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

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

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

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118

American Zionist Emergency Council, "B", 1944-1945.

C O P Y

Memo to: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 15, 1944

From: I. B. Berkson

You may recall that I spoke to you last week about a difficulty which had arisen with reference to the proposed publication of an Information Bulletin on Palestine by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. I am glad to be able to report that, with the assistance of Dr. Israel Goldstein, we have managed to have the publication of the Bulletin postponed until next fall. In the meantime, Dr. F. Ernest Johnson hopes to arrange for a number of conferences on the question of Palestine and Zionism, in which representative Jews and Christians will participate, and in which we will be given a full opportunity to explain our views.

The proposed Bulletin on Palestine was definitely tendentious and anti-Zionist. Although the Jewish position was stated more fully than in most anti-Zionist documents, the line of argument resembled strongly the anti-Zionist position of the Christian missionary, pro-Arab group. Jeffreis was quoted at length. Quotations from Jewish sources were used to weaken the Zionist cause, e.g., Mordecai Grossman's recent article in the Contemporary Jewish Record was fully exploited to prove that the Jewish Commonwealth conception was "ethically repugnant"; lengthy quotations from Raphael Strauss' article in Jewish Social Studies were brought in to show that the Jewish Agency was taking upon itself economic prerogatives properly belonging to the State and to indicate that the absorptive capacity of Palestine had narrow limitations. Miss Szold and Miss Sampter were quoted to imply that the Jews had failed to do enough in the way of Jewish-Arab rapprochement. While the article appeared to have a general attitude of friendliness to the Jews, it tried to make out Zionism as an extreme nationalist movement in which the driving force was achievement of statehood. There was no reference to the activity of the Mufti in Palestine, and anything that might weaken the Arab case was omitted.

I know Dr. Johnson personally and he had told me sometime ago that before the Bulletin was published he would consult me. I had a long discussion with him on Friday, June 2nd, at our offices, in the company of Miss Edith Trotter, the research worker who drew up the report. I made a straightforward, drastic and somewhat vehement criticism of the draft; then I drew up a very detailed comment, paragraph by paragraph. At first I got the impression that they would postpone publication until they had a chance to re-write it, but then I discovered that the postponement was only for one week, and I had a feeling that they would make only minor changes, leaving the general tone and tendency of the article unmodified. The article was to go to press on Tuesday, June 13th. Over the weekend I wrote a personal letter to Dr. Johnson, reiterating the general criticisms I had made at our first meeting, and urging him not to publish before he had a chance to re-write the whole thing completely. I indicated that I thought the article was poor as a piece of work and that it would create a good deal of ill-will in the community. I also had suggested that he consult Dr. Louis Finkelstein and Dr. Israel Goldstein. It appears that Miss Trotter saw Dr. Finkelstein Saturday afternoon and that he also told her that the article was definitely anti-Zionist and would be considered biased. However, the coup de grace was given by Dr. Goldstein in a discussion which he had with Professor Johnson and Miss Trotter on Monday morning. As Dr. Goldstein told me, he gave them a very drastic criticism, indicated that the article was in every line tendentious, and that unless publication were postponed a great deal of harm would come. It appears that Professor Johnson realized that the Bulletin would arouse a great deal of ill feeling amongst the Jews, and as indicated above, he consented to a long postponement which would permit a genuine clarification of the issue.

June 29, 1944

Mr. E. Braverman
c/o Herman Stein Advertising Agency
Hippodrome Annex
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mr. Braverman;

Rabbi Silver thought you would be interested in the enclosed copy of a letter which he wrote to Mr. Joshua Epstein regarding the radio program of the ZOA.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

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

June 30, 1944

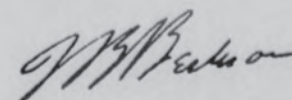
Dear Dr. Silver,

Sometime ago, in a conversation with you, I gathered that you would be ready to read the draft report on Palestine which I have been preparing for the Esco Foundation Palestine Study, and I so reported to Esco. They put a copy of the manuscript at my disposal for your use. For their records, however, they asked that you write them an official letter requesting a copy. I prepared a letter for you to sign and had it placed on your desk with a note explaining the matter. However, after you had left the office following the last Council meeting, we found the letter unsigned. I consulted with Mr. Shapiro and he suggested that Miss Cohen, who can simulate your signature reasonably well, affix your name to the letter. This was done and the formalities have thus been attended to.

The Study Committee is now engaged in reading the document. I understand they expect to have a meeting at the end of July or early in August and to confer with you concerning the advisability of publishing the report. Could you read the manuscript (which is about a thousand pages) during the month of July? It would expedite matters if you were ready to discuss it with the Committee before it meets. Will you please let me know whether I should send the manuscript on to you to Cleveland?

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

C
O
P
Y

July 7, 1944

The Editor
Christian Science Monitor
Boston, Mass.

Dear Sir:

Your Washington correspondent in his dispatch of June 28th states that the plank in the Republican platform in support of Jewish claims to Palestine on the basis of the Balfour Declaration "totally disregards the equally binding treaty which the British signed during World War I with King Hussein of the Hejaz."

This statement is singularly inaccurate and misleading. The so-called treaty with King Hussein was in fact not a treaty, but an interchange of correspondence in 1915 between Sir Henry McMahon and Hussein, who was at that time not King of the Hejaz but the Sherif of Mecca. Unlike the Balfour Declaration which was approved by the British War Cabinet after very full discussion and was given the utmost publicity, and subsequently received the endorsement of fifty-two nations of the League as well as the approval by unanimous Resolution of the United States Congress, the text of the McMahon correspondence was kept secret for years. It was not officially disclosed until 1939. It is implied in your correspondent's note that the McMahon pledge applied also to Palestine and that to that extent it detracted from the effect of the Balfour Declaration. This suggestion was contradicted by the following facts:

1. Sir Henry McMahon himself in a letter to the "Times" of July 23, 1939, declared: "I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein."

2. Colonel C. E. Vickery, a master of Arabic, was sent from Cairo in 1920 on an official mission to inspect the original text of the letter as actually received by the Sherif. In referring to this visit he wrote: "I read the letter through very slowly...it was quite evident that Palestine was not included in the proposals to the King...I can say most definitely that the whole of the King's demands were centered around Syria, and only Syria. He stated most emphatically that he did not concern himself at all with Palestine and had no desire to have suzerainty over it or for successors."

3. The late King Feisal of Iraq, son of Hussein, who was the Arab spokesman at the Peace Conference, specifically excluded Palestine from the territories in respect of which he demanded Arab independence.

Although Arab propagandists have long sought on the basis of the McMahon pledge to establish a claim to Palestine in addition to the vast territories where their right to independence has now been recognized, a long series of British official statements starting with that of Mr. Winston Churchill in 1922, has made it emphatically clear that the British Government considers these claims to be entirely without substance. This stand was confirmed as a result of a full investigation conducted by the Lord Chancellor in 1939 when he held that "the correspondence as a whole...not only did exclude Palestine, but should have been understood to do so."

It is in these circumstances a little astonishing, to put it mildly, that the State Department, as suggested by your correspondent, should adduce this correspondence as a basis on which to seek to weaken the effect of the promise of the Balfour Declaration; a promise which, as testified by Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Winston Churchill and others, was intended to give to the Jews the opportunity of establishing in Palestine a Jewish Commonwealth.

Yours very truly,

ld
9/7/44



NOT FOR PUBLICATION!!

Copy of the letter from Professor Edward P. Cheney, Professor Emeritus, of the History Department, University of Pennsylvania -- one of the most renowned historians and teachers in the United States. (J.B.)

July 10, 1944

Dear Dr. Billikopf:

It is a shame that I have let so much time pass before acknowledging the book of Mr. Lowdermilk - "Palestine: Land of Promise", you sent me last month, especially as it is so fascinating a book, and as you accompanied it with so pleasant a letter. You will say, I have given but a poor proof that I have found it fascinating when I let it go unacknowledged so long, but it is true nevertheless. It is just the kind of a book and the kind of testimony I like; based on actual observation, - observation of real, objective land, its products, its possibilities, and best of all the human triumphs in solving these problems, utilizing these possibilities and making its contribution to solving the still larger and sadder problem, - the future of the Jewish race. In a word, I have been alternately saddened and cheered by each successive chapter, as I have read the lucid and realistic, and in places eloquent descriptions of the separate sections and varying periods, each with its glimpse of some other culture, - most of them now gone forever. -----

Yours,
E. P. Cheney

Note!

Dr. Frank Aydelotte was former President of Swarthmore College, and is now President of The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, N. J., at which Professor Albert Einstein is connected.

May 23, 1944

Dear Billikopf:

Many thanks for your letter of May 19 and for your kindness in sending me Lowdermilk's book. The fact is that I have already read it and consider it the most impressive justification of Zionism I have ever seen. With your permission, I shall not return the book, but shall place it in the Institute Library as a gift from you, since there are several members of our faculty who are interested in the subject and I should like to make it available to them. I can easily see how Jewish work in Palestine pursued along the lines Lowdermilk recommends would be a blessing to the entire Near East.

With kindest regards, I am

Affectionately yours,

FRANK AYDELOTTE

Jacob Billikopf
805 Bankers Securities Bldg.

Mr. Allen: on Jan 24
give 928 book from
Lowdermilk, Swarthmore
College, N.Y. Use try to complete for possible
publication, many of the
comments to 9

Recd. - Hope you
will make it
the library
a fine
book
Billikopf

JERUSALEM JULY 11, 1944 (Rec'd July 12)

ABBA SILVER
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEWYORK

EXECUTIVE DISTURBED BY TERMS PARAGRAPH THREE PAGE FIFTEEN
PAMPHLET PROMISE OF PALESTINE WHICH IS SERIOUS MODIFICATION
OF TERMS PROGRAMME ADOPTED BY WORLD ZO AND ALL AMERICAN ZIONIST
ORGANIZATIONS STOP CONSIDER SUCH ALTERATION MAY PROVE
PREJUDICIAL OUR EFFORTS STOP REGARDS

DAVID BENGURION



AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dr. Silver

MAURICE M. BOUKSTEIN
COUNSELOR AT LAW
32 Broadway
New York, 4, N.Y.

July 12, 1944

Dr. Stephan S. Wise and
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York, 17, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I have just received the mimeographed press release of the Council with respect to action taken by the "American Zionist Emergency Council" at its alleged meeting on July 10th with respect to the Republican plank on Palestine.

Apart from the fact that, in my opinion, this act constitutes highly inadvisable political action, I wish to call your attention to the fact that there was no meeting of the Council on Monday, July 10th. If there was such a meeting, I have received no notice of it. It would appear, therefore, that the action taken was by the Executive Committee of the Council. In my opinion, the Executive Committee is wholly without authority in taking action on major political matters which it is duty bound, not to say honor bound, to bring to the attention of the whole Council for determination.

I wish to record my earnest objections to such procedure and hope that steps will be taken to prevent such occurrences in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Maurice M. Boukstein

MMB:R
rn

July 12, 1944

NLT
DAVID BENGURION
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM (Palestine)

YOURS ELEVENTH PAMPHLET ONE OF LARGE NUMBER ISSUED BY COUNCIL
RECENT MONTHS STOP UNFORTUNATELY THIS PARTICULAR ITEM UNCHECKED
BY SILVER OR MYSELF ERROR INADVERTENT REGRETTABLE MEANINGLESS
IN LIGHT OUR OTHER PROPAGANDA CORRECTING FUTURE EDITIONS



ARTHUR LOURIE

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.
Murray Hill 2-1160

July 12, 1944

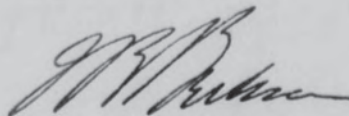
Dear Dr. Silver,

I am sending you the Esco manuscript by express, adding also the last three chapters. As a matter of fact, you might wish to read the last three chapters first. I have tried to work in a summary of the situation. You may note that the Study does not include any recommendations on my part. I take it for granted that you understand this is a rough draft and will be gone over again before publication.

You said something in the hall when I met you about my not coming in to see you yesterday. Please understand that I am always anxious to have a chat and most happy to receive an invitation when you come. The next time you are in New York please think of me, and if you have a half hour to spare, command and I shall appear.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

July 13, 1944

Mr. Jacob Billikopf
Labot Standards Association
805 Bankers Securities Bldg.
Philadelphia, Pa.

My dar Billie:

Thank you so much for sending me a copy of Professor Singer's letter. I am wondering why you insist that it should not be published. It would be a real service to our cause if you could obtain permission from Professor Singer to have his letter published in our magazine, "Palestine," which reaches the right kind of people. I know Professor Singer. He has spoken here at The Temple and I regarded it as a real privilege indeed to have made his acquaintance. Please let me know as soon as you can whether we can use his lovely letter.

For the time being Virginia and I are staying in Cleveland. We are trying to get away for a few weeks, but as yet we don't know where. It has been very difficult to find a place. We are even thinking of going for a few weeks to Mexico.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



1720 - 16TH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C.

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President

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD
Hon. Vice President

DR. SOLOMON GOLDMAN
EDMUND I. KAUFMANN
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DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
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EZRA Z. SHAPIRO
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HERMAN SHULMAN
LOUIS E. SPIEGLER
RABBI MILTON STEINBERG
DEWEY D. STONE
ELIHU D. STONE
HERMAN L. WEISMAN

July 19, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Only today I learned that at the last meeting of the Emergency Council you made reference to the brief space that was given in the New Palestine-News Reporter to the adoption of the Palestine plank by the Republican National Convention. To keep the record straight, I want to make it clear that on the day the Palestine plank was adopted, the News Reporter issue was already in press and that over the protest of the printers I stopped the presses in order to insert the item.

The pages of the News Reporter issue are wide open to you and to the American Zionist Emergency Council for statements and news items.

Assuring you of my high esteem, I remain

Cordially yours,

Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:es



July 21, 1944

Mr. Ernest E. Barabash
Zionist Organization of America
1720 - 16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Barabash:

Thank you for your kind letter of July 19. I am glad to know of your action with reference to the printing of the report of the Palestine plank adopted by the Republican National Convention in the News Reporter. I have also written to our office in New York to make sure that the News Reporter of the New Palestine receives regularly not alone the routine releases of the Zionist Emergency Council, but special articles about its activities and plans. The work of the Emergency Council is the work of the ZOA and the ZOA should be credited with the achievements of the Emergency Council for it is the political arm as it is of the other Zionist groupings.

I am sure that you are as delighted as I am with the excellent plank on a free and Jewish Commonwealth which was included in the Democratic Platform yesterday. This should be played up in the New Palestine and in all Zionist periodicals as a major political achievement.

The action of both political parties will now pave the way for the passage of the Palestine resolutions in Congress.

I regard these planks now included in both platforms, and the statement of the President on March 9th to Dr. Wise and me, as the two outstanding achievements of the Zionist Emergency Council so far. Let's crow about it in our publications a bit as a way of building up Zionist morale and confidence in our technique and leadership. I am hoping that there will be other significant achievements before long.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Copy
From
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

245

JOINT RESOLUTION TO PROVIDE FOR THE ADMISSION TO THE
UNITED STATES OF ALIENS WHO ARE RELIGIOUS OR RACIAL
REFUGEES (S.J.RES. 85) INTRODUCED BY SENATOR BARBOUR.

SPONSORS: NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB
NATIONAL REPUBLICAN CLUB, INC.

New York....July.26.....1944....

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

answered long
hand
Aug. 2 -

Dear Sir:

Referring to your letter of July 21st, I am a vice chairman of the Executive Committee and a member of the Steering Committee of the Emergency Committee to save the Jewish People of Europe. I am not connected with any other organization of a similar character or with any organization having to do with the Hebrew nation or with Zionism.

While I have known Dr. Stephen S. Wise for nearly forty years and regard him highly personally, I know that he commits errors of judgment. For instance, recently he and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver were asked by Senator Albert W. Hawkes of New Jersey, or possibly by those speaking for Senator Hawkes, whether Senator Hawkes should continue to sponsor Senate Joint Resolution 85 introduced by the late Senator W. Warren Barbour, and they advised that the Senator should not sponsor this resolution, of which I enclose a copy. I have never been able to get anyone to explain to me the basis for this advice. Senator Barbour before introducing the resolution got a good deal of expert advice. He was, as you know, very friendly to the Jewish people. The delay caused by Senator Barbour's death and the comparatively long period of time during which I thought Senator Hawkes was going to sponsor this resolution make it impossible to pass the resolution in this Congress and the fault is very largely that of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver. One thing the resolution accomplished was to take this question of human misery out of the present campaign. The fact that these two clubs had joined in a statement had a good deal to do with the respective planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms.

As I am a Presbyterian and have no specific interest in the Palestinian question, and in addition am not at all familiar with the pros and cons of what seems to be a highly controversial question, I return the three documents which you sent me, which documents I have not read.

Thanking you nevertheless for the opportunity given me of having done so, I am

Very truly yours,

William S. Bennet

Encs.

IK
7/27/44

AHS

July 27, 1944

Hon. William S. Bennet
44 Wall Street
New York, New York

My dear Judge Bennet:

I have your letter of July 26 and have noted the contents very carefully.

It is not my intention to enter into controversy with you about the relative merits of our respective beliefs, but there are several things that should be noted for the record, and I take this means of doing so.

My letter to you of July 21 made no reference to the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, of which you say you are a vice chairman of the Executive Committee and a member of the Steering Committee. My writing to you was occasioned by the fact that you were publicly announced and advertised as one of the speakers at a meeting in Town Hall, sponsored by the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and its American front, the American League for a Free Palestine. The material which I sent to you referred exclusively to these two disruptive elements in Jewish life.

I am sending a copy of your letter to both Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise. I feel that they should know about your implication that they stood in the way of Senate Joint Resolution 85 introduced by the late Senator Barbour. I doubt seriously whether either of these two recognized and responsible leaders in Jewish life indicated to anyone "speaking for Senator Hawkes" that the Senator should not succeed Senator Barbour in the sponsorship of this Resolution.

With high personal esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Shapiro
Director

HLS:MS

STATEMENT MADE BY MR. MACKENZIE KING, PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA,
IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4th, 1944 CONCERNING
THE PALESTINE QUESTION AT THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE IN
LONDON, APRIL 1944.

I can answer my hon. friend at once about the conference. I would say to him that, during the meetings of prime ministers, the matters pertaining to Palestine did come up. They were not on the agenda, but I took care to mention that, immediately before leaving the House of Commons in Ottawa, I had been asked if I would bring forward certain representations that had been made by hon. members on the floor, and I did so. The conference had many matters to consider. This was a large question that required consideration from many points of view and it was not possible to have it fully discussed. However, I did carry out the undertaking that I gave the house before I left. That is all I can say about it, because such parts of the proceedings of the conference as it has been thought advisable to have made public have been made public, and I am not in a position to say anything about matters that have not been made public.

C
O
P
Y

CANADIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Suite 23-26- 74 Sparks St.
OTTAWA, ONTARIO

Suite 1501- 302 Bay St.
AD. 3182- TORONTO

Montreal,
7th August, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, 17, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will be interested to know that the Public Relations Committee of the Zionist Organization of Canada, headed by Mr. S.J. Zacks and the writer, arranged for a delegation representing the Zionist Organization and the Canadian Palestine Committee to wait upon the Under-Secretary of External Affairs at Ottawa to renew our request for favourable Canadian intervention in the Palestine situation.

