non-Zionists of other parts of the world, will do our part toward the rebuilding of Palestine, of developing its natural resources, according to principles of economics, and of creating a finer spiritual and cultural life than ever before in that ancient land for the Jewish people.

This, in a nutshell, is the matter which is to be decided at this Conference. I hope that all here will approach this subject in a spirit not of levity but of solemnity, that everybody present will recognize the seriousness of the proposition and will appreciate the fact that after action is taken, if it be in the affirmative, responsibilities will have been assumed, and that we will have to work shoulder to shoulder and side by side with the erstwhile Zionists in attempting to carry out what I consider to be a sacred mission. (Applause.)



Mr. DAVID M. BRESSLER: Mr. Chairman, may I present for the consideration of this Conference these resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN (reading): "Whereas, at a so-called Non-Partisan Conference on Palestinian Problems held in the City of New York on February 17, 1924, a Resolution was adopted for the creation of a Committee to study the subject of the Jewish Agency and, if practicable, to formulate an appropriate plan whereby American Jews might associate themselves in such Agency, and to confer with the World Zionist Organization for the purpose of working out a plan for the effectuation of the object in view; and

"Whereas, at a subsequent Conference held on March 1, 1925, the report of the Committee appointed in conformity with the Resolution adopted at the earlier meeting, was submitted, which contained the recommendation that an appropriate plan be formulated whereby American Jewry might become part of the Jewish Agency, which report and its several recommendations were approved and the outline of a plan for an enlarged Jewish Agency was adopted; and

"Whereas, the carrying out of said Resolution was delayed, among other reasons, because it was deemed important to secure further authoritative information with regard to Palestinian conditions as the basis for the adoption of a comprehensive program for the Jewish Agency; and

"Whereas, a Commission known as the Joint Palestine Survey Commission, consisting of the Right Honorable Lord Melchett, Dr. Lee K. Frankel, Mr. Felix M. Warburg and Mr. Oscar Wassermann, was thereupon appointed to make a thorough survey and investigation of conditions in Palestine, including an expert study of its resources and of the agricultural, industrial, commercial and other economic possibilities of the land, and to acquire a complete conspectus of Jewish activities and achievements therein, and the duty was imposed upon such Commission of making recommendations concerning the creation of a system of activities which might correspond with the reasonable requirements of the country and to pass upon and make recommendations on the basis of the reports and opinions of a body of disinterested experts who were chosen and empowered to make a thorough scientific study of the subject entrusted to them in accordance with the comprehensive Terms of Reference and Specifications duly adopted; and

"Whereas, such experts, after visiting Palestine for the purpose of making such Survey, duly reported to the Commissioners the result of their study and observation, which reports are now a part of the records of this meeting; and

"Whereas, the Commissioners personally proceeded to Palestine and made their own observations on the ground, and there-

upon duly considered the reports of the experts and such other data as was duly presented to them, and on June 18, 1928, rendered a detailed report on the matters referred to them, embodying findings of fact, conclusions and recommendations relative to the various subjects so referred, which report has been duly published and has been made generally available to those interested in the subject, such report now being a part of the proceedings of this meeting.

"Due consideration having been had of such report and of the various subjects and conclusions therein set forth be it

"Resolved, that the Report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission be and the same is hereby received, accepted and approved and that its recommendations be regarded as a basis for future action by the non-Zionists of America who may now or hereafter be affiliated with this organization; it being, however, understood that from time to time conditions are likely to arise which may make advisable modifications of some of the recommendations contained in the report; provided, however, that in the event that an enlarged Jewish Agency as proposed should come into existence, that body is to deal with the subject in such manner as will best conduce to the economic, spiritual and cultural development of Palestine."

The question is now open for discussion. But before I ask the delegates generally to address themselves to the subject, I think it is proper that those who are here this evening who were members of the Commission should be asked to give us their views and to express their thoughts upon this subject. And I will therefore, first, call upon our good friend, Mr. Felix M. Warburg. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. Felix M. Warburg

**M**R. WARBURG: Mr. Marshall has presented to you the history of this report in his usual masterful manner. And he has given due credit, if not too much credit, to the work done by the Commissioners. He would have been absolutely just if he had stated that a certain promising young lawyer very much afraid of the sea, by the name of Louis Marshall, has assisted us considerably. (Applause.)

When we went over there we had the hope (and that hope was entirely fulfilled) that our report would be unanimous and that we would be able not only to reach our conclusions but would have, at the same time, the endorsement of that wonderful mind, Louis Marshall, the man who would carry our recommendations before this body and before American Jewry.

It was a daring thing to ask him to come over to London and sit with us so that he might advise us. He accepted, though he hated the enterprise. He did not like to leave his many responsibilities here. And he had a good many things more attractive, I think, than to sit and work out these reports.

In this undertaking he has shown the same absolute impartiality which I have known in him for so many years. In the selection of the experts, you will see as you go through the names, he endeavored to find people whom no one would ever term faultfinders. He tried to select the people who wanted to get into this matter on its merits, and only on its merits. That made it so much easier for us to reach these conclusions.

You know the resolutions. You know the recommendations. It is useless for me to try to go over them point by point. Some of you know that some of us went into this work with great misgivings. Some of you know that we expected to find a very difficult, a very complicated state of affairs. But we would be absolutely unjust if we were not to express what we did not state quite fully in this report—if we were not to express our admiration to the people who have brought Palestinian affairs as far as they are today.

It was very easy for us to go through the country, in comfort, guided, and provided with all the opportunities for examining and judging what has been done during the last few years. But it is hard to imagine the heart-breaking efforts which must have been made before Palestine reached the point which it has reached today, and what miserable nights they must have had planning wide-reaching ideas and programs without knowing what the next month would bring and whether they were planning for a month, for a year, for two years, and under what conditions.

Therefore, to write anything in criticism, simply to seem wise, and say what might have been done if we had started in the year 1928 instead of starting so and so many years ago, would have been ridiculous. And I, personally, feel deeply moved when I look through the records and see what had to be done and how thin was the ice upon which these pioneers had to go and how very rarified was the air through which the Zeppelin Weizmann had to fly. (Applause.)

We have reached these conclusions. They are before you. It is for Jewry in general to judge whether it is worth while to assist Palestine to become self-supporting and self-respecting, or whether to sit by and criticize.

We of the Joint Distribution Committee have been accustomed to treat the different countries where we have been working without any regard to the various shades, factions, etc., which we have found in them. Why should Palestine be an exception? I feel that if an organization is established, as Mr. Marshall has sketched it for you, we can do for Palestine what we have done for other countries: help it stand on its own legs as soon as possible and stop charity as soon as possible, and let the laws of economics take their course just as soon as the people can stand on their own feet—and they want to stand on their own feet.

If that is to be done, it seems to me that the method outlined—the formation of a Joint Executive Committee—is the most promising one. You who have worked in the Joint Distribution Committee for all these years know very well that once such an Agency is established, you will not know, after the first meeting, who had come from the one side and who from the other. (Applause.) There will be one body, interested not in the people behind them but in the problems before them. (Applause.)

And it is with that feeling, although originally, many years ago, much opposed to mixing into these affairs, that I have become an ardent admirer of the efforts made in Palestine and a fervent well-wisher of that country which has, without any doubt, a charm of its own.

You can select for your nephews or relatives countries where the life is more promising, you can select farms that are more promising than those in Palestine, but it is hard to find a country that is so inspiring, that makes you do things, forgetting the comforts and so-called life of the larger cities, as does Palestine.

The people there are worth while. The effort is worth while. And if I may urge anybody within my hearing, my feeling is that every Jew in the United States should help that country stand on its own feet, and we should do it in the way that is most businesslike, most painless for the recipients. And let us have as many players in the game and as few coaches on the sidelines as possible. (Applause.)

## Address of Lord Melchett

THE CHAIRMAN: *When this Conference was called, none of us had any idea that we would be so fortunate as to have with us tonight the Chairman of the Commission. We who met Lord Melchett in London and at his home during these deliberations have gained for him a feeling of love and affection and of the utmost respect for his fairness, the judicial character of his mind, and for the grasp of his intellect. And I consider it a real honor to be permitted to present him to the Jews of America. Lord Melchett. (The audience rose in a body and gave Lord Melchett an ovation.)*

THE RT. HON. LORD MELCHETT: Mr. Marshall, Mr. Warburg, Ladies and Gentlemen: I feel it a very great honor indeed that I have been asked to say a few words on what is really a matter of domestic character to the Congress which is assembled in such numbers here tonight. But I hope that you will not look upon me as an intruder, for wherever our people are gathered together, it is impossible to escape—and I wouldn't wish to—the problems of Eretz Israel. And whether we like it or whether we don't, whether we feel we should like to escape from the burden or whether we wish to bear it, one thing is certain: from one end of the world to the other, from the East to the West, from the North to the South, whatever continent I visit, in even the remotest localities, there will be gathered together numbers of our people discussing the future, discussing the aspirations, discussing the fate of Eretz Israel.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am glad to have this opportunity of correcting a few misapprehensions which have crept into various statements in the press. I always feel rather nervous about speaking on Palestine. Although I think I myself have fairly clear views on the subject, I do not seem always to be able to convey them to those to whom I am talking. (Laughter.)

There have been published interviews with me, which I never knew of before they appeared in print, containing a number of statements which I had never made and entirely misconstruing any ideas I hold. For instance, I saw one statement in which I was quoted as attacking my old friend and colleague, Dr. Weizmann, which was a curious position for me, as the President of the Zionist Federation of Great Britain, to take. (Laughter.) I read that I

was opposed to the Jewish Agency, a body to which I may some day have the honor to belong. (Laughter.) I saw that I was in favor of doing away with anything except private enterprise, because I had remarked that private enterprise must have a large share in the building up of Palestine as it must in the building up of any other country in the world.

As a matter of fact, if we did not always endeavor to invent differences, a great many of our difficulties would disappear. We do not seem to be able to realize that ideas and developments in countries are complementary; the development of Palestine is not a fancy stunt; its upbuilding presents a proposition parallel to that of other countries in the world.

Something happened to me as I entered this hall tonight which was very characteristic. I understand that this is a non-partisan congress. As I entered the lobby, I said, "Where is the Congress?" and the doorman said, "The Zionist Congress is upstairs." (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, may I speak frankly? I assure you that outside of our community, the entire Gentile world has never yet been able to understand the difference between a Zionist and a non-Zionist. (Applause.) I assure you that that is one of the things that puzzles them. Another thing they cannot understand is why the whole of Jewry is not taking the chance and the opportunity which the Mandate has given them to rebuild their Homeland. (Applause.)

I remember Mr. Lloyd George (I was a member of his Cabinet at the time that the Balfour Declaration came into being) saying one day to me, "I cannot understand your people. Here we have given them the great opportunity for which they pray every day, to return to Palestine. They have the opportunity and the whole world is watching to see whether they can do for themselves what they have done for so many other countries. And yet they seem so reluctant and terrified at entering into the heritage which has been placed before them. What is the matter with them?"

I endeavored to explain to him the difference between Zionists and non-Zionists, between Nationalists and non-Nationalists, etc. He said to me, "Look here. I am a Welshman, and I am a British subject. I am proud of my little country of Wales, with its language and its people. I am a passionately national Welshman, and yet I am a British subject and a member of the British Empire. And where is the difficulty involved in your people being good Palestinians and at the same time loyal subjects of the lands in which they live?" (Applause.)

These definitions, these distinctions between Zionists and non-Zionists do not exist except in the figment of people's minds. I assure you they do not exist among people outside. The world is judging not the Zionist Organization but the whole of Jewry for

what we make out of Palestine. The thousands of tourists visiting that country every year do not ask what the Zionist Organization or the PICA or the Commonwealth Organization or anybody else is doing. They ask, "What are the Jews doing in this country?" And if we do badly there, it will be a disgrace to our community and our people in every part of the world, and if we do well there, it will be a stimulus to new achievements and a cause for pride.

Go to the University of Jerusalem for which Felix Warburg has done so much and for which American Jewry has done so much. Why, that block of magnificent buildings is a source of pride to every Jew who comes to Palestine, an object of admiration to every Gentile who sees it. No one asks concerning the particular view or complexion of the Jews who gave the funds for it. Everyone sees in it a symbol of Jewish culture, of Jewish spirituality.

I was greatly honored to be Chairman of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission. There were associated with me gentlemen of such international standing and reputation that if a matter of finance or administration, of judgment were put on a prospectus, the world would furnish as many millions of dollars as Wall Street passes over in a day. We cannot sell this proposition to you, but we can sell any other proposition to anybody outside. (Applause.)

And on what was this document based? It was based on a series of reports which I would say, having been Chairman of many large Commissions, governmental and otherwise, are almost unequalled for the ability of the people who made them, the seriousness of the work undertaken, and the clarity with which the ideas are expressed. Our task was not an easy one. It involved me, I know, and I am sure my fellow Commissioners too in many days and many nights of very heavy work and very serious reflection. We, after all, were asked to work out a program for the most critical people in the world, the most difficult people to satisfy—a people who never have been satisfied with their Maker, much less with this Commission. (Laughter.) And we don't claim for this document that it is an inspired book of the Covenant. What we do claim for it is that it is the honest endeavor of four men of experience to lay down the guiding lines—not necessarily the details, but the guiding lines—by which in the future anyone who is responsible for the management of that country should try to be led.

Further, it establishes one or two fundamental facts. The report and the evidence establish the fact that Palestine has, from the agricultural point of view, a large number of attractions for people economically. It establishes the fact that Palestine is a country in which our people can live, and live in the finest land

that you have ever seen, multiply and be safe from persecution and oppression, and free from the feeling that they are not wanted and that they are in countries in which other people would sooner not see them. (Applause.) Now, that is a great deal. That is the thing you feel when you go to Palestine. You walk about the country, where you are by right and not by favor, where you live because the nations of the world have told you that you are entitled to establish yourselves there, where every stone you lay, where every field you plow is in eternity, belonging to our community and our people. That is something which when you once feel you never can forget. It is something which induced me to build myself a modest little home on the shores of Lake Tiberias, which I am happy to say is nearly finished and which I am very anxious to see.

Mr. Warburg is one of the hard-headed business men of New York. I am supposed to be one of the hard-headed business men of London. Yet neither of us has been able to escape not merely the charm but that deep-rooted feeling which seizes you when you first see again the sacred soil of Eretz Israel and the walls of Zion gleam in the early morning sun. I cannot give you that emotion. Go out and get it for yourselves, and you will have gotten more in your lives than you can get from all the dollars piled up in this country as high as the Woolworth Building. (Applause.)

I say our report is a genuine document, and I honestly trust that it will be carried out. It is merely an outline, a skeleton upon which the building has to be erected. I am not one of those who thinks that we make progress by looking backward instead of forward. I went to Palestine first in 1921 with Dr. Weizmann and I remember what Palestine was in 1921. I went to Palestine again in 1925 and in 1927 and I hope to go to Palestine again in 1929. (Applause.)

I am accustomed to the study of economic, agricultural and political problems. I have had a long life's experience throughout the Empire and in many other countries. I think I know the African continent from Morocco to Mesopotamia and out to India. The problems of Palestine are no different from the problems of all countries which have been devastated for centuries by the ruinous rule of the Turk. And we have done more under the most incredible difficulties in the last seven years to restore the position of that country than any other government, any other nation has done under similar circumstances. (Applause.)

And imagine under what conditions! The Zionist Organization is not a government. It has no power to levy taxes. It has no power to command troops or to move soldiers or ships. There are no free land grants which have existed on this continent for settlers for generations. Every acre of land in Palestine has had to



be laboriously and dearly acquired from extortionate people who have made our need their fortune. Every bit of land, even swamps, had to be reclaimed by the work of our people. Malaria has had to be fought. Everything has had to be recreated under the most difficult circumstances.

I remember the first time I was there in 1921. I was asleep in Migdal, at a farm there, with carabineers and bandoliers on guard, because we did not know when we might be attacked by raiding Bedouins. Under such circumstances we established that chain of colonies which people now visit. Those were the pioneer days. Go back to the pioneer days of this country, when the people pushed out to the West on wagons and had to make camp every night and defend themselves against the Red Indians. I dare say that the administration was subject to criticism too, and the critics could have picked holes in the way they kept their books. But if they hadn't been quick on the guns instead of poring over books, they would all have been tomahawked. You must take into consideration the conditions under which we worked.

Those conditions are passed. The country is settled. We are established. The Arabs understand us. Friendly co-operation is what we ask and what we are obtaining. The government has done a great deal toward bringing about peace in the country. Today you can motor throughout the length and breadth of the country on good roads. Formerly, when I went there, there were mud tracks and camel tracks; now it is easy for people to ride around in their Buick cars. Talk about hardships—you don't realize what the hardships were.

Well, I say that time has passed and a new era has begun. It is now time for all to come into this movement. The Jewish Agency is not merely an economic weapon; it is not merely a body to administer funds or lay out colonies. It is a great diplomatic machine which the League of Nations has entrusted to Jewry as a body, with the authority and the power to give advice to the Palestinian Government.

And from my experience I know that we have to have for that purpose the most influential assembly of Jews in the world, one that would speak with the greatest possible authority. There are large problems to be considered, not necessarily Jewish problems, but problems such as affect all countries—the tariff policy of Palestine, the railroad and transportation problem, the land problem, the taxation problem. They are all big problems which the government of that country has to deal with and upon the solution of which the future economic upbuilding of the country and our future success depend. It is part of the function of the Jewish Agency to be in a position to speak authoritatively on the big subjects of that kind.

I am the Chairman of the Economic Board for Palestine of Great Britain, a body that consists of members of the Zionist Organization, members of PICA, members of no organization at all but men who care about Palestine. Dr. Weizmann is an honored member of that organization. So is Mr. Leonard Cohen. People thought we could never work together. People thought that this body would never meet without the members tearing out the hair which they had already lost. (Laughter.)

