



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

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

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated.

Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel

4

Box

2

Folder

95

American Zionist Emergency Council, "C", 1943-1944.

Western Reserve Historical Society

10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106
(216) 721-5722
wrhs.org

American Jewish Archives

3101 Clifton Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio 45220
(513) 487-3000
AmericanJewishArchives.org

COPY

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

October 5, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
41 East 42nd Street
New York, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

This is to confirm conversation had on the telephone this day between our respective secretaries setting the time and place of our meeting at twelve-thirty in the afternoon of Tuesday, October 12th. My room number is 1524 New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

I am looking forward to our meeting with great interest and pleasure.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) EMANUEL CELLER

October 7, 1943

Honorable Emanuel Celler
1524 New House Office Building
Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Celler:

Thank you for your note of October 5th. I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you on Tuesday, October 12th, at 12:30 P.M.

Very cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman of Executive Committee

AHS:MFE

October 13, 1943

The Honorable Emanuel Celler
House of Representatives U.S.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Congressman Celler:

I greatly enjoyed the hour I spent
with you yesterday. I hope to be in Washington
next week and will communicate with you.

I am returning herewith the document
which you permitted me to read. It is very
illuminating.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

1840 Kessler Blvd.
South Bend 16, Ind.
December 1, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I address the enclosed material to your personal attention because of my belief that it falls in the category of "public relations", the need of which was so strongly emphasized at the last Zionist Convention at Columbus.

Since our local Zionist organization did not elect delegates to this Congress on Post-War Peace, I took it upon myself to introduce resolution #106 which I herewith enclose and which was unanimously adopted on March 7, 1943, as well as resolution #206 adopted November 15, 1943. The resolution plus the newspaper publicity received is, to my mind, of no little value in creating good will for the Zionist cause among our non-Jewish fellow Americans, and it might be used as a model or pattern for other communities to emulate.

You may be interested to know that the three hundred delegates to the Congress on the Post War Peace of St. Joseph County, Indiana, is a non-sectarian and non-political organization, and its action was not subjected to extraneous pressure, nor impelled by political expediency, but rather the free expression of an average American rural and urban community of a hundred and sixty-five thousand people.

There is good reason to believe that in the post-war peace, the view held by the American Government as to the fate of European nations and minorities will carry much weight. For that reason it is my opinion that the Zionist Organization of America should bend all its efforts and energies in cultivating and creating the good will of the American public, whose voice, once made articulate, will find its echo in the halls of Congress at Washington. Once the British are apprized of the will of a goodly number of the American people that the doors of Palestine be held open to our people, we may be assured that it will be kept open.

I hope you will forgive this intrusion -- yours for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, I am

Sincerely,

Leo R. Cohn
Leo R. Cohn

LRC:EC
Encl.

December 3, 1943

Mr. Leo R. Cohn
1840 Kessler Blvd.
South Bend 16, Indiana

My dear Mr. Cohn:

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of December 1 and for sending me a copy of the resolution which you introduced and which was unanimously adopted, as well as the covering newspaper publicity. It is a fine thing which you did in having the resolution introduced at the Congress on Post-War Peace. It is indeed very helpful, and it is this sort of local action which is tremendously important at this time.

I am taking the liberty of sending your letter and the Resolution to our headquarters in New York.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ARS:BK

Copy to Dr. Silver

December 15, 1943
One Day Closer To Victory

Mr. Henry Montor
Executive Director
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Montor:

Thank you for your letter of December 12, in which you attached the exchange of correspondence between Arthur Hays Sulzberger and Dr. Silver. I agree with you that it would be desirable to publish this correspondence in full.

Our plans for the December 24th issue are naturally complete by this time. I would like to use it in our January 7th issue. Do you think that it would be outdated by then?

Incidentally, I have asked Rabbi Josha Loth Liebman to prepare an article for us for the January 7th issue analyzing the problem of the Council for American Judaism. If we have his manuscript by that time this correspondence will be excellent supplementary material.

If at any time you have additional suggestions or comments to make concerning THE NEW PALESTINE, I will be most happy to receive them.