We tried to obtain a report from the Department on what had transpired in London following our Prime Minister's promise last March to see that Canadian views against the White Paper would be brought up at the London conference. We were informed by Mr. Robertson, the Under-Secretary, that Mr. King had brought the matter before the conference but that for security reasons the publications of the discussion had been deferred. Subsequently, on that day, Mr. King made a statement in the House on the matter during the course of a discussion on Palestine which our Committee had arranged through several sympathetic members. You will find enclosed a textual copy of the statement made by Mr. King in the House on August 4th concerning his attitude at the London Conference.

We also took up with the Department the rumours of impending partition stating our opposition thereto. We used as the basis of the brief presented by us the memorandum which the Emergency Committee presented in Washington on July 7th. We also stressed the importance of immediate action in view of the Hungarian situation. Mr. Robertson was not aware of any impending declaration of policy connected with the date of August 15th. He promised to communicate immediately with the Prime Minister and with London and Washington.

That evening the House of Commons was discussing the estimates of the Department of External Affairs and two of the members, Mr. Arthur Roebuck, K.C. (Liberal), and Mr. Stanley Knowles (C.C.F.), made two important speeches urging the Prime Minister and the Government to do what they could to have additional visas issued to help to save the Jews of Hungary. A newspaper report of these remarks is attached herewith for your information. We will have the speeches re-printed when the official text appears in Hansard.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Batshaw, K.C.
Co-Chairman
of

Public Relations Committee
276 St. James St. West.

HB:JS
Encls.

COPY FOR DR. SILVER.

August 8, 1944

Mr. Harry Batchaw, K. C.
Co-Chairman of Public Relations Committee
Canadian Palestine Committee
276 St. James Street, West
Montreal, Canada

Dear Mr. Batchaw:

Your letter of the 7th of August, addressed to Dr. Silver, has been received, and as Dr. Silver is not in town we are forwarding to him a copy, and you will undoubtedly hear from him.

Cordially yours,

Harry L. Shapiro
Director

HLS:HBI

21/330/44

British Embassy
ANGORA
12th August, 1944

Dear Mr. Barlas,

I promised to inform you of what has been done about the Turkish transit visas for Jewish refugees.

2. Instructions have been sent to the Turkish Consuls at Burgaz, Constantza and Budapest. The Turkish Consul at Budapest is authorized to grant Turkish transit visas on application to any number of applicants provided that one or other of the following documents is held:

- a) American immigration visa issued after 1941,
- b) One of Dr. Golding's letters certifying that the holder has been granted a Palestinian immigration certificate (I do not suppose that many of these will actually be available),
- c) A Swiss certificate on the terms proposed by us or an endorsement on a child's passport as arranged in April 1943,
- d) A certificate to the effect that the holder is a Jew, issued by Mr. Kraus or his successor should he give up his post.

3. Similarly the Turkish Consuls at Bourgaz or Constanza may grant between them up to 400 visas every ten days to people bearing documents of any of these four types.

4. For the moment transport will be made by the "Vita" or "Pirine", and the Bulgarian Government have been informed of what the Turks are doing. Kemal Azis has agreed that if either or both of these ships should become disabled or otherwise prevented from continuing to transport refugees, the arrangements will be modified. I suggest that you should keep in mind the possibility that another ship may have to be substituted at short notice, and that you should be prepared to suggest the name of a substitute ship if need be, as we cannot tell what may happen.

5. Similarly the Ministry of the Interior have been asked to admit henceforth into Turkey without reference to Ankara any refugees arriving at Turkey's land frontier without Turkish visas provided that they hold and can produce, to the frontier authorities, one or other of the four types of documents described above.

6. Provided therefore that you can get the news to your correspondents in the three countries concerned and arrange for them to issue certificates to genuine Jews, affairs should progress favourably. We count on you of course to see that the issue of the certificates is carried out satisfactorily.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) A. C. Maby

Ch. Barlas, Esq.
c/o Passport Control Officer, Istanbul

11/14/44BR

August 14, 1944

Mr. Harry Batchaw
Co-Chairman of Public Relations Committee
Canadian Palestine Committee
276 St. James Street, West
Montreal, Canada

Dear Mr. Batchaw:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of August 7.
I was very much interested in reading the statement made
by the Prime Minister of Canada in the House of Commons
on August 4 about Palestine.

I should be grateful to hear from you in the future,
if you receive word which would amplify the rather cryptic
statement of Mr. King.

I am happy that you presented a memorandum on the
subject of partition to the Canadian authorities. It is
important that our cause be aggressively and enthusiastically
pressed.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:HH

Abba Hillel Silver

COPY

FEDERACION SIONISTA UNIDA DE BOLIVIA

LA PAZ , August 14, 1944
CASILLA

American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

We have the pleasure to remit to you herewith a resolution, which was accepted in the plenary session of August 7th at the First Zionist Congress of Bolivia and which declares:

"The First Zionist Congress of Bolivia united in La Paz in the days between August 5th and 7th of 1944 resolves to express its appreciation to The American Zionist Emergency Council for its meritorious efforts and steps taken in favour of the Jewish Commonwealth in Erez Israel and promises to do everything possible within the limits of its modest powers in order to collaborate in this urgent task."

Informing you of this resolution, we are glad to have the opportunity to express to you our fervent wishes for the success of everything you do for the best of our common cause.

We are taking this occasion to inform you, that we sent off at the same time and by ordinary mail a copy of the official report of our congress.

We remain with Zion's Greetings

Truly yours,

FEDERACION ZIONISTA UNIDA DE BOLIVIA

Hanns Susz B.
Hon. Secretary.

Bernardo Zisfain
President

hs;ef

IK
8/29/44

MEMORANDUM

To Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

Date August 14, 1944

From I. B. Berkson

RE: Correspondence from Rabbi Solomon B. Freehof, President,
Central Conference of American Rabbis, concerning the
right of Liberal rabbis to perform marriages in Palestine.

According to the Order in Council of 1922, which serves as the basic constitution of Palestine, marriage is considered a religious affair and comes under the jurisdiction of the religious dignitaries of the various churches who have sole authority. This applies to Moslems, the Christian communities as well as to the Jews.

For the Jews the government recognizes the decisions of the Rabbinical Courts which are subject to a Rabbinical Council as finally authoritative. The Rabbinical Council is composed of two rabbis - one for the Sephardic community and one for the Ashkenazic - and six rabbinical members. The Rabbinical Courts have:

- (i) exclusive jurisdiction in matters of marriage and divorce, alimony, execution and confirmation of wills of Jewish Palestinian subjects;
- (ii) jurisdiction in any other matter of personal status of Jewish persons, where all the parties to the action consent to their jurisdiction;
- (iii) exclusive jurisdiction over any case as to the constitution or internal administration of a waqf constituted before the Rabbinical Court according to Jewish Law.

From the above it will be seen that all marriages must be performed in accordance with Orthodox Jewish law. It is not a case of depriving Liberal rabbis of any rights. The system in Palestine is inherent in the whole conception of religious law at present in vogue in Palestine. It could not be changed without implying a radical transformation of conceptions. Of course, all this applies only to marriages performed in Palestine. It has nothing whatsoever to do with the right of Reformed rabbis to perform marriages in the United States, ~~and Freehof's statement that there is "the definite implication that marriages performed by Liberal or Reform rabbis are invalid" is sheer nonsense.~~ *on the validity of such marriages*

It should be noted that there are many Jews in Palestine that dislike this system which gives control of marriage and divorce to the Rabbinical Courts.

IBB:sr

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

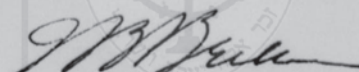
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-1160

August 15, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver,

I'd like to take advantage of your invitation to come to Cleveland and have a "schmoos" with you at your leisure. Will you please wire me whether next Tuesday or Wednesday, August 22nd or 23rd, would be convenient? I should like to know as much ahead of time as possible so that train reservations can be made.

Yours sincerely,


I. B. Berkson

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

C
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P
Y

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC.

1001 Keystone State Building - 1321 Arch St.
Telephone RITtehnhouse 8357 Philadelphia 7, Pa.

President
Lessing J. Rosenwald
Philadelphia, Pa.

Vice-Presidents
Rabbi Louis Binstock, Chicago, Ill.
Fred F. Florence, Dallas, Tex.
Ralph W. Mack, Cincinnati, Ohio
Rabbi Irving F. Reichert, San Francisco, Calif.
Rabbi Louis Wolsey, Philadelphia, Pa.

August 29, 1944

Treasurer
D. Hays Solis-Cohen, Philadelphia, Pa.

Executive Director
Rabbi Elmer Berger, Philadelphia, Pa.

Board of Directors

Mr. M. S. Novik
Radio Station WNYC
New York City

Dear Mr. Novik:

We are informed that the Zionist Organization of America or one of its affiliates has approached or is approaching your radio station for a series of broadcasts dealing with Zionism.

No doubt you know that this subject is a political issue on which there is considerable controversy. Our organization, composed of Americans of Jewish faith, is opposed to the Zionist program. There are countless Americans of Christian faith who are similarly opposed.

We are confident of your desire to maintain your station in the public interest; and are accordingly requesting you to please notify us if you are providing time for this broadcast, and to accord us an equal amount of free time to present the other side.

Sincerely yours,

Elmer Berger

Rabbi Elmer Berger
THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM, INC.

EB:SG

C
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Y

*Copy for
Dr. Silver*

RALPH F. BASS, INC.

Hilton & Southampton Streets

BOSTON, MASS.

August 29, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Mindful of our last conversation at Plymouth, I have established the proper contact for the Boston newspaper, Christian Science Monitor. Mr. Joseph Brin, of the Jewish Advocate, is very friendly with the editor of this paper and has agreed to do what he can to explain matters to the editor, if we will furnish him with either the name of the article about which we spoke and which was unfavorable to Palestine; or the date of the issue in which it appeared. If you could furnish me with this copy I believe we can do a good job towards getting this paper straightened out in our favor.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

RN
8/31/44

Ralph F. Bass

August 31, 1944.

Mr. Ralph F. Bass
Hilton and Southampton Streets
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Bass:

Your letter addressed to Dr. Silver has come to this office, and as Dr. Silver is not in New York, I am sending you the following information:

Enclosed is a copy of the article involved in the Christian Science Monitor. This appeared in the June 26th issue, and following this article, a letter was sent to the State Department and an answer received from Mr. Stettinius that he had checked up in the various departments and could not find that anyone had given this interview. Furthermore, he did not believe that any responsible official in the State Department would give an interview of this sort.

The Foreign Editor of the paper has a photostat of Mr. Stettinius' letter.

Other articles have appeared from time to time in the same unfavorable tenor.

If Mr. Brin of the Jewish Advocate can do anything to set this matter straight, it will be a great service.

Cordially yours,

HLS:FBI
Encl.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
Director

C
O
P
Y

THE JEWISH ADVOCATE

Boston 14

Massachusetts

251 Causeway St.

September
the
Third
1944

Dear Ralph:

I have given your letter, with its accompanying enclosures, a careful reading; also my very best thought. It must be understood that the opinions of correspondents are very frequently not those of the newspaper. My familiarity with this particular newspaper, its editorial writers, its policies and general attitude confirm the statement. There are two suggestions: 1. Just let it pass. 2. Write a letter to the Editor of the Christian Science Monitor, one Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, referring to the dispatch and pointing out logically and orderly (though briefly) the errors of the ways of the correspondent. As Mr. John J. Anthony says: "That is my advice to you".

Very cordially,

(Signed) Joseph Brin

Mr. Ralph F. Bass
Boston
Mass.

C
O
P
Y

Dr. Silver

RALPH F. BASS, INC.

Hilton & Southampton Streets

BOSTON, MASS.

September 5, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have received a letter from Joseph Brin, the managing editor of the Jewish Advocate, which is attached, and before proceeding to answer the article in the Christian Science Monitor of June 28 I would like to know if any representations of any kind have been made to the editor. If so there is nothing further I can do, but if not I would like to do as Mr. Brin suggests and send such a letter showing the error of the ways of the correspondent. If I do so would you please have someone prepare the proper kind of letter to write to the editor of the Christian Science Monitor.

Sincerely yours,

RFB:G

Ralph F. Bass

WILLIAM S. BENNET
NEW YORK 5

44 Wall Street
September 6, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th St. at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Referring to yours of August 2, 1944 and subsequent correspondence, Mr. Albert W. Levitt writes me that his recollection about your connection with the opposition to Senator Hawkes sponsoring S.J.R. 85 differs from mine. As the matter has ceased to be of any practical importance I do not see anything to be gained by pursuing it further and express my regret that I put you to the necessity of writing a longhand letter during your vacation.

Very truly yours,

William S. Bennett

September 7, 1944.

Mr. Ralph F. Bass
Hilton and Southampton Streets
Boston, Massachusetts

Dear Mr. Bass:

Your letter of the 5th, addressed to Dr. Silver, has come to this office and a copy is being sent to him as he is not in New York at present.

With respect to the suggestions made in your letter, and in the enclosure from Mr. Joseph Brin, a letter to the Editor of the Christian Science Monitor was sent immediately or soon after the original publication of June 28th appeared, and a copy of that letter is enclosed herewith for your information. Neither this letter, nor a subsequent interview with one of the editors, has accomplished very much. If, however, you feel that a letter from you to the Monitor, to show the error of the ways of the correspondent is still desirable, you might use the material in the enclosed copy of letter as a basis, but you should bear in mind that as far as this newspaper is concerned, at least on this subject, the statement by the correspondent seems to represent the view of at least some of the important officials of the paper.

Cordially yours,

Harry L. Shapiro
Director

HLS:HBI
Encl.

Prepared by: Dr. I. B. Berkson

NOTE ON MEETING WITH FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

RE: INFORMATION BULLETIN ON PALESTINE

September 13, 1944

The origin of this meeting is described in the enclosed note sent to Dr. Silver in June. The meeting, in which representative Jews and Christians were to participate, was finally arranged for September 13th. About a week earlier Dr. Johnson telephoned to me and indicated the persons whom he was inviting. As I heard the names they were:

For the Arab side: Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert, Professor Ernest Hocking, Dr. Wilbert Smith (Secretary of the International Commission of the Y.M.C.A. in Cairo and the Near East), Professor Philip Hitti, and a Mr. Baroudi, a Lebanese Christian.

On the Jewish side, in addition to Dr. Israel Goldstein and myself, he had invited Dr. Richard Rothschild, who was to represent the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi Maurice I. Eisendroth of the Reform wing, and a certain Rabbi Bernard Heller. The last named is a graduate of the Hebrew Union College, but inclined toward conservatism. He is not a practicing rabbi and can hardly be called representative. I therefore suggested that instead of Bernard Heller either Philip Bernstein or James Heller be invited. The former had an important engagement, and so Professor Johnson consented to invite Dr. Heller. Mr. Lourie, with whom I was in contact, made sure by wiring Heller and also writing asking him to come. I also suggested that someone be invited from the Christian Council. Professor Johnson seemed reluctant; said that he had ascertained that Dr. Voss was not going to be in town. After consultation with Dr. Voss, we suggested Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Harlow or Dr. Albright and urged that it would be desirable to have two, or perhaps all three, in order to have opposite numbers to the anti-Zionist Christians present. However, the only one available was Dr. Albright. Lourie and I in consultation made additional efforts, at the urging of Dr. Goldstein, to get a stronger representation of the Christian Council, but we found nobody available at that time.

In the meantime, Dr. Goldstein had learned that Mr. Wallach of the American Council for Judaism had also been invited. Professor Johnson claimed that he had mentioned the name to me over the telephone, but I either did not hear it or the mention of the name failed to impress itself on my consciousness. I was at the time concentrated on the idea of getting a stronger representation for our position; and I did not think it was within my province generally to tell Professor Johnson whom not to invite. However, Dr. Goldstein felt that it was not proper that the Jews should appear divided before the Arabs, and also that it was not fitting that we should sit together with Mr. Wallach who has an unsavory reputation among us. While I did not feel so strongly about the matter as he did, I told him I would join him in taking the same attitude before

Professor Johnson. However, Professor Johnson felt that he had gone to a tremendous amount of trouble to arrange the meeting, that he had accepted all our suggestions for invitations, and that he did not see his way clear to rescind the invitation extended the American Council. As a compensation, however, he was ready to invite an additional person to represent our point of view, and at the suggestion of Professor Albright, with whom he had talked the matter over (they had happened to meet at a conference) he invited Mr. Neumann, whom both Dr. Goldstein and myself welcomed as an invaluable addition. In the light of this I said that I would consent to attend, being invited as an individual and not as a representative of any organization, but Dr. Goldstein thought that he had a greater responsibility as President of the Zionist Organization and would have to consider the matter.

The meeting took place at two o'clock on Wednesday, September 13th, in the Board Room of the Protestant Episcopal Church House, 281 Fourth Avenue. At the last moment some of those invited found it impossible to come for one reason or another, and the meeting consisted of the following:

For the Federal Council

Dr. F. Ernest Johnson, Executive Secretary of the Federal Council

Miss Edith A. Trotter, Assistant to Dr. Johnson

Favorable to the Arab side

Dr. Wilbert Smith

Dr. Conrad Hoffmann, Jr., of the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church

Miss Glora M. Wysner, also of the Board of National Missions

Representing the Arabs

Professor Philip Hitti

Mr. Baroudi

Jews

Rabbi Elmer Berger of the American Council for Judaism (Mr. Wallach was ill)

Rabbi Maurice I. Eisendroth

Dr. I. B. Berkson

Rabbi James Heller

Mr. Arthur Lourie (substituted at the last moment for Mr. Neumann who found it impossible to attend)

Dr. Israel Goldstein finally decided not to attend; Professor Hocking did not appear; and it was explained that Mr. Rothschild was ill.

- - -

In opening the meeting, Dr. Johnson explained that some months ago the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ had planned to have an Information Bulletin devoted to Zionism. It was felt among them that the Christian Council for Palestine, which is pro-Zionist, afforded an opportunity for a presentation of the Zionist side of the case. They thought, therefore, that their Bulletin should lay the emphasis on the presentation of the Arab side of the case. (Comment: This seems to me different from what Professor Johnson had indicated originally when he first told me about the Information Bulletin. At that time, I gained the impression that the Bulletin was designed to be an objective statement of the case. I.B.B.) Then he indicated that we might discuss the questions which he had outlined in the notice of the meeting sent to us, a copy of which is attached herewith. We never got further than the first question, though most of the other problems were introduced in the course of what turned out to be a very informal discussion.

We think that our side presented the Zionist side quite well and had the better of the argument. Albright did not maintain a "Commonwealth" point of view, but he was very helpful in emphasizing the achievement of the Jews in Palestine and the possibilities of further development. He emphasized the danger of Moslem-Arab dominance and pointed out that this was a danger not only for the Jews, but also for the Christian minority in Palestine. However, despite the strong argument put up, it was clear that the opposite side had a fixed point of view strongly antagonistic to any further Jewish development in Palestine. Miss Trotter, for instance, suggested in the interests of "equality" that immigration into Palestine should be prohibited for both Jews and Arabs. It was quite evident that the Federal Council was seeking a solution on the basis of no further Jewish immigration into Palestine whatsoever. While we may not have influenced them to change their basic attitude, nevertheless it was clear that we had shaken their belief that they could support a restriction of immigration on economic grounds or on the ground of displacement of the Arabs.