Gentlemen, we have never had the slightest difficulty when we have met. We have never had any division of opinion, certainly any division on those lines. If you get ten men around the table to discuss a problem, they don't sit down and say, "I am a Zionist. I am a non-Zionist." They say, "Here is a problem. What shall we do about it?"

I hope that the Jewish Agency when it is formed will be a similar body. I sincerely trust that you will put the great weight which you have in this country behind this movement. It is worth it. It is not merely worth it, it becomes an absolute necessity.

And let me tell you, you cannot afford to wait. Whereas we are discussing, other people are acting. While we have reports as to what the possibilities in Palestine are, Gentiles less inquisitive are acquiring land, are creating undertakings and are beginning to take possession of the best things in the country. It seems a curious fact, but on the whole I should say I have found it easier to get money from Gentiles for Palestinian enterprises than from my fellow-Jews. I know, when we started the Rutenberg electric scheme, there were endless discussions as to whether this was a Jewish scheme or not. When I asked an English financial corporation if they wanted to underwrite it, all they wanted to know was whether it was a good hydro-electric scheme. And when they knew it was, they didn't argue any further but put up the money.

Let me warn you against what is going on. Powerful syndicates are being formed by wealthy men, non-Jews, who are exploring the country. And it is going on rapidly. Let me tell you why in a few sentences.

Palestine has always been a highway of the world. I once defined it as the Belgium of the East, situated between much larger and more powerful countries. It is today still a highway. I traveled last year through Syria, through Damascus, to Bagdad and to Persia. Palestine is the outlet for the enormous hinterland behind it.

And what is happening today? The harbor of Haifa is the finest harbor on the Mediterranean except, perhaps, Naples or Marseilles or Alexandria. It is a deep water, sheltered basin. At relatively small expense it could be made to accommodate any

size vessel. That harbor is going to be developed by the government of Palestine. The work, I am told, will be begun this autumn. The development of that harbor will be the beginning of the real economic life of Palestine. That harbor will be the outlet for the great Mosul oil pipelines which will come down eight hundred miles from Mesopotamia. It will be the outlet for a great waterway which will transport the goods of Persia down to Haifa. Haifa in twenty or twenty-five years will become a port similar to the great ports of the world. It has really nothing to do with Palestine. It is simply its geographical position which makes it the outlet of these countries.

Now I paint that picture. But it is not a picture, it is not a prophecy. It is an economic development which is bound to happen. Other people are seeing that. I know of them. They are beginning to acquire land. They are beginning to take up positions. If we don't get together and do something within the next five years, our opportunities may be so shrunk that the ideal which we have set ourselves of creating in Palestine something really Jewish may never come to pass.

I am not troubling about the economic development of Palestine. The economic development of Palestine as a country is assured. But what I am troubling about is who is going to do the developing and who is going to direct it. That is really the problem that is before us today. And we can't afford to wait another five years in discussing questions of representation on Agencies or what Agencies are to do. Your people are supposed to act quickly. You are supposed to take decisions involving millions every five minutes. If you stand in the Stock Exchange in Wall Street and look down there, you see decisions being taken even more quickly. (Laughter.) Take a quick decision here, because it is wanted. Take a quick decision, because if you don't take it you'll be sorry and regret it for the rest of your lives and the lives of your children after you.

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a proposition which has one great merit. I am so passionately attached to it that I don't want, and I hope nobody wants, to make any money. (Applause.) To help in the upbuilding of Eretz Israel is a privilege. To be able to lay a small stone and aid in the resurrection of the Temple of our people is an honor. It brings no rewards. It brings, I hope, no monetary returns. It brings, however, a sense of moral victory which simply cannot be replaced by anything else. I have received in my life to date more distinctions than my humble services have merited, but there is none which I feel to be a greater one than to have had the privilege of helping to build up Eretz Israel. (Applause.)

There are many intangible assets in this world. I once said, addressing the shareholders in my corporation, that there are

many assets which no accountant can find in the balance sheet which are of a much greater value to the corporation than all the figures which are put down.

It is the same with Palestine. One of our assets in Palestine is the idealism of our people. Now, whatever we do in administration, whatever we do in order to get the best organization possible, you must not kill the soul of Zion, for on the soul of Palestine depends more than upon the best administrator in the world. (Applause.)

I will tell you a little story. The last time I visited the University they were doing some building. I saw a carpenter with a bandage around his hand. I said to him, "I am sorry you hurt your hand." He said, "What does that matter? I am helping to build Eretz Israel."

That is symptomatic of the people throughout the country. I have seen poor people come there sitting on what seemed poor land, and when I asked them, "Are you happy?" they said, "How can we help being happy? We are back in Eretz Israel."

That spirit is worth more in the building up of a country than anything anybody can ever give you. These people are ready, if necessary, to suffer. These people are prepared to make sacrifices. Men of eminence in science have refused important posts of much value and honor to work for Israel. We are ready to work for nothing for you, we who can't be hired by anybody in the world to do anything we don't want to do. (Applause.)

Well, it's up to you. This movement is to me of the utmost importance, not merely for us but for the whole world. Think back only a few years. Let me take you back to 1913. If I had stood here in 1913 and said to you, "Come to a Congress to discuss the re-establishment of the National Home in Palestine," you would have looked on me as an idle dreamer. If I had told you in 1913 that an Austrian Archduke would be murdered by a Serb, that it would lead to a European conflagration involving practically the entire world, the destruction of empires, the disrupting of frontiers, the loss of millions of lives, the destruction of thousands of millions in property, and that out of all that would come what—the chance, the opportunity, the occasion of establishing a National Home for the Jews in Palestine.

Has it ever occurred to you how remarkable, how more than remarkable it is, that out of this welter of world blood, by what most people look upon as an accident, has arisen this opportunity? Do you really believe that it is an accident? Do you really in your heart, as you think it over, believe that we have been led back to Israel by nothing but a fluke? Do you think there is no greater inner meaning in the opportunity we have been given?

After two thousand years of wandering in the wilderness, we have a chance and an opportunity miraculously bestowed upon us. And many sit back and say, "Well, I don't care about that. It doesn't interest me. I have nothing to do with it." I wonder if they have ever thought of that chain of circumstances.

Ladies and gentlemen, last year I was in Bagdad. I went down to the ruins of Babylon. I stood in the great hall of Nebuchadnezzar, of which little remains except the floor space where he had that great warning on the wall, *Mene, mene, tekel ufarsin*. What is left of the splendors of Babylon? Where is the Empire of Nebuchadnezzar? A blue pitiless sky, the pitiless sun of the Mediterranean shines on the ruins of those who oppressed us thousands of years ago.

Where are the great empires of the past that marched over our prostrate bodies? Where are the people that destroyed and scattered us over all the world? They have disappeared, they have gone, they are in ruins; but Israel marches on forever, Zion still stands, the sacred walls of Zion are still there.

And I say to you that those who cannot feel in their soul of souls the great mission of our people towards themselves and toward the world, such ones really must have lost the inspiration of our great prophets, on whose hills I have stood in Judea, in whose caves I have been in Carmel and on whose shores I have walked in Tiberias. (Sustained applause, audience rising.)

## Address of Dr. Lee K. Frankel

THE CHAIRMAN: *I shall now ask Dr. Frankel to make his comments upon the report and upon his experiences in Palestine. (Applause.)*

**D**R. FRANKEL: Mr. Marshall, Ladies and Gentlemen: The hour is late, but I am going to ask your forbearance for just a little while to see whether I can visualize the Commission's report for you and if I can bring to your inner consciousness the facts surrounding Palestine; whether I can draw for you a picture of that country in which I am sure, whether Zionist or non-Zionist, each and every one of you is deeply and vitally interested.

May I be personal and may I say that when I was asked to go on this Commission I had my own doubts and misgivings. Those were doubts which possibly resulted from a somewhat careful study of the existing Palestinian situation, doubts that arose possibly through my own scientific training, and doubts which came about by reason of the study that I had previously made of the history of Palestine.

The two questions which I asked myself, as a member of the Commission, which I tried to approach impartially and without bias, were these: "Is the rehabilitation of Palestine feasible? Is it possible? Is it practicable?" And the second question which I asked myself was — "Is it worth while?"

Let me address myself to the first question: Is rehabilitation of Palestine feasible? Is it practicable? Is that country which was once spoken of as a land flowing with milk and honey but which over the centuries, under misrule, has been denuded and which to all intents and purposes at the time of the war was arid and bare—is there the feasibility there of creating a new land? Is there the possibility of introducing into that land those of our co-religionists desiring to go there and to start life anew?

Taking the report of the Commission and the reports of the experts, let me interpret, if I may, some of the facts. And let me give you the worst in the beginning.

Palestine is an exceedingly small country. It has a total area of approximately 8800 square miles, of which a very considerable part are mountains and arid soil. Approximately 2600 square miles lie in the valleys. Of those 2600 square miles, there is tillable soil amounting to approximately 1800 square miles. What

that means you can picture to yourself when I tell you that the entire state of Delaware has 1965 square miles. In other words, the entire agricultural possibilities of little Palestine are approximately those of the state of Delaware.

With these basic facts, the Commission desired to ascertain whether there are fundamental conditions in Palestine that might make for its rehabilitation, irrespective of whether it was to be accomplished by Jew, by Gentile or by Moslem. This is the all important question:—Do the basic conditions exist in Palestine today upon which we can predicate its successful development?

I admit the idealism back of the Palestinian movement. I take that for granted. But idealism alone, without the proper fundamentals, can accomplish nothing. And it was for that reason that the Commission was particularly interested to know whether those conditions do maintain in Palestine that might make for success. It was necessary, therefore, for the Commission to ascertain whether there was an adequate water supply for irrigation, whether the soil was productive, whether there were adequate natural resources, and whether the topography, climate, rainfall, etc. permitted the development of agriculture, industry, and commerce.

I hope each and every one of you will take the trouble, if you have not already done so, carefully to read the Commission's report. The facts are there. The conclusions of the Commission based upon those facts were that the practicability and the possibilities of Palestine were hopeful, notwithstanding its size, notwithstanding its limitations, notwithstanding the facts which were brought to its notice—facts, for example, as to the amount of tillable and irrigable soil, facts as to population and the possibility of increase in population, facts as to water supply and those other fundamentals which go to make up a country.

It is the most fascinating country that I have ever visited. It is the most anomalous of countries. It is a paradoxical country. No one who has never been there and who attempts to study it only from the map can fully appreciate it. One travels from Jerusalem 2800 feet above sea level within two hours over a macadamized road today down to Jericho located 1200 feet below sea level. The statement in the Bible, of the man "who went down to Jericho" is literally true. One goes from a temperature in midsummer of 60 degrees in Jerusalem to 120 degrees in Jericho. One goes to the Lake of Tiberias. Can you picture and imagine that one of the large fresh water supplies of Palestine is Lake Tiberias, and that it may not be available for irrigation, for the reason that it is situated 600 feet below sea level?

I say it is an anomalous country—on its face, apparently almost an impossible country. How great are the difficulties, is

evidenced by the Jordan River which rises in Lake Ulah approximately at sea level. This lake was formed by a basaltic dike which nature threw up millions of years ago, and through which the river has forced a channel. It drops suddenly from there into Lake Tiberias and ends at the Dead Sea, 1200 feet below sea level. It is estimated it may cost \$5,000,000 to break down this dike, in order to make the water more available. And yet the one thing our experts have brought out is the fact in the face of these difficulties, in the face of these anomalies, there is every reason to believe, based on the report of the experts, that, within limitations, there is opportunity in Palestine for agricultural, commercial, industrial improvement and growth.

I wish I had the time to stand here tonight and go into greater detail. I wish I had the time to picture to you the vast differences in that small territory, the difference in the Emek as contrasted with the coastal plain, the difference between the coastal plain and the Valley of the Jordan—all material and important differences; differences in soil, differences in rock formation, differences in water supply, differences necessarily in agriculture and industry.

And yet one must realize on the other hand that in one little section, the section described by Lord Melchett as the highway of the peoples of the world for generations and generations, that in that one little section there is the possibility of the development of a great industry, the orange industry. Our experts are agreed as to its magnificent possibilities. The Jaffa orange may be the salvation of Palestine. It may develop an industry yielding an annual product valued at twenty-five millions of dollars.

When you think of the possibilities of the orange plantations, and of the other agricultural and industrial resources, it is conservative to say that there is room for a considerable number of additional Jewish settlers. It is not likely that there will be room or opportunities for millions of Jews. Let us get that idea out of our mind. Palestine will not be the solution of the Jewish problem in Eastern Europe. It cannot be. If it were possible, within the next decade or two, to purchase additional land at a moderate price (and the urgency of that purchase has been indicated to us by His Lordship), and to transport new colonists there within limited numbers (and it can only be done in limited numbers for the present), then there may be the possibility that a Jewish community may grow up in Palestine—I hardly dare to venture a guess—of 250,000 and possibly 300,000. If industry develops, as has been shown in the report, if oil is brought from the Mosul fields, if Haifa becomes the port that it is expected to be, this number may materially increase in the course of time.

Why concern ourselves at present about numbers? The fact remains that from the standpoint of practicability there is a future for Palestine. And if there is a future for Palestine, there is a



future for Jews in Palestine. (Applause.)

Is it worth while? Is it really worth while? We in America, with our freedom, with our liberty, with our right of conscience, with all that man can wish for, may well ask that question: Is it worth while?

When I try to answer that question, I am reminded of a conversation which I had in August, 1927, in Chamounix shortly after I had returned from Palestine. I spent two days there with Chaim Weizmann. I told him of my doubts and of my misgivings, of my questioning whether in the limited area of Palestine it was possible to accomplish the things he had in mind. We discussed it for two days. He discussed it from his viewpoint of the scientist, of the trained chemist, of the man who had made remarkable discoveries in the chemical field which benefitted his nation. And when we were all finished there suddenly came an odd look into his eyes. I no longer saw the scientist, I no longer saw the chemist; I saw the dreamer, possibly the seer. His answer to me was, "Dr. Frankel, what you say may be true, but the Bible came out of Palestine." (Applause.)

And when you ask me, men and women, whether I think this worth while, my answer to you is the answer that was given to me by Dr. Weizmann. I believe it worth while for a very simple reason: I cannot help believing it worth while. (Applause.)

I cannot be a Jew and not be filled with those traditions that are mine, and that have come down to me through generations. I do not think I ever experienced a greater thrill than when we were in Palestine. My wife and I woke up at Gaza at five in the morning, and I looked up and saw the name at the railroad station, and I said to her, "We are in Palestine."

And I wish I could take you bodily to Palestine. I wish I could show you what our people in Palestine are. You will not see cringing Jews. You will not see men with bent backs. You will see men and women and, as Lord Melchett has put it, glorious children, living in freedom, living in the open, men with self-respect, men conscious of what they are and who they are and for what they stand, men and women willing to make sacrifices not for ideology (I dislike the word) but for spirituality, men who recognize what Judaism is and what it stands for and what it may mean in that country in which it arose and was created.

There are contrasts of all kinds—on one side the Yeshivah, and upon the hill the University; on one side the man with the fur cap and the long coat, and out in the fields, even on Saturday, young men, with uncovered heads, playing baseball—each trying to express in his own way his conception of the ethical and spiritual basis of Judaism.

And who knows, who knows but that out of that country, out of that little country, out of that country with all its handicaps and with all its limitations and with all that these limitations may mean, there may not arise a newer Judaism? I have the fanciful idea that even in the olden days there were hardships, and that by reason of these there came into the consciousness of Jewish sages and teachers those sublime concepts of the dignity of labor, the sacredness of human life, and consideration for human rights. Who knows that these truths for which Judaism has stood all the centuries, these things expressed in the Bible and taught by the Prophets, may not find a new interpretation in terms of modern life and modern thought?

And who knows, if we help, if we cooperate, if we stand by, if we play the game, if we carry on, irrespective of who we are and what we are, but that the day may come when there shall be a recrudescence, a rejuvenation, renaissance in Israel, and that the old saying, "the Word of the Lord shall come forth from Zion" may be enacted again? (Applause.)

### Message from Dr. Elwood Mead

THE CHAIRMAN: This morning, purely by accident, I received a letter from Dr. Elwood Mead. It was an acknowledgment of the reports that had been sent him, in which he says: "I have not yet had time to read the whole of the report, but I read enough to be assured that it furnishes a safe economic foundation on which to base plans for future development. The task of reorganization will be difficult because it will involve retracing some of the steps taken, but the great ability that has been enlisted and the thoroughness with which the preparatory work has been done make me believe that it will succeed. You will have my deepest interest in your efforts and sincere wishes for their success. If at any time you feel that I can be of assistance, don't hesitate to call on me. No charge except expenses will be made for time given to conferences if this can be arranged without interfering with the Department's work." (Applause.)

## Address of Prof. Jacob G. Lipman

THE CHAIRMAN: *We have here tonight one of our experts. And I know that you will be very glad to hear what he has to say with regard to the country and to the work that can be done. I will ask Professor Lipman, the Dean of the Agricultural College of New Jersey at Rutgers University, to come forward and to give us the benefit of his views. (Applause.)*

PROFESSOR LIPMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: One of my former students came to see me the other day, and presumably to ask a question. Now, very often, students or former students do not come to ask questions but rather to give us information. He said, "What is the difference between an expert and a philosopher?" And I allowed that I was willing to have his definition. He said, "An expert is a specialist. And because the body of human knowledge is growing larger all the time, the field that he cultivates is growing less all the time. He is occupying a constantly lesser portion of the field of human knowledge. On the other hand, the philosopher deals with the entire field of human knowledge. And so the expert knows more and more about less and less, and the philosopher knows less and less about more and more." (Laughter.)

And he said to me, "Doctor, of course, I am a former student and you will not take it ill of me, but am I right when I carry that to its logical conclusion and say that the specialist knows more and more ultimately about nothing and that the philosopher knows nothing about everything?" (Laughter.)

And so, perhaps, you may not take us experts too seriously. We are trying to deal with facts as we see them. And sometimes, as Dr. Frankel expressed it and Lord Melchett expressed it, we are realists. And yet, somehow or other, there comes to us the divine spark and we see things beyond mere facts.