Yours for victory,

Isidore Cooperman
Managing Editor

IC:eg

HM:MN
Dec. 16, 1943

Copy to Dr. Silver

December 16, 1943

Mr. Isidore Cooperman
Managing Editor
The New Palestine
1720 16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Cooperman:

This letter acknowledges your letter of December 15, advising me that it is your intention to publish the correspondence between Dr. Silver and Mr. Sulzberger in The New Palestine of January 7th. I assume that it is your usual practice to make available in advance of publication material which would be of interest to the press. This would be particularly indicated in this matter. I should appreciate receiving advance galleys.

Cordially yours,

Henry Montor
Executive Director

HM:MN

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Murray Hill 2-1160

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY CONTACTS

Joel Gross, Chairman
Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Director

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

December 16, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Rabbi Milton Steinberg, our chairman, is not in town and I have taken over the work of the Intellectual Mobilization Committee as its Executive Secretary.

One of the groups we are most eager to reach, as you know, is the radio commentators. I spoke to Mr. Hans Jacob of station W O V, one of our good friends, and he suggested that you would be the best man to reach H.V. Kaltenborn, who is the dean of radio commentators. Mr. Jacob thought that an appointment with you to discuss the Palestine situation would convince Mr. Kaltenborn of our point of view and impel him to give us radio time.

Will you write and give me several dates in the next few weeks, when you would be willing to see Mr. Kaltenborn, so that I can contact him to make the appointment? Would you also be interested in seeing Gabriel Heater, who, while not as important as Kaltenborn, has an enormous radio following? He is a Jew and probably would be a little harder to convince than Kaltenborn. Mr. Jacob felt that both of them could be handled only by someone like you.

Cordially yours,

Fannie D. Cohen

Executive Secretary,
Intellectual Mobilization Committee

FSC:AW

December 20, 1943

Miss Fannie S. Cohen
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Cohen:

Thank you for your kind letter of December 16. I shall be most happy to meet with Mr. Kaltenborn on my next visit to New York which will be on Monday and Tuesday, January 3rd and 4th. Perhaps you can arrange for a meeting say at 11 o'clock in the morning on the 3rd or 4th.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

cc to a H S

December 22nd, 1943

Mr. H. V. Kaltenborn
167 East 64th Street
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Kaltenborn:

When I telephoned you this afternoon, your secretary was good enough to suggest that I put my message to you in writing.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council telephoned me from Cleveland today to ask if you could arrange to see him on Monday or Tuesday, January 3rd or 4th, when he will be in New York. Rabbi Silver is very eager to discuss the Palestine situation with you as the dean of radio commentators.

If you drop me a line at this office or have your secretary telephone (MU 2-1160), I shall confirm the arrangement to Rabbi Silver. Or if you prefer it, perhaps you could contact Rabbi Silver personally. His address is The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

Let me assure you that I realize how busy you are, especially at this time and how much of moment occupies you. Only a matter of the greatest importance would prompt me to intrude on you now.

Cordially yours,

FSC:SH

Committee on Intellectual
Mobilization

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
M U r r a y H i l l 2 - 1 1 6 0

December 23, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I telephoned Mr. Kaltenborn immediately upon receipt of your letter and was asked to write to him, which I did. As you know, Mr. Kaltenborn has just returned from the South Pacific and is full up to the ears in writing articles and reports on his trip. He is very busy, but I hope he will be able to see you on January 3 or 4. He will probably contact you directly. Will you let me know when you hear from him?

Cordially yours,

Samuel Cohen

Executive Secretary
Committee on Intellectual Mobilization

FSC:MN

Dear Rabbi Silver

HARRY M. CAPLAN
1144 MORNINGSIDE AVE.
E. E. PITTSBURGH, PA.

Dec 25/43

our most active statesman
of the Zionist political field.

Your action at present and your personality
is more popular than our great leader Dr. Weizmann.

You were very wise of calling the conference
in Cleveland, as an active worker here since
1906 in Zionist and Jewish affairs, was anxious
to come, but I felt certain that Mr Rosenbloom
will sure be there as our spokesman for Pgh.