We also succeeded in disabusing them of the idea that their point of view would receive support from any part of the Jewish community in the United States. They had stressed the differences amongst the Jews as a justification for their own perplexities. In this connection the presence of Dr. Berger of the American Council for Judaism helped rather than hin-

dered. In the course of the discussion Professor Johnson had turned to him to ask how much backing the Zionist point of view had. Dr. Berger tried to indicate that no one knew; that in view of the fact that the Zionists had an organization to propagate their point of view, it was probable that the anti-Zionist feeling in the country was far larger than it appeared to be at present. He seemed to indicate that anti-Zionism would grow in the future when people understood that the Zionists were aiming to establish a Jewish State in Palestine. His presentation was not in itself convincing. In addition to the excellent statements in reply made by Dr. Heller, Rabbi Eisendroth, who indicated that his own group was opposed to the Commonwealth formula, declared in very clear terms that the majority of organized Jews in the country favor the Commonwealth position and that even within his own group there was a division of opinion. He pointed out, too, that Reform Judaism had for many decades carried on an anti-Zionist program and made it clear that the movement in Reform Judaism, both among the rabbis and the laymen, was in the Zionist direction not only in the vague sense of the religious affiliation, but in the clearly political sense of Zionism. His presentation was restrained, well balanced, but very forceful and made a strong impression, particularly since it came from the Reform group.

Toward the end of the meeting Dr. Heller pointed out that the publication of a Bulletin by the Federal Council along the lines indicated by their representatives at the meeting would lead to disappointment and indignation on the part of the very great majority of the Jewish community. He praised the Federal Council for the Bulletin on "The Mass Murder of Jews in Europe", published some months ago, and said that it had aroused a great deal of favorable comment among Jews, and that the effect of this impression would be completely destroyed by an anti-Zionist and pro-Arab Bulletin which implied the prohibition of Jewish immigration into Palestine. It appeared to me that if anything will have an effect on them it is this line of argument. They are ready to appear as anti-Zionist, but do not wish to appear as anti-Jewish.

I called up Dr. Goldstein this morning (September 14th) to report on the meeting, and he took it upon himself to get in touch with Dr. Johnson and to find out what he is going to do about the Information Bulletin. Our idea, of course, is to counsel that it should not be published as the best way out of an embarrassing situation for both sides.

September 14, 1944

CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE
FEDERAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST
September 13, 1944

1. The general agreement among Jewish groups with reference to the White Paper of 1939 seems to rest on very different grounds:

- (a) the desire to speed immigration;
- (b) the desire to remove what is regarded as unjust discrimination.

What agreement is there as to strategy?

What should the British Government be asked to do?

2. Do the terms "national home," "Commonwealth," "state," etc. mean to all practical intents the same thing?

3. How important in the controversy is historic connection with Palestine?

How can either Arab or Jewish claim be maintained on this basis, as against the other?

4. Is it not clear that the long-continued debate over the McMahon-Hussein correspondence comes down to this: There was less a misunderstanding than a strategic preparation for later moves, with warning given on either side that the points in disagreement were not conceded, that their determination was being merely postponed.

5. How important is the element of refuge in the Zionist claim?

- (a) Is there reason to expect any extensive Jewish migration after the war?
- (b) If the consideration of refuge is of primary importance, why is any other location than Palestine excluded?
- (c) If this consideration is not of primary importance, why is the whole matter considered so urgent?

6. What is the answer to the charge that it is hypocritical for the United States to support the Zionist program against Arab opposition while showing no eagerness to receive Jewish immigration here?

7. What concrete proposal is there for winning Arab support for the Zionist program? Is the Arab opposition abating?

8. Is it not true that the Arabs have gained much as a result of the developments carried out under the Zionist program?

9. What of the proposal to internationalize Palestine?

10. A serious student of the Palestine problem - an outsider - is almost inevitably puzzled by the mixture of political and religious elements in Zionism. Rabbi Silver has said that Zionism is a secular movement. The British Royal Commission declared that it was a nationalist, not a religious, movement. What is the truth of the matter?

11. There is some evidence that a compromise solution may be sought by the British Government. If so, is American Jewry prepared to propose or to accept a compromise, and if so, what?

12. What, if any, compromise proposal would the Arabs accept?

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 .(14)

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

NA16 INTL=JERUSALEM 35 12 VIA RCA=

=NLT DR ABA HILLEL SILVER=

=CLEVE=

Temple Ansel Rd + 105th

CONSIDER YOUR RESIGNATION ENDANGERING OUR EFFORTS SUCH
CRITICAL TIME MAY ASSURE YOU MIZRACHI ORGANISATION BEHIND
YOUR POLITICAL EFFORTS YOU MUST DO UTMOST KEEP YOUR
LEADERSHIP HAPPY NEWYEAR=

=MEYER BERLIN=

*SK 3740
Mrs. S.
E. F. 820 a Mail.*

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 15, 1944

From I. B. Berkson

I am sending you herewith a note on our meeting with the Federal
Council of the Churches of Christ held on Wednesday, September 13th.

Copy to Dr. Israel Goldstein
Rabbi James Heller
Mr. Arthur Lourie
Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Mr. Harry Shapiro
Dr. Abba H. Silver ✓

MB

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.
Murray Hill 2-1160

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

September 15, 1944

Dear Abba Hillel

Thank you for your note of greeting
on the approach of the New Year. And the same to you.

This will be the year of decision for
Zionism.

Stick with the ship and stay at the
helm - come what may.

Yours truly,
Sincerely,

Sincerely,

ABR Baran

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland
Ohio.

קרן היסוד

THE EREZ ISRAEL (PALESTINE) FOUNDATION FUND
KEREN HAYESOD LTD.

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND 1921

CABLES: KERJESSOD JERUSALEM: למסנרמות • BENTLEY'S CODE • PHONE 46911 סלמון

הלשכה הראשית
ירושלים ת. ר. 583
HEAD OFFICE
JERUSALEM P.O.B. 583

September 22, 1944

ADDRESS REPLY TO
ROOM 2100
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On October 11th, 1944, the annual Zionist Conference will take place in Palestine. This Conference is sponsored by the Keren Hayesod, and it has become a traditional feature in the life of the Yishuv. In fact, it has become the "Zionist Congress" of the Yishuv, to which delegates come from all over the country. The members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency give their reports at this forum.

Our Head Office in Jerusalem has asked us to approach you for a message for the Conference. We therefore would very much appreciate your sending us such message to be cabled to Jerusalem - or if you prefer to cable the message directly, kindly let us know when it has been sent.

With many thanks and kind regards,

Sincerely yours,

Kurt Blumenfeld
Kurt Blumenfeld

kb:ne:hr

September 28, 1944

Mr. Kurt Blumenfeld
Keren Hayesod
41 East 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Blumenfeld:

I am enclosing herewith a brief message which you requested from me to be sent to the annual conference sponsored by the Keren Hayesod in Palestine.

I trust that you are well and I send you all my good wishes for the coming year.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

I send you my warmest greetings on the occasion of your Conference meeting on the eve of one of the most decisive years in the history of our people. Keren Hayesod has been winning increasing support and response from American Jewry as the conviction grows of the tremendous and inspiring role which the Yishuv has played in the rescue of our people and in the war for the liberation of mankind from Nazi-Fascist tyranny. Stop American public sentiment overwhelmingly behind our historic cause as evidenced by the recent hearty endorsement in the platforms of both major political parties. We stand with you united in hope and loyalty.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



September 29, 1944

Dr. I. B. Berkson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Berkson:

I have not overlooked your letter of August 15. I could not reply to it until the matter of my resignation was out of the way.

I should of course be very happy to have you come to Cleveland at your convenience so that we could have a leisurely "schmoos." I will not be in New York before October 12 and then only for the day. I shall then go on to Atlantic City. Perhaps we can find a few hours in Atlantic City for a talk. Should you wish to come to Cleveland before October 12, I will be glad to see you any day except October 6 when I am scheduled to be in Chicago.

I have been reading your Palestine Study and have been making some notes as I go along.

With all good wishes for a very happy new year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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.
Murray Hill 2-1160

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

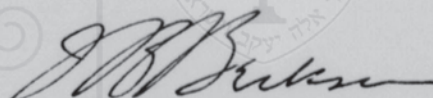
October 4, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver,

Thank you for your letter of September 29th. I'd like to meet you in Atlantic City, if possible, and any time that you suggest after October 12th I will try to arrange. It would be nice if you could make it in the ^{early} afternoon so that I could go and come back on the same day.

With very best regards,

Cordially,


I. B. Berkson

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

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.
Murray Hill 2-1160

October 8, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Amsel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

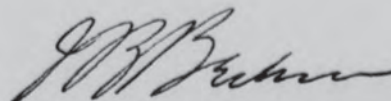
I am sending you the Outline that I promised. This seems something like carrying the coals to Newcastle, but perhaps there may be a suggestion here or there. I weave some facts into the story that you may wish to use even if you discard the rest of it. You may note that I have included some of the other material which I sent you on Friday in the present Outline.

My main idea is to avoid laying emphasis on the negative aspect, the attack against the enemies of Zionism, and to build up toward a positive statement of the Zionist program today. It is a rough draft, of course, and I have paid no attention to style, nor have I attempted to make it consistent in style. In some places I have let myself go beyond my usual prose into something that sounds like a speech. This I hope you will pardon.

The paragraph on the State Department (page 6) I have put in parentheses, to indicate my particular lack of self-confidence at this point. The attitude to be taken toward the State Department is a matter of major policy which I regard beyond my scope, but the thought occurred to me and I set it down nevertheless.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,



IBB:PR

P.S. In the excerpt I sent you Friday from the Esco Foundation Palestine Study interpreting the meaning of the Jewish Commonwealth, a bad error crept in due to the omission of a line in copying. From the version you have, it would appear that the Jewish Commonwealth is in harmony with the principle of constitutional parity, which is, of course, the direct opposite of the case. I am sending you a corrected version herewith and I wish you would destroy the other one.

I.B.B.

C

O

P

Y JERUSALEM OCT. 10

WESTERN UNION TELEGRAM

(RECEIVED OCT. 12, 1944 - 6 PM)

NLT ARTHUR LOURIE

342 MADISON AVE NYK

CONFIDENTIAL COLONIAL OFFICE GRANTED 10200 CERTIFICATES FOR NEXT HALF
YEAR BEGINNING OCTOBER FIRST INCLUDING 3200 CHILDREN FROM FRANCE
SWITZERLAND BELGIUM STOP MOST CHILDREN PRESENTLY SCATTERED AMONG
CHRISTIAN FARMERS AND MONASTERIES THEIR IMMEDIATE TRANSFER PALESTINE
MOST VITAL MAIN DIFFICULTY TRANSPORTATION STOP PLEASE CONTACT APPROPRIATE
AUTHORITIES. VIEW OBTAINING AMERICAN SHIPS AND FACILITATE MILITARY
AUTHORITIES FOR EMBARCATION FRENCH PORTS STOP CABLED SAME HADASSAH
ORGANISATION NEW YORK

DAVID BENGURION

10/13/44-SJ



c o p y

THE ZIONIST FEDERATION
of
Great Britain & Ireland

75 Gr. Russell Street
London " . C. 1

12th October 1944

Rabbi A. Silver,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York.

Dear Dr. Silver,

One of the leading British delegates to the forthcoming Congress Conference is Norman Jacobs of Manchester, whom I should like to introduce to you in a very special way, and anything that you can do to bring him into contact with leading men of affairs in your country would be of inestimable value for his future work in English Zionism.

Norman Jacobs is the Vice-President of the Zionist Federation and one of the leaders of the United Palestine Appeal of Manchester. He is in fact the "boss" of Manchester Zionism.

By origin a South African Jew, he has distinguished himself in our ranks for his conscientious devotion to duty, for his matchless efficiency, and for his active and alert approach to Zionist and Jewish problems.

Young, but mature, Mancunian, but comprehensive in outlook, he has succeeded in the course of a decade and a half in ~~in~~ restoring Manchester to its pivotal and key position in English Zionism which it occupied prior to the Balfour Declaration. He is naturally anxious during his visit to America to acquaint himself with the technique as well as the ideological background of American Zionism and American Jewish life in general. You are probably also aware that he is now the Chairman of the Political Committee of the Zionist Federation, and that he occupies a leading position in the Board of Deputies and in some of its principal Committees, whilst at the same time holding the position of Vice-Chairman in the Manchester Jewish Representative Council.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

L. Bakstansky

LB/LT

SOS
11/10-44

COPY

October 17, 1944.

Miss Elizabeth F. Vilkomerson
220 Broadway
New York City

My dear Miss Vilkomerson:

I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge
and thank you for the copy of the Resolution sent me
with your letter of October 15th.

I know that you will be pleased to learn that
I intend to call a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee
immediately after election for the purpose of reporting
this Resolution to the House.

With best wishes, I am



Sincerely yours,

(Sgd) Sol Bloom

MEMORANDUM

To Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

Date October 26, 1944

From I. B. Berkson

You may recall that at our recent staff meeting I suggested that we publish a series of four to eight page statements on some controversial issues, particularly with reference to Arab claims. Among those I had in mind were leaflets on the following:

The Hussein-McMahon Understanding
War Services of the Arabs
Statements of the Emir Feisal
Effect of the Jewish Development on Arab Life in Palestine
Arab Intransigence and "Political Zionism"
Arab Government and Treatment of Minorities
Conditions in the Near East and the Problem of Self-Government
The Arab Attitude Toward the United Nations and the War

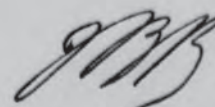
As in the case of material prepared by the Research Department for the Hearings, each leaflet would contain a brief summary statement of the situation and be followed by documentary evidence taken from non-Jewish sources to substantiate the position.

I have found such material invaluable in answering various statements and in the general preparation of material. Unfortunately today we have to retype each statement as needed; printing such statements would facilitate the work. These leaflets could also serve for instructing our people throughout the whole country on a number of issues, and for providing them with data.

Some months ago I took up the question of publishing such leaflets with Chaim Greenberg. The idea was to publish them in a booklet similar to the green covered pamphlet, The Broken Pledge, gotten out by them last year. I received no reply from him, but last week I had another talk and he has indicated to me that he would be glad to get out such a pamphlet if we provide the material. It would be gotten out by the Jewish Frontier Association. The Jewish Frontier has a very good reputation in academic and general circles and I think it would be a good thing if such a pamphlet bore their imprint. If so desired, full credit would be given to us and a statement made that the material was obtained from the Research Department of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Both of us felt, however, that before proceeding with this I should have formal authorization from the Emergency Council. It was thought that some people might take objection to our giving this material to the Jewish Frontier instead of publishing it ourselves. I am therefore writing to you to ask you whether it will be all right for me to go ahead on this with Dr. Greenberg. I do not know whether this matter will have to be taken up with the Executive Committee; perhaps it will be sufficient to have Dr. Silver's approval. In any case, would you please give me a written reply?

ibb:mg



C
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October 26, 1944

NLT DAVID BENGURION
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM (Palestine)

REGARDING REFUGEE CHILDREN REPRESENTATIONS RECEIVED SYMPATHETIC
RESPONSE BUT PROBLEM TRANSPORTATION THIS TIME PRESENTS GREAT
DIFFICULTIES CONTINUING EFFORTS STOP ASSUME MATTER BEING ACTIVELY
PURSUED ALSO LONDON

ARTHUR LOURIE



Copy of letter from I. E. Berkson, Director, Research Department, to Dr. F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

October 26, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson,

I have your letter of October 6th and have since received several copies of the Bulletin on Palestine, for which I thank you. I have read it through with some care. It is in some respects a good deal better than the original document that I saw. Nevertheless, candor compels me to say that to my mind it still seems that, despite your effort, you have failed of your purpose of avoiding "bias, inaccuracy, ambiguity, or unintentional implication." Although no explicit verdict is rendered, there is a definite orientation which seems to have affected the selection and arrangement of material; there are significant omissions, forced interpretations, and in one instance at least - i.e., the reference to the displacement of the fellah - a misleading statement of fact. The deviations from a balanced and objective analysis accumulate to give the document an anti-Zionist tendency.

To make a full analysis, it would be necessary to go over most of the paragraphs and to repeat what I wrote in my former criticism. I do not intend to trouble you again with any lengthy discussion, but I am listing a few points to substantiate my opinion that the Bulletin does not give a fair presentation of the issues involved.

1. Introduction. The Bulletin gets off to a bad start by giving the reader the impression that during the first World War the British Government made diametrically opposed promises to the Arab nationalists and to the leaders of the Zionist movement with reference to Palestine, and that these conflicting promises are at the heart of the trouble. The promises were not, in fact, conflicting, since Palestine was excluded from the British pledges. More carefully read, the paragraph may be understood as saying that the conflict arises out of the conflict of aims of the two groups who understood the promises in contradictory senses. Nevertheless, the general impression is created - and this impression is carried through in the discussion on the "Anglo-Arab Pledge" - that two contradictory promises were made with reference to Palestine, each of equal validity. You do not indicate that the Balfour Declaration was a public document, that it was incorporated in the Mandate approved by the League of Nations, while the pledge to the Arabs, through Husain, was a secret understanding, the nature of which is much in question. The reader starts with a prejudiced mind-set which is not adequately corrected in the later discussion.

2. The Anglo-Arab Fledge. The statement on the promises made to the Arabs through Husain is so formulated as to give the Arab claim more weight than an objective consideration of the material warrants. For instance, in stating the opinion of the British representatives on the 1939 Committee, you break up the quotations in such a way as to make it seem that the main conclusion of the report was: "That the language of the agreement was not so specific and unmistakable as it was thought to be at the time." As a matter of fact, the British representatives unanimously concluded that: "On a proper construction of the correspondence, Palestine was in fact excluded." The Lord Chancellor states in definitive terms: "The Correspondence as a whole, and particularly the reservation in respect to French interests, in Sir Henry McMahon's letter of the 24th of October 1915, not only had excluded Palestine but should have been understood to do so, having in view the unique position of Palestine." You fail to state that all the British officers connected with the negotiations with Husain, without exception, have stated in the most positive terms that the British intended to exclude Palestine, and that Husain understood this quite well.

Your conclusion: "Careful reading suggests less a misunderstanding than strategic preparation for later moves, with fair warning given by either side," does not, in my opinion, stand up under examination. You make a point of stating the Sherif's reply that there would be no concession whatever of Arab land to France. But you fail to state that in the next letter the British told Husain in the most definitive terms that there would be no reconsideration of the Sherif's demands in this respect after the war, as he had asked. Further, you neglect to indicate that finally, in response to the British letter, Husain (in his letter of October 18th) indicates that he accepted the British terms.

All the evidence indicates that Husain knew - and agreed to - at least this much: Palestine would not be included in the Arab state, that a special regime would be set up in Palestine, and that Jewish immigration would be encouraged. None of the documents which you quote, or any of the proclamations issued during the war, mention Palestine in their promises to facilitate Arab independence. The Anglo-French declaration - the most important of them all - specifically mentions Syria and Mesopotamia, but not Palestine. On the other hand, at the Peace Conference Feisal, head of the Arab delegation, explicitly stated that: "Palestine, for its universal character, should be left on one side for mutual consideration of all parties interested." Then there are the Feisal-Weizmann Agreement, the letter to Felix Frankfurter, and several statements made to the press by Feisal. All this evidence, which indicates that Palestine was never included in the area of Arab independence, you pass over in silence.