Palestine has its possibilities from the expert's point of view, and it has much larger possibilities than the layman appreciates. I will take just a few minutes as I realize that the hour is late. The agricultural economist, the soil expert or the plant expert may sit down and show you on paper what the limitations are of agricultural development of any country. They can tell you what the agricultural resources of any country are. Now, the chemist has his own ideas on the subject, and he points out that he and the farmer may work together and enlarge very materially the

agricultural resources of any country. And, furthermore, the agricultural economist will tell you that there is such a thing as a secondary agriculture.

Let me give you an example. Denmark and Belgium are countries of that type. Denmark, as you probably know, is for a country of its type very prosperous. And it is prosperous agriculturally. What I mean is that in the national economy of Denmark agriculture is the foundation in a much larger sense than it is in most other countries. A few years ago it was a country that was very poor. And it has become prosperous because of the development of its agriculture. But Denmark buys much of its raw material from other countries. Denmark is a dairy country. It buys its feeding stuffs from North America and South America and transforms that into milk.

Now, let me give you an example nearer home. I come from the State of New Jersey. I have been a New Jersey man most of my life. New Jersey is about the size of Palestine. New Jersey has an area of 7,500 square miles or thereabouts. Palestine has a little over 8,000 square miles of territory. New Jersey has its strip of coastal plain and its hills beyond, as you know. There are certain similarities in topography. And New Jersey has a population of three and a half million people. New Jersey is not an agricultural state as is Kansas or Indiana or Nebraska. But still, New Jersey is annually producing \$150,000,000 worth of agricultural produce. And it has been making striking progress agriculturally because it has become a state of what I would call secondary agriculture. Our poultry industry has grown to an amazing extent. We have developed in the last ten years three or four very prosperous Jewish communities that are largely poultry farming communities—Toms River and Lakewood and Vineland and Flemington.

Now, we import into New Jersey 300,000 tons of concentrated feeding stuffs, material that comes from the wheat fields of the Northwest, from the corn fields of the corn belt, from the cotton fields of the South. And this material is gathered together and made into eggs. We have one man in Vineland who has an egg factory, as he calls it—a large building with three stories, and hens on each floor. (Laughter.) He is proposing to keep 30,000 hens in that egg factory.

Now I shall stop in a minute, but I just want to bring out this particular thought: that mere territorial limitations, as we see them today, need not indicate the agricultural limitations of Palestine. (Applause.)

And because the hour is late, I shall stop now. Perhaps, some other time, I may have a chance to tell you more of the story. (Applause.)

The session adjourned at 11 P. M.

## SUNDAY MORNING SESSION

October 21, 1928

The Conference reconvened at 10:40 A. M., Mr. Marshall presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: I find that the Minyon is now here and we will, therefore, continue our proceedings.

I now desire to invite those present to give expression to their views with regard to the resolution which is before us. And when I say "those present" I do not refer to the guests but to the members, to the various delegates who have come here as representatives of the non-Zionists in this Conference. Later we shall be very glad to invite some of our guests to express their views relative to the matters which we have under consideration.

The subject is now open for discussion.

### Address of Judge Horace Stern

THE CHAIRMAN: *I take the liberty of calling on Judge Stern. (Applause.)*

JUDGE STERN: All that I can do is to give my own personal reaction as that of the average non-Zionist man of the street, if I may so phrase it. I understand the question is whether or not non-Zionists should participate in the formation and maintenance of the Jewish Agency. That is to say, whether, as defined by Mr. Marshall, non-Zionists should participate in the work of the Agency, consisting, as he said, of a two-fold function, namely, partly in an advisory capacity and partly for the purpose of active constructive work.

Of course, I take it that there is another question, which lurks in the rear, but which is correlated with and automatically a part of the main question—and that is whether non-Zionists should give money and contribute to the welfare of Palestine—because merely beneficent gestures, merely intellectual or emotional sympathy without the necessary financial sinews of war would not amount to anything. And if it be true (and, of course, it is a

good doctrine in this country) that taxation without representation is tyranny, I suppose we must all concede that it is equally true that representation without taxation is arrogance.

Taking that, then, to be the question, one naturally, logically, would ask oneself, "Why should non-Zionists not participate in the rebuilding of Palestine? What, after all, is the point of difference between non-Zionists and Zionists, and to what extent would that point of difference properly or logically lead non-Zionists to refrain from giving their best efforts in the common task?"

Well, there certainly is no difference between the two groups in the facts of the case. We have heard the physical facts. We have heard the acreage and the mileage of Palestine and how many feet the Jordan River and the Dead Sea are beneath sea level. These facts are the same for non-Zionists and Zionists. The physical facts are the same. The possibilities are the same. The economic possibilities, assuming what the experts have told us is true—and we must have confidence in somebody—are the same. And if it be true, as Dr. Lipman said, that hens have now absorbed the apartment house idea and that they can lay eggs on the tenth floor of an office building, I suppose the benefit of that new kind of intensive secondary kind of agriculture is as true for non-Zionists as for Zionists.

So whatever the facts are in the physical and economic possibilities, they are the same for all people. We certainly don't divide on that. Neither do I take it that we divide on any question of social and economic policy. There may be some differences of opinion (apparently, some have been suggested) as to whether the colonies in Palestine should be entirely socialistic or partly socialistic or capitalistic. But those questions are not questions that divide Zionists and non-Zionists. They are questions of individual opinions or group opinions, and they lead to divisions of opinion among men according to their economic viewpoints. So that really doesn't form any basis of cleavage or anything that enters into the present case.

When it comes to sentimental ideals and ideas, there again I don't take it that there is any difference between the two groups. The history of Palestine is what it is, and it is the same for non-Zionists as for Zionists. The Bible came from Palestine for all Jews and, as we confidently think, for all humanity. Our spiritual traditions are the same. And when it comes to getting emotional thrills in the Holy Land I suppose these thrills occur to people whether they are Zionists or non-Zionists. Dr. Frankel seems to have experienced quite as much emotional thrill in Palestine as the most ardent Zionist. And while I have never had the opportunity or the good fortune to visit Palestine, I know that if I go to

Hodgenville, Ky., or to Mount Vernon, I get a patriotic thrill, and I am quite sure that if I went to Palestine I would get a spiritual thrill.

These are matters of individual temperament and they certainly have nothing to do with the question now before us. And there is no monopoly in regard to our pride in the past and the stimulus which that gives us toward developing our thought and work for the future.

Well, then really what, after all, is the reason, if any, why non-Zionists should not participate in this work? It is not economic, it is not social, it is not historical. What is it? Well, as I understand it, the difference is one of conception as to the ultimate destiny of Palestine and, incidentally, perhaps the ultimate destiny of the Jewish people. As I understand the Zionist viewpoint, at least in its extreme form, it looks to Palestine ultimately to form a Jewish State and it stresses the racial or the nationalistic conception of the Jewish people. And, on the other hand, the non-Zionists stress the religious aspect of the Jewish people and subordinate the racial feature and do not believe at all in a nationalistic conception of Jewry.

Well, I do not for a moment minimize the importance of these different notions. They are important because they go to the very heart and foundation of our ideals and our conceptions of what Judaism should be and what the destiny of the Jews is to be. But, after all, they are matters of ultimate destiny. And speculation in ultimate destinies is a poor business.

Who knows or who can tell what the future will bring forth? We are children only of a day. It was pointed out yesterday that the person with the greatest vision and the greatest foresight in 1913 could not have seen what was going to happen and to shake the whole world. Physical changes occur, moral changes occur, viewpoints change, nations change, peoples change. They change in a day, they change in a month, they certainly change over years. And who can tell what the future will bring forth in regard to Palestine, whether the Zionist hope will be realized or whether the non-Zionist idea will finally prevail?

Therefore, it does seem to me (and I always like to try to clarify a problem in my own mind by viewing it in terms of some simple and, perhaps, naive analogy) that the question, after all, is like a father and a mother who have a child. The father hopes that when his son grows up he is going to be a statesman, that he is going to get into the consular service, that he is going to go abroad to Patagonia, and that he is going to work his way into the good graces of the Patagonians and ultimately become the King of Patagonia. That is the ideal that the father has for the boy. And, on the other hand, the mother has a religious

ideal for the boy. She would like him to be a minister or a rabbi or a missionary and go out and preach the Gospel and preach great ethical works to all the peoples of the world. And they both have these different ideals for the future of their son. And they talk about it more or less to one another. And if they are good parents and good husband and wife, they don't allow the discussion to be bitter. All they have in mind is the welfare of the child.

Well, what do they do—I mean, if they are sensible? They don't let the child, because of their quarrels, die of pernicious anemia. They don't sit back and say, I want it decided now what is going to happen when the boy gets older, and if you don't agree with me as to what that boy is to be, I simply am going to lay down on the proposition and I will not give the child any food or any education, or anything. Now is the time to declare yourself.

Now, as a matter of fact, what happens? Whatever they may believe about the ultimate destiny of their child, they both love the child, and they certainly both co-operate in feeding the child and in educating the child. And when the child comes of age, maybe it will be a missionary and maybe it will be King of Patagonia, and maybe it will be neither. It may be that the parents, if they are foolish, will have quarreled so much about the child that the child will grow up to be absolutely worthless and a disgrace to himself and to the parents and satisfy the ideals of neither.

So I say, ladies and gentlemen, that while by birth and traditions and environment and education I am what is generally known as a non-Zionist (because our ideas are mostly molded by the lives which we have led and the atmosphere in which we have grown up), while I do not believe in a nationalistic conception of Jewry, while I believe personally that that is rather a perversion of Jewish history and that the future of the Jews is along the lines of spiritual and world-wide activity, and while the Zionists perhaps regard the destruction of the Jewish Commonwealth as the greatest calamity in Jewish history and the non-Zionists regard it as probably a blessing in disguise—I say, while there are these varying ideas that naturally must occur among all thinking people (and the Jews are thinking people—people can't all think alike), still to me the present is a concrete, tangible, practical problem.

We are not asked to decide that now. Our children will not decide it. Our grandchildren will not decide it. It lies in the remote future, in the lap of God. All that we are asked to do is to meet a present problem. Human beings cannot meet problems more than a very short period in advance. The immediate problem is that here is a challenge to the Jewish people, here is an opportunity given to the Jewish people, whether you view it as a colon-



ization project or as a Zionist project or what not—it is an opportunity. And it seems to me that no differences which separate the groups in their various thoughts along the lines that I have indicated are concrete enough or practical enough for this generation to justify anybody in refusing to lend a helping hand or to do everything in his power to bring about the desired result that will be, of course, a pride and a glory to the whole Jewish people.

I don't suppose there is anybody in the world, I can't imagine anybody in the world who would not want to see Palestine rebuilt, whether he be Jew or even Gentile or Mohammedan. I don't suppose there is any human being in the world, who, if he could wave a magic wand over Palestine and make it again a land flowing with milk and honey or, what seems to be more likely, according to Lord Melchett, a land flowing with oil through pipe-lines and flowing with automobiles over macadamized roads, would not desire to do so. Material things change, but spiritual things never change. If we can make it, with whatever it may flow, a pride of the Jewish people and a help to humanity, if we can make it a spiritual treasure-house of Jewish thought and Jewish culture and Jewish spirituality, it seems to me that there is nobody who has any right to refrain from participating to that end.

And, therefore, feeling as I do, that I or any other non-Zionist can help to participate in the Jewish Agency and help in the up-building of Palestine, without any sacrifice of any ideas or ideals that I may have on the subject of ultimate destiny—feeling that way, I for one want to pledge my mind and my heart and all my energy to this great cause.

## Address of Judge Irving Lehman

THE CHAIRMAN: *Judge Lehman, we would like to hear from you. (Applause.)*

JUDGE LEHMAN: Mr. Marshall, Delegates to the Non-Zionist Conference: I had no intention when I came here of talking to you, and I do not know that I can say anything that will be particularly helpful to you. Judge Stern has analyzed the problem as I see it so acutely, he has expressed my own views so fully, that I hardly see how I can add anything to what he has said.

Palestine is the cradle of our race. From my boyhood on I have thrilled with pride when I read in the Scriptures that the Law has come forth from Zion and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem.

The hearts of millions of our co-religionists all over the world are turning toward Palestine. Their aspiration is to see in Palestine the renaissance of a Jewish culture, again to see Palestine the home of those Jews who can settle there. I have always felt, in spite of differences with the Zionist Organization, unwilling to cut myself off from the dreams and aspirations of my co-religionists throughout the world.

We now have the report of the Commission which went to Palestine. We have the facts upon which we can say with some degree of certainty that Palestine does offer opportunity for economic development, that it can become the home of many Jews, that there can be there a cultural development among the Jews in which I, personally, want to have a chance to take part.

I can appeal to you only to give to this work the co-operation which you can give to it. Let us forget those points on which we are not in full accord with the Zionists. Those questions need not now be decided. As Judge Stern has pointed out, they are going to be decided by the logic of events. But we can do our share in helping to build up economically the country towards which our co-religionists all over the world are looking. And I for one want to pledge myself unreservedly, with due regard, of course, to the other problems which the Jews must meet, to do what I can, in co-operation with Zionists and non-Zionists, toward the economic rehabilitation of that country which under the Mandate of the League of Nations is to be held primarily for the purpose of building up there a new center of Jewish life. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. Julian Morgenstern

THE CHAIRMAN: *Dr. Morgenstern, may we hear from you?*  
(Applause.)

**D**R. MORGENSTERN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: This is a rather unexpected privilege to be called upon to speak to this body and upon this subject. Yet I do so with extreme gratification, in fact with something more than gratification, because this meeting which we are holding today means a great deal to me. I cannot help, as a student of Jewish history, attempting to interpret this meeting and this day as an event of tremendous significance for the history of Judaism.

I am in the fullest accord with the words of the previous speakers. And Judge Stern has voiced far better than I could attempt to do, thoughts which have been present in my mind for a great many years.

I stopped to think of what it has been in all these years that has, as it were, divided modern Judaism into two camps, into the camps of the Zionists and the anti-Zionists. What is it that constituted the differences between us? And I cannot avoid the conviction, ladies and gentlemen, that the differences with which we have dealt, and which have held us apart all these years, were not real nor vital differences but were only differences of terminology very largely, differences of dreaming, of hoping, differences of things that were intangible and over which we have very little or no control.

We have differed as to the interpretation of Judaism and of Jewry itself, over the term "nation", for example, without ever having been able actually to define what we mean by the term "nation". And when we get down to the actual facts, I wonder whether there are any real or vital differences between us on this matter and, even if there are, what they amount to, and whether, above all, they have been worth all the effort and all the struggle and all the bitterness of these past years.

Sometimes I think that we Jews are like a great machine, and not a very efficient machine. We produce a lot of steam very quickly, so much steam in fact that before much time has elapsed it blows off through the safety valve. And then when the moment comes for that machine to become efficient, to do a certain work, sometimes not enough steam is left to do the actual job.

Now, then, what are the issues, ladies and gentlemen? Let's take the question, let's take even the point of view of Zionists. I am not a Zionist, although sometimes I have been taken for one; and I haven't bothered about that. Suppose that there should ultimately be a Jewish State in Palestine. I assure you I am not going to be unhappy over that prospect. I assure you that I would not be displeased if such were the case. Although I don't anticipate it, this I know: that if there is in the course of time going to be a Jewish State, I want it to be the finest Jewish State that can possibly be. (Applause.) And that can only be if the foundation that is to be laid in the establishment of the Jewish people in Palestine today is made as sound and as firm and as permanent as it is possible for us to build.

It has been argued very frequently by our Zionist friends (and I mean friends in the most literal sense) that we in America and the Jews throughout the world need a strong Jewish center in Palestine, that Jewish culture may emanate to us from Palestine. I am not so sure that that is altogether correct, not in an absolute sense. I am quite certain that as much Jewish culture will emanate from us to the Jews of Palestine as may come to us from the Jews of Palestine.

But why should I argue that question, and why should I allow Judaism to be divided into two camps over it? Ought I not and ought not all of us be grateful for every measure of Jewish culture and Jewish knowledge and Jewish spirituality and Jewish strength that may come to us from any source whatsoever, from Palestine or from Russia or from America or from wherever it may be? Ought we not labor to the utmost of our abilities to build well Jewishly in every land where Jews may dwell?

Therefore, above all else, ladies and gentlemen, I rejoice in this day because I believe that it marks the beginning of a new period in modern Jewish life, a period of less talking and quarreling together and of more building, building in Palestine and building here in America and building in every land where Jews dwell.

Here in America our building processes have suffered because of this division and because of this difference. We have not been able to face our problems, our modern Jewish problems, squarely here in America, as we ought, not with a united force and not with a united will to build constructively. We know now that it is not sufficient for us to build merely in Palestine. We know now that it is not sufficient for us to build merely in America. We must build in every land where Jews dwell.

Some of us will concentrate our building efforts, perhaps, on Palestine. Some of us will concentrate our building efforts, perhaps, here in America. But if we labor together with good will, with faith in each other, with common program and common consecration to the task of building Jewishly, then we will erect

a structure of Judaism that will be a source of pride and of inspiration to the present generation and to the generations of our children who are to come after.

And that is why I rejoice in this day. I don't know how much will be built in Palestine, nor how far, nor what the destiny of Jewry in Palestine will be. It is my conviction that not we will decide that, but those who do and will live in Palestine themselves will decide that, slowly and gradually as the years go on. But we are today emphasizing that fundamental, eternal principle of our history, the principle of the unity of world Judaism and of world Jewry. And we are resting our work and ourselves upon that foundation of the unity of Judaism throughout the world and throughout all time. And, therefore, I rejoice. And I believe we may truly apply to this day that word of our Bible, which has been applied to many days, and yet to none, I think, more truly than this—"This is the day which the Lord hath made. Let us rejoice and be glad in it." (Applause.)

## Messages to Conference

THE CHAIRMAN: I wish now to read a number of telegrams which have been received. One from our dear friend, Nathan Straus:

"I cannot adequately express my disappointment not to be with you on this very important occasion. Although I may not understand all the intricacies of the present Zionist question, being eighty years old, I have the advantage of experience. Unless we have complete harmony among ourselves, nothing worth while can be accomplished. One of the foremost newspaper men of his time said to me in a heated discussion, 'We can always defeat you people by creating dissensions in your ranks.' Let us sink our personal views and preferences for the one great cause. Let us American Jews show the world that we appreciate the opportunities offered by the Balfour Declaration and unite in one great effort of reconstruction of the Holy Land. Since we agree upon 95 %, let us forget the other five. This is my daily prayer, and I rely upon all who have the welfare of the Holy Land at heart to help in reaching this blessed goal." (Applause.)

I have a telegram from Dr. Enelow, the President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis:

"I regret exceedingly being prevented by a professional duty from attending the Conference this morning. I am sending you the resolution unanimously adopted at the recent meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in case you should find it desirable to announce it. It follows: 'The Central Conference of American Rabbis views with satisfaction the productive labors of the Jewish Agency Commissioners and felicitates them upon the program projected. We recommend that the members of this Conference give their sympathetic co-operation toward the realization of the aims which this program encompasses.' " (Applause.)

I have a telegram from Rabbi Benjamin Friedman, from the town which is really the center of the universe—Syracuse, N. Y. (Laughter.)

"I regret my inability to be present at the Conference. I wish to assure you that I will cooperate to the utmost of my ability in furthering the great cause which the Agency will present to American Jewry." (Applause.)

One from Louis Andich of Rock Island, Illinois:

"I regret exceedingly that I cannot attend the Non-Zionist Conference. Circumstances which I cannot control make it impossible for me to leave. Wish you success for a united Israel."

I might say here that besides a large number of acceptances and of communications from those who are present here, we have received over six hundred regrets, most of them being accompanied by an expression of sympathy for what we are doing and of hope for the success of our efforts.

## Address of Dr. Cyrus Adler

THE CHAIRMAN: *I should like Dr. Adler to address us.*

**D**R. ADLER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I am glad of the opportunity of arising here and seconding the resolutions which were introduced last night. I shall be pleased to vote for them when they are put to vote and to support them in action to the best of my ability.

I think that I would be ungracious if I did not express my sincere thanks to the Commissioners and to Mr. Marshall and Dr. Weizmann for the part that they have all taken and the sacrifices of time and energy that they have made in bringing these facts before us. I have not had the opportunity of reading the 750 pages of expert testimony to which Mr. Marshall alluded last night, and so I shall accept for the time being the deductions of the Commissioners. I hope, however, to have the pleasure of reading those 750 pages some day.

I also take it that having heard the interesting and inspiring addresses of last night and of this morning by the gentlemen who have preceded me there is no need of my trying to fire your enthusiasm. And, after all, I am not that kind of a speaker. What are technically known as inspirational addresses are not in my field.

Now, everybody has expressed satisfaction with everything, and it would not do for this meeting to go along without a little word of dissent. (Laughter.) In spite of the very lucid explanation that Mr. Marshall gave last night as to why this particular Conference had a name different from the previous conferences, and in spite of that placard which I wear over my heart, I am not very happy about the name of the Conference to which I have been called; and if, in the last analysis, the clever gentlemen who sit at the table can find some other formula, I should be a little happier. My reason is this: I never like to come to negative things, and I do not like to be called by a negative name. (Laughter and applause.)

I take it that the real fact is that all of us in this room who have taken the trouble to come here from near and far, who for reasons which we do not have to explain have not felt it within our moral power to join the Zionist Organization, are happy now and would have been happy at any other time to embrace the opportunity to aid in building up Palestine, provided we did not have to accept a definite formula to which we could not conscientiously give assent. And if you had not appropriated the name

"Pro-Palestinian" for the non-Jews, I think I would rather be called a Pro-Palestinian than a non-Zionist. (Laughter.)

I should be very willing to go along as far as my feeble powers permit in carrying out this program. But, again, I want to say to the Commissioners that I wish they had brought a larger program. The report makes a proposition which looks to me to be much too slow under the present circumstances, one which I hope will be speeded up, not at this meeting of course, but in that renewed, revived and glorified Agency which by the uniting of all forces will get greater courage.

Let me explain to you what I mean. Lord Melchett said last night, after we had been told that Palestine was as big as New Jersey and the arable land covered the size of Delaware, that a good deal of land had been taken up and, as we all know, held by people who were not friendly to Jews, and it had to be bought from them at large prices and that there is not very much left and that, if it is not bought within the next five years or so there may be none left at all to buy.

Now, if that is the fact, a program which will enable but a very small portion to be bought per year in the next five years is going to limit too much, in my opinion, the actual rebuilding of Palestine in behalf of the Jewish people. And I do hope that if there is a definite action taken by this body today—I mean those who are members and who come from places where they have influence and who realize definitely the responsibilities they are taking upon themselves, not simply coming here to say a pleasant word but realizing the responsibilities that they will assume in this new Agency when it is created—that they will say, "You have not asked us to do enough. We want to do more, and we want to do it more speedily." (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I know we are all very much pleased by what Dr. Adler has said. I think, perhaps, it is proper to refer to the criticism made by him on what our good friend from the Cincinnati College has called "terminology". To me, names never have meant anything. We called this the Non-Zionist Conference for the reason that I mentioned, because we were not having as yet a love-feast. We were merely trying to get ready for one. (Laughter and applause.)

Language is a growth and ideas grow, slowly sometimes, sometimes with some rapidity. We started with certain slogans with which I will not now refresh your memory. We have gradually changed those slogans on both sides. I hope, when this meeting is ended, the word non-Zionists will never be heard again, and in place of it we will hear what we have been trying to create, the idea of a Jewish Agency in which all Jews will unite. (Applause.)



## Address of Colonel Herbert H. Lehman

THE CHAIRMAN: *I will now call upon Colonel Lehman to address us:*

C OL. LEHMAN: Mr. Marshall, Ladies and Gentlemen: I did not expect to be called upon for a speech and I have none prepared. I simply say that I am extremely happy and gratified to be at this Conference, as I have been at former conferences called for the same purpose as the one this morning, and to see a continuation of the work undertaken and a hope of the fruition and consummation of that work.

I was tremendously impressed with the remarks of Dr. Adler, because they reflect so nearly my own point of view. The time, it seems to me, has passed completely when there is a Zionist or non-Zionist group. In former years, of course, there was a militant Zionist group and a militant non-Zionist group. Today, it seems to me that the whole question is whether we want to work in behalf of the upbuilding along cultural and economic lines of that country in which we are so greatly interested, Palestine. So far as I am concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that I am deeply interested and deeply sympathetic in doing what I personally can to bring about a structure which will be helpful in the upbuilding of Palestine—and that is regardless of whether I am or have been or have not been an official Zionist. (Applause.)

After all, Zion is the Home Land of the Jewish people. After all, it houses today 150,000 Jews. And after all, and what is more important, it offers a satisfaction of the aspirations and hopes of many millions of Jews that are living outside of Palestine.

Now it seems to me that it must be our duty to cooperate in every way, in the first place, to make it possible for those of our brethren who are living in Palestine to live happily, contentedly and in economic security; and, in the second place, it seems to me that we must do everything to make it possible for as large a number of those of our brothers and sisters who want to return to Palestine and live along sound economic and cultural lines to do so. And whatever power I have to bring that about, I pledge to this undertaking. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. Abram Simon

THE CHAIRMAN: *Dr. Simon was present at each of our previous conferences. I would very much like to have him address us. (Applause.) I think I saw him here this morning.*

D R. SIMON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I did not hear my name called. I did not recognize myself. I believe the time will come when none of us will recognize old names and old distinctions. (Applause.)

This hour is a very important one, maybe historic. It does not mark the surrender of the Zionist Organization. It does not mark the surrender of the old non-Zionist philosophy of Jewish history. But it marks the triumph of both. (Applause.)

And that is the only point of view that I can maintain at this time. Above all other questions that will continue to separate us, that of the interest of our people should be the last. And a philosophic distinction cannot defeat the logic of history. And I feel that however cold may be my reason in an intellectual interpretation of our destiny, it has no right to sour the cream of fate in the destiny of Israel in Palestine. (Applause.)

Above all other distinctions, I prize the unity of Israel. (Applause.) And I prize the unity of Israel because it offers now a glorious spiritual adventure.

It seems a sad thing that some of us were compelled to withhold our support. And I tell you candidly, it was a source of very keen regret that for years I was compelled to withhold my moral support from the Zionist enterprise. I am glad that a way has been found, a formula created, that does in no wise do violence to my conception of Reform Judaism and of the philosophy of Jewish history, and at the same time finds me gladly marching shoulder to shoulder with those Jews who have given several years of superb sacrifice to an endeavor which wins my support, my cooperation, and, I hope, will meet the enthusiastic support of the Jews of this country.

I am glad, Mr. Marshall, to join others in adding my second to this resolution. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. David Philipson

THE CHAIRMAN: *I now have the pleasure of calling upon Dr. David Philipson.* (Applause.)

**D**R. PHILIPSON: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Judge Stern opened his remarkable address by saying he was a non-Zionist of the street. I am a non-Zionist of the pulpit.

I was delighted when I read the reports concerning the work of these Commissioners because, all statements to the contrary notwithstanding, it has been the hope of my colleagues of my way of thinking and of myself, that some way out like this might be found.

I have not had the opportunity of reading the report of the Commissioners. I do not know whether I can agree with every word in it. But I know this: that I do agree with the spirit which has been expressed here, and that we are all delighted to be able to work together. And in that work, I should like to feel that none of us is surrendering principle. We can work together without a surrender of principle, whatever that principle may be.

And, Mr. Chairman, I should like to throw out one word—and that is this: Let both sides beware of one thing: let neither Zionists declare that this agreement is a triumph for Zionism nor non-Zionists declare that it is a triumph for non-Zionism. It is a triumph for us united. (Applause.)

I was rather distressed to hear several Zionists say to me, "I am surprised you are here." Why are they surprised I am here? I am as much interested in the upbuilding of Palestine as any Zionist. My method may have been different, my thoughts are far different; but, after all, even if it is not my present Home Land, it is the birthplace of my faith, and that I can never forget. As a Jewish preacher, as a disciple of the Prophets of Israel, I can never forget that from Palestine, as has already been said, has gone forth the word of God—"From Zion has gone forth the Law and from Jerusalem the word of God."

And when at this meeting I have heard men of great affairs and scholars joining in this work, my heart has beat a little more rapidly. I have not been in Palestine. I have not had the thrill of coming to Palestine. But I know this: that however great that thrill may be or may not be, Palestine has had an interest for all Jews and must have an interest for Jews today.

The great point of difference, after all (and I do not believe that that is going to be minimized by this Conference or through any work that we do together), is our interpretation of what has been called the ultimate destiny. There is such a thing as an ideology. The strength of Zionism has been its ideology. I do not agree with the Zionists in their ideology, but I can not help but admire their enthusiasm and the work they have done. And we have our ideology—and that we may not be recreant to, because we believe firmly and fully that it is the correct interpretation of the Jewish place in the world.

We have heard Palestine often spoken of as the Home Land of the Jewish people. I said a few weeks ago in discussing this subject that Palestine is not my Home Land, the United States is my Home Land; but Palestine is the Home Land of Palestinian Jews, and may it be prosperous and offer ever greater opportunities so that more and more Jews may reach there and find happiness there.

But the outcome of this Conference today is going to be, whatever our thought, our philosophy, our ideology may be, that great achievement, expressed in the well known words *Kol Yisroel Achim*—"We are all brethren after all." When I looked into Dr. Weizmann's face last night I felt he was my brother, however he may differ with me. And as I looked into the faces of other Zionists here, I felt that they too were my brethren.

All that I plead for now is that there may be less acrimony in the future. There has been plenty of it in the past. My Zionist friends have not always called me the most loving names. Perhaps I have not called them the most loving names either. (Laughter.) But, after all, in this union of hearts and minds which we are forming today for the practical purpose of the up-building of Palestine, there shall be no surrender of the ideology and of the interpretation. We do not desire that, because it will be a sad day when we all think alike. Friends, we do not want uniformity; we want unity. Despite differences of opinion, there may be after all, a unity of hearts. And that is what we look for today.

A great verse in the Bible says: "Thou shalt love the Lord Thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul and with all thy might." And so I should like to feel that we will all go into this work, no matter what may be our differing thoughts now or in the future, without any other idea than to unite in a common effort. Let us then toil together with all our hearts, with all our soul and with all our might. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. Samuel Schulman

THE CHAIRMAN: *I now call on Dr. Schulman. (Applause.)*

**D**R. SCHULMAN: Mr. Chairman, this is a great hour. We did not have to wait for the reports. When four years ago certain elements of American Jewry pledged themselves to the support of the possible new Agency, they meant what they said.

If I may be permitted to refer to my own personal connection with this whole great and holy controversy which has been going on in Israel for a generation, I must say that it was my privilege in the year 1920, in Rochester, at a meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, to write entirely the passage of the report on the President's message, which said that if any way can be shown us by the Zionist Organization by which we can work together with them for the upbuilding of Palestine, we consider it the duty of every American Jew to take part in that upbuilding.

You see, it is comparatively ancient history in the non-Zionist Party. I like the word "non-Zionist". (Laughter.) My dear friend, Dr. Adler, said that he doesn't like to belong to negative things. Well, one of our greatest thinkers, Moses Maemonides, with reverence be it said, defined God, "Hakadosh Boruch Hu", only in negative terms. So you see a negative designation may have a tremendously positive implication. And so I am not really worried about that word "non-Zionist". I am going to keep it with me for a while.

But I want to tell you that this is not a new conversion on our part. Those of us who could see a little bit ahead felt that after something had become a *fait accompli*, it was the business of all elements in Jewry to meet that *accompli* in some way.

Furthermore, there have always been two aspects to the movement of Zionism, as such, which I, speaking for myself, have always held clearly disentangled before my mind. One was the theoretical philosophy which underlay the movement, with which I profoundly differ; and the other was a practical enterprise to help Jews, with which I profoundly sympathize. Therefore, I had to walk very carefully. Never did I during the past (and I am proud of it at this moment) do anything which could in any way have hurt the Jewish people and a large number of my co-religionists in their attempt to build up Palestine.

I permitted myself even amidst the rages of controversy once to say (I see faces here before me and they will, perhaps, recall), "I know of greater misfortunes that can come to the Jewish people than to have the Zionists realize their hopes." That is the way I put it already ten years ago—"Greater misfortunes than their hopes," although I don't share their hopes at all with respect to their ideology—that is an abominable word—that "ideology". (Laughter.)

Now, we are here today to fulfill the promise that some of us made four years ago. I have read the report of the Survey Commission. I have read this report from cover to cover, read it very carefully while crossing the ocean. And I came to this conclusion: "What a truth-loving people is Israel! How conservative are our great leaders!"

They did not gush with enthusiasm—I believe, purposely, because they are statesmen and diplomats. They made it as cold as possible. I said to one gentleman (I will not let any secrets out), "Why, I was quite enthusiastic three or four years ago about this thing. But when I read the report, I feel a little bit cool." He said, "Never mind, let's first make it cool so as to win even the most captious, and then we will see." But, speaking seriously, that is the way investigations should be made and reports should be made—very, very conservative.

Now, they come to definite conclusions. It has always been a theory of mine in discussing Zionism (and you know I have discussed it very vigorously for the last thirty years) to discuss it only as a theologian. Never did I permit myself to dogmatize about the practicability of the work in Palestine. I leave all practical things to agriculturists, to statesmen, to financiers, to diplomats. I am surrounded by them here—my dear friends, some of them are. If they tell me it is practicable, who am I to say no? My business is to strengthen the morale of our people, to inspire them to give. And I once said facetiously, "One of the reasons why I want this Agency hastened is that if there is somebody in my congregation who doesn't want to give money to Palestine, let him not say, 'I can't give because Schulman is against it'." (Laughter.)

So, for me, the practical problem is solved. I have a tremendous weakness (and that has helped me a great deal in life) for putting all practical problems on the shoulders of the laity, provided they give me perfect freedom to preach what I like, which they do, thank God. This is a day of joy for me. I have waited for this day. I want peace in Israel.

Now, I did not altogether agree last night with his Lordship. Some of the things Lord Melchett said moved me deeply—the thrill. I was in Palestine and I had that thrill. That is absolutely true. Every Jew should go there. When I came back from

Palestine two years ago I said every Jew should visit Palestine if he possibly can. That is absolutely indispensable. There is something in that land, when you touch it, that thrills you.

I have been a non-Zionist for thirty years. I still am a non-Zionist as far as my philosophy is concerned. But what has that got to do with philosophy? If a man has a Jewish heart and he stands there in Palestine, unless he has deliberately petrified himself, he is touched. I remember when my train entered Palestine. At six o'clock in the morning I pulled my wife to the window and we saw that we were there. And as that train wound its way though the hills of Judea (some of them bleak), I said to my wife, "Look! Listen! A people that lived in such a country could be neither cowardly nor lazy. A people that lived in such a country had to fight, had to fight for its life all the time—sometimes hidden in caves as they did in Maccabean times and in other times. And they had to wring from bare rocks an existence. They couldn't be lazy. And you have to be proud of such a people whose blood is in your veins."

Who can fail to be touched by Palestine? There is no question at all about it. And I agree with his Lordship. And there was also another thing in what Lord Melchett said that moved me profoundly. He, man of powerful intellect, man of science, man of great business administration, a man, in a word, that stands in the front rank of the great leaders of the world, said that of all the distinctions that had come to him (and quite a few came to him in his life) he felt the greatest distinction to be the privilege of working for Eretz Israel. And I said to myself. "What a warm Jewish heart this man Lord Melchett has!"

I differ with his Lordship in one thing, and I will quote against him the words of the Lord. His Lordship said that he wants to build up in Palestine the Temple of Israel again. Those were his words—"the Temple of Israel". And our Lord God said, "Thus saith the Lord: The heavens are My Throne and the earth is My footstool. Where is the house that you can build Me and where is the place that you can say here I dwell and no place else? But I look to him, the poor and the crushed in spirit, to him who trembleth at My word." And here we touch the difference.

Lord Melchett said the Gentile world does not understand our differences. Well, Israel has never been overwhelmed by the fact that the Gentile world didn't understand its spiritual problems. That wouldn't be such a great argument to me. I could give a Teretz to that. (Laughter.)

And if the Welsh David Lloyd George was nonplussed and said, "Now, listen, we have at last given them Palestine and we are surprised at the quarreling about it and that they differ in

thought," well, the Welsh David didn't understand it. But there was another David, a Jewish David, a David Einhorn. And he had some views about these things. And if the Welsh David will come to America and spend some time in visiting the synagogues he will find there are hundreds of synagogues that do not pray any more for the restoration to Palestine. That may be news to the Welsh David, but it is actually so.

Of course, there were differences of opinion. And these differences are not to be slighted, but they are to be overshadowed by the unity in Israel which was expressed this morning by calling this an historic day. And it is historic for, as I understand it, it is a tremendous thing that has been done. I have always been for it. Why, years ago I spoke to Sokolow, Vice-President of the Organization, about some such possibility of getting people together to work for Palestine. This is a tremendous thing. With reverence, with awe, with a sense of responsibility must both sides commit themselves to the new scheme.

For see what it means—and if I am wrong, I can easily be corrected. Technically and officially, when this new Agency is created, it takes the place of the Zionist Organization as an Agency. As I say, if I misinterpret this thing, I can easily be corrected by the Chair. At present the World Zionist Organization is the Agency which, in accordance with the Mandate, is the advisory body to the government in Palestine. When the new Agency shall have been constituted—I say it slowly, deliberately and solemnly, with all that it means for both sides—it does take the place of the Zionist Organization as an Agency. The Zionist Organization will be represented, of course, in the new Agency fifty per cent. Why shouldn't it be? It has such tremendous experience about Palestine. It has created the enthusiasm, it has stirred up the soul of Israel, if you will. Nobody can deny that. That is an historic fact. (Applause.)

We who differ with the Zionists don't differ and depend on lies for our differences. We look them in the face. We have always revered them, though we fought them. You can admire and revere the idealism of another man, though you may differ profoundly and to the roots with his ideal. Speaking for myself, I have some of the best personal friends who have been Zionists. (Laughter.) Yes—and they have not any the less revered my ideals and my person than I have theirs.

Therefore, I say in this holy moment: Realize what is being done. The Zionists will have fifty per cent. in this organization, of course. But all world Jewry will have fifty per cent. in it. And this is a new Agency which will represent the Jewry of the whole world. And life is not governed by words; life is governed by facts, by conditions as you meet them. And what will actually develop in Palestine no man can foresee today.



Let me remind you that this is not new doctrine with me. I stood with Dr. Magnes on the platform of Cooper Union in this city twelve or fifteen years ago (I don't remember exactly) and fought the fight for the right of home rule on the part of the Jews in Palestine to use the Hebrew language in the technical school at Haifa. I want to say these things not because of vanity but so that my new friends, the Zionists, may have a clear view of where my humble self has stood on this matter. Please indulge me. When a man has fought for thirty years as I have before American Jewry and stands in this place doing what I am doing, I think it is fair that I make my standpoint clear (applause), because if I am to serve the cause in the future during the few years that God may still in His grace leave me, then it ought to be made clear exactly where I stand.

Now I say this: that this new Agency is to represent the whole of Israel. And in its hands will be the interpretation of everything according to the actual concrete problems that meet us from time to time. We shall not, as my dear friend Dr. Philipson said, indulge in such childishness as saying, "Ah, we beat you at last!"—we to the Zionists or the Zionists to us. Please don't think that. This is a matter of real importance to the cause to which by the creation of this new Agency we pledge ourselves.

We therefore must, upholding our convictions, it is quite true, with clear minds accept this new proposition. And what this means for us is to take what Providence, in its mysterious dispensation, has presented to the Jewish soul as a tremendous, vital problem and to solve it in such a way as was said in that passage of the report before the Central Conference of American Rabbis in 1920, that at least a sufficiently large number of Jews be facilitated in their immigration to that country so that there can grow up on the soil where walked our Hebrew Prophets (which soil is at least as dear and as sweet to us as it is to the Christians because the founder of their religion walked there) a center of spiritual life which, as has happened in many centers in the course of our history but which all the more because of the incomparably hallowed traditions of the soil, will prove one storehouse of light and of heat for the Jewish soul all over the world. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. David A. Brown

THE CHAIRMAN: *I desire now to call upon that fighter for great causes, Jewish causes, our good friend, David Brown.* (Applause.)

MR. BROWN: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I also have been involved in this development since it began, and have kept closely in touch with the whole movement for this new Agency. I visited Palestine twice—once at the request of a group vitally interested in Palestine—and did not go there as a mere visitor. I wanted to know something about the history of the country, something about the development of the country, something about the activities of the Zionist Organization. Feeling that before I was qualified to pass judgment at all, I should thoroughly inform myself as to what had happened in the past, I spent considerable time before I went into the country studying the history of the whole Zionist movement.

I thought it was my duty to find out the why of the movement and all that had taken place in it since the very beginning. I thought it was my duty also to know something about the soil of the country. And without any reflection upon some of the experts who visited Palestine in 1922, I found a certain ignorance on their part as to soil conditions, although the facts were available to them just as they were to me.

I went into the question of industry. I studied not only the possibilities within Palestine, but also those outside of Palestine. I realized that one could in that country manufacture large quantities of almost anything, but manufacturing alone does not necessarily mean successful industry, because there has to be a market outside of Palestine, in addition to the market within the country, to dispose of the products.

Of course, like all the others who have gone into that country, I experienced a thrill. You can't come into contact with the soil of Palestine, with the people of Palestine, or know anything about the history of the country, without feeling that something within you which is exceptionally Jewish. You travel through Palestine not as you travel through other countries with a Baedeker, you travel through Palestine with a Bible; wherever you go in Palestine, your Bible is your guide-book.

And I, as a non-Zionist, have had something to do, too, with the Zionist Organization. I have worked side by side with Dr.

Weizmann in this country making non-Zionist speeches to Zionist audiences, and I have traveled throughout America, from one city to another, making it my mission to present to the non-Zionist and the anti-Zionist groups an entirely new phase of the possibilities within Palestine, arousing their interest by trying to show them that there is something in Palestine even for the anti-Zionist, and surely for the non-Zionist. Moreover, with the authority of Dr. Weizmann, I traveled through Australia and New Zealand, meeting with the representative Jewish groups in every city of size in these countries, and, as a non-Zionist, stated the case for Palestine.

I have read the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission from cover to cover, not once but twice, so that I would have a full understanding of just what the Survey Commission was presenting to the people of America, and I am in complete agreement with it, even as I am in complete agreement with all of the forces now attempting to bring about unity in Israel.

Now I want this unity at least as much as any other man in America, and I am hoping, of course, that the result of this great gathering will be that we, the so-called non-Zionists of America, will join the Agency. But I want to say something to you men and women that have gathered here from all over the country upon which my good friend, Judge Horace Stern, just touched slightly during his very interesting talk this morning.

A great responsibility is upon us. I am not fooling myself for one moment with reference to the ultimate function of the Agency. Fundamentally, there is nothing in connection with the Agency that imposes a definite and fixed responsibility upon the non-Zionists who join with this movement, to go out and raise all the money. I have heard it said time and again, "Well, what are they going to do? What promises are they going to make? How much money are they going to give?" Personally, I thought it was a piece of impertinence on the part of those who sought to bargain with us to take the attitude that, if they permitted us to join in this great movement, it should be contingent upon how much we would give and how much we would do.

It is my understanding that the Agency as the Agency is not to deal with the question of money raising. There is a money-raising agency within the Zionist Organization whose responsibility it will be to gather the necessary funds for the development of Palestine. Yet I am a very practical person and I realize that there is going to be this responsibility eventually, and we cannot have this representation without taxation. When the Agency finally gets into action and the money-raising organization, whatever its name may be, goes out on the highways and byways of this country, they are going to make a plea to the people to participate in the

actual financial development of Palestine. Now when you vote on the proposal to enlarge the Agency, as I think you will before the day is over, keep in mind that there is attached to it a definite and fixed responsibility not only to give of your means, but to give of yourself.

I have traveled up and down in this country in the past three and one half years. I suppose I have met as large a number of the Jewish people who feel their responsibilities toward Jewry, whether it be in their own community or anywhere else, as any other man in this country. I think in a general way I know what is running through their minds with regard to their relationship to any cause that has an appeal to them.

When Dr. Weizmann asked me in Palestine in 1925 what I thought of the possibilities in America, I told him that it was possible to raise two or three times the amount of money that had been raised in this country, provided that there was proper leadership. What I said to him at that time, I say to you again now. I have an abiding faith in the fineness of the Jewish people of this country. I know that given a cause that is right, one that is rightly presented to them, and under the right kind of leadership, they will not fail you regardless of the amount required. (Applause.)

There is a desire within the people of this country to do their full duty. There is an understanding of the responsibilities resting upon them. There is a noble sense of service in the hearts of the Jews in this country. Above all, there is an understanding of the proper use of their material possessions. That to me is one of the greatest by-products of the tremendous effort that has been made by the Jews of this country over a period of fourteen years, a by-product of profound historical significance in the development of Jewish consciousness in America.

Unfortunately, the development of Palestine needs money. For some years to come, I am hoping that it will not be many years, there will have to be a constant subsidy so that that country will grow sanely and rightly. The fundamental thing, therefore, after the Agency has been established, is to realize that there will come to the Jews of this country this new responsibility. I am sincerely hopeful that if we join the Agency, and I think we will join it, the Jews of this country who have labelled themselves non-Zionists and who have not hitherto participated financially in the Palestinian effort, will willingly and of themselves assume that responsibility and join with the other groups in the common labor of money-raising.

There is one other thought that has been running through my mind for a considerable time. I once said to Dr. Weizmann, if we could only cash in on the unlimited Zionist enthusiasm in this country, you would not need the non-Zionists. (Laughter.) I

have never known such an idealistic group of people as the Zionists. When it comes to giving, however, there is but a mere handful of them who give in relation to the possibilities within them. I am hoping that when this new Agency group joins, the Zionists will, as Zionists, measure up to their full responsibility, that they will give as they cheer, that they will evidence a desire to do their full share. I believe that I can say that the non-Zionists will do their share.

I am making this point because I wish Dr. Weizmann and all those who have for so many years been carrying this responsibility to have a better day of it, to carry on in a larger measure, and I am hoping that out of this will come a much happier era for all Jewry. There has been too much poison sent broadcast throughout this country; there has been too much fighting, too much dissension. We have tried to think in terms of our own particular idealism. We have tried to give of ourselves only to the causes of our particular interest. I hope that day is passed. I hope the day is passed when a man can get up in the midst of a group of fine people and say that he would rather save one life in Palestine even at the cost of 100 lives in Russia, as was done in a western city during a controversial period.

As far as I am personally concerned, I am deeply interested in our people no matter where they are. They can be in China or in the very depths of Russia. I want to do for them just as I want to do for the Jews of Palestine. I want to say to my many friends who are here that I am hoping and praying that the end of this meeting will be unanimous approval of the work that has been going on now for nearly five years. It has been a tremendous task. I know the responsibility that Mr. Marshall has carried in connection with this work, and in connection with this gathering. We did not wave a magic wand and just say, "Good folks, there is going to be a meeting in New York." A gathering of this kind is the result of the hardest kind of labor, time-consuming labor, commensurate with the historic achievements which preceded it.

Now, I cannot leave this platform without saying a word about the work of the members of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission who have given so freely of themselves. I have read their report and I recommend it to all of you. I am hoping that some way will be found whereby we can print many, many thousands of copies of this report and send them broadcast throughout America, so that every Jew in the land will have an opportunity to read it. The task of the Commission has been enormous. I know how much valuable time and labor it has consumed. I know how much time Mr. Marshall has given to this work. And I personally want to express my appreciation of the splendid service that this Commission has rendered not only to the Jews of America but to the Jews of the world. (Applause.)

With the formation of the enlarged Agency, I am hoping that Mr. Marshall and his associates will have a little easier day of it, just as I am hoping that Dr. Weizmann and his associates will have an easier day of it, and that the Jewry of Palestine, the Jewry of America, the Jewry of the world will witness the dawn of a new day, an era of peace, of unity, of consecrated harmony. (Applause.)

## Address of Rabbi William H. Fineshriber

THE CHAIRMAN: *I am sure that we would all like to hear from Rabbi Fineshriber.* (Applause.)

**R**ABBI FINESHRIBER: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I have always been suspicious of love feasts. My experience with a certain type of love feast that has taken place particularly between Jews and Christians has made me so. I have heard Jews get up and say how happy they were to be at a common table with Christians and then go on at great length to assert that they were still Jews. And I have heard Christians do precisely the same thing, stating that they were very happy indeed to share and break bread with the Jew but that they wanted the world to understand that they were still Christians.

I hope that nothing of this kind will happen at this meeting. While we are all interested in our own personal philosophies, and in our personal points of view, I don't think we ought to care so much as to what the folks at home may say about our seeming change of attitude. For this thing breeds just the thing that we ought to avoid. If this is an historic occasion (and I firmly believe it to be), if this is the time for which we have waited these many years, if this is the first opportunity in which the Jews of the country, without regard to badge or appellation, have come together and proclaimed their interest in Palestine, I think it ought to be said without reservation, I think it should be said without attempting to make apologies for ourselves and to make constant explanation that there are distinctions, as every child knows there are between the various parties.

This time ought to be characterized, ladies and gentlemen, by something at least approaching enthusiasm. For several thousand years we have been at loggerheads with each other, now under one guise and now under another. For a generation we have been fighting each other. And there isn't the slightest doubt that every

intelligent human being knows that there was justification for these divisions and these differences. But now we have come to the point where a cause of greater importance than even our own philosophic points of view has come to the fore. For there is a land dear to us and there are people bound to us by ties of flesh and blood and common aims and sympathy. There are people waiting for us to help.

And I think that Judaism now and the Jewish people ought to rally to this opportunity with all their strength and with all their might and with all their main. I hope that from now on, if there should be further speeches made, that the speeches will be channeled in the direction of creating some enthusiasm and not a mere calm complacency, that something ought to be said in order to arouse and stimulate the men and women who are gathered here together so that they may go out and influence those thousands who are waiting for the word to come from the center of American Jewish life, to the end that something definite and practical may be done for our people over there.

It is no longer a theory. But there are people over there who are hungry, there are people without bread, there are people without jobs, there are people without money. And it dare not be said of American Jews that they are allowing 150,000 people of their own flesh and blood to want and to starve and to suffer martyrdom in behalf of an ideal, while we do nothing and say little and merely give them our calm benediction.

I trust, ladies and gentlemen, that not only will this resolution be accepted unanimously, but, as a consequence of this acceptance every single one of us will go forward, forgetting for a moment his little party appellation, and try to make every other Jew in the United States of America realize that here we have a magnificent international task, that the good name of the Jew is at stake, that the good name of Judaism is at stake, that it is not only a racial duty but a religious duty for every Jew, whatever his opinion may be, to participate and co-operate in this finest of all tasks to make our birthplace, the home of our fathers, a decent and fit place in which to live. (Applause.)

## Address of Rabbi Louis Wolsey

THE CHAIRMAN: *I now would like Rabbi Wolsey to come forward and address us. (Applause.)*

RABBI WOLSEY: Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: There is a maxim in the Talmud to the effect that if the Pharisees, Sadducees and Zealots had not quarreled with one another, Jerusalem would not have been destroyed. It is probable that the colonization of Palestine by Jews has been very sorely hindered by the utter inability of the two schools of Jewish thought to understand one another, or to agree. Neither group has yielded to the other, save that Rabbinical non-Zionists have always taken the position that they would be happy to co-operate in the rehabilitation of Palestine if Zionists could find some way whereby Judaism would not have to surrender its philosophy of Jewish life.

It seems that the Agency holds such a prospect so that the two wings of Jewish endeavor may be able to federate in this larger project of Jewish colonization in Palestine without surrendering their honor or their principles. If the establishment of the Jewish Agency means that, there will no longer be any non-Zionists, for it is our understanding that the establishment of a Jewish Agency will prepare itself to take over the complete responsibility of the establishment of a Jewish life in Palestine under the British mandatory without any let or hindrance or interference by any partisan group.

Therefore, we non-Zionists should be very happy to abdicate our ownership of our old title in order that we may contribute of our strength and our resources to the greater project of a Jewish home in Palestine which, at last, means the unity of Israel and the final destruction of all those bitternesses and misunderstandings that have so unhappily divided us. No shore of the world welcomes the Jew any more. Therefore, we take this historic step today to make it possible for Jews in lands of oppression to find a place where they shall no longer be trammled or persecuted.

Some of us have made our apologies this morning. Some of us have recalled what we stood for in the days gone by. Some of us have called to mind some of the differences that have been maintained both among Zionists and non-Zionists. And it seems as though the day has come, Mr. Chairman, for Jews to forget these differences for the sake of the larger cause. And I, for one, as a teacher of Israel, am glad to subordinate some of my differences



and some of my points of view in order that through the compromise we may begin to realize the well-being of all Israel.

It has been said that this is an historic moment. And I trust that from this place may go the word that makes for peace among non-Zionists and Zionists. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. James N. Rosenberg

THE CHAIRMAN: *Mr. Rosenberg, will you please address us for a few moments?* (Applause.)

**M**R. ROSENBERG: Mr. Marshall, Ladies and Gentlemen: Quite aside from questions of non-Zionists or Zionists, there has been in the minds of honest, thoughtful men and women a question as to the economic possibilities of Palestine. And those men and women who have had such doubts have said, "If there is no economic future there, how can there be a spiritual future there?"

Now this report is an epoch-making event. A year ago I remember being at your house, Mr. Marshall, on a Sunday morning when the question of the creation of this Commission was under consideration. And we who sat around your table all said, "We must have the truth. Let us hew to the line, let the chips fall where they may. We must have research, we must have detached scientific study, and we must have an impartial document which is not a brief but a piece of objective scientific research which aims only at the truth." And I remember our discussing whether our dear friend, Lee Frankel, should be a Commissioner. And I remember the statements: He is going to be brutally frank. No enthusiasm that he may have as a Jew will let him swerve a hair's-breadth from the truth. We know that of him because we had asked him to do the same thing for the Joint Distribution Committee six years before. He had gone all through Europe and he had told what he believed and what he found to be the truth, and he didn't care about consequences.

Now it is in that spirit, good friends, that this report has been prepared. And if this is, as I believe it is, an epoch-making occasion, one of the prime reasons, and perhaps the prime reason, why it is such is that we now have a report which takes out of the realm of controversy, doubt, insinuation or uncertainty the fact that Palestine can economically build to support a substantial Jewish population. However big or however small, the economic potentialities are established to be there, established not only by the reports of these four Commissioners but by the reports of experts—

many of them not Jews, men who were engaged, not to write a brief for or against a cause, but who were told to go and get the facts.

One other point: we Jews as individualists, as men who treasure and fight for our own convictions, have held differing opinions on Zionism and non-Zionism. I say, with all earnestness, that that time has gone by. I say that there is not and cannot be room for further difference. I say that for this reason: What are we going to do today? We are going to try to develop a machinery so that a truly representative agency to represent all the Jews of the world may be created. Zionists and non-Zionists alike want that. That is what we are after. That and the economic and spiritual upbuilding of the Jew in Palestine. Nothing else.

Now, what does that mean? The Agency comes into being through the force of the Mandate of the League of Nations. Great Britain is the Mandatory. We have the opportunity to do one thing, and one thing only so far as I know, and that is to create an advisory body without powers of sovereignty, an advisory body called an Agency. That advisory body, if constituted of leading and representative Jews, will represent the Jews of the world. That is the only thing we have got to consider—that and the subject of raising money to help build up the future of the Jew in Palestine.

Now, what does this advisory body mean, ladies and gentlemen? Will it be an important body? Let me give you an analogy. May I call attention to the fact that when the framers of the Constitution of the United States wrote the Constitution in 1787 they created a body which has been only advisory in controversies as between one state and another of the states that constitute our Union. It was provided in the Constitution that the Supreme Court of the United States has power to decide the controversies between states. But the framers of the Constitution never created any machinery whereby the decisions of the United States Supreme Court can—when against a state—be enforced by force of arms. Since 1787 there have been many litigations between the states which have come before the Supreme Court. And the states have always voluntarily acquiesced in the decisions of the Court.

We perceive then that bodies, though merely advisory, though unsupported by arms, by force, have—perhaps for that very reason—the greatest moral force in the world. They have the force of persuasion of justice when that persuasion comes solely from representative responsible and disinterested noble men and women. The Agency, if it is so composed, will, therefore, I venture to predict, be a body of which we Jews can and will be proud. It will be a body whose advice will be a moral law and will be supported by

the public opinion of Jews the world over.

We must bend our efforts then, sinking all differences between Zionism and non-Zionism, to have an Agency composed of leading and representative Jews. And when that is done, then the fact which Mr. Warburg pointed out in his address last night will quickly develop as an incontestable truth. In the history of the work of the Joint Distribution Committee all shades of opinions were represented and are represented in the Executive Committee of that organization. And yet, when the problems of the future have been presented, the problems of our brethren overseas, every decision over the whole course of the work of the Joint Distribution Committee in the spending of 70 million dollars has been unanimous.

So when the Agency is created, we will not be concerned with differences of the past. We will be concerned with problems of the present and the future, problems of the sound building up of a place that is sacred to us all.

Thank you. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: We have heard considerable discussion. There are no parliamentary rules which govern when I preside. (Laughter.) I always allow the body itself to govern itself. Sometimes I am reproached with not being sufficiently democratic. Some people even say I am autocratic. But the fact is that so far as meetings are concerned, I allow the meetings to govern themselves and to do what they please.

We have plenty of time left. The day is still young. Now I will leave it entirely to the audience to determine whether they wish further to discuss the resolutions which have been presented. There will be additional and important work to be done and another resolution will be presently offered which may call for discussion. It deals with the question as to what we will do after the report has been adopted, our idea being, I can tell you in confidence, that if the report is adopted, we will then have to begin to prepare for going into the Agency without any more talk about it. (Applause.)

We have prepared a plan, which is a simple one, to carry that into effect, and at the same time a method of dealing with any existing differences of interpretation which may have arisen out of the report. I merely say this so that you may know that when we have voted on the present resolution there is still work to be done and that you can't play golf or go anywhere else this afternoon. (Laughter.)

I would therefore ask anybody who desires to discuss this resolution to let me know at once. And if I see anybody here who indicates the slightest desire to speak, that opportunity will be afforded.

RABBI JOSEPH L. FINK: Mr. Chairman, I simply want to ask a question. I want to ask if the resolution immediately following this resolution contains something with reference to the reservations and what the attitude of this Conference should be toward them, so that the adoption of the resolution before us in no way commits the gathering in regard to those subjects.

THE CHAIRMAN: In regard to those subjects—no. There is machinery to be provided for which will deal with that particular subject.

Am I to understand that nobody wishes to discuss this resolution? If not, those who are in favor of the resolution as read will say, "Aye". Those opposed will say, "No". I am happy to say that the resolution is unanimously adopted. (The gathering rose and applauded.)

Now before we take up the next subject, I wish to say that Dr. Weizmann will speak presently. (Applause.) In order that you may have in mind the entire plan of procedure, without going

through the form of having anybody offer it from the floor, I will offer it myself—I will read the next resolution, which will be acted upon, but not until our adjourned session this afternoon, so that you may think about it in the meantime.

“Whereas, after due consideration of the Report of the Joint Palestine Survey Committee, the question has again been fully discussed at this meeting as to whether or not Jews who are not members of the World Zionist Organization should unite with the World Zionist Organization in the formation of a united Jewish Agency in accordance with the terms of Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate issued by the League of Nations, with the powers and duties specified in such Mandate and along the lines set forth in the Resolutions adopted at an adjourned session of the so-called Non-Partisan Conference held on March 1, 1925, and due deliberation being had, it is hereby

“Resolved, (1) That the Resolutions adopted at such meeting held on March 1, 1925, be and the same are readopted, ratified and confirmed.

“Resolved further (2) that the Conference now in session, representative of Jews of the United States who are non-Zionists, in order to carry out the plan heretofore considered with respect to the creation of an enlarged Jewish Agency, hereby empowers a Committee of Seven to be appointed by the Chairman of this meeting and to be known as an Organization Committee, to name and designate the non-Zionist members of the Council of the Jewish Agency allotted to the United States; Provided (a) that at all times fifty per cent. of the membership of the Council of the Jewish Agency and on the Executive Committee of such Agency shall be non-Zionists and that the remaining fifty per cent. of such membership shall be selected by the World Zionist Organization; (b) that of the non-Zionist members of the Council of the Jewish Agency forty per cent. shall be representative of American Jewry, exclusive of such American representatives as may be selected by the World Zionist Organization; (c) that fifty per cent. of the Executive Committee to administer the affairs of the Jewish Agency shall be appointed by the members of the General Council selected by the World Zionist Organization and the remaining fifty per cent. thereof by the members of the Council of the Jewish Agency composed of the non-Zionists participating therein; (d) that members of the Council and of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency shall at all times be entitled to vote by proxy and (e) that the Organization Committee hereinafter referred to shall be consulted with respect to the representation allotted to non-Zionists on the General Council and the Executive Committee for countries other than the United States and that such allotment shall be approved by the Organization Committee.

## RESOLUTIONS

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"Resolved further, (3) that the Organization Committee be and it is hereby authorized and directed to form an organization, either voluntary or incorporated, for the purpose of facilitating the carrying out of the purposes of this Resolution, and to adopt such by-laws as may be deemed desirable, and that such Organization Committee proceed to communicate the Resolutions adopted at this meeting to the representatives of the World Zionist Organization and to various non-Zionist bodies whose co-operation in the united Jewish Agency shall be regarded as important.

"Resolved further (4) that in anticipation of the formation of the enlarged Jewish Agency, the Organization Committee is empowered to adjust with the duly authorized representatives of the World Zionist Organization any differences that may have arisen or that may arise with respect to the interpretation, effect or operation of any recommendation contained in the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission dated June 18, 1928." (Applause.)

Now this will not be open for discussion until after we have had luncheon. In the meantime, I am sure that it will be regarded by us all as the greatest privilege of this occasion to listen to the man who during all these years has borne the burden which we all should have shared with him before this and which we are now all determined to share with him—Dr. Weizmann.

(The audience rose and applauded.)

## Address of Dr. Chaim Weizmann

**D**R. WEIZMANN: This vote is the culmination of a series of efforts on the part of your distinguished Chairman and of the representatives of the Zionist Organization, efforts covering a period of approximately five years. I think I am not exaggerating when I say that this vote constitutes an historically important departure in the life of American Jewry and in the fortunes of the Zionist movement. Throughout these years all of us have thought deeply of what a vote paving the way for the formation of a joint organization of Zionists and—let us say, for want of a better term—non-Zionists, would mean for the development of Jewry and the upbuilding of Palestine. And you may believe that as I stand before you today I am not filled with a spirit of triumph, but simply feel that we are now united, and that we have taken upon ourselves a heavy but sacred burden which, with the forces available in Jewry, and American Jewry in particular, I am certain we shall carry to a successful conclusion.

I will not attempt to analyze the various shades of non-Zionism that have been presented here this morning. I do not want to tell others what their relation to Palestine should be. But I would repeat one important truth that has been repeatedly stated and emphasized throughout this morning's and last night's debates—the truth that living facts are stronger than dead formulae. It is a fact that Palestine today, despite all its tribulations, is a living organism, a challenge to you and me, a challenge to the Jewish—and, perhaps, also to the non-Jewish—world.

As we achieve this unity for which we have been working, I think it proper for us to remember, at this solemn meeting, those who have made Palestine a living organism,—those who, with spade and axe and superhuman effort, have converted rocks and swamps into something which is today as near a garden as possible; those who have given all their idealism and intelligence to the cause—the pioneers of fifty, or even twenty years ago. It is they who are the real creators of this movement.

I shall not enter here into a discussion of the possibilities of Palestine. For none can foretell what development may take place when we will have a strong, flourishing Jewish community in the little country now called Mandatory Palestine. Palestine is a center, surrounded by vast countries soon to be awakened. Once we have created a central power-station in Palestine, its energy will penetrate into all the neighboring countries. And who can foretell what forms Jewish life will take in the Palestine of the future?

All we can do, all we wish to do today is to lay a solid foundation upon which life can be built, a firm support for a civilization.

We have been worrying a great deal about terminology. I should like to give, briefly and somewhat drastically, a formulation of my credo: If nationalism means a political relationship of Palestine to the Jews in other lands, if the Jewish National Homeland is to deprive the Jews without its borders of the station they have attained after such bitter struggles, then I am no nationalist, and no sensible Zionist is a nationalist. We do not desire to interfere politically, directly or indirectly, with the life of the Jews outside Palestine. If, however, nationalism means the creating of a material basis in Palestine upon which we can build the structure of a Jewish civilization, then we are nationalists. (Applause.) This conception should present no difficulties. We Zionists, of course, lay especial emphasis upon one point: To us Zionism is the foremost problem of Jewry. We have consecrated our life to the service of this ideal; we shall continue to do so in the hope that others may follow. But we shall not attempt to force our ideal upon anyone, just as I do not expect you to try to diminish our zeal and enthusiasm by one iota. (Applause.)

We have entered into a pact for the glory of a great ideal and a great country. That is the common denominator which unites us all. This Agency, which is about to come into being, is a symbol of unity, of the united front of Jewry which has been broken too often by our enemies from within and from without. We shall have to adjust many things; we shall have to learn a great deal from each other. But I consider the good will displayed at this meeting as a guarantee of the smooth functioning of this instrument in the future.

As our distinguished Chairman has pointed out, we of the Zionist Organization have carefully examined the report of the Joint Palestine Survey Commission. We value and appreciate the great and sincere effort made by the experts and, in particular, by the Commissioners. But our twenty-five years of working in Palestine under unfavorable circumstances have taught us that the colonization of Jews there by Jews is an especially difficult problem. And we are eager to have those who are, perhaps, unfamiliar with all the difficulties and hard work of colonization, understand the point of view we have been trying to develop in Palestine. The preliminary discussions we have had permit us to hope that a possibility for adjustment will be found. No one wishes to be dogmatic, no one desires aught but the smooth procedure of our work; and, as Dr. Adler and Lord Melchett have pointed out, the tempo of our work of reconstruction in Palestine must be increased. I do not agree entirely with Lord Melchett's pessimistic view that we have only five years. For us Jews, who have been living in the



Diaspora for two thousand years, five years represent but a minute of our existence. We are accustomed to count in centuries. We do know, however, that the process of regeneration has made Palestine the center upon which a world not always friendly to our aspirations is now focusing its attention. We have laid the foundation of this new Palestine, and must take care not to lose our advantage.

Many of you have said, and rightly, that millions of Jews view Palestine as their only hope. Last year I had the privilege of travelling through Poland and Roumania; and at every little station, at every crossroads, I met young men—proud, upright, strong, intelligent—who asked only one question: When can we go to Palestine? These young men are the best that Jewry has produced in a time of stress and great oppression. I would not like to lose them; they are our best material. The quickening of the tempo of the upbuilding of Palestine becomes, therefore, imperative for the regeneration of a section of Jewry which otherwise will lose hope. And I believe that when American Jewry, under the leadership of these men who are now interested in the Agency, decides to throw its weight in favor of the upbuilding of Palestine, the other Jewish communities of the world will soon follow, so that the Agency will become a working instrument in a very short time. Once we have actually reached this point, once we are facing the problems offered by Palestine, we shall find unity within our work. Common labor will unite us when formulae failed.

I need hardly say that you in particular, Mr. Marshall, must be congratulated on this occasion. And if I, as a younger friend of yours, may say so, it is the crowning glory of your great career. Your name will be inscribed in the book that is being written today on the hills and in the valleys of Palestine.

And I also congratulate the rest of the assembly on the step they have taken, a step of which we have been dreaming, for which we have been working many years. The Balfour Declaration was not given to Zionists alone. It was given to all Israel, and all Israel must receive it with clean hands and clean hearts. Then we may hope to make out of Palestine something that will redound to the credit of all of you, and that will help you to carry on Jewish tradition. (The audience rose and cheered.)

The Conference then adjourned to reconvene in the afternoon.

## SUNDAY AFTERNOON SESSION

October 21, 1928

The Conference reconvened at 3:00 P. M., Mr. Marshall presiding.

THE CHAIRMAN: The meeting will now resume business.

The motion is now on the resolution which was read just before recess. And if it is desired I will read it again. (Mr. Marshall here read the resolution.)

The subject is now open for discussion. The question is now on the action to be taken with regard to these resolutions. A little explanation might be necessary in view of various questions that have been asked of me outside of the meeting.

Of course, with regard to these general principles, they were passed upon in 1925. They have been the subject of discussion between the Zionist group and the non-Zionist group. I do not know exactly the number of the members of the Council that will eventually be appointed. The idea is that the Council will be a very active working body. And there will also have to be an Executive Committee. We have gone on the theory that there would be probably 150 in the General Council and probably 20 on the Executive Committee.

Now on this proposed division of membership, fifty per cent. to each of the groups, the Zionist Organization will select fifty per cent. or seventy-five members of the General Council and the non-Zionists of the World will likewise select seventy-five members. Of those seventy-five the quota that has been agreed upon by the United States has been the allotment of forty per cent. for the non-Zionists. That, therefore, would mean that we would have thirty on the Council from among the non-Zionists. And the remaining sixty per cent., or forty-five of the non-Zionists would be selected from the other countries of the world.

The World Zionist Organization would in its way designate its seventy-five. The non-Zionists would then be entitled on the Executive Committee to fifty per cent. of the Executive Committee, and the Zionists to fifty per cent. That would give each, therefore, ten members on the Executive Committee. The quota of the United States would be forty per cent. of the ten, or four members.

on the Executive Committee. The other six would be appointed from other countries. The Zionist Organization would designate in its own way its ten.

Now we, of course, feel that it is important that we shall know just exactly what the allotment of non-Zionist members from other countries shall be. We feel, therefore, that we should be consulted. If, for instance, a country with a comparatively small Jewish population should get a very large percentage, it would not be entirely fair to us. So, too, if a country which is entitled to a considerable representation should be allotted only a small quota, we should have something to say; at least we should be consulted with regard to quotas.

That is merely a protective measure which I am quite sure will never have to be called upon, but it is always well when we are doing work of this kind to make these protective provisions so that nobody may hereafter say that there has been any oversight.

That, in short, is the whole proposition. As to that we have been agreed. Now, of course, it is very important, in view of the fact that the central office or the meeting place of the organization may be in Europe or in Palestine, that the American representatives who are unwilling to trust their precious lives to airplanes or to zeppelins and who are likewise unwilling to leave their country or unable to leave their country on a moment's notice should be enabled to be represented at all meetings. Therefore, we have provided for proxy voting. And consequently there would always be present either in person or by proxy the full complement of members that we shall have allotted to us. And the same is true of the Zionist Organization and of the non-Zionists all over the world.

This we believe to be a simple working plan. Now, ordinarily when you elect representatives to any body, and especially so important a body as the Jewish Agency, you may have a desire to have regular election proceedings. We are not so constituted that we can call nomination meetings. We do not require the elaborate machinery needed for the election of district delegates and of holding conventions in all parts of the country. I would consider it unnecessary, nerve-wracking. It would be, as Lincoln once said, like having a forty horsepower boiler furnished with a whistle the blowing of which will consume thirty-five of the horsepower.

The thing therefore is to deal with this problem in a common-sense fashion. Now we can't hold elections, establish polls, either here or in various parts of the country, and bring people from all sections to the polls. That has been tried at various times in the United States and resulted in a terrible disappointment. People won't come. They have other things to think about. And where will you hold the elections and who will take charge of them? And there is another question: Who will pay the expenses? We

want to save every dollar we can for work in Palestine and not waste it, exhaust ourselves, and arouse irritation by holding elections.

There is a further question. We can't divide these representatives among different societies or organizations who are to do the choosing, because we would soon be working at cross purposes.

What we all desire is to have a strong representation of men who are experienced, who have done public work, who know something about money raising (because that will become a very important function), men who are influential in their several communities. They should be properly distributed throughout the country. They shouldn't all be from one section or from two sections.

We could not here today elect these thirty representatives on the General Council. There has been no preparation for it. We don't really know who is here and who isn't here. Those present compared with those who have expressed their adherence to this plan constitute a comparatively small percentage. The natural tendency of the people present would be to say, "Mr. A., I will nominate you." And Mr. A. will say in turn to Mr. B., "I nominate you, Mr. B." And before we know it we will have a Council which will never function. They can't work together. You see, I am not talking like a person who is trying to ingratiate myself to my audience. I say you cannot, unless you spend a great deal of time in the study of the question, select the best men by any such process. You might compliment Mr. A and Mr. B and that would be the end of it. They would go home with their honors and that would be all that you would ever get out of them. Or Mr. C and Mr. D., who are not here and who are worthy of honors (and I don't consider these honors, they are duties; it means hard work), would not even be thought of. And somebody would say, "If you had only been there you would have been put on this board," and then unpleasant reproaches might follow.

Now we know the names of all the Jews of the United States, I think. At least, if we are going to have a committee, we shall try to get one which is well informed. And although it is immodest for me, as the Chairman of this meeting, to put into this resolution the idea that I should name the seven persons who shall constitute the Organization Committee, it is only a suggestion for I am perfectly willing that you should name them in any way you choose. I think, perhaps, that after all, in selecting the committee it is easy enough for one who knows the Jews of the United States fairly well to take upon himself the unpleasant responsibility of naming the seven, and the seven then will have to take the more unpleasant responsibility of naming the thirty. There is the whole thing in a sentence.

Now, so far as the last paragraph of the resolutions is concerned, I can say that it has been the result of considerable thought. The question has been presented as to what action we would take here regarding the reservations that were made at the meeting of the Actions Committee in Berlin on the topics mentioned. It took six days to discuss that question. We haven't the six days and we haven't even all the data, and we can't here from the floor decide these controversial matters. Therefore a body of men who do know about them and who can study them and give careful attention should be appointed for that purpose.

It has therefore been suggested that the Organization Committee, the same committee that I referred to, shall be directed and authorized and empowered to adjust, with the duly authorized representatives of the World Zionist Organization, any difference that has arisen or that may arise in respect to the interpretation, effect or operation of any recommendation contained in this report. That seems to me the simplest, the easiest, and the best way of dealing with the proposition. Seven or fourteen men sitting around a table may come to some conclusion or some compromise or find some way of getting out of any difficulty that may have arisen. I don't think there is any that is of any seriousness. It is the only way to deal with such a question.

As I said the other day in a conference, I hope if we ever have a meeting of the Palestine Council or the Executive Committee that the first rule that shall be adopted will be that nobody is to be permitted to make a speech on any subject. We will sit around and discuss, consider, debate, if you please, and present our respective views. But never put a man in the position where the blood will rush to his head and the eloquence to his tongue for then "there will be the devil to pay." (Laughter.)

Now the question is open for discussion. (Applause.)

A VOICE: I move that the question be put.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will note that this is merely our proposal. And I once more say that I have no wish to perform a duty which I am not asked to perform. I shall not feel offended if some other plan is suggested or proposed. I merely have presented it in this form because it is deemed to be the only practical way of doing a very difficult piece of work and the only way which will result in the least possible friction or misunderstanding or disappointment.

Of course, these members of the Council and of the Executive Committee will have a great many serious, difficult, functions to perform. And these appointments will not be sinecures. And the mere fact that this has been proposed from the Chair is not to be regarded as an indication that those who are present shall not exercise to the fullest extent their independent judgment.

MR. ROSENBERG: Mr. Chairman, we all rejoice at this statesmanlike resolution. I don't think we want to discuss it. We are delighted that you are willing to keep your hand on the helm and assume the burden of appointing this Committee of Seven. I feel that everybody here wants to vote an enthusiastic "Aye".

MR. MILFORD STERN: Referring to the last clause of your resolution, it is not altogether clear to my mind just what limitation of time is placed upon the power granted to the special committee, that is, the Organization Committee, to adjust those differences of opinion regarding the recommendations. How long are they to function?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is left indefinite by reason of the circumstance that we do not quite know whom the Zionist Organization will designate to confer and when that conference will take place. Undoubtedly it will be within a reasonable time.

Our purpose is to appoint the thirty representatives of the non-Zionists at a very early date, and I can assure you that the Committee on Organization will be very anxious to turn over to the thirty whatever responsibilities exist in this regard. The only point is that we designate the seven in order that there may be prompt action in view of the fact that after we have acted there will have to be meetings in various countries for the purpose of selecting the non-Zionist representatives from those countries and the Zionist Organization will have to proceed also for the purpose of selecting its representatives to the Agency. It will take some little time to go through with all of those various steps.

We feel that now that we are in it, we are going to start right along, have no talk about delay. We never have delayed this matter for a moment. It is not necessary to go into that subject at all. But we are anxious that this plan of having an enlarged Jewish Agency shall go into operation within the earliest possible time. We cannot be blamed if we have acted as we propose to act now if any further delay takes place.

Our idea is not delay but promptness of action. And that can be best accomplished by having a body in existence now, that can confer and indicate to those who have had some question as to various interpretations what the correct interpretation should be or point out some way whereby any differences may be adjusted.

DR. PHILIPSON: Mr. Chairman, have any steps been taken in any other countries to appoint delegates for the non-Zionists?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not exactly to appoint them. But when I was in London during the summer I discussed the matter with some of the leading non-Zionists in London and I did likewise in Paris. I saw some of the very important men of Germany and of Austria who are non-Zionists. I am very glad to say (I think Dr. Weizmann is my authority very largely) that Baron Edmond

de Rothschild, who does not belong to the Zionist Organization, is very seriously considering co-operation with the Jewish Agency. I had a conversation with his son, James de Rothschild, in Paris, who likewise indicated a very great interest in this movement. In other words, they are all waiting for us.

DR. PHILIPSON: Who makes the allotments to the various countries?

THE CHAIRMAN: There doubtless will be negotiations between this Organization Committee and the representatives of the Zionist Organization and also with the different representatives of non-Zionist Jewry, so that we may arrive at what would be a fair ratio of representation.

In other words, we want every country represented. At the same time we want to keep a proper ratio of representation between the various countries. You see, it is a very delicate subject of adjustment and will take some considerable time. But good-will prevails. The receptivity to the project on the part of the non-Zionists of Europe and also of the Zionists is very strong. And I always feel that when men are desirous of attaining an object they can easily meet all difficulties and come to an understanding. It is only when they are pulling apart that nothing can be done.

Now, are you ready for the question? All those who are in favor will say, "Aye". Opposed, "No". Again there is a unanimous vote. (Applause.)

Now I feel that we are no longer Zionists and non-Zionists, and that we are going to work together. (Applause.) I am sure it will be a blessing to all of us, to the people of Palestine, to those who desire to make their homes there, to those who live in other lands and expect to live and die there. We are all Jews, intent upon bringing about united action for the purpose of adding to Israel's glory, of adding blessings to the world and of making the Jewish people a great force for good wherever they may live. (Applause.)

Now that we are all here together as one, I feel that the time has come when our former Zionist friends, now partners of us all, shall have the opportunity of giving voice to their sentiments upon this occasion. I know that they have been straining under the leash. (Laughter.) The door is now open. I hope that they will speak with lack of restraint, only seeing to it that no apples of discord be cast into this assembly. We have been peaceful. There has been present here the finest spirit of unity and harmony and co-operation that I have ever beheld in the fifty years of my public life. (Applause.) I feel that I ought to congratulate the Jews of America upon what has been accomplished here. Now let us march on and go from strength to strength.

## Address of Dr. Max Heller

THE CHAIRMAN: *I see before me one of my very good friends, Dr. Heller. Let us hear from you, Dr. Heller. (Applause.)*

**D**R. HELLER. I fear it is quite beyond my power adequately to express, on the one hand, my sense of privilege in being permitted to address this assembly, and, on the other hand, my great joy at the splendid spirit that has prevailed in almost all of the utterances on this floor. In rejoicing over the privilege that has come to me I still have a feeling which you will permit me to express, and it is this: that I greatly miss here one presence—the presence of a man who would have brought to you a very much stronger message than it is in my power to convey; the presence of a man whose services to, whose sacrifices on behalf of Palestine are matched by hardly any and surpassed by scarcely any, the Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise. I know that had he been here he would have gladly entered into the spirit that has here prevailed, and I firmly and strongly believe that he would have contributed important words to the sentiments that will go forth to the country.

I have rarely, in my long and variegated career, lived to see an evening as flawless and beautiful as last night. There was something in the sentiments spoken, there was a great deal particularly in the depth and the warmth and the sincerity of the sentiments that were expressed which made me wish that this was a Zionist assembly indeed, that a good many of our Zionists that have grown a little lukewarm could have refreshed their enthusiasm in this hall.

We need not fling around words of “historic” and “epoch-making”. And yet we do feel that it has been a very great moment and that the words that have been spoken have been inspiring not only for the passing moment but for the rest of our lifetime. But the enthusiasm must be such as to go forth from this assembly out into the world of those who have not had the opportunity of taking part in this gathering.

Therefore, if I am to make any kind of a contribution to this meeting out of my very weak and scant resources, the only thing I can think of is to relate just a few of my experiences from the visit that I had the happiness of paying to Palestine last year.

Inasmuch as there have been two speakers who have described to you how deeply touched they were when they saw the stake which marks the border between Palestine and the desert, I want to tell you how very profoundly I was moved when, refusing this



approach of Palestine, I preferred the more difficult and precarious approach from the sea. I wish I could tell all of you how it feels to get up on a misty morning at four o'clock to look out upon the blue Mediterranean and to see gradually coming into view first the blueness of the misty shore, then the greyness of the hill dotted with high houses, and then the sight of the hills of Moab with their deep blue tints and hues. How it grips the heart to feel that you are now viewing the land of your fathers!

I wish that it were within my power to communicate to you the profound joy which I had when the dreams and the hopes and the yearnings not only of many of my years, but of the years of generations of my ancestors came true, when I was to spend Passover in Jerusalem. I had a very gracious invitation to spend that wonderful evening in the home of the oldest Jewish physician in Palestine, with an international gathering that acted as though they had known each other all their lives. And the service was conducted by those present. The family was there, and the little child, six years old, recited the *Ma Nashtanu* and very shrewdly "stole" *Afikomon*. I was very, very happy to think that I had achieved this.

But these feelings were really dwarfed by the overwhelming joy which I had when, at the end of the *Seder*, I walked out on the Jaffa road and found that road crowded with the people that were returning from their *Seder*. I saw there, it seemed to me, the first splendid promise of a time when we would own Palestine spiritually in that sense of home which alone makes a country your own.

I saw there especially the Chalutzoth and the Chalutzim, as they were dancing in a public place and feeling that it was their privilege to do so. And as I looked on, one of the young men tried to pull me in and make me dance with them. I assure you I was very happy to join them, but the people I was with exaggerated the significance of my white beard and quickly drew me away, fearing that I might be injured.

That was one experience that was permanently impressive. Another was when I came to Tel Aviv, that grotesque mixture of all styles, that broken-down one-tenth of Miami in Palestine which filled my architectural taste with infinite displeasure. But when I came to spend Friday evening and Saturday there, then my soul melted in the witnessing of something I had not seen since I was a small child, in the witnessing of a perfect *Shabos*.

I want to finish by doing something disloyal, at least something against discipline. I wish to differ with our magnificent leader of world Zionism in my interpretation of nationalism. He had the virility in this place where nationalism is not exactly popular to set forth what nationalism meant to him. And to him, if I understood him correctly, it meant that there were to be

prepared the props and supports for a rising civilization, on the one hand; on the other hand, that there was to be no interference with the political or social or any other status of the Jews of the Diaspora.

My nationalism, to sum it up briefly, consists of this: that I firmly and strongly believe that Judaism can never fulfill its true religious mission, that Judaism can never revivify the world's spirituality by a new dispensation, unless that religiousness, that spirituality, are firmly and broadly based upon a commonwealth that shall be a pattern of justice of every kind and an example of brotherhood.

I say this, not as an apologia, nor to fend off misunderstanding. I say it because it seems to me important that many people should understand that a man may be a political Zionist in the fullest sense of the word and yet may very strongly and very lucidly and very confidently believe in the ultimate religious mission of Israel.

I believe in the confidence of an unwavering optimism concerning the future. But at the same time I just as strongly believe that in our day and in our fleeting moment we have the duty to hurry and not to neglect opportunities. These two do not in any way contradict each other. We have been told by our fathers that the time is short and that the Master urges. We believe in divine Providence. We believe that our actions are guided towards inevitable ends, as was set forth to us last night so eloquently and so convincingly by Lord Melchett. But at the same time we also believe that we are co-partners with Providence and that it is for us not to be found sleeping at our posts. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. Harry Sacher

THE CHAIRMAN: *I should like very much and I am sure you would be pleased to hear from Mr. Harry Sacher, who is one of the present triumvirate of Palestine, the triumvirate which consists of one woman and two men, and this is one of the men. (Applause.)*

**M**R. SACHER: Mr. Marshall, Ladies and Gentlemen: You have already heard from the lips of Dr. Weizmann, who is the head of the World Zionist Organization and my leader and very dear friend, what the Zionist Organization and what Zionists throughout the world think of the resolutions you have taken and of the task to which you have this day dedicated yourselves.

I don't like using superlatives, but it has always been my conviction that no Jew to whom Judaism has been dear can withhold his hand from that task. I think and always have thought that it is too great an honor as well as too great a burden to reserve the upbuilding of Palestine for people who are merely organized in the Zionist Organization or to treat it as the monopoly of any section of Jewry. I hold that view not only because I think that Jews throughout the world are needed for the task but because I think the Jews and Judaism throughout the world need Palestine at least as much as Palestine needs them. (Applause.)

I don't promise you that in the early months and years of our co-operation there will be no misunderstanding and no friction. We are only human beings and we have to work together, and in working together to understand one another. But of this I am certain. In the task we shall speedily and in good time lose all sense of difference in origin and be unified by the great task and in the great labor.

I speak with recognition and with feeling of the preliminary co-operation which here in New York it has been the privilege of Dr. Weizmann and myself to enjoy with Mr. Marshall and his colleagues. We have found that in conjunction and united for the same purpose, differences disappear and what may appear to be difficulties become visibly surmountable. I take that experience as a symbol of the experience that will be enjoyed on a much larger scale when this Council of the Jewish Agency will be constituted and when it sets itself to work. I believe, verily, that you have here, in these days, done a great work for the salvation of Judaism and for the redemption of your own souls, and I congratulate you. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. Louis Lipsky

THE CHAIRMAN: *I shall now call upon the President of the Zionist Organization of America, Mr. Lipsky. (Applause.)*

**M**R. LIPSKY: I have been sitting in the rear of the room admiring the orderly management of the meeting. I can assure you that such unanimous votes very seldom occur in Zionist meetings. And should, by accident, a unanimous resolution be adopted, I can assure you that it does not happen again at the same meeting. You had the rare privilege of conducting a meeting at which no points of order were made and no amendments to resolutions proposed. The task of a chairman of such a meeting is to be envied.

I have a feeling that behind all the words that have been spoken at this meeting is a genuine and sincere interest in the work of upbuilding Palestine and that all these words that have separated us in the past are gradually fading away and that, in time, other words will take their place. (Applause.)

We Zionists have adopted, since the Balfour Declaration, a policy which depends upon faith in the potency of Palestine to effect changes in words. And where we find agreement as to the work of upbuilding Palestine, we are assured—that is our faith and that is our confidence—that through that work new words will be created and a new unity will be established among the Jews of the world. (Applause.)

It is that faith in Palestine which has made possible the long and tedious negotiations that have been conducted, these negotiations that have been a revelation to all those that have engaged in them. It is through that faith that we approach now a task which will be a burden upon the whole of the house of Israel instead of being a burden upon a fragment of it.

I feel assured that I am expressing here the opinions of a vast majority of the Zionists of the world in saying that in this task of union, in this self-realization through work, the entire Zionist Organization is back of those who are engaged in the task. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. Morris Rothenberg

THE CHAIRMAN: *Among my many Zionist friends, ex-Zionists, there is none for whom I have so much regard as for Mr. Morris Rothenberg. I call upon him now. (Applause.)*

**M**R. ROTHENBERG: I do not recall a single occasion on which I found it more difficult to make a Zionist speech. As I was sitting here and listening to the addresses that were made last night and today by the non-Zionists I found it very difficult to find what the Zionists could add. The distinctions began to disappear last night and they continued to disappear as time went on. I have been one of those who have been consistently supporting the efforts which were initiated by our great leader, Dr. Weizmann, to bring about an enlarged Jewish Agency, firstly, because even before I visited Palestine I was convinced from the information which I had gathered in the course of my labors for Palestine that it was a task which required not only the efforts of Zionists but of the Jews of the whole world. And that belief was considerably strengthened when I visited Palestine in 1925.