To my regret I was told that he wasn't there.
about two weeks ago I had written to him
saying, that a Cpl Syrian Christian with whom
I'm very friendly told me. that, he was one
of Six in America who was asked to receive Emil
Feizel and his brother when they reached America

1) he told me that the both were received like Kings
in the hotel Astor they had a large suite of rooms
the F.B.I. was so carefull with the personnel
that were to visit them, that the delegation was amazed

2) he told me that in his judgement they were
not very smart and statesmenlike

3) that they questioned him about the oil deals,
about the relationship of Palestine
also their interest in the Zionist cause

HARRY M. CAPLAN
1144 MORNINGSIDE AVE.
E. E. PITTSBURGH, PA.

2

(a) About Palestine they said... that a united Arabia will take in Dretz Israel, that for 2000 years they lived side by side and they will so continue in the future but under their rule.

(b) About zionism ~~that~~ they oppose to that idea because not many jews are for a "homeland" that many influential jews told the Arab leaders that they oppose to such political affair "HOMELAND"

I wonder whether our com is in contact with the leaders of the Arab and Syrian leaders here

I feel propaganda among them would help to enlighten them about our aims and ideals.

That man in Cgh is a very smart man he is friendly and understands our movement.

When I told him of the all jewish conference in N.Y. he was so glad to know that we are so united.

he tell me that it is just imposible to unite the arabs of this country, he does say that they are against zionism they probaly need to know about us.

I wanted Mr Rosenbloom to meet Mr Hallou but, I dont know what he did in this matter. It is worth to get a Man of this let him speak to them
Yours Harry

P.S. Just think the time work Mr Evans is doing in propaganda to Zionism

December 26, 1943

Miss Fannie S. Cohen, Executive Secretary
Intellectual Mobilization Committee
342 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Cohen:

I would like you to let me have within a day or two an outline of the work in which the Intellectual Mobilization Committee is at present engaged, a picture of what is being done; also the names of the members enrolled on this Committee. Please send it to me by airmail special delivery.

With kindest regards, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Please reply to:
The Temple
Cleveland 6, Ohio

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Commodore Hotel

Dec. 26 1943

Care of or Apt. No. N. Y.

Street and No. _____

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

Place

Please reserve customary suite arriving tomorrow morning

C. H. Silver

Sender's Name _____

Address _____

Tel. No. _____

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

CDU568 45=CT WASHINGTON DC 29 510P

1943 DEC 29 PM 5 52

RABBI A H SILVER:

=THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

YOUR TELEGRAM SHETZER REFERRED ME HAVE RESERVED LOWER 8:30
FRIDAY NIGHT ALSO PUT YOU WAITING LIST PENNSYLVANIA CENTRAL
AIRLINES LIKELIHOOD SECURING AIR TRANSPORTATION REMOTE
BEFORE KEEPING YOUR APPOINTMENT FRIDAY ELEVEN WOULD YOU
PLEASE STOP IN AT OFFICE TO SEE REPORT GOLDMAN INTERVIEW
WITH SAME PERSON=

MIRIAM COHEN:

8:30

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Handwritten notes:
Ga 0150
Fw
1250A
DWC. 7448
Jed
7448

10 SHERIDAN SQUARE
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dear Silver:

I shall be passing
through Cleveland Friday
I am arranging to stop
over for a few hours.

I should very much like
to see you I will call..
Schapiro and the others
have been wired to meet
me.

Cordially
Charles A. Corson

Jan 5: 1944

January 5, 1944

Miss Fannie S. Cohen
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Cohen:

Thank you for your kind letter of
December 31 and for a statement of the activities
of the Intellectual Mobilization Committee.

I regret that you find it necessary
to send in your resignation. You leave me no
choice but to accept it.

With all good wishes and hoping that
we may have the pleasure of your helpful cooperation
at some future time, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

31 Ocean Parkway
Brooklyn, N.Y.
January 8, 1944

My dear Rabbi Silver.

May I join thousands of others in
expressing appreciation for your brilliant letter replying to
Mr. Sulzberger, printed in the last issue of the "New
Palestine". To day I telephoned D.L. Mahler Editor of
the Jewish Morning Journal urging him to print in
Yiddish the correspondence.