3. The Balfour Declaration. Can you seriously claim that your treatment of the Balfour Declaration is fair to the Zionist case, or historically accurate? There is abundant evidence to show that the promulgators of the Balfour Declaration envisaged the ultimate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth if the Jews took advantage of the opportunity offered. This is clearly indicated in the Peel Commission Report, which quotes a definitive statement of Mr. Lloyd George's, who was Prime Minister at the time. You do make some mention of the fact that Churchill testified that even the 1922 White Paper - generally considered as a whittled down interpretation of the British pledge - did not prohibit the ultimate establishment of the Jewish State. But before you do this you have two long paragraphs in which you build up in the mind of the reader an impression that the Declaration was generally interpreted as authorizing only a Jewish cultural center, or giving the Jews some special position comparable to minority rights status.

In presenting the Arabs' Case, you make a full, straightforward presentation in their own terms. This is as it should be. But to have achieved a balanced statement, there should have been an equally full presentation of the Zionists' case in their own terms. It is true that there are a few sentences here and there, lost in the maze of your own interpretations, and you do make some statement of the Zionist position under Jewish Attitudes Toward Zionism. But there should have been a statement of the Zionist position on the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, on the meaning of "historical connection", on their conception of the relation of the Jewish community to the Arab community in Palestine, etc.

4. The Palestine Administration. In discussing the situation in Palestine, nowhere do you make it clear that under the term "independence" the Arab political leaders demand absolute rule over the country; that they have taken the position that they are the "owners" of the country and that they should exercise the same kind of rule in Palestine as in Syria or in Iraq. Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi, leader of the Istiqlalists, stated definitely before the Palestine Royal Commission that: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews, that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." (Minutes of Evidence, p. 314).

You avoid any mention of the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem, and you say nothing about the Supreme Moslem Council of which the Mufti was President. While you dilate on the Royal Commission's opinion as to the excessive influence of the Jewish Agency - arising out of functions performed by purely peaceful methods under the terms of the Mandate - you are strangely silent about the Peel Commission's views on the Supreme Moslem Council in fomenting discord and violence in Palestine, and you fail to state their conclusion: "The existence

of the Supreme Moslem Council need not, in itself, have led to the development of an Arab imperium in imperio. But the functions which the Mufti has contrived to accumulate in his person and his use of them have had that effect. He is now such a power in the land that, supported by the National Committees in the different towns of Palestine, he may truthfully be described as the head of yet a third parallel Government."

Your statement: "The Supreme Moslem Council was later established in an effort to equalize this situation" is entirely incorrect. The Supreme Moslem Council was established in December 1921 for the purpose of controlling and managing the waqf (church) property, and for supervising the Moslem religious courts. Haj Amin al-Husaini, who became the Mufti of Jerusalem by a questionable procedure and was later elected President of the Supreme Moslem Council, used the Council to build up a political machine. In 1923 the Arabs were offered an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, but they refused it, arrogantly, with the declaration: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accepting a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews."

5. The Displacement of the Fellah. The worst thing in the paper, in my opinion, is your sentence (page 5, column 2): "Popular resentment arises from the fact that sale of land to Jews displaced the fellah..." The charge that the sale of land to the Jews displaces the fellah was introduced before the Shaw Commission by Miss Newton, a retired English missionary, bitterly opposed to the Zionist program. A subsequent careful investigation made by the British, who were at first inclined to accept the accusation, indicated that 664 families, or three-fifths of one percent of the Arab rural population of Palestine, ceased to be cultivators as a result of Arab sales of land to Jews, and had turned to other occupations. The Government provided funds for the resettlement of these displaced Arab cultivators under superior conditions, but only half of the number of families accepted the Government offer, the remainder having secured what they evidently considered other preferable employment. (Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1939, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1939, p. 54).

Counterbalancing the negligible percentage of families who ceased to be cultivators, Jewish development has made it possible for many additional families to cultivate the soil so that, in the balance, while there may have been cases of individual displacement, on the whole there are a greater number of fellahin today cultivating the soil on a higher standard. You fail to mention also that the commissions of investigation have exonerated the Jews from any blame in the displacement of the Arabs and that defects in the administration of the law which formerly permitted Arab landowners to dispossess their tenants on sale, have now been remedied. The Arab tenant is today the best protected in the world.

October 26, 1944

You omit all reference to the fact that one of the major causes of poverty among the Arab cultivators is the high average debt to Arab landowners as a result of an accumulation of usurious interest charges. You make no genuine analysis of the social problems facing the fellah, and you leave the impression that his difficulties are due largely to Jewish purchases of land. On the next page (middle of column 1) you seem to contradict this impression when you state the Partition Commission's view. But you have already biased the mind of the reader with your more direct statement on the previous page.

The issue is not whether the Bulletin "will wholly satisfy any group"; the question is whether it satisfies the criteria of a balanced, objective and competent analysis of the Palestine situation. Over and above the criticisms already made, there is a fundamental criticism of your entire approach to the problem. You represent it mainly as a conflict between Arabs and Jews and your "analysis" is, to a large extent, merely a statement of various points of view, with some interpretation. The Bulletin does not indicate any first-hand knowledge of the situation in Palestine; it does not go into the background of social conditions; it fails to relate the Palestine problem to the economic and political problems of the Near East generally. In fine, in my estimation the Bulletin does not meet the ordinary requirements of a good piece of research.

I do not wish to close without thanking you for your courtesy in keeping me in touch and entertaining my criticisms.

Yours sincerely,

I. B. Berkson
Director, Research Department

Dr. F. Ernest Johnson
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ
297 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

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CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Committee on Foreign Affairs

House of Representatives

Washington

October 31, 1944

My dear Mr. Lourie:

Your letter of the 27th, with reference to the refugees who were deported from Palestine to Mauritius, has just been forwarded to me here in New York.

I am taking this matter up immediately and shall do everything possible to help.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Sol Bloom

Mr. Arthur Lourie
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

AN IMPARTIAL STUDY OF THE PALESTINE PROBLEM

An editorial in The Christian Century, ~~Atlanta~~, Ga.
November 1, 1944

From time to time this paper has ventured to question the wisdom of certain church leaders in lending their names to the support of appeals or political proposals connected with the Zionist movement of Palestine. Such mild words of warning have been written not because The Christian Century is either pro-Zionist or anti-Zionist (although it has at different times been accused of being both) but because the problem of Palestine's future is so involved that we doubt whether many Christians in this country have even an elementary understanding of its ramifications. Moreover, there are divisions galore within the Jewish community on this and cognate matters, as was shown in Chicago last week, for example, when eight Jewish organizations joined in a public warning against making contributions to another Jewish organization which has advertised widely its efforts to aid the homeless Jews of Europe. Many prominent Christian clergymen and lay leaders have endorsed the body thus denounced, probably with little perception of the way in which they were thus taking sides in an inter-Jewish quarrel. Before there is more such free and easy scattering of endorsements, prospective endorsees will be well advised to make a careful study of the bulletin on "Conflict over Palestine" just issued by the department of research and education of the Federal Council of Churches. It is hard to see how a more genuinely impartial analysis of this baffling question could be written, or a greater number of dependable facts crowded into eight pages. The Federal Council study comes to no conclusions. It leaves that to the reader. But the facts are there! Before you presume to pass judgment on what should be done in and about Palestine, you at least owe it to yourself to know the facts. Ten cents will pay for a copy of the study, and there are probably few of our readers who still have to be told that the Federal Council is at 297 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

November 2, 1944

Dear Dr. Voss,

I am sending you herewith a copy of my letter to Dr. Johnson on the information bulletin issued by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and also a draft of a letter on the basis of which Dr. Goldstein will write to the Federal Council. Please use the letter for your own information only. I am sending it on to you to indicate the line of argument that Dr. Goldstein will probably follow. When he revises it, and after the letter is sent out, I shall send you a copy in its final form. I remember your suggestion that we put into your hands a dozen copies of Dr. Goldstein's letter and of mine, and I shall send these to you in the near future.

I am jotting down a number of points that you might touch upon in your letter to the Federal Council along the lines of our discussion yesterday.

1. The Palestine problem and the relation of the Jews to it will be one of the major problems in postwar reconstruction. Instead of approaching it as a problem to be solved in the international framework, the Bulletin represents the Palestine issue mainly as a conflict between the Arabs and the Jews, arising out of alleged contradictory promises by the British and the opposing national aims of the Jews and Arabs. That the main task is to find a solution which will appear reasonable and just to the international conscience is not pointed up.

2. What makes the conflict in Palestine difficult is the gravity of the Jewish problem in its several aspects: the need of establishing a homeland where the Jews may maintain and develop their religious and cultural tradition in a congenial atmosphere; the problem of anti-Semitism in its more enduring phases; the problem of the Jewish refugees. Unless the conflict in Palestine is related to the crucial issues of the Jewish problem, the relevant questions are obscured. In the Bulletin, the central issue gets lost in the statements of the contending views and varieties of opinion.

3. Too much attention is given to verbal definitions, particularly to the question as to whether the Jews constitute a national or a religious grouping. It should be obvious that whether one considers the Jews as a national or religious entity, or a combination of both, the major problems remain the same. We still have to decide whether Jews should be permitted

to migrate into Palestine and be allowed to settle there; whether immigration should be limited by economic or other considerations; whether such limitations, if any, should be imposed by the Arabs or whether the decision should rest in other hands; or whether the Jews should be crystallized as a static minority in Palestine subject to an Arab majority. The underlying idea of the Bulletin seems to be that the trouble arises merely out of the fact that the Zionists - or some Zionists - regard the eventual establishment of the Jewish State as an absolute, but it is clear that the major problems would be the same today even if this ultimate aim were denied.

4. There should have been in the Bulletin some indication of what outstanding Christians think about the Zionist question and the Palestine issue. There is nothing that reflects the Christian conscience implied in the phrase, "Justice to the Jew", and to the idea referred to by Balfour when he said that Christendom "was not unmindful of the service they [the Jews] had rendered to the great religions of the world." The Christian mind does recognize a certain "historical connection" of the Jews with Palestine. This sense of Christendom's obligation entered into the Balfour Declaration, and though an imponderable, is a genuine factor that still affects the situation.

5. It is surprising that the Bulletin makes no reference to the Christian interest in Palestine, as the cradle of Christianity and as a country in which there is a vital Christian interest today. The Bulletin seems to view with complacency the possibility of Moslem domination in Palestine. The problems that face the Christian minority in Palestine are not considered in the light of the tendency of Arab nationalism to develop along extremist lines. In this connection, the complete suppression of any presentation of the terroristic activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem is amazing.

6. No consideration is given to the character of British imperialistic policy in the Near East in its relation to the Palestine problem and to British vacillations in implementing the Mandate that arise out of the needs of the Empire. Moreover, there is no reference to the growing American commercial and oil interests in the Near East. These material questions are obviously major factors in the whole problem and probably affect in indirect ways the attitudes and activities of the Christian missionaries as well as those more directly concerned with such matters. In a recent letter written to the New York Times, Professor Dodd of the University of Beirut, after considering the Palestine issue from the point of view of the question of Arab independence, refers to the need of not antagonizing the Arabs in the light of the oil question in Saudi Arabia.

7. Summarizing, there seem to be involved four questions - each in itself complex:

(a) The Arab claim that Palestine is an Arab country in the same sense that Iraq or Syria is;

November 2, 1944

(b) The Zionist claim to Palestine as a Jewish homeland and where the Jews may become the predominant group;

(c) The Christian interest in Palestine as the Holy Land;

(d) The strategic and commercial interests of Great Britain and the United States in Palestine and the Near East.

A good analysis of the situation would have brought to the attention of the reader these basic problems and indicated something about their interrelations. As it stands, the Bulletin loses itself in a discussion of the past and in a series of largely fragmentary quotations from documents. It is mainly a presentation of arguments put forward by the various contending parties and not an analysis calculated to clarify the real issues.

-v- -

I am sure that you understand that the above are merely suggestions of points which I think might be used from the Christian angle. I am by no means sure that they are all equally valid. I have my doubts particularly about paragraph four, but since this type of idea is not infrequently expressed by Christian writers, I thought I would put it in for you to consider.

Sincerely yours,

I. B. Berkson

Dr. Carl Hermann Voss
Christian Council on Palestine
70 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ibb:mg P.S. It occurs to me that you might be able to write a short article on the basis of these three pieces. This would not preclude the project of the full-dress bulletin which I am to prepare during the month of December.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

To Mr. Arthur Lourie

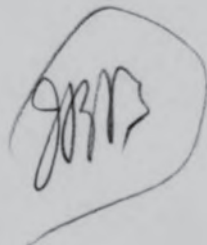
Date November 2, 1944

From I. B. Berkson

I am sending you herewith copies of the three letters and memoranda I worked up in connection with the Federal Council Bulletin. You recall that the American Zionist Emergency Council was to make its own formal protest in the form of a letter. This, it seems to me, should be brief and make reference only to the different types of defect, without going into any detail. I take it that you will compose this letter yourself, using whatever material you wish from what I am submitting.

Do you think that any of this material should be circulated among the members of the Executive Committee? If so, will you have the arrangements made?

ibb:mg



LAW OFFICES
EZRA SHAPIRO
540 GUARDIAN BUILDING
CLEVELAND, OHIO
CHERRY 3737

November 6, 1944.

Hon. Frances P. Bolton,
Hanna Building,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My dear Congressman Bolton:

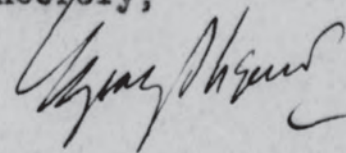
We want you to know, we were very happy to hear from your secretary, Mr. Waterfield, that you authorized him to state that you intend to follow the official position of the Republican Party on the Palestine question. This was recently announced by Governor Dewey in his press statement of October 12th, wherein he stated that he "heartily indorses the Palestine plank in the Republican Party platform" and that he is "for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922". We realize how valuable your opinion and assistance in this matter can be because of the preeminence of your position in Congress and particularly on the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

We would have enjoyed meeting with you again. We realize, however, how very busy you must have been in recent weeks, since your return from abroad.

May we express the hope that the Palestine resolution, now pending before Congress, will be speedily passed, especially in view of Secretary of War Stimson's withdrawal of military objections thereto, as set forth in his recent letter to Senator Robert Taft.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



EZS:A

November 8, 1944

Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert
Federal Council of Churches of Christ
in America
297 Fourth Avenue
New York City

My dear Dr. Cavert:

I have just read the Bulletin on Palestine issued by the Research Department of the Federal Council of Churches. As President of the Zionist Organization of America, I wish to convey to you my formal protest against what I consider to be an inadequate and unfair statement of the major issues involved in the Palestine question.

Prior to going into the issues themselves, may I point out a tendency in the Bulletin to underestimate the strength of Zionist opinion among Jews in the United States, and to overestimate the strength of the anti-Zionist view. The present membership of the affiliated Zionist organizations is well over 300,000 members. The figure which you use, taken from the American Jewish Yearbook of 1943-1944, e.g. 207,000, includes only "constituent" organizations of the Zionist Organization of America. It does not include the "affiliated" organizations, nor the two important wings - the Mizrachi (Orthodox religious Zionists) and the Labor wing. On the other hand, the Bulletin states that the American Council for Judaism has enrolled about 5,000 members, a figure twice as high as that reported by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald at the Congressional hearings last February. It may be that the membership of the Council has grown; in that case current figures of the Zionist membership should have been ascertained, and not those of last year used. Even in accordance with figures given, the anti-Zionists represent a negligible percentage of the Jews. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of space is devoted to the statement of their position.

Now as to the issues themselves.

1. The Meaning of the Balfour Declaration

The first paragraphs, under the caption The Balfour Declaration, (page 3, column 2) are calculated to give the impression that the original meaning of the Balfour Declaration was interpreted as "authorizing only a Jewish cultural center." There may have been some individuals who wished so to conceive the matter, but the indubitable fact is that official statements by those who were responsible for issuing it, and the public press generally, interpreted the Balfour Declaration as signifying the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State. On the very day that the Declaration was first published (November 10, 1917), Cyril P. Scott, the editor of the Manchester Guardian, gave the following explanation: "What it means is that, assuming our military successes to be continued and the whole of Palestine brought securely under our control, then at the conclusion of peace our deliberate policy will be to encourage in every way in our power Jewish immigration, to give full security, and no doubt a large measure of local autonomy, to the Jewish immigrants, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State".

There are many statements to the same effect made by highly placed persons. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, has given the following exposition:

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

There is incontrovertible evidence that the same view was taken by those who formulated American policy. This is indicated in President Wilson's well-known pronouncement, made on March 2, 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." That this was a well considered statement is indicated by the fact that less than two months before, in January 1919, the body of American experts at the Peace Conference, known as the Commission of Inquiry, made the following recommendation: "That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact." The view of this Commission is particularly significant because its recommendation for Palestine was part of an organic plan

for the settlement of the Near East problems in which full provision was made, in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, for the Arab aspiration for independence. It is also in point to mention that the Commission was well aware of the fact that the Jews in Palestine at that time were as yet in the minority. The Commission recognized that: "It is right that Palestine should become a Jewish state, if the Jews, being given the full opportunity, make it such. It was the cradle and home of their vital race, which has made large spiritual contributions to mankind, and is the only land in which they can hope to find a home of their own; they being in this last respect unique among significant peoples."

In striking contrast to the failure to state the official American view on Balfour Declaration, the Bulletin brings in a reference to the Report of the King-Crane Commission, despite the questionable character of this document. The King-Crane Report was based on an investigation conducted in an atmosphere of intrigue and propaganda; the validity of the method of investigation has been disputed; the conclusions coincided remarkably with the resolutions of the Syrian Arab Congress held in Damascus during the investigations; two of the three experts associated with the Commission disagreed with the recommendations. The Report was delivered to the American Delegation in Paris in its closing days and was later filed with the State Department. That the King-Crane Report had no effect on American policy is evidenced by the fact that the Sixty-seventh Congress in 1922 unanimously passed its Resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people in terms of the Balfour Declaration. Incidentally, the late Richard Crane, who was the dominating figure in the Commission, was a well-known anti-Semite. Ambassador Dodd, in his Diary, says of him: "Jews are anathema to him and he hopes to see them put in their place. His advice to me, of course, was: 'Let Hitler have his way'".

2. The Palestine Administration and the Jewish Agency

In the section on The Palestine Administration an effort is made to describe the Jewish Agency as aspiring to act as a government side by side with the British Government. Before giving the view of the Royal Commission - which indicates that the Jewish Agency was acting in an advisory capacity in harmony with Article IV of the Mandate - the Bulletin devotes two long paragraphs to reiterating the charges made by the Military Administration, over a quarter of a century ago, to the effect that the Zionist Commission, at that time in charge of Zionist work, was exercising governmental functions. It is well known that the Military Administration during the British occupation, 1918-1920, was bitterly opposed to any implementation of the Balfour Declaration. While it introduced Arabic as the language to be used in Government departments - Turkish had been the language before - the Military Administration refused to accord a similar privilege to Hebrew. It tried to prevent land sales on the excuse that the land registries had been carried away by the Turks, and to prohibit immigration because the country was poor and infested with malaria. Sir Ronald Storrs, by no means an ardent friend of Zionism, has written: "For one reason or another, every circumstance or step to implement the Balfour Declaration evoked a swelling chorus of protest against an attempted departure from the Laws and Usages of War." Paul L. Hanna states, in British Policy in Palestine: "In Palestine...where it was evident that the Arabs objected strongly to both Zionist immigration and French control but were willing to accept British assistance and guidance in attaining their aim of a united Syria, some officials cannot have failed to hope that events, if left to themselves, would present the world with a fait accompli in which both France and the Zionists would disappear from the Near East where British dominance would be assured."