Despite the remarkable achievements of the Zionist Organization, achievements in the face of almost insuperable obstacles of every nature, in spite of their attainments along political and economic lines in Palestine, I felt that the Zionists themselves were not strong enough to solve the manifold economic and political problems that face us in the upbuilding of a land which has been denuded and neglected for so many centuries. And therefore, I heartily endorsed the efforts which were launched to bring about a situation in which all Jews would co-operate in this task, which was to shed glory not only upon the Zionists but upon the Jews of the whole world.

In the second place, I was convinced that the effort to enlarge the Agency by bringing in the non-Zionist elements was a proper effort. I had had the opportunity, the privilege of being associated for many years with Mr. Marshall and his associates, those so-called non-Zionists, about whom many of our Zionists throughout the world were skeptical. They were skeptical, I was convinced, because they did not know them, because they were thinking not of the type of people that are leading the non-Zionists here: they were thinking of a type of assimilationist that has practically disappeared, and in fact never existed in the United States. Within the last fifteen or eighteen years of the period of my activity in Jewish affairs in the United States, I cannot recall a single instance when I had the feeling in dealing with this group called

non-Zionists that we were dealing with a type of the assimilationist against which the Zionists were fighting, and properly so, for so many years.

And I, through my association with these men, learned to understand the deep Jewish feeling which animated them in all of the Jewish work which they had been doing, in the work of the Joint Distribution Committee, in the work of promoting Jewish education, in every branch of Jewish endeavor. I could not see any great distinction in the spirit which animated them and in the spirit which animated the Zionists.

I think it is best exemplified by the fact that they are the most enthusiastic supporters of those things which we regard as of the essence of Zionism—the Hebrew language, Hebrew culture. They have given proof long before they went into this bargain that they shared with us their belief that those Jewish values which we lay emphasis on should be developed in Palestine.

I noted and watched patiently the progress of events. Many of our Zionists were impatient. They felt that the process was too long. Every growth that is sound must be an evolutionary growth. And this is an evolutionary growth. But anyone who has an historic perspective can see that step by step, progress has been made and that today we have reached a point which I feel is equal in its importance to the Balfour Declaration. Because the Balfour Declaration was the recognition on the part of the non-Jews of the world that Palestine must be built up by Jews and that the Jews must have an opportunity to build it up; I think that this event, and the consequences that will flow from the decisions that were taken today, mean that the Jewry of the world has decided that Palestine shall be built up by the whole Jewish people. (Applause.)

Therefore, it is very difficult, very difficult indeed, for those of us who have consecrated our lives to the upbuilding of Palestine to give adequate expression to our feeling at this moment as to what has been achieved here today and of the still greater things that I am sure are to follow.

Only one word I should like to add. I am one of the responsible officials in the United Palestine Appeal and also in the Zionist Organization shouldering the difficult task of raising the funds with which to carry on that work which has already been begun in Palestine and which must proceed. The Commissioners in their report have said that until the enlarged Jewish Agency is completed they believe that all Jews should unite in supporting the principal funds of the Zionist Organization so that our work in Palestine may go on. I can understand that some time will elapse before all of these negotiations will have been completed, before European Jewry joins and before the entire structure is

erected. Probably not before next fall will the Agency actually come into session. In the meantime we have difficult work in Palestine. And I hope that having registered this vote today that the mere technicalities of the first session of the Agency will not be a barrier to active co-operation on the part of these great forces which have joined us today and that during the coming year, when we have got to go on with our work, we shall have the advice, the counsel and the co-operation of the distinguished men gathered here today. (Applause.)

## Address of Rev. Z. H. Masliansky

THE CHAIRMAN: There is present here in the audience one with whom I have been very closely associated for more than thirty years. In fact, we were engaged in the adventure of establishing and running a Yiddish newspaper. In the course of one year we succeeded in losing \$50,000. But the paper, nevertheless, I think rendered an important office in the development of better Yiddish journalism. We were, however, not the ones who profited by it. The gentleman to whom I refer is, in my judgment, the greatest orator on American soil. I consent that he shall speak in any language that he desires. Perhaps it might be well to begin in Yiddish and close in classic Hebrew. Reverend Masliansky, will you come forward? (Applause.)

(In a moving address in Yiddish, the Zionist orator recalled the early struggles of the Zionist movement, the slowness with which progress was made, and the later day triumphs. He greeted Dr. Weizmann, the leader of the East, and Mr. Marshall, the leader of the West, who have united on the common historic task. "I rejoice that after fifty years of labor on behalf of the Zionist ideal I am able to share in this great *Simcha*, in this great undertaking which unites all Israel for the Jewish National Homeland.")

## Address of Judge William M. Lewis

THE CHAIRMAN: *I would like to have Judge Lewis come forward and address a few words to us.* (Applause.)

JUDGE LEWIS: I should like to say but one word, Mr. Chairman, and that is this: Dr. Weizmann, during the course of the morning session, referred to you in these terms: He said, Mr. Marshall, that this was the crowning glory of a very success-

ful career on behalf of our people. I should like to say that whatever else Dr. Weizmann has done, this conclusion today is the crowning glory in the achievements of Dr. Weizmann's life. (Applause.)

Perhaps I can best serve my purpose by saying one additional word, concerning a subject in which I have some experience. It has already been referred to this morning by my good friend, David Brown. We who are witnessing the record that is being made today are going to recall and remember this record and refer to it. And I say to you pro-Palestinians that we shall remember the words that have been said this morning and this afternoon and that we shall rely upon those words in the course of the various campaigns during the year.

It is a glorious effort. I like this *Shidduch*. I am happy. We have written a glorious page in the life of American Jewry. Let it remain untarnished during the years to come. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Rosenberg has requested the floor for the introduction of a resolution.

MR. ROSENBERG: Mr. Chairman, we have all been good children and we have adopted the splendid resolutions which you and Dr. Weizmann have prepared. But I hope the Conference itself will present its own resolution. This is a resolution which David Brown and I have prepared, and we trust that it will be acceptable to this distinguished gathering. We propose the following resolution:

"That this epoch-making Conference express its rejoicing at the unanimity of its decisions. We express our gratitude to Mr. Louis Marshall and to Dr. Chaim Weizmann for their statesmanship and patient and successful efforts for concord. We thank the Commissioners and their Experts for their scholarly reports. And we confidently call on the Jews of the entire world to unite in the sacred task of upbuilding Palestine." (Applause.)

Mr. Marshall feels that somebody else should put that motion. David, come up here and put the motion.

MR. BROWN: Ladies and Gentlemen, you have all heard the motion. What will we do with it? Shall we rise?

MR. ROSENBERG: Rising vote.

MR. BROWN: All in favor of this motion will kindly rise, and all opposed will remain seated.

The resolution was unanimously adopted. (Applause.)



## Address of Dr. Shmarya Levin

THE CHAIRMAN: *Now I have been acting as an impresario for many hours. I would like very much to have volunteers now, because I can't see as well as I used to, and I don't know exactly where all the people are whom I would like to hear speak.*

*There has been a demand, which I second myself, for Dr. Shmarya Levin. (Applause.)*

**S**PEAKING in Hebrew, Dr. Levin said: Historic events in the life of any nation occur only at rare intervals. They are not accidental or spontaneous. They are always the climax to a series of precedent occurrences, which are, in turn, part of an evolutionary process. However, the average person is too engrossed with the daily cares of life, too enmeshed in the great and small details of existence, to have the patience or even the desire to observe the historic process. Thus, he is unaware of the approach of a momentous occasion. When it does arrive, it astounds and overawes.

The Balfour Declaration will inevitably, perhaps later than sooner, be regarded as one of the outstanding episodes in our national history. The time will come when we will attain the proper historic perspective, which will permit us to ignore the inconsequential phases of the Balfour Declaration, and to see in it only the pure, momentous act of justice which transcends that of Cyrus, and which, as symbol of a modern Ezra and Nehemiah, will overshadow its real namesakes.

Today's gathering will too, also perhaps later than sooner, assume proportions as a towering milestone on that highway which leads to the consummation of Jewish hopes. It will have particular significance for American Jewry. For the last several decades I have had the opportunity of studying American Jews. I have observed their lives, their activities, their ideals and even their dreams. They have undergone a remarkable, in many respects, an inspiring development. And yet, I take the liberty of saying, until the present, they have not crystallized as the mightiest, strongest and most creative segment of our people. That is to say, they have not fully availed themselves of a vast communal power, which is innate in them, and which summons them to a great national responsibility.

The resolutions which have been adopted here today serve as a gigantic crowbar which raises American Jewry to the full level of its stature. American Jewry has today immortalized itself. With

solemnity and grace, those assembled here have resolved to ally themselves with those who have been building the future of our people. They have extended the welcoming hand and thus assure the world of the unity of Israel.

This meeting emphasizes an unusual chain of events in our recent history, and the topsy-turvy world in which we live. What should come first comes last, and vice versa. Palestine can be rebuilt only through a union of all forces of our people. But the universal ambition of our people is not sufficient. We must also have the sanction of other governments, and the good-will of the great powers of the world.

Strangely enough, we received the sanction for our project from the world powers before we ourselves were united. But all that is past. American Jewry has the great privilege of proclaiming the message of unity. Today we stand united in body and soul, inflamed by one ideal, striving toward one goal, which will revitalize us as a part of humanity, and through us—all of humanity.

In conclusion, I wish to pay my profound respects to the leaders of American Jewry, headed by Louis Marshall, who, by their devotion to and selflessness for Jewish idealism, brought this occasion to pass. I extend my thanks and congratulations to that great Eastern leader of world Jewry, Dr. Chaim Weizmann. The two outstanding leaders met and, after long preparations, forged this historic moment. It is an occasion for great pride to those of us who are here, and it will, undoubtedly, within the near future, bring good fortune and glory to all of our people.

## Address of Mr. Samuel C. Lamport

THE CHAIRMAN: *There is one gentleman who is here and I don't really know which of the two former divisions he really represents. He reminds me very much of what occurred to me in 1894 when I was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention. I was chosen by the people of central New York, a district including Syracuse. I removed in the meantime to New York and began to practice my profession there. In the judiciary committee, of which I was a member, I very frequently spoke of the needs of central New York and then I spoke of the needs of the City of New York. On one occasion Judge Jenks (it is not necessary for me to say that he was a humorist) said, "Our friend, Marshall, represents two constituencies. He has hayseed in his hair and patent leathers on his feet."* (Laughter.)

*That reminds me of Sam Lamport. I don't know whether he was a Zionist or a non-Zionist, but I would like to hear him talk anyway.* (Applause.)

**M**R. LAMPORT: Mr. Chairman, when I came here last night they handed me one badge. That badge was marked "non-Zionist", and I immediately pocketed it and they handed me another badge. That was marked "Guest", and I pocketed that one. I came here with a Jewish heart. I felt a little bit in the position of a fellow in one of the middle Russian towns who was not quite as pious as he should have been. So they called him Yoshe the Goy. They came to him and demanded that he reform his habits and change his ways. But he didn't quite live up to the expectations of the people of the town. So they rewarded him by calling him Yushad the Yid.

I didn't want to be called "Lamport a Zionist". My father and my grandfather made me a Zionist throughout the days of my life. I have never had the privilege of working with the Zionist Organization, but I nevertheless was a Zionist at heart.

I have heard so much here this morning about this negative attitude. I think Dr. Adler referred to not being willing to subscribe to a negative attitude. Let me say this right here: Two negatives always make an affirmative. And if our negative elements get together and simply co-operate in this vital situation, we will have an affirmative enterprise for Palestine from now on.

This has been such a glorious day. Such wonderful history-making events have transpired here that it stirs every one's heart. I heard Dr. Philipson say this morning that there will be no surrender of principle. Yes, Dr. Philipson, there will be no surrender of principle if there is an abiding interest that maintains every day. If the interest comes along, the principle will never be forfeited. (Laughter.)

And I heard you say, Dr. Schulman, that in some of our synagogues, David the Welsh, were he to examine some of our prayer-books, would find that they don't pray for the restoration to Palestine. Perhaps they don't pray enough in some synagogues. (Laughter.)

And I heard this attempt at reconciling (this is all in the by-gone) non-Zionists and Zionists. It makes me think so much of the story of the Irish woman who had twins. I think you have heard this story, Mr. Marshall.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have heard you tell it before. (Laughter.)

MR. LAMPORT: This story is about the Irish woman who had twins. And they were so much alike that you couldn't tell them apart, you absolutely couldn't tell them apart. And when Mrs. Hennessey went in to see her friend and said, "Faith, Mrs. McCarthy, how do yez tell the two little darlins apart?" And Mrs. McCarthy said, "Oh, indad, it is aisy, I stick my finger into Dinny's mouth and if he bites I know it's Micky." (Laughter.)

I don't care where in this world the interests of Palestine were involved. I don't care in what part of this universe the success or failure of Palestine was discussed, it had a direct bearing and a direct influence on every Jew throughout the world. God bless this day for settling the American Jewish attitude on the question of Palestine so that we can go out and work in thorough solidarity with one will and one purpose and cash in (as David Brown well said) on this prospect that we have facing us, and meet the challenge that faces us throughout the world.

And it is a challenge that every American Jew is particularly interested in, because if we want to have the respect of our non-Jewish friends they are going to expect us to see to it that Palestine is successful, because it is known as a Jewish effort; nobody wants to know whether it is a non-Zionist or a Zionist undertaking, it is a Jewish enterprise throughout the world.

And somebody referred here to this being Mr. Marshall's crowning glory. Mr. Marshall has never needed any crowns. Every day of his life he has earned a crown of glory. Anybody who knows how he works and what energy and what love and devotion he gives to our people can tell you that. But I don't think that in the history of the Jewish people anything has ever been done that has more transcendent interest, more of vital importance as a unifying force than the great events that have happened here today, under Mr. Marshall's leadership.

Mr. Masliansky referred to this as a wedding, as a marriage. I had something to do with being somewhat of a Shotkin in the early days. There sits the *Chasan Torah* (indicating Dr. Weizmann), and here is the *Chasan Bereishith* (indicating Mr. Marshall), and there is but one thing for us to do—*Chasok, Chasok, Venischazek*. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. Isaac Landman

THE CHAIRMAN: *Dr. Landman*. (Applause.)

**D**R. LANDMAN: Mr. Chairman, I have no speech to make at this hour but will simply relate an incident which you haven't heard before (laughter) but which sums up our situation at this moment. It was in 1917, shortly after America entered the war. The Jewish Welfare Board was formed, and a school was organized for the training of men to serve the American Jewish soldiers in the army abroad and at home. At last we graduated the first class. And what is a graduation without a dinner? So we had a dinner. And what is a dinner without a stunt? So we had a stunt. And this is the stunt the first class

pulled: There was a scene in which there was a terrific discussion as to what the Jews are whom the graduates are going to serve.

The first question was, "Are the Jews a race?" And the answer of this group of fine young men was, "No, the Jews aren't a race." "Well, are the Jews a nation?" The answer was, "No, the Jews are not a nation." "Well, are the Jews a religious community?" The answer was, "No, the Jews are not a religious community." "Well, what are the Jews?" And the answer was, "A debating society." (Laughter.)

Now, Mr. Marshall and ladies and gentlemen, the thirty year debate on Palestine is ended. Let us go to work. (Applause.)

## Address of Dr. Leo Jung

THE CHAIRMAN: *Dr. Jung, would you like to say a few words?* (Applause.)

**D**R. JUNG: As the land of milk and honey has been sending milk of human kindness in waves this morning which have effected a general dispelling of doubts, fogs, perplexities and difficulties, I think I am convinced that all present here feel something definite has been accomplished, not because we have easily found uniformity but because there has been a growing conviction as people spoke and voted that behind this uniformity there will be a definite unity.

It has always been good policy to be honest, not to surrender principle. I think it would be a day of misfortune for Israel if we gave up our passionate individualisms. I think it is quite right for a Jew to say, "I have certain fundamental convictions which enter into the very core of my being which I cannot give up under any circumstances." But we must not confuse two issues. The one is the right of the individual to his individualism. The other is the obligation to do something for the Jewish people. It should be and it will remain useful and it will satisfy our individual conscience if each adheres as before to his principles. But as we look upon Palestine as a common cause, though we may be different as to the point at issue, let us converge and meet in the work for Eretz Israel. (Applause.)

## Address of Mr. Samuel S. Sachs

**M**R. SACHS: Mr. Chairman, may I have a word? Please believe me, I didn't come here with the intention of speaking. I chose this week-end to come to New York because I knew this gathering was taking place. I was well aware of its importance and I was very anxious to attend. The only reason that I am saying anything at all is because I notice a complete absence almost of real Jewish youth, of the Jewish young man and the Jewish young woman.

I want only to leave this message: That you older Jews and Jewesses take home with you the spirit of this meeting, inculcate it in the hearts and minds of your children, make that as important a thing in their lives as anything else that they are doing; make them feel with all of us the importance of the work in which we are engaged; make them feel that the most humble of us is exalted, the most exalted of us is humble, that the exalted and the humble are all exalted; that we are all Jews and brothers and that we should all unite in a common effort in the upbuilding of Palestine, in the upbuilding of the self-respect, the courage, the Jewishness that ought to be in the hearts of your children and in the hearts of my brothers and sisters, young and old.

I was undecided whether I should speak, but my feelings were pent up and I had to give vent to them. I am sorry that more young people weren't present at this meeting. But I say that that, although unfortunate, can be remedied if those here today will actually and actively take home with them the message and the spirit of this gathering and spread in the family and among all that are not here the message of good-will, brotherhood, Zionism, Jewishness, and unity of Israel. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we have now arrived at the hour when the meeting may properly be terminated, unless there is further business to be transacted.

A VOICE: I move the adjournment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Those who are in favor of adjourning, subject to the call of the chair (perhaps I would put that amendment in) will say, "Aye"; opposed, "No."

The Non-Zionist Conference thereupon adjourned at 4:50 P. M.