Yours truly,

With Zion's greetings

Isaac Carmel

January 17, 1944

Mr. Harry M. Caplan
1144 Morningside Ave.
E. E. Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Mr. Caplan:

Thank you so much for your letter which
I read with great interest. I am bringing it
to the attention of our headquarters in New York.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

January 19, 1944

Mr. Isaac Carmel,
31 Ocean Parkway,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Carmel:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness
in writing to me and in expressing your
satisfaction with my letter to Mr. Sulzberger.

I am pleased with the reactions to that letter
which have come to me from all parts of the
country.

I trust that you are well, and with all good
wishes I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:NEK

The Temple,
Ansel Rd. at E. 105th
Cleveland, Ohio

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

\$	CHECK
\$	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
F	TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Commodore Hotel

Care of or Apt. No. N. Y.

Street and No. _____

Place

Please reserve room starting Sat.
a.m. 22nd instead of Sunday
A. H. Silver

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

Sender's Name _____

Address _____ Tel. No. _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION 1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

\$	CHECK
\$	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
F	TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Commodore Hotel

Care of or Apt. No. N.Y.

Street and No. _____

Place Reserve room

1-20-44
1944

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

Sender's Name _____

Address _____ Tel. No. _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
NIGHT LETTER	NIGHT LETTER

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1207

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

\$	CHECK
S	ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
F	TIME FILED

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

January 29, 1941

To Commodore Hotel

Care of or Apt. No. E. 42nd & Lexington Ave.

Street and No. _____

Place New York City

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

Please reserve small suite Monday morning January 31st.

Abba Hillel Silver

Sender's Name _____

Address _____

Tel. No. _____

99 Claremont Avenue
New York 27, N.Y.

April 15, 1944

Dear Rabbi Silver:

May we invite you to join with us in endorsing the newly-formed Council for a Democratic Germany?

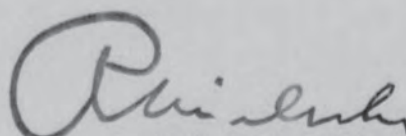
In order to acquaint you with the purposes for which this important group is being set up we have enclosed with our letter a copy of its first Declaration, that is soon to be made public.

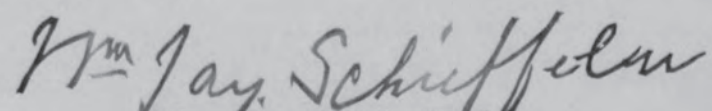
The Organizing Committee of the Council is made up of outstanding opponents of Nazism in Germany who have found refuge in this country, with Dr. Paul Tillich, the distinguished theologian now a professor at Union Theological Seminary, acting as Provisional Chairman. The Committee is entirely independent and not sponsored by any official government or party agency. It includes persons formerly affiliated with or sympathetic to all the major German political groups, with the exception and conscious exclusion of the German nationalists who assisted Hitler to power. The Committee is dominated by non-dogmatic political or economic tendencies, although the largest representation in it are former Social Democrats and Catholic Centrists, who constitute the bulk of the German political emigration in the United States.

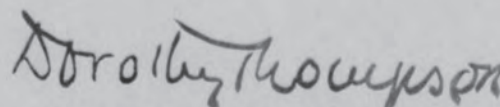
The German anti-Nazis behind Hitler's lines have no voice that is audible in the democratic world. In the crucial period immediately following Hitler's defeat it will be of the greatest importance, as we know from our Italian experience, to find the groups that can speak for a sane and democratic German future. It is because this Council for a Democratic Germany is a first and essential step in preparation for our future responsibilities in regard to post-Hitler Germany that we urge you to give it your support.

We enclose the statement that we plan to release to the press and to which we hope to add your signature. Will you sign it and return it to us in the enclosed envelope by April 25?

Sincerely yours,


Reinhold Niebuhr


Wm. Jay Schieffelin


Dorothy Thompson

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

May 20, 1944

My dear Abba:-

I have had occasion in recent weeks to have numerous conversations with Dan Firsch. He is very favorably inclined toward you, and, like Abe Goodman, can be easily won over. Of course the Congress people have it in for him as he has opposed them bitterly, but this is no concern of ours.