The Royal Commission was an official British body and would naturally defend a British administration; fairness should have compelled the writer of the Bulletin to quote some of the evidence refuting the charges of the Military Administration. In the exposition of the Royal Commission's view, moreover, some of the quotations are cut in a way that makes them convey an erroneous impression, as for instance in the reference to a "separate Jewish Judicature." In the context it is clear that the reference is not to a new institution created by the Zionist Commission, but to a development of the "Peace Courts, an ancient Jewish system of arbitration." These courts reflected the Jewish religious tradition and were by no means governmental institutions. The other references are similarly subject to correction. There are also errors in the previous paragraph where self-government is discussed. It is not true that the failure of the efforts to develop self-governing institutions was due to the impossibility of "reconciling Jews to minority representation." The fact is that in 1922, when the Legislative Council was first proposed, the Jews agreed to participate despite the fact that they were a small minority; the Arabs boycotted the elections because the Legislative Council implied the recognition of the Balfour Declaration, and gave the British Administration a preponderating voice in final decisions.

3. The Role of the Mufti and Arab Intransigents

There is an inexcusable omission of any statement on the subversive activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem and of the Supreme Moslem Council, despite the very drastic criticisms of the Royal Commission. The Royal Commission explains at considerable length how the Supreme Moslem Council was used by the Mufti of Jerusalem to promote trouble in Palestine. It relates how Haj Amin al-Husaini, an ex-officer of the Turkish Army, not well qualified for religious office, and instigator of the riots of 1920, was, with the aid of the British Administration, raised to the position of Mufti of Jerusalem, later to become President of the Supreme Moslem Council. It points out further that the Mufti so entrenched himself as President of the Supreme Moslem Council that no reform of its statutes could be made which would have the effect of diminishing his power. It also reveals the interconnections between the activities of the Arab Higher Committee, which fomented the disturbances between 1936 and 1939, and the Supreme Moslem Council. In its conclusion it declares that the Supreme Moslem Council under the Mufti was no more, nor less, than an "Arab imperium in imperio." (Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, p. 181) The writer of the Bulletin apparently did not care to expose this aspect of the situation: the reference to the Supreme Moslem Council is confined to a line or two which asserts that it was established in an effort to equalize the powers of the Jewish Agency, a statement which is incorrect in fact and misleading in implication.

By this omission, and by failure to tell the story of Haj Amin al-Husaini, Mufti of Jerusalem, fomenter of riots in Palestine, organizer of the Rashid Ali al-Gailani pro-Nazi rebellion in Iraq, and now in Berlin as a collaborator of Hitler, the Bulletin conceals the real cause of the conflict in Palestine. The real cause of the conflict in Palestine was the intransigence of the Arab political leaders - all members of the offendi class of the landed aristocracy - who resorted to violence and to collaboration with the Axis in order to remain politically dominant in Palestine. At their first Congress in Haifa, in 1920, the Arab leaders protested against the admission of Hebrew as an official language and went so far as to say that the Jews had no place as officials in the Government because "Palestine, the Holy Land, belongs to the Christian and Moslem world, and the administration of its affairs should not be entrusted to non-Moslems or non-Christians." In 1923, when the British offered them an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, their reply was: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal

which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, before the Royal Commission, Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi, leader of the Nationalist Party, revealed his attitude toward the Jews in the following remark: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews, that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi and the Mufti explained that the 400,000 Jews at that time in the country were already too many. To the Chairman's question "some of them would have to be removed by a process kindly or painful, as the case may be" the Mufti answered: "We must leave that to the future;" that is, when the Arabs should have become masters of the country. The Bulletin takes no account of Moslem intransigence either in Palestine or elsewhere and fails to mention the fact that where the Arab Moslems have become the controlling factor, as in Iraq, they have followed a policy of regimentation and crushing of minorities, as they did in their act of injustice to the Bahai community, in their attempt to deprive the Kurds of minority rights, and in the massacre of the Assyrian Christians in 1933.

In marked contrast to this, the attitude of the Zionist Organization has always been conciliatory. The Twelfth Zionist Congress in 1921 declared "the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development." In 1931, ten years later, at the conclusion of the Seventeenth Zionist Congress, Nahum Sokolow, who for a time succeeded Dr. Weizmann as President of the Zionist Organization, spoke in the same vein. He said that it would be part of the program of the Zionist Executive: "To take active measures in the economic, social and political spheres with the view to furthering friendly relations and establishing a rapprochement between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, starting from the basic principle that without reference to numerical strength neither of the two peoples shall dominate or be dominated by the other." Despite the continued truculence of the Arabs, the Jewish representatives before the Royal Commission in 1936 reiterated their general position and went so far as to state that if the basic principles of the Mandate with reference to immigration and land sales were maintained they, on their part "were prepared...to adhere to the principle of parity if a legislative Council were now established, and if the present Jewish minority were given an equal number of seats thereon with the present Arab majority, the Jews would never claim more than that equal number, whatever the future ratio between Arab and Jewish population may become." To all of these offers of conciliation there was no response on the part of the Arabs. They refused to sit down with the Jews in the Round Table discussions in London as long as the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were not wholly repudiated and immigration and land sales immediately stopped.

4. The White Paper

In presenting the 1939 White Paper the Bulletin gives much space to the British Government's legalistic exposition, but fails to bring out the main point: that the White Paper aimed to crystallize the Jews as a minority in Palestine and violated the repeated assurances of all previous British Governments that the Balfour Declaration would not be repudiated. The human - rather, the inhuman - aspects of the White Paper are not brought out: namely, that it came on the eve of the darkest hour in Jewish history when Jews were being ruthlessly exterminated by the Nazi fury. It gives no indication of the fact that the British Administration in Palestine carried out the 1939 White Paper to the last letter, at times with shocking brutality, and with tragic results, as in the case of the explosion of the Patria and the sinking of the Struma. In stating the character of the Zionist opposition to the White Paper, the impression is left that the main

objection was that the White Paper made the achievement of the Jewish state impossible. It makes no mention of the more fundamental objections: that it curtailed Jewish immigration and land sales and condemned the Jews to become a minority in what would eventually be an Arab state. The judgment of the Permanent Mandates Commission is given indirectly as an argument cited by the Zionists; not, as it was, a direct condemnation of British policy. The Bulletin does not say anything about the outraged opposition that the White Paper evoked in the British Parliament, where the leaders of all the parties united to condemn it as a betrayal of British honor and as another act of appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini. Likewise, nothing is said about the indignation aroused throughout the Jewish world and in the greater part of the Christian world against the White Paper. In fact, the impression is left that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America associated itself with the essence of the 1939 White Paper.

5. The Jewish Commonwealth Program

The Zionist organizations of the world, supported by an ever-increasing majority of Jewish public opinion, formulated their aims in terms of the Jewish Commonwealth in accordance with resolutions adopted at an Extraordinary Conference of Zionist Organizations in May 1942. This formulation of aims, which became known as the Biltmore Program, was later incorporated by the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference, a body in which the major Jewish nationwide organizations, both non-Zionist and Zionist, were represented. The gist of the Jewish Commonwealth program may be stated as follows: Jewish mass immigration into Palestine; the right of an authoritative Jewish body to develop the economic potentialities of the country; the establishment of a democratic commonwealth after the Jews shall have attained a majority. The Jewish Commonwealth program guarantees equality of all citizens, non-Jewish and Jewish alike; provides for cultural and religious autonomy for the non-Jewish communities and proposes to develop Arabic as an official language and an Arabic educational system parallel to the Jewish system. It may be noted that even here where the Bulletin gives an extensive excerpt from the Commonwealth program, it leaves out the paragraphs - which appear both in the Biltmore Program and in the American Jewish Conference resolution - in which the desire and readiness for full cooperation with the Arabs both in Palestine and neighboring countries is reiterated.

There is an issue which goes beyond all this. The main trouble with the Bulletin does not lie in its inaccurate statements of fact, in its biased interpretations, in its serious omissions, or even in its failure to relate the disturbances in Palestine to the policy of extreme intransigence of the Arab political leaders, however grave these defects may be. The Bulletin fails to consider the essence of the issue: every people in the world has a homeland; the Arabs have several homelands in many countries that stretch from North Africa through Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The Jews need a homeland where they may preserve and develop their cultural and spiritual traditions, and where they may find a haven of refuge from persecution and discrimination in other lands. Palestine, their ancient homeland, a tiny country in the vast Arabian territories, is the only place where such a homeland can be established. The Jews are willing to invest the capital and perform the hard labor necessary to develop Palestine's neglected natural resources; they are ready to share the benefits of such development with the native Arab population.

To open the doors of Palestine to all Jews who may choose to go there must be a part of any plan for postwar reconstruction. The Jews of the world are determined to bring into being the Jewish National Home in the spirit of the original meaning of the Balfour Declaration. In this we believe we have the sympathy of the great majority of the Christian world and of the liberal conscience of mankind.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Israel Goldstein

November 10, 1944

The Hon. Alben W. Barkley
United States Senator
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Barkley:

May I join your host of
friends in extending to you my heartiest
felicitations upon your re-election. May
the coming years be very fruitful and happy
ones for you.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



November 10, 1944

The Hon. Sol Bloom
U. S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

My dear Congressman Bloom:

May I join your host of
friends in extending to you my heartiest
felicitations upon your re-election. May
the coming years be very fruitful and
happy ones for you.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



November 13, 1944

Mr. I. B. Berkson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Berkson:

Under date of October 26, you wrote to Mr. Shapiro concerning the publication of a series of four to eight page statements, particularly with reference to Arab claims.

Sometime thereafter you told me that the Jewish Frontier would like to issue these pamphlets. I would appreciate it if you would let me know what progress has been made in this direction? If they are to be issued at all, they should be issued in the very near future. I assume that the Jewish Frontier will indicate in each pamphlet that the material has been supplied to it by the Research Department of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

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WU TTNA77 GOVT DL=CW WASHINGTON DC 13 435P

DR STEPHEN S WISE=

1944 NOV 13 PM 6 08

340 WEST 57 ST NEWYORK NY RTE WUEB=

CONGRESSMAN CELLER HAS ISSUED FOLLOWING STATEMENT TO PRESS TODAY WHICH IS ABSOLUTELY CONTRARY TO THE MESSAGE I RECEIVED FROM YOU THE OTHER DAY WITH REFERENCE TO THE MEETING IMMEDIATELY OF THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION QUOTE BOTH PARTY PLATFORMS HAVE PLEDGED SUPPORT TO THE OPENING OF PALESTINE TO UNTRAMMELED JEWISH IMMIGRATION. SECRETARY STIMSON HAS STATED THAT MILITARY CONSIDERATIONS ARE NO LONGER FACTORS IN DECISIONS AFFECTING PALESTINE MAJORITY AND MINORITY LEADERS IN CONGRESS HAVE DECLARED THEMSELVES IN FAVOR OF THE OPENING OF PALESTINE TO MASS JEWISH IMMIGRATION. THE ISSUE IS NOT PARTISAN AND THE CRUCIAL TIMES CALL FOR ACTION. NOT WORDS. SPEEDY PASSAGE OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE HOUSE NOW BEFORE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IS URGENT. I AM QUITE CONFIDENT THERE IS NO HESITANCY ON THE PART OF THE COMMITTEE TO REPORT FAVORABLY ON THIS RESOLUTION AND THERE EXISTS NO REASON TO PRECLUDE THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE FROM ACTING IMMEDIATELY. I BRITAIN DARE NOT RESIST AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION WHICH HAS SO STRONGLY MANIFESTED ITSELF IN FAVOR OF DOING AWAY

END SHEET 1.

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WUTTNA77 SHEET 2. WASHINGTON . - WISE NYK= .

WITH BRITAIN'S WHITE PAPER OF 1939 DESIGNED TO REPUDIATE THE BALFOUR DECLARATION AND WHICH IN EFFECT NULLIFIED THE ANGLO-AMERICAN TREATY OF 1924. BRITAIN HAS IGNORED THE CONDEMNATION OF THE PERMANENT MANDATE'S COMMISSION AND THE CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION. OF 1922, BUT IN LIGHT OF THE GROWING PRESSURE OF AMERICAN OPINION. BRITAIN WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO SHY AWAY FROM HER RESPONSIBILITY. THOUSANDS OF LIVES OF STATELESS AND DISPERSED JEWS WILL BE SAVED BY THE OPENING OF THE DOORS OF PALESTINE AND THE GREAT WORK OF REHABILITATION AND RESETTLEMENT WILL HAVE BEEN THUS BEGUN WITH A TREMENDOUS STRIDE FORWARD. EACH DAY THAT DELAYS THE ABROGATION OF THE WHITE PAPER BRINGS NEW TENSIONS AND PASSIONS THAT PLAY INTO THE HANDS OF THE FORCES OF EVIL. GERMANY PROPOSES THE FORMATION OF AN "ARAB BRIGADE" TO FIGHT ON THE SIDE OF THE REICH. COUNTERING THE JEWISH BRIGADE RECENTLY FORMED. WHILE THE GREAT NUMBERS OF ARABS WHO HAVE BENEFITED ECONOMICALLY BECAUSE OF THE AMAZING DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL PALESTINE WILL IGNORE SUCH PROPOSAL. A FEW ARAB LAND HOLDERS WILL SEIZE THIS OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE POLITICAL CAPITAL OF THE GERMAN STATEMENT USING IT TO RETAIN THEIR ECONOMIC STRANGLEHOLD ON THE ARAB PEASANT. IN A DISCUSSION OF THE PALESTINE QUESTION. IT MUST BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT ALL RESPONSIBLE JEWRY VIEWS WITH HORROR AND

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

WESTERN UNION

NEWCOMB CARLTON
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WUTNA77 3.SHEET. WASHINGTON - WISE. NYK=

CONDEMNATION THE ASSASSINATION OF LORD MOYNE IN CAIRO .
BRITISH RESIDENT MINISTER OF THE MIDDLE EAST BY TWO
PALESTINE TERRORISTS. DR. CHAIM WEIZMAN. PRESIDENT OF THE
JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE :HAS EXPRESSED THE INDIGNATION
OF ALL JEWRY FOR THE UNSPEAKABLE CRIME AS HAVE ALL AMERICAN
ZIONISTS. SUCH FOUL MISDEEDS ARE TO BE DEPLORED. BUT THEY
MUST NOT SERVE TO CLOUD THE ISSUE. CONDEMNATION OF THE
CULPRITS MUST NOT EXTEND TO ALL PALESTINE. THE NEED FOR
OPENING PALESTINE TO MASS JEWISH IMMIGRATION REMAINS ACUTE.
THE PASSAGE OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS WILL
CRYSTALIZE THE AMERICAN VIEW POINT. UNQUOTE. KINDLY ADVISE
AS THIS PLACES ME IN A VERY EMBARRASSING POSITION.=

SOL BLOOM.

M. C.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

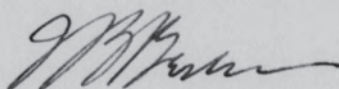
- 3 -

November 15, 1944

In the meantime I have not been able to do very much of the Esco Report. I meant to take two days a week from the Emergency Council, but with the present pressure of work that gets reduced to one day. After I get done with the pamphlet for the Christian Council I am going to take the drastic step of a complete separation from office work for a month or six weeks until I get the Esco business finished. This will be best for the Report and for my work at the Council.

What shall we do about our dream of a long talk together which is now becoming something of a messianic hope? Shall we fix it some day the first week of December? Please name the day and I shall try to fit it in.

Yours sincerely,



I. B. Berkson



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

Berkson

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

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

November 15, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver,

I have your note of November 13th about the pamphlets on Arab claims. I am taking the matter up again with the Jewish Frontier. I believe that we shall reach some satisfactory arrangement with them; if not, I suggest that we publish the series ourselves. In the light of my recent talk with you, however, I am giving preference, as far as my time is concerned, to the preparation of the pamphlet for the Christian Council on Palestine which will serve as counterpoint to the Bulletin recently issued by the Federal Council of Churches.

I am enclosing herewith copy of a very brief editorial from the Christian Century along expected lines. I thought of writing to them on behalf of the Research Department, pointing out that the Bulletin was not a balanced presentation and enclosing Dr. Goldstein's and my own letters. However, I understand from Mr. Shapiro that you do not think it advisable to give publicity to our letters to the Federal Council. Please let me know whether you object to the circulation of these letters (copies of which I enclose) to selected persons who may wish to use them in writing to the Federal Council or to the Christian Century. Do you know some Reform rabbi of high standing who has good connections with the Christian Century and who would be willing to write to them? We would, of course, furnish the writer with some material.

I have gotten in touch with Dr. Louis Finkelstein, asking him to write to the Federal Council; I am sending him material but I am not sure what he will do. I am also writing to the Reconstructionist, and perhaps to Dr. Gamoran and Dr. Brickner, to see whether they would join in making a criticism.

I had a long talk with Neumann, but he is adamant in his refusal to come into the American Zionist Emergency Council. Particularly in the light of the loss of his services in keeping up contacts, I think it is necessary to give very serious consideration to the whole problem of keeping in touch with writers and the academic world generally. The work of intellectual mobilization was to have been performed by a committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Steinberg last year, but as you know, he fell ill and his health will not permit him to do anything. In any case, the importance of this work requires a professional worker. We have neglected the task of the formation of academic opinion for twenty-five years and I think it is time to start. Shapiro, Laurie and I have been discussing this and we are agreed that a serious attack on this problem must be made. I am jotting down a few of the main lines of work:

1. Keep in touch with leading personalities - publicists and lecturers who talk or write on the Near East and Palestine, or who might be induced to do so. Neumann has been keeping in touch with Hanna, Friedrich, Albright, Buell and some others. It is of the utmost importance to keep in contact with such people continuously.

2. Keep in touch with organizations and periodicals dealing with politics in general and with foreign affairs in particular, such as the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the International Conciliation group of the Carnegie Endowment. We should make a very carefully selected list of the outstanding publications which deal with political affairs, such as Foreign Affairs, The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, The Journal of Politics, etc. We should send selected material to them from time to time and try to find a way to get some articles written.

3. We should work up a selected list of research institutes which deal with postwar reconstruction, send them selected material and keep in touch with them. Here, it appears to me, the important thing is not to send a great deal of material, but to send to each organization such data as they would find useful in their own work. I have in mind particularly the Federal Council of Churches, the Board of National Missions of the Presbyterian Church, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Foreign Policy Association, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, and the International Conciliation group of the Carnegie Endowment.

4. If the committee of which Mrs. Pool is chairman - which I understand is designed to keep in touch with organizations and groups dealing with postwar reconstruction - is to be effective, it will be necessary to give her considerable help. We have passed the stage where voluntary committees, unaided by expert service, stenographic help, typing, etc., can be very effective.

5. A very important aspect of this work would be to organize small circles of university professors - mostly Jewish, but including some non-Jews - with whom we would keep in touch. Literature would be sent to them from time to time and talks or lectures given once a year. I understand that the American Jewish Committee is beginning to mobilize such groups. There are many Jewish professors who feel they would like to be in contact with Jewish endeavor and who today find no means of doing so on a level which they would appreciate.

All the above leads in one direction - that we must have a special person or even a small department which will make it its business to deal with all of these, and similar, aspects of the problem. Just how this work should be coordinated with the other departments is a matter which should be gone into carefully, and I would suggest that on your next trip to New York you call a meeting with Mr. Shapiro, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Lowenthal, Mr. Manson, myself and any others you think desirable, to have a thorough discussion of this whole issue and come to a decision.

November 17, 1944

Dr. I. B. Berkson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Berkson:

Thank you for your letter of November 15. Letters should be written to the Federal Council, and the more the better. The office has a list of the Reform Rabbis who are Zionists, and it would be very desirable to have a group of them write letters embodying the information which you would give them. You might try Dr. Joshua Liebman of Boston, Rabbi Wohl of Cincinnati, perhaps Dr. Freehof of Pittsburgh, Felix Levy of Chicago, et. etc.

I fully agree with you that it is of absolute importance to have some professional head off our department of Intellectual Mobilization to do the work which you outlined in your letter. We are prepared to go ahead with it if you can recommend the right kind of a person. Will you not cast about and see who is available for our purposes so that we can discuss the matter next Tuesday? It would, of course, be highly desirable if Emanuel Neumann could take over this important work, but he seems to be determined not to take any professional post with Zionist bodies.

I hope that you are rushing the pamphlet for the Christian Council on Palestine.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

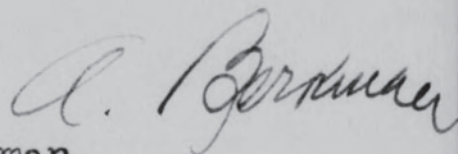
Waco, Texas, November 21st, 1944.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
19810 Shaker,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi and Friend:-

While I sent you an Air Mail Special on the 13th from Dallas, Texas, where I chanced to have been at the time, failed thus far to have been rewarded with your merited reply. May I hope for better results from this one, postmarked from my home place?

Sincerely,



A. Berkman

1723 North Fifth Street.



ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

November 21, 1944.

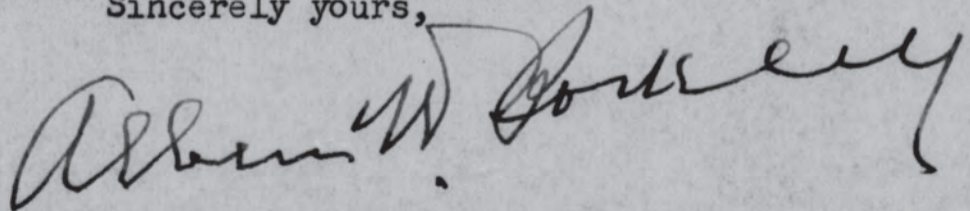
Dear Dr. Silver:

Permit me to acknowledge your very cordial letter congratulating me upon my re-election to the Senate.

I deeply appreciate your message and I hope I may continue to merit the confidence placed in me and that I will be able to render greater service than ever before. There will be grave problems which will arise for consideration and determination within the next few years and I hope that we may be able to solve them all to the best interests of the people through the cooperation of all elements of our population.

Thanking you for your message and with all good wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Alben W. Barkley". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, sweeping "A" and a long, trailing "y".

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio.

SOL BLOOM, N. Y., CHAIRMAN

| | |
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BOYD CRAWFORD, CLERK

Congress of the United States
Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives
Washington

November 25, 1944.

My dear Rabbi:

Thanks very much for your kind letter
of congratulations upon my reelection to the Congress.

Assuring you that your kind expressions
are indeed appreciated and with best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Sol Bloom

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, Ohio

SB:V

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION (36)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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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

WA 225 GOVT NL PD=WUX WASHINGTON DC 2 106P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=HOTEL WM PENN

1944 DEC 2 PM 1 37

PGH=

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

SINCE MY NIGHT LETTER, I AM PLEASED TO ADVISE THAT THE REPORT ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION HAS BEEN RECEIVED FROM THE PUBLIC PRINTER AND HAS BEEN FORWARDED TO YOU, AIR MAIL, SPECIAL DELIVERY. MAY I SAY WITH PARDONABLE PRIDE THAT I REGARD IT AS AN HISTORIC DOCUMENT, KINDEST REGARDS=

SOL BLOOM MC.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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.QA4 6 DE43

D. WT 607 NL PD=WACO TEX 27

RABBI ABRA HILLEL SILVER=

19810 SHAKER CLEVELAND OHIO=VES

TRUST NOTHING SERIOUS HAPPENED TO YOU HINDERING
ANSWERING MY LETTERS WEEK AND TWO WEEKS AGO REFERRING O
UR CONVERSATION SUNDAY OCTOBER TWENTY NINTH AM I
DISILLUSIONED=

A BERKMAN..

1944 NOV 27 PM 11 37

Nov 25



200150

Sp 3740

HW. 11²⁰ A Mail

BK

COPY

TELEGRAM

Dec. 2, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel William Penn -- Pittsburgh, Pa.

I AM WAITING TO RECEIVE THE PRINTED REPORTS FROM THE PUBLIC PRINTER ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO RECEIVE THEM IN TIME FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS MEETING TOMORROW. I KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON WITH REFERENCE TO THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION AS REPORTED OUT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IS THE SAME AS WHEN YOU WERE HERE IN MY OFFICE ON FRIDAY. I HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE AND HOPE AND PRAY THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO HAVE THE RULES COMMITTEE REPORT FAVORABLY A RULE SO THAT THIS RESOLUTION MAY BE REPORTED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND FAVORABLY PASSED UPON BEFORE THIS CONGRESS ADJOURNS. PERSONALLY I CANNOT SEE ANY REASON AND CANNOT THINK OF A REASON WHY THE CONGRESS SHOULD NOT FAVORABLY PASS THIS RESOLUTION. I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY OF THANKING YOU AND YOUR ASSOCIATES FOR THE GREAT ASSISTANCE THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO ME NOT ONLY IN THE HEARINGS BUT IN THE REPORTING OF THIS RESOLUTION FROM THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. KINDEST REGARDS.

SOL BLOOM MC



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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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WA 226 GOVT NL=WASHINGTON DC 2

1944 DEC 2 PM 1 42

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

HOTEL WILLIAM PENN PGH=

I AM WAITING TO RECEIVE THE PRINTED REPORTS FROM THE PUBLIC PRINTER ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION AND I HOPE THAT YOU WILL BE ABLE TO RECEIVE THEM IN TIME FOR THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS MEETING TOMORROW. I KNOW THAT YOU WILL BE PLEASED TO LEARN THAT THE SITUATION IN WASHINGTON WITH REFERENCE TO THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION AS REPORTED OUT BY THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE IS THE SAME AS WHEN YOU WERE HERE IN MY OFFICE ON FRIDAY. I HAVE EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE AND HOPE AND PRAY THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO HAVE THE RULES COMMITTEE REPORT FAVORABLY A RULE SO THAT THIS RESOLUTION MAY BE REPORTED TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND FAVORABLY PASSED UPON BEFORE THIS CONGRESS ADJOURNS. PERSONALLY I CANNOT SEE ANY REASON AND CANNOT THINK OF A REASON WHY THE CONGRESS SHOULD NOT FAVORABLY PASS THIS RESOLUTION. I WANT TO TAKE THIS OPPORTUNITY OF THANKING YOU AND YOUR ASSOCIATES FOR THE GREAT ASSISTANCE THAT YOU HAVE GIVEN TO ME NOT ONLY IN THE HEARINGS BUT IN THE REPORTING OF THIS RESOLUTION FROM THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. KINDEST REGARDS=

SOL BLOOM MC.

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HAROLD H. BURTON, OHIO
JOSEPH H. BALL, MINN.

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

December 9, 1944

EVERARD H. SMITH, CLERK
JOHN W. R. SMITH, ASST. CLERK

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland 22, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The Congressional Record has been sent to you regularly at your request and I shall be glad to continue this service if you wish it.

To help us check our mailing list and to express your wish for the Record, please fill in and return the form below, not later than December 15, 1944. There are many applicants for the Record whom I cannot accommodate within the allowance of Records made to me, so that if you do not find it of substantial value to you, I am sure that I can find some one anxious to have it.

With best wishes for progress in 1945,

Yours sincerely,

Rabbi Silver

Wendell H. Burton

U. S. Senator from Ohio

HHB:rb

*With personal
regards
Wendell*

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


RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

December 13, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver,

I am sending you herewith copy of a letter which I wrote to Mrs. Jacobs in connection with her communication to you of December 6th, copy of which I understand has been forwarded to you.

Yours sincerely,


I. B. Berkson

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

C O P Y

December 13, 1944

Dear Mrs. Jacobs,

I have just seen your letter of December 6th addressed to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, asking for his approval in writing of the Esco Palestine Study. I think this would be unwise from any point of view.

First, I doubt whether Dr. Silver can assume the responsibility of approving the material for the official Zionist organizations without submitting it to the Executive Committee for approval. I conceived of the matter quite differently. I thought we were submitting the Study to Dr. Silver as a prominent Zionist whose viewpoint would be taken into consideration by the Esco Committee. I understood that if he had a negative point of view the manuscript would probably not be published or distributed, but this is still a far cry from asking for an approval in writing from the official Zionist organizations.

This request seems to me quite in contradiction to the position taken by Esco before, that the presentation of any definite point of view would be inconsistent with its charter. It was on this basis, finally, that you urged that I do not make any recommendations. But obviously the presentation of an official Zionist point of view is more in the nature of propaganda than the statement of the point of view of an individual.

Finally, I am certainly not going to put myself on record as the author of a censored manuscript.

Sincerely yours,

I. B. Berkson

ibbsmg

December 15, 1944

Mr. A. Berkman
1723 North Fifth Street
Waco, Texas

My dear Friend:

I know that you have been rather impatient because you have not heard from me. I wrote to Mr. Fisher, who is the national director of the Jewish National Fund on November 15. I told him of your qualifications and suggested that he get in touch with you. I assumed that he did. If he has not yet written to you, please let me know.

I have been away from Cleveland these last three weeks in connection with our political work in Washington, and if you have not heard from me sooner, it is not the result of negligence, I assure you.

Both Mrs. Silver and I were most happy to have had you in our home, and I trust that we will see you in the near future again. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Waco, Texas, December 18th, 1944.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
East 105th Street at Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

My Dear Friend:-

Your long delayed favor of the 15th, at hand, this
last day of Chanukah, for which the Hallel was intended.

With reference to your having written to Mendel Fishel
on the fifteenth of November, haven't thus far had the ~~xxxx~~
grace of hearing from him, although of yore used to hear
from him quite often, and unsolicited, when National Fund
work was required in this territory.

Thanking you for your efforts in my behalf, I remain

Yours most cordially,

A. Benman

1723 North Fifth Street.



ISRAEL BERNSTEIN

PORTLAND, MAINE

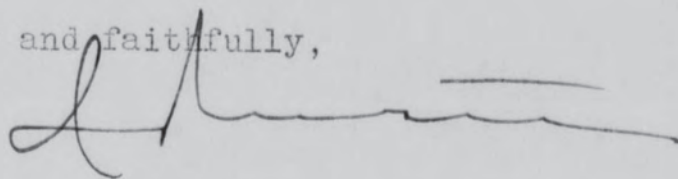
January 3, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:

Together with thousands of rank and file American Zionists I regard your resignation as a great tragedy. If it were possible to convene a grass roots gathering of Zionists, you would be recalled by acclamation to the lone leadership of American Zionism. You brought into the movement for the first time a command that was intelligent, fair, constructive and forthright. Statistics undoubtedly prove this. Prior to your day, the leadership was truculent, intransigent and career-minded. Many like myself, profound believers in Zionism, did not care to associate themselves with those who held the reins. Now your resignation leaves us bewildered, confused, and undecided as what to do next. If we withdraw into our old shell, we can not be blamed.

You must, therefore, reconsider and resume active direction. Speaking for Maine, with whose Jewish leadership I have been actively identified in recent years, I can promise you cordial and enthusiastic support.

Respectfully and faithfully,



Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio

C
O
P
Y

CABLE SENT TO DAVID BEN GURION - JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

1-8-45

NEW YORK TIMES CARRIES TODAY CABLE FROM ANNE MCCORMACK QUOTE
DAVID BEN GURION AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE JEWISH AGENCY TAKE
THE VIEW THAT THE PRESIDENTS ADVICE SHOULD BE HEEDED UNQUOTE
CAN NOT BELIEVE THAT WITHOUT FULL KNOWLEDGE OF SITUATION HERE AND
ISSUES INVOLVED IN CONTROVERSY THAT YOU AND OFFICIALS AGENCY WOULD
TAKE POSITION WOULD APPRECIATE CABLED REPLY WHETHER MCCORMACK
STATEMENT AUTHORIZED.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER
The Temple - Cleveland



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| DAY LETTER | URGENT RATE |
| SERIAL | DEFERRED |
| OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM | NIGHT LETTER |
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1206-

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

1-8-45

WANT A REPLY?
"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
Included without charge.

DAVID BEN GURION
JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM

WRHS



NEW YORK TIMES CARRIES TODAY CABLE FROM ANNE MCCORMACK QUOTE "DAVID BEN GURION AND OTHER OFFICIALS OF THE JEWISH AGENCY TAKE THE VIEW THAT THE PRESIDENTS ADVICE SHOULD BE HEEDDED UNQUOTE CAN NOT BELIEVE THAT WITHOUT FULL KNOWLEDGE OF SITUATION HERE AND ISSUES INVOLVED IN CONTROVERSY THAT YOU AND OFFICIALS AGENCY WOULD TAKE POSITION WOULD APPRECIATE CABLED REPLY WHETHER MCCORMACK STATEMENT AUTHORIZED.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER
The Temple -- Cleveland

Cable

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(08).

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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NA3 INTL=CD TELAVIV VIA RCA 25 JAN 5 1300

NLT RABBI ABA SILVER THE TEMPLE=

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM
JAN 8 AM 12 18

CLEVE=

WRHS



VERY ANXIOUS TO KNOW PARTICULARS. SITUATION AND YOUR
PERSONAL DECISION STOP PLEASE CABLE=

BRITH ZIONIM KLALIM 33 KINGGEORGE.

ABA BRITH ZIONIM KLALIM 33.

ga 0150
SK 3740
No. *mg* *1247a* *med*
Rabbi A.S.

January 15, 1945

Mr. Israel Bernstein
Portland, Maine

My dear Mr. Bernstein:

It was indeed very thoughtful of you to write to me, and I deeply appreciate the sentiments expressed in your letter. It has been very heartening to me to receive so many expressions, from Zionists all over the country, of confidence and approval. The Jewish press particularly has been fine and understanding.

With all good wishes, and again thanking you for communicating with me, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

C
O
P
Y

1-15-45

JERUSALEM VIA MACKAY JAN. 12
NLT RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE 105TH & ANSEL RD.

WAS NOT SHOWN CABLED STATEMENT GATHER MRS. ANNE MCCORMICK JERUSALEM
DID NOT QUOTE EITHER ME OR ANY OTHER MEMBER JEWISH AGENCY IN FORM
INTERVIEW BUT MERELY GAVE HER IMPRESSION VIEWS HELD HERE STOP WRITING
YOU FULLY MY OWN VIEWS WHOLE MATTER REGARDS

DAVID BENGURION



January 15, 1945

Mr. Joseph H. Biben, Editor
Biben Publications
464-482 St. Paul St.
Rochester, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

Many thanks for your kind letter and for the enclosures. I am deeply grateful to you for your expression of confidence and endorsement, which is heartening indeed. I have been deeply gratified by the reaction of the rank and file of American Zionists, and more especially of the Jewish press which has truly evaluated the issues involved in the controversy. I have been deluged with letters, telegrams and resolutions from all parts of the country, and these have again confirmed my faith in the sound judgment of the moral integrity of the Zionists of America who refuse to be misled by a small cabal of power-seeking politicians who exploit Zionism for personal ambition.

I read your editorial with deep interest and appreciation.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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HW28 INTL DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELETRAM CD

JERUSALEM VIA MACKAY 54 JAN 12

NLT RABBI ABBAHILLEL SILVER=

Cable

THE TEMPLE 105TH & ANSEL RD =

WASNOT SHOWN CABLED STATEMENT GATHER MRS ANNE MCCORMICK
JERUSALEM DID NOT QUOTE EITHER ME OR ANY OTHER MEMBER
JEWISH AGENCY IN FORM INTERVIEW BUT MERELY GAVE HER
IMPRESSION VIEWS HELD HERE STOP WRITING YOU FULLY MY
OWN VIEWS WHOLE MATTER REGARDS=

DAVID BENGURION.

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.
Murray Hill 2-1160

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

January 15, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver,

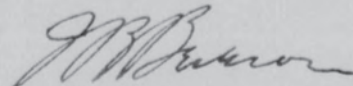
I hoped to the last moment that it would end differently. The whole business has left me quite depressed. I have been debating with myself as to what to do. In any case, you know I was not quite sure as to how long I ought to continue my connection with this work. I have told the Council informally that I am staying on for two or three months. In the meantime, I will see how things shape themselves.

Have you had a chance to read any more in the Esco manuscript? I should very much like to get your criticisms and your advice as to manner of publication.

If you get to New York I should like to see you. We never carried out our plan of having that long talk.

With best regards and good wishes,

Yours sincerely,



I. B. Berkson

ibb:mg

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432 COLUMBIA STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Jan. 22, 45.