Dan Firsch, like Goodman, is a sincere Zionist, and would be an asset. He is outspoken, fearless, and speaks his own mind - and is very logical.

You will recall that at the Executive, when you indirectly attacked the politicians, Firsch spoke in glowing terms of the Emergency Council's achievements. And at the U. P. A. meeting he spoke up for the Emergency Committee. I was sitting next to him when Heller complained bitterly about the Allocation Committee. I whispered to him: "Here is where we missed Silver's presence." "I am inclined to agree with you," he said.

Before I phoned you he spoke to me, and he was much distressed. Goldstein appointed him as J. O. A. representative to the Washington meeting. The "boys", in order

to get him to become antagonistic toward you, told him how the Emergency Committee is ignoring and mistreating the J. O. A. and that he, as J. O. A. representative, would not be permitted to speak Tuesday night. He swallowed everything, hook, line and sinker, and felt that neither he nor the J. O. A. deserve such treatment.

I was in touch with him after our telephone conversation and conveyed to him the real reason. He felt much better then. He told me also that after my conversation with him he had lunch with Goldstein who also told him the real reason why the J. O. A. representative will not be called upon to speak, just as you had explained it. He felt much better and told me that he feels that your position ^{is} correct. He also told me that ^{told Goldstein that he} ~~he~~ is not in agreement with the group, that he believes that you are doing a big job, and that he, Goldstein, should not be surprised, if he sees him on the other side. He may not come to Washington for he has to go ^{home} to Indianapolis ^{first} and ~~if~~ it would be a hardship for just an appearance. You know nothing about it, ~~but~~ if he does not come a line from you that you had expected to see him, and that you missed him, ~~it would like that from you would~~ go very far.

I know he is anxious to meet with you and talk over matters. An opportunity ought to be found for such a meeting. It would be a definite gain.
Kindest regards to Virginia and the boys in which Anna joins me. As ever yours, Sam.

Declaration
Of The
Council For A Democratic Germany

Only through cooperation between the Western powers and Russia will it be possible to achieve the reconstruction of Europe which must follow the necessary and certain defeat of Hitler Germany. This has been borne out clearly by the military and political course of the war. Any kind of unilateral settlement in Europe imposed by the East or the West would lay the foundations of new world-wide conflicts. With this view in common, a number of persons belonging to various professions, groups and affiliations have united to make known their stand on the question of the future of Germany within the framework of a solution of the European problem. All of the signers are natives of Germany and have fought against Nazism from the beginning. For all their experience in non-German countries, whether or not they have become citizens, has shown them new and broader horizons of political thinking.

We cannot claim to have a formal mandate from people now inside Germany. We believe, however, that we typify some of the forces and tendencies which will be vitally needed in the creation of a new Germany within the framework of a free world. We therefore feel that it is our duty in the interest of the United States and the United Nations to express our conviction about the future of Germany at a time when the German people cannot speak for themselves. We do this in full independence and according to the democratic practice of the United States.

I.

The solution of the German problem is a part of the solution of the European problem. The just claims of all the nations of Europe for reconstruction and for security must be met. In reorganizing Europe and in solving the German problem, conditions must be created which will forestall a third world war. It is inevitable that the German people will have to bear the consequences of the war into which Hitler has driven them. It is, however, self-evident that a lasting solution of the European question is only possible if there is a creative solution of the German question.

The prerequisite for any such solution is the defeat of Nazism, the destruction of those who brought Nazism to power and the obliteration of its spirit in Germany and throughout the world. This will be accomplished in the battle for the liberation of Europe, by the coming liquidation of the Nazis by the Germans themselves, and in the prosecution of the war-crimeals. But in addition, those groups which were the bulwarks of German imperialism and which were responsible for the delivery of power into the hands of the Nazis must be deprived of their political, social and economic power. This applies particularly to the large landholders, the big industrialists, and the military caste whose political concepts and influence have had repeatedly a disastrous effect on German history. If, therefore, the German people will decide to dissolve large landholdings, to control heavy industry, to eliminate militarism and to remove those civil servants, judges and teachers beholden to these groups, they ought not to be impeded from the outside.

A disarmed Germany, together with the rest of the nations of Europe, must be fitted into the framework of a system of international security. It is taken for granted that Germany must return all conquered territory and that she must make good the damages she has caused to the limit of her ability. But it must not be forgotten that the first victims of National-Socialism were large numbers of Germans who dared to oppose Hitler. The majority of the Germans did not want war. The opposition of Germans against Hitlerism is now forcing the Nazis even more to augment their terror-organization and to maintain strong military units of occupation inside Germany. Policies leading to an enslavement of the German people and their pauperization must therefore be regarded as unwise and unjust. It should, furthermore, not be overlooked that to abandon the principles of the Atlantic Charter in one decisive case, means to abandon them in general.

It would be disastrous for the future of Europe if Germany were to be dismembered and split up economically and politically. This would create fertile soil for new pan-Germanist movements. It would prevent Germany from assuming responsibilities for the moulding of her future and shift this heavy burden to other nations. It would create an irredentism which might well become the greatest such movement of all times. Useful energies of the victorious nations would be consumed in the permanent task of suppressing this irredenta.

II.

It is essential for the economic future of Europe and the world that Germany's productive power be conserved. If it were destroyed, the economic conditions would become hopelessly depressed in all countries of Europe, and trade between Europe and other continents would be reduced largely. Moreover, millions of Germans would become permanently unemployed and condemned to an involuntary parasitic existence. Thus a constant source of unrest would arise in the very center of Europe.

Germany's productive strength should be integrated in an international system of production and consumption. Such a system would make possible the economic cooperation of the European peoples and would lessen the significance of political boundaries. Only in this way can Germany fulfill her obligations and make material reparations on a large scale, and only thus can Germany, with the rest of Europe, be protected against the threat of economic chaos. Germany's economic hegemony and the danger of a rearming of Germany would be eliminated.

III.

If Germany is to develop a democracy it is necessary that the military and civil representatives of the United Nations give political leeway from the beginning to those who might best be able to create a new democracy. Moreover, it is necessary that all who shared in the responsibility for the rise of Nazism, should be excluded, even if it would be expedient to deal with them. On the other hand, all those must be considered who resisted Nazism, for instance the presently nameless men and women now in the Gestapo prisons and the concentration camps, trade unionists and workers of the labor movement, those who resisted in the churches and in intellectual circles, in the middle class, in the cities and in the country, and other qualified individuals. The German democracy of the future will depend on all those people. With their help, preparations must be made for the inauguration of an independent German government. Guarantees for the establishment of the basic civil rights and liberties of the people must be

given without delay. Racial laws must be abolished immediately. Religious and intellectual liberties must be restored. Freedom of the press, of assembly and of organization must be reestablished. No obstacles should be placed in the way of the rebuilding of a labor movement. The institutions set up by the Nazis must be removed. Social and democratic institutions which the Nazis abolished must be recreated.

An attempt of the German people to stamp out Nazism root and branch through a mass movement, and to prepare the ground for democracy should be welcomed by the United Nations, and should not be prevented or impeded under any circumstances. Only if the German people free themselves from National-Socialism through such an act of their own will they be entirely free. The victory of the United Nations will break the external hold of Nazis over the German people. But only the German people can free themselves spiritually. For this reason the German people should be given a peace which is constructive and gives them hope for the future, in spite of all burdens it must impose. Only this will enable Germany to develop and maintain a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

IV.

The education of the German people in democracy must spring from their own historical experience. There are signs that such a development is already under way. They are to be found in the older generation which was never entirely taken in by Nazism. They are to be found even among those who have been educated under the Nazi system. They are found to a lesser degree in the generation that brought Nazism to power and which is now bled white on the field of battle. Even in this generation, however, resistance is not lacking.