I heard your talk at the Kenmore in Boston Saturday afternoon and in order to give you a clearer picture as to who the writer is will say I was the one who after you started asked you to repeat your remarks due to the fact some of the group came in late and I recognized among these late comers influential leaders in Zionist work. If you remember I also asked you "if those terrorists had slt the wrong men." Don't let this mislead you because like yourself I stand for law and order. After the meeting Drury Stone felt it was only fair to invite those who listened to you to come to Dr. Shain's home the following evening and hear Halim Goldman give us a summary of events on the same subject. I was present at both gatherings and in order to be fair will say Goldman didn't come to Boston for that reason any more than you did. As you know he was here on Congress work while you were keeping an appointment at Harvard. Goldman in his easy going manner gave us

some highlights on what he felt were the proper methods of approach and diplomacy in the handling of men and departments in our efforts to gain certain objectives whether they were a Jewish Community in Palestine or other programs dealing with state and government officials. He was neither bitter or harsh in his criticism of any one. He maintained that you the same as other men in the movement could make blunders but did not question the sincerity of motives. He claimed that our methods of publicity and headlining certain projects were perhaps different than the foreign strategy but that in many respects it served valuable purpose. As the head of the Jewish Agency he maintained he had his work and tried to do the job to the best of his ability. He would disagree with you or Wise or Goldstein or Heller. but he wouldn't quarrel. Differences of opinion he claimed often prevailed among men but at no time was it given so much publicity and felt that more serious tasks lie before us - even if the resolutions came to a successful termination. Whether Roosevelt was with us, and in this respect he used almost the same wordage as you did Saturday. there was not too much harm in pushing him and if necessary waiting a few months. after which, if we felt he could not or would not act on our behalf, then to

2

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go direct to Congress for a show-down. Because
while Churchill is no. 1. man Roosevelt will
be needed for important legislation. after we
are successful in these moves that Goldman
claims are not final victory. Legislation such
as assurances to England that we will aid
a Jewish Commonwealth - financially, etc etc ^{are imperative}
Now Dr. Silver you will agree that in all
our history big men have disagreed and still
went down in the books as statesmen and patriots
because their main goal was a successful
country. True in New England our patriots
hated Jefferson and Jackson nearly caused
a split altogether. These things we survived
and only because those men who were level-
headed and far sighted sacrificed all other
ideals or ideas in order to bring about
unity. To fight anti-semitism, isolationists
and Arabs and their sympathizers is hard
enough. we know on whose side they are,
but to fight among ourselves. we can

though these men have bad manners or silly
ideas of self glory or vanity. is hurting
a cause that too many good men have
died for. and too many unhappy Jews
are hoping for. one thing let us agree
on and that is these people whom you
claim are unfair to you and perhaps
to all of us, are not anti-semitic or
anti-Zionists. As Bernard Baruch wrote
me a short time ago. "they mean to be
decent - they just don't know how." (We
were not talking Zionism.) As I write this
letter I'm thinking not of my three sons
in the battle zones - one of them who saved
his ship at Pearl Harbor that Dec 7th. but
I am thinking about a kid who after
graduating the University of Tennessee - Dr.
came interested in Palestine as a Homeland.
He left a luxurious home and a very
prosperous business in Memphis. Tenn.
and went to Palestine to work in one of
the colonies. I read a letter he sent
to his mother in which he said he never

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was so happy in his life, he could feel
the work he and his group were doing
were bringing results. He added that
there may be trouble with the Arabs but
this did not concern him too much, be-
cause nothing had been done that was
unfair or unkind to the Arabs. Still if
they would attack he would go forward
to meet them and defend his people. Should
he be killed in this event, not to bring
his body back to the States. but to leave
him rest in the land and among his
people. Before this letter reached his mother
this boy was dead. One of our few American
boys who gave up his life for an ideal.
Whether there are those who will ^{all} will
him a zealot or a screw-ball or use
other descriptions of this boy. I don't know.
I only know he was a normal swell
kid. level headed and sincere. He

dreamt of a cultural peaceful haven of
security for Jews ~~that~~ that would have to
start from the ground up. The dreamt
of such a Shan-~~Guller~~ - and Eric Johnston
a hard headed business man says every-
thing successful started with a dream.
Now are you and ~~Wise~~ Wise and Gold-
stein going to let anything interfere
not only with this boy's hopes. but the
hopes of thousands of Jews. who innocently
look to you men, not as leaders nor
as angels, but at least as dealers in
our destiny above and beyond anything
but success in Zionism and its goal.
History of our people is being written now.
you men are responsible for the pages
to follow - will they be glorious or in-
famous. You can call a meeting of these
actors, change the script and bring out
out of chaos and a glorious finale. or a
tragic ending. This will take the actions
of a big man - and big men. I'd know
what to do and it wouldn't be easy. I think
you too know what to do. The news would

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432 COLUMBIA STREET
CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

*be startling at first. but you would emanate
as a true Zionist and a good American.*

Yours sincerely

George Barkin

209 St. Paul St.

Brookline. Mass



January 25, 1945

Mr. L. M. Brile
Fairmont Aluminum Company
Fairmont, W. Va.

My dear Mr. Brile:

Thank you so much for your kindness in sending me a copy of your letter which you addressed to the American Zionist Emergency Council. I read it as well as your delightful poem with keenest interest.

I deeply appreciate the sentiments expressed in your letter. It has been very heartening to me to receive so many expressions, from Zionists all over the country, of confidence and approval. The Jewish press particularly has been fine and understanding.

With all good wishes, and again thanking you for communicating with me, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

January 25, 1945

Ernest E. Barbarash
Washington, D.C.

WANT A REPLY?

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

THE LAST ISSUE OF THE NEW PALESTINE CONTAINS A SIX COLUMN STATEMENT PROMINENTLY FEATURED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA CONCERNING ME MY RESIGNATION FROM THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND GIVING HIS VERSION OF FACTS LEADING UP TO DEFERMENT OF OUR PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS. SERIOUS CHARGES ARE MADE AGAINST ME. MANY OF DR. GOLDSTEIN'S STATEMENTS ARE FALSE OR INACCURATE. IN JUSTICE TO ME WHO AM A VICE-PRESIDENT OF ZOA AND WHOSE POLICIES THE AMERICAN ZIONIST CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY LAST OCTOBER UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED AND BELIEVING THAT NEW PALESTINE WISHES IN ALL FAIRNESS ALSO TO PRESENT OTHER SIDE OF THE CONTROVERSY IN WHICH ZIONISTS OF AMERICA ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED I REQUEST THAT YOU GRANT ME EQUAL SPACE IN THE NEXT OR IN EARLY ISSUE OF NEW PALESTINE TO ANSWER DR. GOLDSTEIN. KINDEST REGARDS.

A H SILVER

COPY

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

1720-16th Street N.W.
Washington, D.C.

January 28, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver :

I have your telegram of January 25th.

In response to the request of Zionist groups a few days ago to publish a resolution backing up the administration in this controversy, Dr. Goldstein advised me that The New Palestine ought to consider this controversy as closed in view of the fact that the Administrative Council has heard both sides and has voted on the matter. He also said that "the impression he gets from many Zionists is that they are sick of this controversy and resent its prolongation."

I conveyed your request to Dr. Goldstein. He reiterated the view expressed by him a few days ago as indicated above, but said that inasmuch as a request comes now from a vice-president of the organization, he would submit it to the next meeting of the Executive.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

EEB:bff

(Signed) Ernest E. Barbarash

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ADDRESS: 67 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK

January 30, 1945

Jerusalem

MIZRACHI ORGANISATION 1133 BROADWAY NEW YORK
BERNARD JOESPH NEW YORK CABLED CHAJIM WEIZMAN RECHOWOT HE SHALL INVITE
STEPHEN WISE ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN AND MRS. HADASSA HALPERIN NEW YORK ARRIVE
JERUSALEM PARTICIPATE EXECUTIVE MEETINGS POLITICAL QUESTIONS STOP RABBI
JUDA FISHMAN JERUSALEM DECARED EXECUTIVE IF HILLEL SILVER NEW YORK AS WELL
REPRESENTATIVES MIZRACHI WILL ALSO NOT BE INVITED NEITHER OF US WILL PAR
TICIPATE SUCH MEETINGS ACT ACCORDINGLY.

MEYER BERLIN

Jacob Blaustein

see folder

Council Jew. Fed.
& Welfare Fund



PALESTINE BUREAU
Zionist Organization of America
41 E. 42nd St., N. Y.

M E M O R A N D U M

February 9, 1945

TO: Dr. Israel Goldstein

FROM: Dr. S. Bernstein

Important

A cable received by us today from Istanbul states that they are unable to approve certificates for people residing in Russian territory, since immigration from there is not permitted. This means that applicants residing in Bessarabia, Bucovina and practically the whole of Poland are excluded.

On the other hand, they inform us that they are recommending to the Palestine Bureau in Bucarest our applications concerning persons residing in Roumania proper, that office now having been empowered to select such prospective immigrants.

Copy for Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

February 26, 1945

Miss Geraldine Barrett
1208 No. Kingsley Dr.
Los Angeles 27, California

My dear Miss Barrett:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in writing to me and in sending me a copy of the letter which Captain Hadden addressed to the President before the latter's departure for Europe. It is an exceedingly fine letter and I am happy to learn that it was brought to the attention of the President by Mrs. Boettiger. I have taken the liberty of forwarding your communications to the American Zionist Emergency Council of New York.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

I. B. BERKSON
39 CLAREMONT AVENUE
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.

March 8, 1945

Dear Abba Hillel,

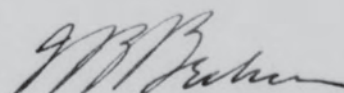
Mrs. Jacobs sent me a copy of your letter to her of February 8th, in which you give your reaction to the Esco Palestine Study. Thanks a lot for your good statement. I appreciate it very much.

It's been on my mind for some time to ask you whether you have a copy of the address you delivered at the Biltmore Conference after your return from England. I think it was a forceful statement and perhaps I can find a sentence in it that I could quote. There was a short excerpt from it in The New Palestine, but I don't feel that it was sufficiently representative of the character of your talk.

I am now in process of making the final revision of the Report and hope to have it out of my hands by the end of the month.

If you do get to New York in the near future I am still anxious to see you.

Sincerely yours,



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105 Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

ibb:mg

C
O

P
Y

INTL CD LONDON VIA RCA

MAR 11, 1945

NLT RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER

THE TEMPLE ANSEL ROAD AND E 105ST CLEVE

I GLADLY PAY TRIBUTE TO MY OLD FRIEND AND ZIONIST COLLEAGUE ABBA HILLEL SILVER ON THE OCCASION OF HIS PUBLIC FUNCTION WHO HAS RENDERED MONUMENTAL SERVICE TO OUR MOST SACRED CAUSE IN MANY BRANCHES OF OUR WORK AND IT IS OUR ARDENT HOPE THAT HE WILL CONTINUE FOR MANY YEARS TO GIVE OF HIS BEST TO THE COMMON ENDEAVOUR STOP IN THESE CRUCIAL MONTHS THE NEED OF THE HOUR IS THAT ALL CONSTRUCTIVE FORCES WHO HAVE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE TO OUR EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL WORK SHALL STAND AND PULL TOGETHER SO THAT OUR TRIED PEOPLE WILL GAIN REAL SUCCOUR AT THE END OF LONG AND BITTER TRIBULATIONS

SELIG BRODSTKY



March 26, 1945

The Honorable Alben W. Barkley
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Barkley:

May I tell you how very happy I was that you were able to attend my testimonial dinner last Wednesday evening and how much you contributed to the success and to the spirit of the occasion. It was gracious of you to come, and I feel deeply indebted to you.

I am sorry that you were inconvenienced and pressured because of your tardy arrival due to the freight wreck. I had hoped to have the opportunity of chatting with you and talking over a number of things where your counsel would be most valuable. Perhaps I may have that opportunity when I visit Washington.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:EK

ALBEN W. BARKLEY
KENTUCKY

United States Senate

CONFERENCE OF THE MAJORITY

March 29, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

Let me thank you for your letter of March 26th.

It was a pleasure for me to be at the magnificent dinner in your honor and I am sorry I was unavoidably delayed and was deprived of an opportunity for a chat with you.

Hoping that I may have the pleasure of seeing you some time in the near future and with all good wishes, I am

Cordially yours,

Alben W. Barkley

AWB:LW

Ralph F. Bass *paper*

INCORPORATED

Hilton and Southampton Sts.
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TISSUE-CORDAGE-BOXES

Boston, Mass.

May 14, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We here in New England are trying to implement our Zionist activities by making a drive for funds which will be at the disposal of the New England Zionist Emergency Council (primarily), the New England Zionist Region and the Z. O. A. Expansion Fund.

In the course of our campaigning, we have come in contact with three individuals who refuse to participate in our activity because of the internal differences which exist within our ranks.

We would like to have a line from you giving us your support and blessings which will in effect gain the cooperation of these and other individuals who might use the excuse of internal difference of opinion as a pretext for not participating in this fund raising effort.

I look forward to a reply from you at your earliest convenience.

With Zion's Greetings,

Ralph F. Bass

Ralph F. Bass

*Chairman N. E. Zionist
Emergency Council*

RFB:fg



June 15, 1945

Mr. Ralph F. Bass, Chairman
New England Zionist Emergency Council
Hilton and Southampton Sts.
Boston, Mass.

My dear Friend:

Please pardon the long delay in answering your kind letter. I have been away from the city a good deal of the time and my correspondence has lagged.

The controversy which exists in the ranks of the Zionists of America relative to the leadership of the Emergency Council has of course nothing to do with the day by day work which all Zionists must carry on in the fields of membership and the intensification of education and propaganda. Your fund-raising effort in New England is one which all Zionists can heartily approve and I trust that it will be successful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ANS:BK

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PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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David ben Hurion
Graystone Hotel
Broadway 91 St
N.Y.

6-20-45

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Happy to hear of your arrival. Will be happy
to meet you. Am trying to get plane ~~air~~
train accommodations to reach N.Y. Thurs.
or Friday. Will communicate with you on
arrival. Regards.

Abba Hillel Silver

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WESTERN UNION (15)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

:THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

ARRIVED YESTERDAY FOR BRIEF VISIT I LOOK FORWARD TO
MEETING WITH YOU PLEASE WIRE WHEN IT WILL BE CONVENIENT
FOR YOU TO SEE ME IN NEW YORK REGARDS:

=DAVID BENGURION.

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM



Dr 1090

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Draft of Letter from Dr. Israel Goldstein
to Dr. Samuel McCrea Cavert of the
Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America

My dear Dr. Cavert,

You may recall that sometime during September, I spoke to you by telephone concerning the Bulletin on Palestine which the Research Department of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ was proposing to issue. As I explained, Dr. Johnson had been good enough to let me see the first draft, which seemed to be greatly biased against Zionism. My opinion was that it would be better not to publish it. Apart from the anti-Zionist tendency, the Bulletin, it appeared to me, did not clarify the issues and would not be helpful in exploring ways to a solution; at the same time it would do harm for it would result in an undercurrent of resentment among Jews, a resentment which would be strong and deep even though it might not receive immediate expression.

Now that the Bulletin is out, my apprehensions are fully confirmed. Though it is somewhat improved and, superficially read, may leave the impression of giving all sides, nevertheless, it fails to state the various views with equal fullness, or, may I say, fairness. When I spoke to you, I did so as a person interested in the promotion of good Jewish-Christian relations. At the present time, I am writing you as President of the Zionist Organization of America, to convey to you a formal protest against what we consider an inadequate and unfair statement of the major issues.

I do not intend to go into the numerous points that merit criticism. My main purpose is to address myself to the questions which relate to the Zionist position and policy. Before going into the major issues, however, I wish to point out a tendency to underestimate the strength of Zionist opinion among Jews in the United States, and to overestimate the strength of the anti-Zionist view. The present membership of the affiliated Zionist organizations is well above 300,000 members. The figure which you use, taken from the American Jewish Yearbook of 1943-1944, e.g., 207,000, includes only "constituent" organizations of the Zionist Organization of America. It does not include the "affiliated" organizations, nor the two important wings - the Mizrahi (Orthodox religious Zionists) and the Labor wing. On the other hand, the Bulletin states that the American Council for Judaism has enrolled about 5,000 members, a figure twice as high as that reported by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald at the Congressional hearings last February. It may be that the membership of the Council has grown; in that case current figures of the Zionist membership should have been ascertained, and not those of last year used. Even in accordance with figures given, the anti-Zionists represent a negligible percentage of the Jews. Nevertheless, a considerable amount of space is devoted to the statement of their position.

While there is ample treatment of the anti-Zionist position of the American Council, no statement is given of the view of the American Jewish Committee,

and only a brief mention is made of the "non-Zionist" position. It is not my function to enter a complaint on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, but I may point out that it is a far more important organization than the American Council for Judaism and though, on the Zionist question it represents a minority point of view, it reflects a larger segment of Jewish opinion in the United States than does the American Council for Judaism. While the American Jewish Committee has dissociated itself from the American Jewish Conference in the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth, nevertheless there is agreement on the fundamental issues of immigration, land sales and the possibility of further Jewish development in Palestine. By these omissions and disproportionate statements of the various positions, the Bulletin obscures the fact that the Jews of America - with the exception of the very small minority represented in the American Council for Judaism - are united in advocating a program of free Jewish immigration and Jewish development in Palestine unrestricted by political considerations.

Turning to the major issues. The first paragraphs, under the caption The Balfour Declaration, (page 3, column 2) are calculated to give the impression that the original meaning of the Balfour Declaration was interpreted as "authorizing only a Jewish cultural center." There may have been some individuals who wished so to conceive the matter, but the indubitable fact is that official statements by those who were responsible for issuing it, and the public press generally, interpreted the Balfour Declaration as signifying the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state. On the very day that the Declaration was first published (November 10, 1917), Cyril P. Scott, the editor of the Manchester Guardian, gave the following explanation: "What it means is that, assuming our military successes to be continued and the whole of Palestine brought securely under our control, then at the conclusion of peace our deliberate policy will be to encourage in every way in our power Jewish immigration, to give full security, and no doubt a large measure of local autonomy, to the Jewish immigrants, with a view to the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State."

There are many statements to the same effect made by highly placed persons. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, has given the following exposition.

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish

immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

There is incontrovertible evidence that the same view was taken by those who formulated American policy. This is indicated in President Wilson's well-known pronouncement, made on March 2, 1919: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." That this was a well considered statement is indicated by the fact that less than two months before, in January 1919, the body of American experts at the Peace Conference, known as the Commission of Inquiry, made the following recommendation: "That the Jews be invited to return to Palestine and settle there, being assured by the Conference of all proper assistance in so doing that may be consistent with the protection of the personal (especially the religious) and the property rights of the non-Jewish population, and being further assured that it will be the policy of the League of Nations to recognize Palestine as a Jewish state as soon as it is a Jewish state in fact." The view of this Commission is particularly significant because its recommendation for Palestine was part of an organic plan for the settlement of the Near East problems in which full provision was made, in Syria, Mesopotamia and Arabia, for the Arab aspiration for independence. It is also in point to mention that the Commission was well aware of the fact that the Jews in Palestine at that time were as yet in the minority. The Commission recognized that: "It is right that Palestine should become a Jewish state, if the Jews, being given the full opportunity, make it such. It was the cradle and home of their vital race, which has made large spiritual contributions to mankind, and is the only land in which they can hope to find a home of their own; they being in this last respect unique among significant peoples."

In striking contrast to the failure to state the official American view on the Balfour Declaration, the Bulletin brings in a reference to the Report of the King-Crane Commission, despite the questionable character of this document. The King-Crane Report was based on an investigation conducted in an atmosphere of intrigue and propaganda; the validity of the method of investigation has been disputed; the conclusions coincided remarkably with the resolutions of the Syrian Arab Congress held in Damascus during the investigations; two of the three experts associated with the Commission disagreed with the recommendations. The Report was delivered to the American Delegation in Paris in its closing days and was later filed with the State Department. That the King-Crane Report had no effect on American policy is evidenced by the fact that the Sixty-seventh Congress in 1922 unanimously passed its Resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people in the terms of the Balfour Declaration. Incidentally, the late Richard Crane, who was the dominating figure in the Commission, was a well-known anti-Semite. Ambassador Dodd, in his Diary, says of him: "Jews are anathema to him and he hopes to see them put in their place. His advice to me, of course, was: 'Let Hitler have his way.'"

So much for the section on The Balfour Declaration. In the section on The Palestine Administration an effort is made to describe the Jewish Agency as aspiring to act as a government side by side with the British Government. Before giving the view of the Royal Commission - which indicates that the Jewish Agency was acting in an advisory capacity in harmony with Article IV of the Mandate - the Bulletin devotes two long paragraphs to reiterating the charges made by the Military Administration, over a quarter of a century ago, to the effect that the Zionist Commission, at that time in charge of Zionist work, was exercising governmental functions. It is well known that the Military Administration during the British occupation, 1918-1920, was bitterly opposed to any implementation of the Balfour Declaration. While it introduced Arabic as the language to be used in Government departments - Turkish had been the language before - the Military Administration refused to accord a similar privilege to Hebrew. It tried to prevent land sales on the excuse that the land registries had been carried away by the Turks, etc. Sir Ronald Storrs, by no means an ardent friend of Zionism, has written: "For one reason or another, every circumstance or step to implement the Balfour Declaration evoked a swelling chorus of protest against an attempted departure from the Laws and Usages of War." Paul L. Hanna states, in British Policy in Palestine: "In Palestine...where it was evident that the Arabs objected strongly to both Zionist immigration and French control but were willing to accept British assistance and guidance in attaining their aim of a united Syria, some officials cannot have failed to hope that events, if left to themselves, would present the world with a fait accompli in which both France and the Zionists would disappear from the Near East where British dominance would be assured."

The Royal Commission was an official British body and would naturally defend a British administration; fairness should have compelled the writer of the Bulletin to quote some of the evidence refuting the charges of the Military Administration. In the exposition of the Royal Commission's view, moreover, some of the quotations are cut in a way that makes them convey an erroneous impression, as for instance in the reference to a "separate Jewish Judicature." In the context it is clear that the reference is not to a new institution created by the Zionist Commission, but to a development of the "Peace Courts, an ancient Jewish system of arbitration." These courts reflected the Jewish religious tradition and were by no means governmental institutions. The other references are similarly subject to correction. There are also errors in the previous paragraph where self-government is discussed. It is not true that the failure of the efforts to develop self-governing institutions was due to the impossibility of "reconciling Jews to minority representation." The fact is that in 1922, when the Legislative Council was first proposed, the Jews agreed to participate despite the fact that they were a small minority; the Arabs boycotted the elections because the Legislative Council implied the recognition of the Balfour Declaration, and gave the British Administration a preponderating voice in final decisions.

These deficiencies in the Bulletin's exposition of the Jewish Agency's powers are, however, minor in comparison with its inexcusable omission of any statement on the subversive activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem and of the

Supreme Moslem Council, despite the very drastic criticisms of the Royal Commission. The Royal Commission explains at considerable length how the Supreme Moslem Council was used by the Mufti of Jerusalem to promote trouble in Palestine. It relates how Haj Amin al-Husaini, an ex-officer of the Turkish Army, not well qualified for religious office, and instigator of the riots of 1920, was, with the aid of the British Administration, raised to the position of Mufti of Jerusalem, later to become President of the Supreme Moslem Council. It points out further that the Mufti so entrenched himself as President of the Supreme Moslem Council that no reform of its statutes could be made which would have the effect of diminishing his power. It also reveals the interconnections between the activities of the Arab Higher Committee, which fomented the disturbances between 1936 and 1939, and the Supreme Moslem Council. In its conclusion it declares that the Supreme Moslem Council under the Mufti was no more, nor less, than an "Arab imperium in imperio." (Report of the Palestine Royal Commission, p. 181) The writer of the Bulletin apparently did not care to expose this aspect of the situation; the reference to the Supreme Moslem Council is confined to a line or two which asserts that it was established in an effort to equalize the powers of the Jewish Agency, a statement which is incorrect in fact and misleading in implication.

By this omission, and by failure to tell the story of Haj Amin al-Husaini, Mufti of Jerusalem, fomentor of riots in Palestine, organizer of the Rashid Ali al-Gailani pro-Nazi rebellion in Iraq, and now in Berlin as a collaborator of Hitler, the Bulletin conceals the real cause of the conflict in Palestine. The real cause of the conflict in Palestine was the intransigence of the Arab political leaders - all members of the effendi class of the landed aristocracy - who resorted to violence and to collaboration with the Axis in order to remain politically dominant in Palestine. At their first Congress in Haifa, in 1920, the Arab leaders protested against the admission of Hebrew as an official language and went so far as to say that the Jews had no place as officials in the Government because "Palestine, the Holy Land, belongs to the Christian and Moslem world, and the administration of its affairs should not be entrusted to non-Moslems or non-Christians." In 1923, when the British offered them an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, their reply was: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accept a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews." In 1936, before the Royal Commission, Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi, leader of the Nationalist Party, revealed his attitude toward the Jews in the following remark: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews, that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi and the Mufti explained that the 400,000 Jews in the country were already too many. To the Chairman's question whether "some of them would have to be removed by a process kindly or painful, as the case may be" the Mufti answered: "We must leave that to the future;" that is, when the Arabs should have become masters of the country. The Bulletin takes no account of Moslem intransigence either in Palestine or elsewhere and fails to mention the fact that where the Arab Moslems have become the controlling factor, as in Iraq, they have followed a policy of regimentation and crushing of minorities, as they did in their act of injustice to the Bahai community, in their attempt to deprive the Kurds of minority rights, and in the massacre of the Assyrian Christians in 1933.

In marked contrast to this, the attitude of the Zionist organization has always been conciliatory. The Twelfth Zionist Congress in 1921 declared "the determination of the Jewish people to live with the Arab people on terms of unity and mutual respect, and together with them to make the common home into a flourishing community, the upbuilding of which may assure to each of its peoples an undisturbed national development." In 1931, ten years later, at the conclusion of the Seventeenth Zionist Congress, Nahum Sokolow, who for a time succeeded Dr. Weizmann as President of the Zionist Organization, spoke in the same vein. He said that it would be part of the program of the Zionist Executive: "To take active measures in the economic, social and political spheres with the view to furthering friendly relations and establishing a rapprochement between the Jews and Arabs in Palestine, starting from the basic principle that without reference to numerical strength neither of the two peoples shall dominate or be dominated by the other." Despite the continued truculence of the Arabs, the Jewish representatives before the Royal Commission in 1936 reiterated their general position and went so far as to state that if the basic principles of the Mandate with reference to immigration and land sales were maintained they, on their part "were prepared...to adhere to the principle of parity if a legislative council were now established, and if the present Jewish minority were given an equal number of seats thereon with the present Arab majority, the Jews would never claim more than that equal number, whatever the future ratio between Arab and Jewish population may become." To all of these offers of conciliation there was no response on the part of the Arabs. They refused to sit down with the Jews in the Round Table discussions in London as long as the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate were not wholly repudiated and immigration and land sales immediately stopped.

In presenting the 1939 White Paper the Bulletin gives much space to the British Government's legalistic exposition, but fails to bring out the main point: that the White Paper aimed to crystallize the Jews as a minority in Palestine and violated the repeated assurances of all previous British Governments that the Balfour Declaration would not be repudiated. The human - rather, the inhuman - aspects of the White Paper are not brought out; namely, that it came on the eve of the darkest hour in Jewish history when Jews were being ruthlessly exterminated by the Nazi fury. It gives no indication of the fact that the British Administration in Palestine carried out the 1939 White Paper to the last letter, at times with shocking brutality, and with tragic results, as in the case of the explosion of the Atlantic and the sinking of the Struma. In stating the character of the Zionist opposition to the White Paper, the impression is left that the main objection was that the White Paper made the achievement of the Jewish state impossible. It makes no mention of the more fundamental objections: that it curtailed Jewish immigration and land sales and condemned the Jews to become a minority in what would eventually be an Arab state. The judgment of the Permanent Mandates Commission is given indirectly as an argument cited by the Zionists; not, as it was, a direct condemnation of British policy. The Bulletin does not say anything about the outraged opposition that the White Paper evoked in the British Parliament, where the leaders of all the parties united to condemn it as a betrayal of British honor and as another act of appeasement of Hitler and Mussolini. Likewise, nothing is said about the indignation aroused throughout the Jewish world and in the greater

part of the Christian world against the White Paper. In fact, the impression is left that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America associates itself with the essence of the 1939 White Paper.

The Zionist organizations of the world, supported by an ever-increasing majority of Jewish public opinion, formulated their aims in terms of the Jewish Commonwealth in accordance with resolutions adopted at an Extraordinary Conference of Zionist Organizations in May 1942. This formulation of aims, which became known as the Biltmore Program, was later incorporated by the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference, a body in which the major Jewish nationwide organizations, both non-Zionist and Zionist, were represented. The gist of the Jewish Commonwealth program may be stated as follows: Jewish mass immigration into Palestine; the right of an authoritative Jewish body to develop the economic potentialities of the country; the establishment of a democratic commonwealth after the Jews shall have attained a majority. The Jewish Commonwealth program guarantees equality of all citizens, non-Jewish and Jewish alike; provides for cultural and religious autonomy for the non-Jewish communities and proposes to develop Arabic as an official language and an Arabic educational system parallel to the Jewish system. It may be noted that even here where the Bulletin gives an extensive excerpt from the Commonwealth program, it leaves out the paragraphs - which appear both in the Biltmore Program and in the American Jewish Conference resolution - in which the desire and readiness for full cooperation with the Arabs both in Palestine and neighboring countries is reiterated.

There is an issue which goes beyond all this. The main trouble with the Bulletin does not lie in its inaccurate statements of fact, in its biased interpretations, in its serious omissions, or even in its failure to relate the disturbances in Palestine to the policy of extreme intransigence of the Arab political leaders, however grave these defects may be. The Bulletin fails to consider the essence of the issue: every people in the world has a homeland; the Arabs have several homelands in many countries that stretch from North Africa through Egypt, Arabia, Syria and Mesopotamia. The Jews need a homeland where they may preserve and develop their cultural and spiritual traditions, and where they may find a haven of refuge from persecution and discrimination in other lands. Palestine, their ancient homeland, a tiny country in the vast Arabian territories, is the only place where such a homeland can be established. The Jews are willing to invest the capital and perform the hard labor necessary to develop Palestine's neglected natural resources; they are ready to share the benefits of such development with the native Arab population.

To open the doors of Palestine to all Jews who may choose to go there must be a part of any plan for post-war reconstruction. The Jews of the world are determined to bring into being the Jewish National Home in the spirit of the original meaning of the Balfour Declaration. In this we believe we have the sympathy of the great majority of the Christian world and of the liberal conscience of mankind.

Copy of letter from I. B. Berkson, Director, Research Department, to Dr. F. Ernest Johnson of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

October 26, 1944

Dear Dr. Johnson,

I have your letter of October 6th and have since received several copies of the Bulletin on Palestine, for which I thank you. I have read it through with some care. It is in some respects a good deal better than the original document that I saw. Nevertheless, candor compels me to say that to my mind it still seems that, despite your effort, you have failed of your purpose of avoiding "bias, inaccuracy, ambiguity, or unintentional implication." Although no explicit verdict is rendered, there is a definite orientation which seems to have affected the selection and arrangement of material: there are significant omissions, forced interpretations, and in one instance at least - i.e., the reference to the displacement of the fellah - a misleading statement of fact. The deviations from a balanced and objective analysis accumulate to give the document an anti-Zionist tendenz.

To make a full analysis, it would be necessary to go over most of the paragraphs and to repeat what I wrote in my former criticism. I do not intend to trouble you again with any lengthy discussion, but I am listing a few points to substantiate my opinion that the Bulletin does not give a fair presentation of the issues involved.

1. Introduction. The Bulletin gets off to a bad start by giving the reader the impression that during the first World War the British Government made diametrically opposed promises to the Arab nationalists and to the leaders of the Zionist movement with reference to Palestine, and that these conflicting promises are at the heart of the trouble. The promises were not, in fact, conflicting, since Palestine was excluded from the British pledges. More carefully read, the paragraph may be understood as saying that the conflict arises out of the conflict of aims of the two groups who understood the promises in contradictory senses. Nevertheless, the general impression is created - and this impression is carried through in the discussion on the "Anglo-Arab Pledge" - that two contradictory promises were made with reference to Palestine, each of equal validity. You do not indicate that the Balfour Declaration was a public document, that it was incorporated in the Mandate approved by the League of Nations, while the pledge to the Arabs, through Husain, was a secret understanding, the nature of which is much in question. The reader starts with a prejudiced mind-set which is not adequately corrected in the later discussion.

2. The Anglo-Arab Pledge. The statement on the promises made to the Arabs through Husain is so formulated as to give the Arab claim more weight than an objective consideration of the material warrants. For instance, in stating the opinion of the British representatives on the 1939 Committee, you break up the quotations in such a way as to make it seem that the main conclusion of the report was: "That the language of the agreement was not so specific and unmistakable as it was thought to be at the time." As a matter of fact, the British representatives unanimously concluded that: "On a proper construction of the Correspondence, Palestine was in fact excluded." The Lord Chancellor states in definitive terms: "The Correspondence as a whole, and particularly the reservation in respect to French interests, in Sir Henry McMahon's letter of the 24th of October 1915, not only had excluded Palestine but should have been understood to do so, having in view the unique position of Palestine." You fail to state that all the British officers connected with the negotiations with Husain, without exception, have stated in the most positive terms that the British intended to exclude Palestine, and that Husain understood this quite well.

Your conclusion: "Careful reading suggests less a misunderstanding than strategic preparation for later moves, with fair warning given by either side," does not, in my opinion, stand up under examination. You make a point of stating the Sherif's reply that there would be no concession whatever of Arab land to France. But you fail to state that in the next letter the British told Husain in the most definitive terms that there would be no reconsideration of the Sherif's demands in this respect after the war, as he had asked. Further, you neglect to indicate that finally, in response to the British letter, Husain (in his letter of February 18, 1916) indicates that he accepted the British terms.

All the evidence indicates that Husain knew - and agreed to - at least this much: Palestine would not be included in the Arab state, that a special regime would be set up in Palestine, and that Jewish immigration would be encouraged. None of the documents which you quote, or any of the proclamations issued during the war, mention Palestine in their promises to facilitate Arab independence. The Anglo-French declaration - the most important of them all - specifically mentions Syria and Mesopotamia, but not Palestine. On the other hand, at the Peace Conference Feisal, head of the Arab delegation, explicitly stated that: "Palestine, for its universal character, should be left on one side for mutual consideration of all parties interested." Then there are the Feisal-Weizmann Agreement, the letter to Felix Frankfurter, and several statements made to the press by Feisal. All this evidence, which indicates that Palestine was never included in the area of Arab independence, you pass over in silence.

3. The Balfour Declaration. Can you seriously claim that your treatment of the Balfour Declaration is fair to the Zionist case, or historically accurate? There is abundant evidence to show that the promulgators of the Balfour Declaration envisaged the ultimate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth if the Jews took advantage of the opportunity offered. This is clearly indicated in the Peel Commission Report, which quotes a definitive statement of Mr. Lloyd George's, who was Prime Minister at the time. You do make some mention of the fact that Churchill testified that even the 1922 White Paper - generally considered as a whittled down interpretation of the British pledge - did not prohibit the ultimate establishment of the Jewish State. But before you do this you have two long paragraphs in which you build up in the mind of the reader an impression that the Declaration was generally interpreted as authorizing only a Jewish cultural center, or giving the Jews some special position comparable to minority rights status.

In presenting the Arabs' Case, you make a full, straightforward presentation in their own terms. This is as it should be. But to have achieved a balanced statement, there should have been an equally full presentation of the Zionist' case in their own terms. It is true that there are a few sentences here and there, lost in the maze of your own interpretations, and you do make some statement of the Zionist position under Jewish Attitudes Toward Zionism. But there should have been a statement of the Zionist position on the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, on the meaning of "historical connection", on their conception of the relation of the Jewish community to the Arab community in Palestine, etc.

4. The Palestine Administration. In discussing the situation in Palestine, nowhere do you make it clear that under the term "independence" the Arab political leaders demand absolute rule over the country; that they have taken the position that they are the "owners" of the country and that they should exercise the same kind of rule in Palestine as in Syria or in Iraq. Auni Bey Abdul-Hadi, leader of the Istiqlalists, stated definitely before the Palestine Royal Commission that: "We do not accept the formula laid down by the Jews, that there should be no domination by Jews over Arabs or by Arabs over Jews." (Minutes of Evidence, p. 314).

You avoid any mention of the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem and you say nothing about the Supreme Moslem Council of which the Mufti was President. While you dilate on the Royal Commission's opinion as to the excessive influence of the Jewish Agency - arising out of functions performed by purely peaceful methods under the terms of the Mandate - you are strangely silent about the Peel Commission's views on the Supreme Moslem Council in fomenting discord and violence in Palestine, and you

fail to state their conclusion: "The existence of the Supreme Moslem Council need not, in itself, have led to the development of an Arab imperium in imperio. But the functions which the Mufti has contrived to accumulate in his person and his use of them have had that effect. He is now such a power in the land that, supported by the National Committees in the different towns of Palestine, he may truthfully be described as the head of yet a third parallel Government."

Your statement: "The Supreme Moslem Council was later established in an effort to equalize this situation" is entirely incorrect. The Supreme Moslem Council was established in December 1921 for the purpose of controlling and managing the wagf (church) property, and for supervising the Moslem religious courts. Haj Amin al-Husaini, who became the Mufti of Jerusalem by a questionable procedure and was later elected President of the Supreme Moslem Council, used the Council to build up a political machine. In 1923 the Arabs were offered an Arab Agency analogous to the Jewish Agency, but they refused it, arrogantly, with the declaration: "The Arab owners of the country cannot see their way to accepting a proposal which tends to place them on an equal footing with the alien Jews."

5. The Displacement of the Fellah. The worst thing in the paper, in my opinion, is your sentence (page 5, column 2): "Popular resentment arises from the fact that sale of land to Jews displaced the fellah..." The charge that the sale of land to the Jews displaces the fellah was introduced before the Shaw Commission by Miss Newton, a retired English missionary, bitterly opposed to the Zionist program. A subsequent careful investigation made by the British, who were at first inclined to accept the accusation, indicated that 664 families, or three-fifths of one percent of the Arab rural population of Palestine, ceased to be cultivators as a result of Arab sales of land to Jews, and had turned to other occupations. The Government provided funds for the resettlement of these displaced Arab cultivators under superior conditions, but only half of the number of families accepted the Government offer, the remainder having secured what they evidently considered other preferable employment. (Great Britain and Palestine, 1915-1939, Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1939, p. 54).

Counterbalancing the negligible percentage of families who ceased to be cultivators, Jewish development has made it possible for many additional families to cultivate the soil so that, in the balance, while there may have been cases of individual displacement, on the whole there are a greater number of fellahin today cultivating the soil on a higher standard. You fail to mention also that the commissions of investigation have exonerated the Jews from any blame in the displacement of the Arabs and that defects in the administration of the law which ^{formerly} permitted Arab landowners to dispossess their tenants on sale, have now been remedied. The Arab tenant is today the best protected in the world.

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You omit all reference to the fact that one of the major causes of poverty among the Arab cultivators is the high average debt to Arab landowners as a result of an accumulation of usurious interest charges. You make no genuine analysis of the social problems facing the fellah, and you leave the impression that his difficulties are due largely to Jewish purchases of land. On the next page (middle of column 1) you seem to contradict this impression when you state the Partition Commission's view. But you have already biased the mind of the reader with your more direct statement on the previous page.

The issue is not whether the Bulletin "will wholly satisfy any group"; the question is whether it satisfies the criteria of a balanced, objective, and competent analysis of the Palestine situation. Over and above the criticisms already made, there is a fundamental criticism of your entire approach to the problem. You represent it mainly as a conflict between Arabs and Jews and your "analysis" is, to a large extent, merely a statement of various points of view, with some interpretation. The Bulletin does not indicate any first-hand knowledge of the situation in Palestine; it does not go into the background of social conditions; it fails to relate the Palestine problem to the economic and political problems of the Near East generally. In fine, in my estimation the Bulletin does not meet the ordinary requirements of a good piece of research.

I do not wish to close without thanking you for your courtesy in keeping me in touch and entertaining my criticisms.

Your sincerely,

I. B. Berkson
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