In connection with this education of the German people through the historical events, German youth must be educated by German democrats who have grasped the meaning of these events. Education by foreigners is psychologically impossible. It is, however, desirable to reestablish quickly and on a large scale cultural and scientific exchange between Germany and other countries. Facilities essential to intellectual life, such as universities, schools, textbooks, public libraries, theaters, movies, must be freed of all taint of Nazism. The German people must again be given the freedom to express and to develop their spiritual and cultural forces.

It must be emphasized most vigorously that no education is worthwhile whose principles are belied by the social conditions. Education for democracy without an attempt to actuate democracy will only create resistance and cynicism. The prerequisite for any successful education of the German people, and especially of the German youth to democracy and international cooperation, is a society which guarantees to all groups social security and the opportunity to lead a purposeful life.

The undersigned are convinced that it is impossible to base the reconstruction of Europe on the enslavement of the German people. A new democratic Germany must be protected against the forces of reaction within and without. This need will be urgent from the moment hostilities cease. German democracy, permanently secured, will prove to be Germany's main contribution to the peace of Europe and the world.

April 1944, New York, N.Y.

Signers of Declaration

(Partial List)

Provisional Chairman: DR. PAUL TILLICH, Union Theological Seminary

SIEGFRIED AUFHAEUSER, former chairman German Trade Union of White Collar Workers

DR. HORST W. BAERENSPRUNG, former County Governor and Police President, Magdeburg

PROFESSOR FRIEDRICH BAERWALD, Fordham University

ELIZABETH BERGNER, actress

DR. FELIX BOENHEIM, chairman German-American Emergency Conference

BERTOLT BRECHT, writer

DR. HERMANN BUDZISLAWSKI, former editor "Die Welt-Buehne"

GEORGE DIETRICH, former member of the Reichstag

REV. FREDERICK J. FORELL, pastor second Presbyterian Church, New York

DR. KURT GLASER, former chairman Board of Alderman, Chemnitz, Germany

ALBERT GRZESINSKI, former Minister of State and of the Interior, Prussia

PAUL HAGEN, Research Director, American Friends of German Freedom

HANS VON HENTIG, University of Colorado

DR. PAUL HERTZ, former secretary Social Democratic group in the Reichstag

OSKAR HOMOLKA, actor

MARIE JUCHACZ, former member Reichstag, chairman of Labor Welfare Association

DR. JOSEPH KASKEL, representative in the United States of the "Deutsche Blaetter"

PROFESSOR JULIUS LIPS, anthropologist

PETER LORRE, actor

HEINRICH MANN, writer

PROFESSOR ALFONS NEHRING, Fordham University

DR. OTTO PFEIFFENBERGER, lawyer

ERWIN PISCATOR, New School for Social Research

PROFESSOR FRIEDERICH POLLOCK, International Institute of Social Research, Columbia University

VEIT VALENTIN, writer

OTTO ZOFF, writer

CARL ZUCKMAYER, writer

(Confidential)

STATEMENT

We the undersigned wish to bring to the attention of our fellow citizens the attached declaration of the newly-formed Council for a Democratic Germany.

The Council for a Democratic Germany is composed of former Germans, opponents of Nazism now in this country, and it is representative of the major anti-Hitler political trends. Their unity in defining common objectives for a democratic Germany represents a significant and encouraging development.

We believe this declaration to be highly important because it will help to crystallize democratic opinion in Germany and to create unity among the anti-Nazi forces. It shows the way in which a democratic solution of the German problem would support a general democratic solution of the whole European problem. On the other hand it also reveals that without a basic agreement between Russia and the Western powers no solution either for Germany or for Europe is possible.

We believe that the value of this declaration lies not only in mobilizing anti-Nazis inside Germany, but that it has an important bearing on political developments in this country as well. Without a genuine agreement between the great powers and without creative plans for the reorganization of all Europe, no peace will endure, no matter what steps are taken to destroy Germany's potential power for aggression. In the framework of a general European and world settlement it is possible, however, to allow the democratic forces of Germany to emerge, to establish themselves and to relate themselves to the democratic forces of the world.

Since the temptation increases to look for purely repressive solutions of the problem of Europe, we believe that this statement of German democrats will strengthen the hands of those who seek a creative solution of our total problem.

Neither a "soft peace" nor a "hard peace," neither sentimentality nor vindictiveness, will create the conditions for an abiding peace. The conditions for such a peace are a basic agreement between the great powers, and a new organization of Europe in which all nations can find health and security. Then, Germany's power of destructiveness will be overcome, primarily by the reconstruction of her own political and economic life through revolutionary forces; and secondarily by fitting her life into the framework, and subjecting it to the discipline of a larger order.

JOHN C. BENNETT
HIRAM MOTHERWELL

REINHOLD NIEBUHR
WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN

DOROTHY THOMPSON

Please add my signature:

Address:

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
—
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

June 26, 1941

My dear Abba:-

It's too bad I could not see you last week, as you were out when I called at eleven o'clock. I would very much like to see you next time you are in New York, as I have some important matters to take up with you.

The J. O. P. Convention Committee, of which I am a member, met last week. Sam Frisch is the chairman. He suggested "The American Scene and the Jewish Commonwealth" as the convention theme. After the meeting both of us had an interesting conversation, and he told me that it is his intention to give you the key ~~position~~ position at the convention.

Have you written to him, as per my suggestion? He told me that he was to meet you last Tuesday

SOLOMON COHEN
ACCOUNTANT AND AUDITOR
11 WEST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK CITY
PHONE LONGACRE 5-6880

afternoon, but when he phoned the hotel you had already left.

I again advise you to see him. He is very friendly and can be completely won over. I know that he is very anxious to meet ^{with} you. If possible I should like to sit in. I think he will have no objection.

at the convention Committee meeting it was decided that the chairman should appoint a sub. committee ~~to~~ ^{prepare} five to ~~prepare~~ the program, and then submit it to the full convention Committee at a meeting to be held Sunday, July 9th, at Philadelphia, following the Executive and Administrative Committee sessions that day.

The personnel of the sub. committee is not known as yet. I shall be on guard, but if you have any suggestions let me know at once. Also when you intend to be in New York. Kindest regards to Virginia and the boys. Anne wishes to be remembered. As ever yours, Sol.

The New Palestine

The American Zionist Fortnightly Devoted to Jewish Affairs

1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.

WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

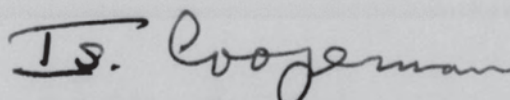
June 27, 1944
One Day Closer to Victory

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
East 105th Street At Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will be interested to learn, I am sure, that we received a communication from the Ontario Zionist Region of Toronto, Canada which informs us that they have been so impressed with the timeliness and the thoughtfulness of your article "In Wartime and After" that they contemplate reprinting it in the Windsor Jewish Community Bulletin, which goes to every Jewish home in Ontario.

Yours for victory,



Isidore Cooperman
Managing Editor

IC:pk

June 29, 1944

Mr. Solomon Cohen
11 West 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Sol:

Thank you for your kind letter and for your telegram. The Palestine plank of the Republican Party is indeed a triumph for us and will undoubtedly influence the Democratic platform as well as the course of our Resolutions in Congress. Some day I will tell you about the long series of steps by which this plank was finally inserted into the platform.

As far as Frisch is concerned, I had made an appointment with him but his train was late. When he called me in the afternoon, I was packing to catch my plane. I arranged to see him again. I know that he wishes to be very friendly and I am certainly very eager to have him work with us.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

June 29, 1944

Mr. Isidore Cooperman, Managing Editor
The New Palestine
1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

My dear Mr. Cooperman:

Thank you for your kind note.

May I suggest that you feature prominently the Palestine Plank adopted by the Republican Convention. This is an historic act -- I believe the first time that Palestine has been featured in the platform of either of the two major parties. It is a very forthright and helpful statement. Tactically, it is wise to give it all the prominence we can in order to effect a similar plank from the Democratic Party. The adoption of these two planks would pave the way for an easy passage of our Palestine Resolution when Congress reconvenes.

The fact that the last sentence of the plank criticizes the present Administration for its failure to act is none of our business. The resolution is not ours. It is of the Republican Party, and I am sure that the Democratic Party will answer the criticism in its own way.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK