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

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American Zionist Emergency Council, Neumann, Emanuel, 1944-1945.

From the
Commission on Palestine Surveys
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

New York, May 20 -- Plans for a large scale irrigation and hydro-electric development, transforming Palestine's agricultural and industrial economy, are in preparation by American scientists and engineers, it was announced today by the Commission on Palestine Surveys.

The project, initiated more than a year ago, compares in magnitude with the Grand Coulee or Boulder Dam developments and would require a capital investment of between \$150,000,000 and \$200,000,000 over a period of years.

The plans call for:

DIVERSION of existing waters and the building of a net-work of artificial streams, which would irrigate arid and semi-arid regions with an area of 600,000 acres.

ERECTION of power plants with an installed capacity of approximately 250,000 KW, generating in excess of 1,000,000,000 KW of electric current per year.

It is estimated that the development of cheap power and the transition from extensive dry farming to intensive irrigation farming would make it possible to double the present farm population in Palestine and double or treble the present total population of 1,500,000.

The engineering surveys and related studies were begun by the Commission at the request of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, renowned scientist and President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, following the submission of proposals by Walter C. Lowdermilk, reclamation expert and assistant chief of the United States Soil Conservation Service, in a memorandum entitled "The Jordan Valley Authority."

The Lowdermilk proposals were reviewed by the late Colonel Theodore B. Parker, formerly chief engineer of the Tennessee Valley Authority, and more

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recently head of the Department of Civil Engineering of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. His interest was aroused by the idea of applying the methods and experience of the TVA for the rehabilitation of the Holy Land and by the special technical problems involved in the Jordan Valley Authority project.

Colonel Parker served as consultant until his death three weeks ago, and he outlined a program of studies and procedure for the Commission's experts.

Contrary to popular misconception, the investigation has revealed that Palestine has a fair amount of annual rainfall, considerably exceeding that of southern California. Average precipitation figures are 22 inches as against 15 inches for southern California, but in Palestine large quantities of water are running to waste. The water resources of Palestine, if properly conserved and prudently utilized for irrigation, can fructify many uncultivated sections of the country providing the basis for a high increase of agricultural output and of the farming population. It has also been found that there exists an important hydro-electric potential, which if exploited would produce substantial quantities of power for irrigation pumping, industrial expansion and for domestic use.

The irrigation program calls for: a) diversion of water from the Jordan and its tributaries and other streams; b) utilization of run-off waters; c) further tapping of ground water by well boring.

The guiding principle is that no drop of water should be allowed to run to waste and the plans therefore call for the building of many dams and reservoirs, of varying sizes, tentative sites for which have been selected, and a network of concrete lined irrigation canals covering the country.

The main feeder canals, excluding laterals, would have an aggregate length of approximately 450 miles. Three of the larger dams would be from 80 to 300 feet in height and from 1200 feet to 8500 feet in length. The quantity of water carried through the irrigation canals, apart from well water, would come to about 750,000 acre feet per year. The major impounding reservoirs, natural and artificial,

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would have an aggregate capacity of approximately 900,000 acre feet.

A major feature of the over-all plan takes into account the unusual topography of the country and the great difference in levels between the surface of the Mediterranean and the Dead Sea, which is the lowest body of water in the world, about 1300 feet below sea level.

The Jordan River discharges into the Dead Sea, which is land-locked and has no outlet, its balance being maintained by solar evaporation. Since the irrigation program calls for diversion of Jordan River water for irrigation, it is proposed to replenish the Dead Sea by diverting into it salt water from the Mediterranean in quantities equivalent to the loss caused by the diversion of Jordan waters. This would be done by building a 95 mile system of canals and a short underground tunnel (from three to seven miles in length) starting near Haifa and terminating at the Dead Sea. The Mediterranean water diverted through this channel and the construction of power plants along the route would produce substantial quantities of power.

In addition to the Mediterranean Diversion Plan, the power projects under study include further possibilities such as the continuous and rapid drop of the Jordan River from the headwaters of the Jordan clear down to the south.

The elevation at the northernmost dam site is 1900 feet above sea level. At Lake Huleh it is 230 feet. By the time the Jordan reaches the Sea of Galilee, it is 610 feet below sea level, while at the Dead Sea it is 1290 feet below sea level - a total drop of nearly 3300 feet. These and other supplementary possibilities point to a power potential which would call for an installed capacity of approximately 250,000 KW. generating in excess of 1,000,000,000 KW of electric current per year. This is approximately ten times the amount of electric current generated and sold in Palestine at the present time.

Most of the present supply of electricity is produced by thermal generation, using high priced oil as fuel, only a minor part being supplied by a small

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hydroelectric plant. The country has no coal and the high cost of oil, resulting in high cost of current, is a burden on the economy of the country, handicapping both agricultural and industrial development. Present studies hold out the prospect of cheap electric power comparable in cost to that produced in this country.

If the possibility for cheap power can be realized, it would open up prospects for important industries which would be uneconomic under present conditions. The Dead Sea alone, which contains enormous quantities of minerals in solution, is estimated to hold about 22 billion tons of magnesium salts from which magnesium can be extracted and exploited commercially only with cheap electric current. The manufacture of magnesium would in turn form the basis for numerous subsidiary and related industries.

So far as irrigation possibilities are concerned, hydrologists have estimated that ultimately 750,000 acres of land may be irrigated, as against 95,000 acres now under irrigation. The present studies already point to possibilities for irrigating at least 600,000 additional acres and possibly more at costs which would compare favorably with irrigation works in parts of the United States. The effect of irrigating an additional 600,000 acres would be to revolutionize the agricultural economy. Under Palestine conditions, one acre under irrigation is the economic equivalent of from five to ten acres under the system of extensive "dry farming" now widely practiced. The transition to intensive irrigated farming would amount to an effective increase in the size of the country and of its cultivable area, practically doubling it. It would make room for roughly an additional 100,000 to 120,000 families on the land, or an additional farming population of 400,000 to 600,000. It would also result in a large increase of the national income of the country. On the assumption that one farm family would allow for three to four families engaged in non-agricultural pursuits - industry, commerce, construction, transportation, the professions, etc. - it would mean a further increase in non-farming population in cities, towns and villages

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mounting into the millions. These figures do not take into account other possibilities for agricultural expansion, such as terracing and slope cultivation.

The plans taken as a whole envisage therefore a virtual transformation of the country by endowing it with numerous "artificial streams," watering arid and semi-arid regions; a permanent source of energy, making up for the deficiency in coal; a resultant industrial expansion; a further and more rapid transition from extensive dry farming to intensive irrigation farming; and a transition from dependence on cereal growing to mixed farming, featuring fruits, vegetables and dairy products. They contemplate the eventual almost doubling of the present farming population and doubling or trebling the present total population. In this connection, it should be borne in mind that the population of Palestine has about trebled in the past 25 years, from about 500,000 in 1919 to about 1,500,000 today.

While it is premature to speak of costs with any degree of certainty, it is estimated that the projects in the aggregate will require a capital investment of probably no less than \$150,000,000 and closer to \$200,000,000 -- spread over a period of years, since it is conceived of as a program to be carried out in successive stages.

Other studies relate to the questions of public, private or mixed capital to be employed; the role which the government of the country might be expected to play; the effects upon government revenues and fiscal policy; the curing of saline soils by leaching; possibilities for development of organic and inorganic chemical industries, for which the country is particularly suited; and the reclaiming of the Negev or south land, a virtual desert area embracing almost half of the surface of the country, now hardly used and almost uninhabited. The latter calls for various projects, including a long canal carrying water from the northern part of the country enjoying larger rainfall to the more arid south.

One of the objectives of the project is to raise the extremely low standard of living of the Arab peasantry and reduce the present gap between their primitive

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agriculture and the advanced economy of the Jewish section of the population. It would also substantially benefit eastern Palestine, known as Transjordan, helping it to catch up with the more progressive western part of the country. It is also expected that carrying out these plans, even in part, will give a great impetus to modern economic development in the surrounding countries of the Near East, with their vast undeveloped areas. Iraq alone, it is pointed out, can through effective reclamation and development sustain a population of at least 25,000,000 as against its present population of 4,000,000.

The Commission on Palestine Surveys with offices at 521 Fifth Avenue, New York City, has enlisted the cooperation of 21 experts including civil engineers, reclamation and irrigation experts, geologists, hydrologists, soil experts and agronomists, chemists, industrial engineers, economists and one archaeologist. A number of these experts had been to Palestine and carried on investigations in their respective fields, while others worked from a mass of data compiled by the engineering and research staff of the Commission, including rainfall charts, streamflow measurements, soil surveys and soil maps, geological reports, detailed topographical maps and a volume of relevant statistics and economic information. The Commission has also had the cooperation of competent Palestinian engineers working on the spot, and this collaboration is continuing.

The lay members of the Commission on Palestine Surveys are Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Abraham Goodman, Andre Meier, Emanuel Neumann, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Alexander Sachs, Israel Sieff and Robert Szold, all of New York with the exception of Mr. Sieff, who is of London, England.

Letter No. 59

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

August 2, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Pilgrim Hotel
Plymouth, Mass.

Dear Abba:

Leo Sack was in to see me and lunched with me. He discussed in particular the idea of canvassing all candidates for Congress in the forthcoming elections in order to have as many members of the new Congress as possible definitely pledged to our cause. He has been invited to attend the meeting of the Program Committee, which will be held next Tuesday at noon and thought he would want to come out to Plymouth on Sunday to discuss the matter with you. I don't know whether it is necessary for him to do that or whether you would want to have your vacation broken into that way, but I do think that the idea is decidedly worth considering. If there is anything in particular that you would like me to bring up or bear in mind in connection with the meeting of the Program Committee, please let me know.

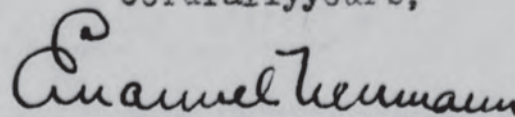
The anniversary of your election as head of the Emergency Committee is August 26th. I had been thinking of arranging a luncheon or dinner meeting of our group, some 50 or 60 people, say on August 15. On the other hand, it may be better to hold it on the 28th or 29th. You may have to go to Washington around the middle of the month, though it is unlikely that Stettinius will be available in view of the fact that he is heading the American Delegation in the forthcoming Four Power Conferences.

Tomorrow or Friday a few of us will meet to plan the dinner. If you have any suggestions both as regards date and otherwise please write me about that too.

I have also had a further conference with Isreeli with regard to the program of articles to appear in the newspapers about the time of your first anniversary, towards the end of the month, and have also prepared a memorandum to serve as background material.

I hope that you and Virginia are enjoying your brief and much needed holiday.

Cordially yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Letter No. 60

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

Room 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

August 4, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Pilgrim Hotel
Plymouth, Mass.

Dear Abba:

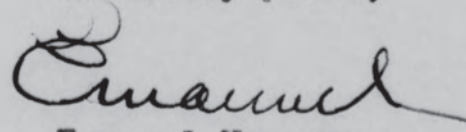
I am enclosing copy of the letter which I received from Sumner Welles in reply to a letter which I had sent to him commenting on some of his utterances regarding the new world organization. I propose to write him soon, commenting on his book and on the section dealing with Palestine in particular.

I understand from Meyer Weisgal that Goldmann was writing or had written to Welles regarding that.

I was pleased, of course, to note Mr. Welles' rather enthusiastic reference to the JVA project. Incidentally, I understand that Lowdermilk's book is now going into its fifth printing - still going strong!

I hope you don't mind my writing you occasionally while you are on vacation. If you would rather I didn't, don't hesitate to say so.

Cordially yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

Following is copy of a note I have just received from Dr. Albright, which speaks for itself:

"I have just received your letter of the 15th. I was sorry not to see you, but I later met Mr. Luria, who took your place. Both at this meeting and at the subsequent meeting of the American Palestine Committee I took my moderate stand, but it is perfectly obvious that the impression made on the members of the Federal Council of Churches was much better than if they had heard only the official side of the case, and I think that the result will be much more favorable. And the Arabs had a good deal of wind taken out of their sails. -- I met with the two members of the above organization at lunch the following day, with what I think were excellent results. Anyway, they are so disturbed by diametrically opposite positions that anyone who represents a mediating position is likely to be listened to. So let the moderation be on our side!"

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
Emanuel Neumann

M/

C O P Y

25, Palace Gate,
Kensington, W. 8

1st September, 1944

Dear Mr. Neumann,

I recently received from the American Embassy here a copy of the proceedings of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Congress relating to the Palestine Resolution submitted last February. I was glad to find in it your very able presentation of the Zionist case. The opposition cases were weak indeed and the sympathy of the Chairman was evident in his scrupulous efforts to be fair. What I missed, however, was more testimony by prominent non-Jewish Americans such as Professor Friedrich, advocating a Jewish Palestine as a factor in world peace, which is, of course, a prime United States interest as it is a British interest.

As you may know, I have been a convinced non-Jewish Zionist for many years, but I approach the question from the angle of British interest in a peaceful development of Palestine which I cannot imagine otherwise than as towards a Jewish State taking its rightful place in the world either as a Dominion of the British Commonwealth or of the future World Commonwealth.

I have been much distressed to see the disintegration of the political edifice I helped to erect during the last war and immediately thereafter. In my view many of the setbacks could have been avoided. The principal cause of these handicaps and setbacks is, I believe, the widespread idea the Zionists convinced or persuaded Great Britain of the justice of the Zionist cause and that this induced the Government to issue the Declaration in November, 1917. Apart from being incorrect, this notion has been particularly harmful in two main directions. First, as an apparently unilateral and quasi-philanthropic gesture it was open to revision in the light of later difficulties. Second, and more dangerous, it led the Zionists to believe that they could have anything for the mere asking and that unremitting political effort was unnecessary to safeguard the position gained.

The alarming deterioration of Zionist political influence revealed by a comparison of 1918 and 1938 is a measure of the enormity of this blunder. I believe that only a firm conviction of the need for thorough and steady political work can improve the Zionist position permanently. Between the stoppage of fighting in Europe and the consideration of political problems of the Near East there will probably be an interval of some years and I am doing all I can to secure a revision of the British attitude during this period in favour of 100% Zionism. From what I have read I believe your work in the United States shows a similar approach and I shall be glad to know if I am right. I see Dr. Weizmann frequently and am in close touch with him, and I have casually met two or three other leading Zionists. After my letters in the "Manchester Guardian" some nine months ago Sir Montague Burton suggested that they should be reprinted if I had no objection. I gave this permission and I understand that the matter is still under consideration by the Organisation. The enclosed, however, may interest you. It is a chapter which Dr. E. Bergmann asked me to write for a volume to be published in the United States for Dr. Weizmann's seventieth birthday. I also enclose a reprint from the recent volume of "Essays printed to the Chief Rabbi".

Yours very truly,

(signed) James A. Malcolm

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Palestine Survey Commissions
521- Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

September 11, 1944

From: Mr. A. K. Isreeli

The following articles, as you must have seen, were printed in the Yiddish Press so far regarding the Emergency Council:

1. An editorial by the Jewish Morning Journal which is very correct and states the issue with dignity.
2. Two English columns by Dr. Margoshes which are excellent in every respect.
3. A paragraph by Mr. Smolar in his Sunday article in the Jewish Daily Forward. It is not a discussion of the situation but rather a blunt revealing of facts which I'm afraid will do us no good. The entire incident is in this paragraph centered around Dr. Silver and Dr. Goldman and I am sure they will both be dissatisfied. Besides, Mr. Smolar conceives this conflict as an inner American Zionist "quarrel" which isn't so of course on the face of it. He also mentions Hadassah, Mizrach, and Poale Zion in a way none of them will like.

with him

I had my experiences with Mr. Smolar and if I had been well and had communicated, I would never have given him more than the general lines.

At any rate, this ought to be a lesson to us as far as Mr. Smolar is concerned.

I will today contact a few people at the Day, Forward and Morning Journal with a view of having them learn about our accomplishments rather than about the conflicts within the organization.

As soon as I know the results I will let you know about them.

AKI:RN

September 12, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

On the approach of the new year I wish to send to you and Fanny mine and Virginia's best wishes. I hope that the coming year will be one of well-being and happiness to you and your dear ones.

The clouds seem to be lifting everywhere as the war in Europe draws to a close. I hope that the coming year will also bring a measure of comfort and healing to our people.

These last few weeks have brought considerable strain to you and to me because of the resignation which I felt constrained to send in. I do not know what the outcome of the whole affair will be. I am rather weary of it all. But whatever the outcome, please be assured of my profound love and affection for you and yours, and my gratitude for your never-failing faithfulness and friendship.

With all good wishes, I remain

AHS:BK

EMANUEL NEUMANN
749 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK

September 14, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

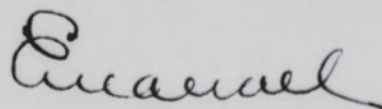
Dear Abba:

I have your note of the thirteenth which I have read to Fan. We were both greatly moved by its contents.

We have all come through a difficult and trying year but it has also been a year replete with outstanding achievements on behalf of our cause, thanks to your leadership and singleminded devotion. If I have cooperated to the best of my ability, it was not only out of personal loyalty and affection towards you but because of my profound conviction that your leadership was indispensable at this time. Consciousness of the deep personal ties and the mutual confidence and affection that exist between us served to buoy me up and to sweeten many a hard moment.

We all join in sending you and Virginia and the boys our best wishes for a new and brighter and sweeter year - one that will see the fruition of some of our hopes.

Yours ever faithfully,


Emanuel Neumann

EH/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 22, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

1) I have spoken with Nathaniel Goldstein on the telephone. He said that the problem is not so simple. All reports indicate that the Jewish group is so solidly "the other way" that Dewey and his advisers don't feel disposed to make a special effort. I gather that they feel there is not much use going ahead in that direction unless there were some group among the Jews prepared to play with them. We agreed, however, that the matter requires further discussion. He asked me to ring him up Monday morning and he will arrange to meet me personally on this matter.

2) I have just had a conference with Israeli about the Jewish press. I said that unless there is created a "shtiemung" of impatience and indignation over the inaction of our Government, we are not likely to get anything between now and election. He said he was, of course, prepared to try to get articles and editorials written, provided he got the green light. I take it that the whole question of bringing renewed pressure on the President will be discussed on Monday. Since there is no prospect of getting a Resolution through at this time, the only thing left to us is to concentrate pressure on the White House once more; and that has to be organized in New York and throughout the country.

3) I hear that the ZOA is planning an "Economic Conference" jointly with the Palestine Economic Corporation or the American Economic Committee for Palestine (Szold-Brodie) as well as the Keren Hayesod. This is news to me. I connect it with Eliezer Kaplan's contemplated visit on which they want to capitalize for publicity purposes. But I think the Emergency Council ought to do something in connection with Kaplan's visit. We might proceed with the organization of the conference as we had contemplated or else arrange for a meeting to which we could invite members of the National Executive Committees of the four groups. Would you give this matter a little thought?

4) Conference with Wise and Lipsky: I understand that you have been requested to meet with these two gentlemen Monday afternoon before the Executive Committee meeting. I suppose the purpose would be to finally wind up the Goldmann controversy and perhaps arrange for more regular consultations. That's just a hunch on my part. My guess is also that Weisgal will be in on these meetings. You would be at some disadvantage owing to the fact that these people are all New Yorkers and in daily intimate touch with what goes on here. It would therefore be desirable for you to have in attendance also someone from the Emergency Committee setup. Obviously, the Executive Director would be the man but I doubt whether Shapiro is sufficiently au courant ~~and~~ knows enough about what's going on around the Emergency Committee, the Jewish Agency Bureau, etc. The business with Eliezer Kaplan is a case in point. Undoubtedly

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

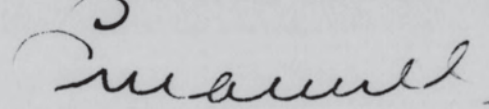
September 22, 1944

Montor is in touch with the situation, as are Weisgal, Lipsky and others, but our office is not. Unless you have someone here who is aware of all matters and is kept posted and advises you and is in on the various consultations, you may be at a disadvantage.

I hope to confer with you Monday morning or lunchtime.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M



520 West 110 Street
New York City 25
September 27, 1944

Dr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Neumann:

At your suggestion, I am sending you a brief outline of my project and some autobiographical data.

Having attended the UNRRA Conference in Atlantic City and the Bretton Woods Conference in New Hampshire in a journalistic capacity, I feel that I could make use of the contacts made there with the diplomatic representatives of the United Nations to gain adherents and even spokesmen for the cause of a Jewish State in Palestine, in time for the full-dress peace conference or conferences scheduled to follow the Dumbarton Oaks talks, probably some time in December or January.

Although some people believe that England and the United States will settle the Palestine question "out of court", I have seen again and again a bloc of small nations modify a decision of the big powers. At Bretton Woods, where my particular assignment concerned the nineteen Latin American countries represented, the so-called "Latin American bloc" several times swung things their way. My contacts with these countries' representatives were at first hand, as I had to interview the head of each delegation; and direct, as I speak Spanish, as well as French.

To carry out my project, I should have to be stationed in Washington and, with the authorization and backing of the Zionist Emergency Council, I believe I could accomplish a great deal. It is likely that the Ambassadors and Ministers to whom I have access will represent their countries at subsequent conferences; or if not they, then persons close to them.

Dr. Nachum Goldmann, with whom I spoke generally before he left for Palestine, suggested the possibility of my being given charge of a Washington bureau of the Latin American Department. Mrs. Yardin, head of this Department, is in sympathy with my plan, and thinks my activities might be sponsored jointly by the Emergency Council and the Latin American Department. However that might be arranged, the project I have outlined above should, I believe, be undertaken without delay.

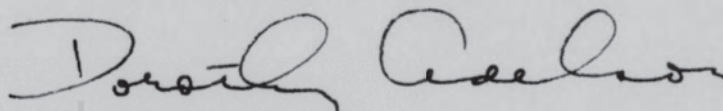
As to my background: I have a B.A. from Barnard College (Phi Beta Kappa, Tatlock Prize in Latin, Romaine Prize in Greek, Earle Prize in Classics) and an M.A. and part of a doctorate from Columbia University. I have published several studies in academic and literary magazines on Marcel Proust, and in 1939 planned to go to

Paris to complete preparations for a biography of this writer, when the war broke out. In 1942 I went to Mexico for a six-months' stay and on my return wrote several articles for Coronet, Inter-American and other magazines, and then joined the staff of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs (writing feature articles, Press Division, New York office) for eight months. I also have worked as assistant to the French film director Jean Benoit-Lévy, preparing motion picture treatments, etc. Before becoming a professional journalist, I taught for some years in the New York City high schools. At present I am assistant editor of a news monthly put out by the American Jewish Committee.

Although I have been a Zionist for many years---with a trip to Palestine in 1935, when I was a national vice-president of Junior Hadassah, behind me---it is only recently that the absolute necessity of a Jewish State has become a matter of intense conviction. This is partly due, I believe, to the detailed reports of the systematic extermination of the Jews in Europe which I have had occasion to read in the course of my work during the past year.

I shall be glad to supplement this account with further details, and look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Yours very sincerely,



Dorothy Adelson



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

Room 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 28, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

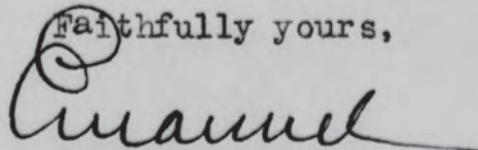
I am enclosing a letter from Miss Dorothy Adelson, who was in to see me the other day. She was highly recommended to me by Sulamith Schwartz, who I think has known her previously. Sulamith had described her to me as "a stunning young woman with fine personality and apparently in possession of considerable gifts and persuasive powers." The brief interview we had has confirmed Sulamith's description; at least that is my first impression. I am told that Mrs. Yardin, who is the competent secretary of the Latin-American Department, is also enthusiastic about Miss Adelson.

It seems that she was on the point of being roped in by the Hebrew Committee on National Liberation to work for them in Washington on contacts. We have never tried such a person before but it may be worth looking into. From all that I have heard, she probably has a real ~~flair~~ for such contact work among diplomats, public men, journalists, etc.

She is anxious to have an interview with you and it may be worthwhile giving her an interview. There may be some other capacity, possibly, in which you might wish to employ her, as for instance, with women's organizations, though I believe an attractive woman would be more effective with me, and vice versa.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

EMANUEL NEUMANN
749 WEST END AVENUE
NEW YORK

September 29, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

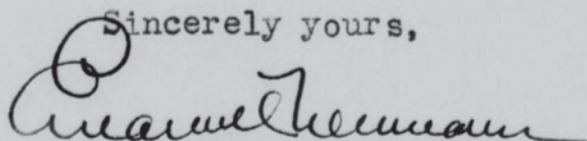
I am enclosing a rough draft of a proposed statement by Governor Dewey.

Since I do not know of any meeting that Dewey might address, I thought that it would be best for him to give this out as an interview, let us say through the JTA. It will receive wide publicity in the Jewish press and ~~certainly~~ *probably* in the general press.

I have been advised by Nathaniel Goldstein that the statement should be broad and not limited to the Palestine issue. I have therefore followed his advice.

Would you please ring me up from Cleveland at my home and tell me what you think of it.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

October 3, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

You spoke to me about the criticism at my not contributing an article to the Weizmann Anniversary Volume. The invitation came late, insufficient time was allotted for the writing of it, and I was too tired and exhausted to write a scholarly article for the volume. As you know, a good deal of my writing has gone to pot because of my preoccupation with Zionist work.

I paid tribute to Dr. Weizmann in an address delivered at the Waldorf Astoria in June of 1942. It was not bad-estimate of Weizmann, his contributions, temperament and character. If the volume is not already ~~in~~ press, and there is still time, and if Weisgal thinks that it would be appropriate, I could take that address and recast it in the form of an article -- elaborating and embellishing it a bit.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

Room 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 4, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At Mr. Neumann's request, I am sending you herewith a memorandum which he has received from Mr. Buell on A Policy Towards the Peoples of the Middle East. Mr. Neumann believes you will find things in this memorandum regarding America's interest in the Near East, which you will find of interest to you.

Will you please return this memorandum when you are through with it.

Sincerely yours,

Jennie Michaels
Secy. to Mr. Neumann

M/
(enc.)

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 4, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have your two letters of October third.

With regard to the Weizmann book, I am taking the matter up with Weisgal.

With regard to your Convention address, I am very happy that you are planning it that way. I am getting to work at once and will see what I can do with the help of Berkson and others. In addition to material that you call for, I am going to take the liberty of sending you some other suggestions as they occur to me.

Talking about the King-Crane Commission, my brother Joshua has called my attention to a few lines in The Diary of Ambassador Dodd, from which it emerges clearly that Crane was a pro-Nazi and a fervent anti-Semite. I'll send you the quotations.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Letter No. 66

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 5, 1944

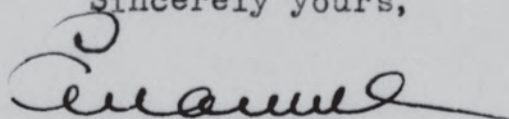
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Yesterday one of the Buell memoranda was sent to you, entitled "A Policy towards the Peoples of the Middle East." It was not the one I had intended to send you and was mailed by error. You may find it worthwhile nevertheless. Please return it as soon as possible.

What I had meant to send you is the one I am now enclosing entitled "An American Policy towards the Middle East." A glance at it will show at once that it contains much material of interest in connection with your address. It deals particularly with American oil interests and other interests in the Near East.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

October 8, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a check to
be used by you at your discretion.

I forwarded to Mr. Weisgal, yesterday,
an article for the Weizmann Anniversary Volume.

I received some material from Berkson for my
address. I shall go through it today or tomorrow.

I was shocked this morning to hear over
the radio of the death of Wendell Willkie. He was
a truly fine American, a real humanitarian and a
man who in a world of cynicism kept alive an
unpolluted idealism.

As ever yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 19, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

1) Will you please let me know whether you have received an invitation to address the UPA Conference in Chicago. It's rather important that you let me know.

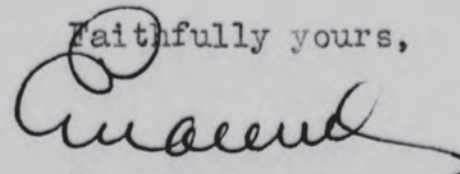
2) Ever since the disagreement we had with Nahum Goldmann, pressure has been exerted on me to give up these separate offices of the Commission on Palestine Surveys and move into the office of the Jewish Agency. One of the arguments used was the possibility of effecting a saving, but the real purpose was to "integrate" me with the work of the Agency Bureau. But I am not keen on being thus "integrated."

The argument, of course, is that since our two engineers are now in Palestine and there is less work here, there is no need for maintaining these offices. If I give them up and move in there I will be, as it were, under surveillance, my every step watched. I would not be free in making my telephone calls, in writing my letters, etc.

While I plan to spend part of my time in a law office, I would not be able from such a law office to do many of the things which I have been doing in this office in connection with the work of the Emergency Council, etc. I therefore think that the solution is that I retain these offices of the Commission but that the expense be reduced. This can be done by having some other organization share the rent and other expenses, more particularly part of the secretarial expense. This does not come to large amounts. Our total rental is \$150. a month and the secretarial service \$56.25 a week. These are the main items, which come to approximately \$400 a month. The only way out that I can see at the moment is for me to make arrangements with the Emergency Council to share these expenses, which would be chargeable to the Department of Economic Studies and Planning. I do not see any other way. If I am forced to give up these offices, it means that I will have no facilities for continuing to do the many things that I have been doing. Please let me know what you think of this.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

October 20, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I have not as yet received any invitation to address the UPA Conference in Chicago, but I do not wish you to do anything about it. I do not want any more areas of conflict developed over delivering or not delivering a speech at this time. Besides, the UPA Conference is still a month off.

As far as the matter of your office is concerned, I shall be very happy to talk to you about it when we next see each other in New York. I shall be in New York on Tuesday for a meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, and the following Monday for meetings of the Emergency Council.

I saw Miss Dorothy Adelson in Atlantic City. She made a good impression. I do not believe that the Emergency Council could use her on a full time basis. Her diplomatic contacts with representatives of Latin America in Washington would have to be carried on under the auspices of the Agency Bureau. If they are willing to take her on for part time, the rest of her time could be used by us in connection with the work of the American Palestine Committee, e.g., editing a bulletin which they are planning. (I understand that Miss Adelson has been editing a bulletin for the American Jewish Committee) She might do other work of interviewing, etc. for the American Palestine Committee. I spoke to Shulman about her in Atlantic City. I would suggest that you, Shulman and Shapiro meet with Miss Adelson inasmuch as she is anxious to have a reply before very long, perhaps also with Weisgal sitting in.

I trust that you are well. I am just getting over the bad cold which I contracted in Atlantic City.

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

Letter No. 70

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 20, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

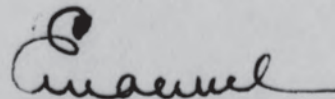
Dear Abba:

Upon returning to New York, I have seen the New York Times' account of Israel Goldstein's report to the Convention, published on Sunday morning. The big headline is "Would Make Reich Help in Palestine", Sub-heading "Dr. Goldstein asserts that this plan should be part of reparations." It is a very good story and got good play.

You may recall that I proposed doing something along those lines. I thought of putting out some publicity as emanating from the Economic Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. But you thought, perhaps rightly, that we should not stress at this time our claims for reparations or anything like it. Goldstein had of course no such inhibitions. He seized upon the ideas which I expressed back in May and made a big story of it. At the same time I am being prevented by some of the gentlemen on our Commission on Palestine Surveys from giving any further publicity even to the JVA projects. The Associated Press, United Press and other agencies have been after me now for several weeks for further material. Apparently there is deep interest in the subject. But I am enjoined and restrained from doing anything about it.

I have just made the suggestion to Shapiro that we should get the governors of many states to proclaim November 2nd as Palestine Day and urge American citizens to stress their sympathies with the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people. I hope it meets with your approval.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

MRS. LOUIS SCHWEFEL
975 WALTON AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK

October 25, 1944

Dear Mr. Neumann,

As I told you on the telephone, the Business and Professional Groups of the New York Region ^{of Hadassah} are planning a series of lectures for this winter, and would very much like to have Dr. Abba Hillel Silver open the series with a talk on, "What Are our Demands for Palestine." The meeting is scheduled to take place at a mid-town hotel, Wednesday evening, February 21, 1945, but can be changed to meet Dr. Silver's convenience.

I would very much appreciate it, if you would speak to Dr. Silver about accepting this invitation to speak for us. I know how very busy you are, and I would not ask this of you, except for the fact that he would have no hesitancy in turning me down, but might do it if you ask him, since he has great faith in your judgement.

I am particularly anxious to have the women of Hadassah get to know Dr.

Silver's point of view and attitude on the subject to be discussed, and I feel certain it would be worth his efforts, as we expect to have an attendance of a thousand alert and well informed business and professional women - plus some husbands.

I shall be very grateful to you for anything you can do to help me in this matter.

Thank you and kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Rose P. Schunfeld

Letter No. 72

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

Room 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 26, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

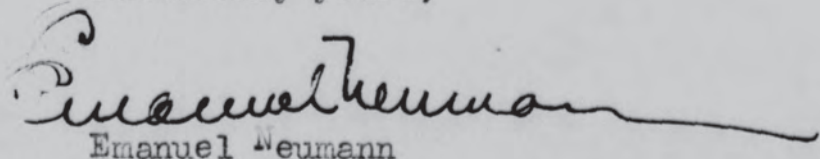
I am enclosing a letter from Mrs. Schwefel, wife of our good friend, Louis Schwefel, who wants you to address a large gathering of Hadassah women on Wednesday evening, February 21st, or some other date. She expects to have about a thousand people.

It may be desirable for you to give them a talk, provided it can be fitted into your schedule on one of the days when you are here. It need not be a Wednesday evening; perhaps a Monday or Tuesday evening would be satisfactory.

While I am on the subject of Hadassah, I understand they are having their Convention in Cleveland this year, the middle of November. Have you been invited to address it? I suppose you will be, and it is rather important that they get a review of the political work and the political situation from you. Please advise me about these two points.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

October 27, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing a letter which I received from Mrs. Epstein of the Hadassah. It is self-explanatory. Mrs. Pool spoke to me about the self-same thing at the meeting of the Interim Committee on Tuesday. I think I shall have to make some announcement at the meeting next Monday about these two committees, that of Mrs. Halprin and of Mrs. Pool. I told Mrs. Pool that I would appoint two co-chairmen for the committee on cooperation with post-war planning groups. The activity of this committee would be limited to contacts with the forty or fifty more or less informal post-war planning groups and organizations which exist in the United States in order to keep them informed of our interest in the post-war world and the role which a Jewish Palestine must have in that world. Have you any suggestions for a co-chairman? Milton Steinberg has been suggested. Would you inquire whether he is well enough? I should like to add five or six names to this committee. Can you suggest some names?

Please get in touch with me Monday morning at the Commodore.

Friends have written to me that Wise is going on the "stump" for Democratic candidates. I have also seen an ad to that effect in the New York Times. How is that to be reconciled with the position of neutrality on American politics which our Emergency Council and our leaders are supposed to maintain? Or is it all right to "stump" for Roosevelt and all wrong to "stump" for Dewey? Confidentially, I have declined an invitation to address a Republican Rally in Madison Square Garden on November 4 on the ground of my position as Executive Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

October 27, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

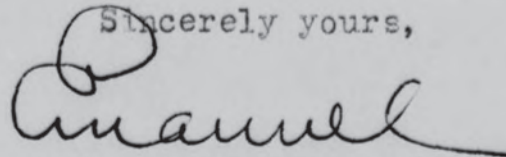
I have just had a letter from Bob Silverman from Chicago. Among other things, he tells me that you have been invited to the UPA Conference and that your name and picture appear on the program. I think it would be most desirable that you attend. I understand that a meeting of the ZOA Executive is also planned to take place in Chicago in connection with the UPA Conference.

Bob Silverman also tells me that Heller has received a letter from Goldstein or Rothenberg or both, advising him to drop Silverman from the UPA. This is another purge.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have sent to Jacob Richman concerning a conversation I had with Joachim Prinz. I think we should really organize an effective Committee on Intellectual Mobilization and draw in a number of intellectuals, speakers, and writers. It will be a good thing from various standpoints. Incidentally, Prinz asked me when you are going to be in New York again. I assume he would like to speak with you. He is going to lecture *before* the 7th District Monday night, but of course I suppose he could come in especially from Newark on Tuesday if you want to see him.

I understand that Nahum Goldmann is expected back here today or tomorrow. In that case he will report presumably at the meeting of the Council, but I think that we should hear from him first briefly at the meeting of the Executive, or perhaps you should lunch with him on Monday and get his story first. Such a luncheon meeting with him may be a good thing in itself.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

P. S. Would it not be a fine gesture as well as politic for you to cable a reply to Ben Gurion? I am taking the liberty of enclosing a draft.

October 30, 1944

Mr. Franz Josef Katz
61 East 95 Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Katz:

I greatly appreciate your sending me a carbon copy of your letter to Mr. Shapiro dated October 29th. Please continue to keep in touch.

With best personal regards,

Cordially yours,

Emmanuel Neumann

EN/M

FRANZ JOSEF KATZ

61 East 95th Street
New York 28, N.Y.
October 29, 1944.

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

Re.: Possible Resumption of Arab Activities in U.S.

I am conveying to you the following report for whatever it may be worth. I am not in a position to vouch for its accuracy though I have no reason to doubt the reliability of my source, a Lebanese Maronite, who is pro-Jewish and pro-Zionist and has repeatedly refused ~~to~~ join ~~in~~ Syrian anti-Zionist activities in this country.

The Arab National League of America has been dormant since Pearl Harbor and the earlier suicide of its erstwhile president, Dr. Faud I. Shatara.

On Friday, October 27th, according to my friend, an attempt has been made in Washington, D.C. to re-organize Arabic-speaking elements in the United States for an anti-Zionist campaign.

The spirit behind this effort seems to be *6* Fafis S. Malouf. He addressed a gathering at the home of one Mr. Risk. The latter's name apparently is being pronounced "Rizziek". He is said to be a well-to-do women's dress shop owner, selling gowns at an average price of \$500 a piece and numbering Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. Cordell Hull among his customers. Risk is said to be an immigrant boy who made good, being a former pushcart-vendor. He is said to be a Lebanese of the Greek Orthodox denomination and of pan-Arab and pro-Moslem leanings. My informant could not recall Risk's first name.

Malouf is a figure known to me from my previous investigation of Arab activities. He held the post of ~~Assistant~~ Commissioner of Streets in the city of Boston, Mass., once upon a time for a period of three months. He is also a Syrian. *He is practicing law in Boston.*

Allegedly, Malouf's efforts are aiming at the nation-wide organization of a so-called "United Arab Committee" and are aimed at incorporation of most of our Syrian colonies.

Inasmuch as the name "Risk" was brought up in this connection, I was wondering whether Risk of Washington is related to Salom Risk, author of "Syrian Yankee", published by Doubleday, Doran, and prodigee of the Reader's Digest crowd. Said Risk, making a living on lecturing, is known to have spent a lot of time attending Z.O.A. and Bergson group meetings just for the purpose of snooping around. Salom Risk has a pronounced Semitic physiognomy, hence is being taken for a Jew by many Jews and is known to have boasted to other Syrians of his anti-Zionist intelligence activities.

I also utilized the occasion to inquire about Major Haddad, the Iraqi Legation's spurious Military Attache. My Lebanese friend stated that said Haddad is a Lebanese, nominally Greek Orthodox, but actually indifferent in matters of religion. He followed the late Faisal to Iraq when he was deposed as monarch of Syria. Haddad's family are said to be Beirut merchants of great wealth which supports Haddad to this day. He is said to know absolutely nothing of military matters, his position as Military Attache giving much ~~ammunition~~ cause for

jokes. His position, said my Lebanese informant, is known to serve as a cloak for his anti-Zionist activities. In addition, Haddad is said to be deaf and limping. (You may recall Haddad's anti-Zionist article in a Sunday issue of the New York Herald Tribune which elicited replies by Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N.Y.) and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland, O.)

I am now trying to ascertain whether there are possibilities to organize an Arab counter-committee to the Syrian anti-Zionist clique. I suppose the Maronite Lebanese would constitute a nucleus for such purposes.

When meeting with you on Wednesday, I suppose, we shall also discuss this point.

With the best of wishes,

very truly yours

CC: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Cleveland, O.
Emanuel Neumann,
New York, N.Y.

Franz Josef Katz.



C O P Y

THE JOURNAL OF POLITICS

8 Peabody Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

November 1, 1944

Dr. Emanuel Neumann
Commission on Palestine Surveys
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Neumann:

Your letter of September 15 has been on my desk so long and I have accomplished so little of what I had hoped to do that I am almost ashamed to write you at all.

First, let me thank you for sending your membership to the Southern Political Science Association. I trust that you may find something of value in The Journal of Politics from time to time.

The Babcock articles in Fortune were extremely interesting, although they were much better as expositions than as guides for future activity. That, of course, was the purpose, and the historian should be the last one to carp at that type of writing.

Dr. Buell's Memorandum Number 4 on the East, with special regard to Palestine, is good. He puts his finger firmly on the danger of a too facile acceptance of the Arab effendis' claims just because they seem to fit in with the ideal of national self-determination. The absence of democracy and of economic and social advancement and well-being in the Near East of the effendis' dreams should not be overlooked. His suggestions concerning Palestine are, of course, based on his whole scheme for a Middle Eastern Council and an effective world organization behind it. They might very well offer an ultimate solution of the Palestine problem if they could be put into effect, for they would do what I have felt Britain might be in a position to do after this war if imperial policy permitted -- that is to use the prestige of the victor to, in the beginning, force a pro-Jewish Palestine program on the recalcitrant Arab leaders. I think, however, that I become more dubious rather than more hopeful about such a world organization as Dr. Buell contemplates. The European continent and areas in the East such as China seem to be moving to the left so rapidly and the present government in Britain and we in this country seem to be determined to oppose this trend, while Russia naturally favors it, that hopes for peaceful cooperation look slight. I wonder if power-politics and spheres of influence will not again prevail and if Britain will not try to compromise in Palestine by reviving the partition scheme?

The Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic party platforms can, I think, be largely written off as vote-seeking devices likely to have but little effect on United States foreign policy. Maybe a comparison with the British Labor Party's consistent public stand on Zionism and its policies when in power would be in order. I have just read your article in the October issue of Palestine but I am still inclined to think that, while the U. S. is ready to give advice about Palestine and the Near East, it is not ready to assume much responsibility there. The Palestine planks are likely to be observed, if at all, by the giving of advice.

My own work on the Mandates Commission has just about bogged down under the pressure of University duties and work for The Journal of Politics. I may get a rough draft in shape by the end of the year but it would be a brave soul who would count on it. I shall, however, keep you informed.

Yours very truly,

(signed) Paul L. Hanna

11/3/44

Dear Abba,

I don't know just how to break this to you, but I might as well do it without introductions. I am afraid I have reached the point where I must virtually drop out of the picture — at least for some time. My work in connection with the Commission on a professional basis has been at an end for some time. (Soon ~~or~~ I will also be deprived of the moral satisfaction of directing it, as I understand). My reserves here I have used up. I simply must look after myself, family, their law practise & business. Either or both will necessarily engage my time and, above all, my thought during the coming months. It will not be possible

for me to spend most of my time
(as I am now doing) in Zionist
matters. As it is I am now a professional
Zionist without pay. Only a well to do man
can be that. Five years have passed
since my return to U.S. A. during which
it was easy to make money. Perhaps it's
not too late to ~~to~~ make some during the
coming year. In any case I have no
choice but to try.

I don't see that there's anything you
can do about it. You would certainly engage
my services for the Council, as you have
offered to do; but I could not accept such a
post just as I turned down an offer of the J.C.A.
the other day.

But I feel I must inform you of the
position & explain in advance what may
otherwise look like leaving you in the lurch.
The change I am making means that I will
not in the future be able to keep my

eye & finger on the situation here in any effective sense. I won't be able to attend so many meetings, conferences, private meetings etc. or to carry on many telephone conversations or an extensive correspondence etc. I must contract my financial activity drastically in order to concentrate on the difficult job ahead of me in my personal affairs.

Without my saying so I am sure you realize that I have put this off as long as possible - to the very last minute. But I have just borrowed on my policies to the limit & that will just about tide me over until I begin to earn. No man can do more than his utmost.

I trust that my partial withdrawal from the active scene will have no serious consequence. Perhaps in a few months I can come back. In any case you know that my heart & my soul are wholly with you, your work, your leadership, your political future. Your achievements have more than

fulfilled my expectations a year ago.
We did right, I am profoundly
convinced! And as I look back I
feel a deep satisfaction in having urged
you to step in and having been privileged
to work with you & to enjoy your
friendship & confidence in such full
measure.

My love to Virginia & the boys.

As ever
Devotedly yours
Emanuel

(Emanuel)

November 2, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a letter which I received this morning from Secretary Morgenthau. As you note, it is marked "Personal."

I believe that we shall have no difficulty in dissipating the lying propaganda which certain people -- and I can name them -- have been spreading about me in Administration circles.

I am also sending you for your confidential use a letter which I received from Weizmann yesterday. The document referred to I will show you when I see you in New York on the 9th. I also had a letter from him dated September 26th.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Letter No. 74

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 3, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

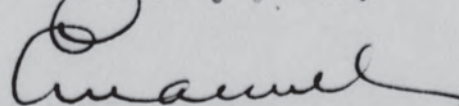
I have your letter of the first and agree with you entirely. I will try to get together with the Poalei Zion and the Mizrachi.

I had a little discussion with Boukstein on the telephone today. He professed to agree that provided we can have the right kind of resolution (above all, without "ultimately"), it would be very desirable to have Congressional action. He also thinks that approval by Stettinius may not be sufficient - that Stettinius is not taken too seriously in the Department itself. He advises getting Hull's own approval, either by our communicating with him directly or by requesting Stettinius to do so. He also called attention to the rumors that the President may be leaving almost immediately after election for conferences abroad.

I wonder whether it wouldn't be desirable for you to spend an extra day Wednesday, the eighth, in Washington together with one or two other people in order to canvass the situation more thoroughly. Of course, many of the important people, particularly among Congressional leaders, may not be there the day after election. Perhaps Leo Sack as well as Elihu Stone should be mobilized.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am enclosing copy of a letter I received some time ago from Mr. James A. Malcolm, which speaks for itself. If you should be interested in the material he sent me, I could forward it.

E. N.

EN /M
(Enc.)

November 14, 1944

Professor Paul L. Hanna
8 Feabody Hall
University of Florida
Gainesville, Fla.

Dear Professor Hanna:

I was very glad to have your letter of November 1st. I agree with your appraisal of the Babcock articles in Fortune, and I am inclined to agree with you regarding Dr. Buell's memorandum as well. Nevertheless I think that such memoranda render a distinct service in helping to clarify our thinking.

I was also interested to note your reaction to the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, but you do not comment on President Roosevelt's rather emphatic statement addressed to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Atlantic City on October 15th, in which he categorically endorses the objective of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth and pledges his help to bring about the realization of its program. What do you make of that? Would you write that off also as a mere campaign pledge? After all, Mr. Roosevelt is President of the United States, and as such directs our foreign policy. His views ought to carry some weight with Great Britain.

Regarding the paper on the Mandates Commission, I hope that you will continue with it despite the pressure of other work. The war is not yet over and the peace is not yet made. Your paper will be timely even if its appearance is somewhat delayed.

Cordially yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

November 5, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am sorry that I will not be able to accept Mrs. Schwefel's invitation to address the Hadassah next February. I am compelled to keep my lecture engagements down to an absolute minimum to safeguard my own health. I am sure that Mrs. Schwefel will understand.

With all good wishes, I remain
Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 6, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I acknowledge your letter of November 2nd enclosing copy of your correspondence with Morgenthau and copy of letter from Weizmann. I am happy to note Morgenthau's extraordinarily fine attitude. There's a great deal more to be done along that line.

Regarding Weizmann's letter, I want you to know that others apparently have knowledge of it. Chaim Greenberg the other day told me that he knew of Weizmann's letter to you, having apparently received a copy, though he didn't say that. Whether others have received copy of the letter and/or of the memorandum to which he referred, I do not know.

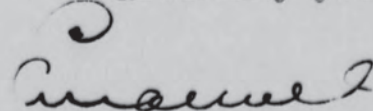
I am pleased to see that the long and earnest letter which I wrote to Weizmann a little while back has had some effect.

I checked with the JTA and found that David Schwartz, who wrote the article about you and the Zionist Convention, is a JTA man. I remonstrated with Smolar about his own column and Schwartz's article and he assured me that it was all done with the best of intentions and in the friendliest spirit. I thoroughly believe this and know that they are enthusiastically for you. He promised not to pursue that line in the future.

I may well be in Washington myself on Thursday in connection with business of the Commission, though I don't know whether I will be able to leave on the train which you are planning to take back to New York.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

November 13, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Neumann:

Rabbi Silver has requested me to send you
the enclosed letter from Mr. J. L. Teller.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

AHS:BK
Enc.

Letter No. 77

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 13, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

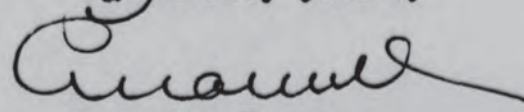
I would appreciate it very much if you could give me a letter of introduction to Captain Harry A. Badt at Sampson, N. Y. I don't suppose he knows much about me. I hope to go out there next week. If I can have your letter of introduction within a few days it would be timely and useful.

I have heard a rumor, which I have not yet checked, to the effect that at the meeting of the Allocations Committee of the UJA, they agreed to give us 47%, which would make a very large sum. I am wondering whether the opportunity should not be seized upon to ask for a somewhat larger budget for the Emergency Council, or at least to have an additional sum above the \$500,000 reserved in case of need. From all the signs and portents, we are in for rough times ahead. The London press is attacking us; the Economist asks an indefinite postponement of a political decision regarding Palestine. Here the Arabs are organizing a new organization, and from the Near East come reports concerning what Iraq and other Arab states propose to do by way of setting up Information Bureaus, etc. (see the recent letters from Franz Katz.) It would be well for you, I think, to carefully build up a case for intensified activity as well as a program which should take into account not only the immediate situation but the long range view. Proposing a larger budget may at least have the effect of preventing their curtailing the present budget.

I had planned to go to the UPA Conference in Chicago and provided myself with railroad accommodations for Thursday night. Then I decided against it, particularly since there is a chance of my being able to see my son if I go to Rochester on Sunday. I notice now that there will be a luncheon meeting of the Administrative Committee of the UPA in Chicago on Friday, the seventeenth. Do you suppose it's important? If it were absolutely necessary, I could, I suppose, go Thursday night, stay there Friday and Saturday and get to Rochester by Sunday. *But I had rather not!*

As ever,

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Letter No. 76

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

Room 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 13, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

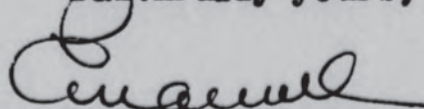
I call your attention to a splendid editorial on the American Zionist Emergency Council in the current number of The Reconstructionist (Nov. 17, 1944). This is the result of a conversation I had with Dr. Eisenstein, and it is based, of course, on the memorandum I drew up last summer. I enclose copy of a letter I have just sent to Eisenstein. If you think it's worthwhile, you might drop a line to either him or Kaplan or Eugene Kohn, the Managing Editor.

Yesterday the Regional Convention of Brooklyn borough took place and we put through a good resolution regarding yourself and the Emergency Council, which includes the following paragraph which I drafted:

"On behalf of ourselves and our constituents, we pledge our loyal cooperation and support to the end that this great work so auspiciously begun under brilliant and devoted leadership may be continued, extended and intensified during the coming year. And we call upon the national administration of the ZOA to give its best thought to these problems, to continue to mobilize the membership of the organization for political action and to assure the American Zionist Emergency Council the fullest moral and material support so that it may extend its scope and intensify its efforts to meet the challenge of the critical days and historic opportunities which face the Zionist Movement."

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

November 13, 1944

Rabbi Ira Eisenstein
124 West 93 Street
New York, N. Y.

Dear Ira:

That was a beautiful editorial you had in The Reconstructionist on the American Zionist Emergency Council. I appreciate deeply your having acted on my suggestion. The piece is certainly up to the high standards of the publication.

It will interest you to know that the opposition to Dr. Silver is expressing itself at this moment in a reluctance to approve the budget of the Emergency Council for the new year, on the theory that "the big job has been done" and that there is therefore no need for spending so much money. Is this naïveté, stupidity or disingenuousness? I wonder which. For myself, I have little doubt that we are still in for very difficult and trying times ahead and our battle is far from won.

With warmest regards, as ever

Cordially yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

November 15, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a letter to
Captain Badt.

We enjoyed having Fanny at our home so
much.

I have received an important communication
from Dr. Weizmann which I am sending to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

C
O
P
Y

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
The University of Chicago
Chicago 37, Ill.

November 22, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Commission on Palestine Surveys
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

Thank you for sending me Ernst Frankenstein's JUSTICE FOR MY PEOPLE, which I have received this morning. As I look through it my first impression is that it is carefully documented. I like a book to which I can turn with the confidence that I may find the facts and figures for my own need.

Yesterday I spent most of the day in the sessions of the Christian Council for Palestine at the Stevens Hotel. I am not sure whether my reaction is typical as I may have academic water in my veins instead of red blood. The speakers at the conference were either highly emotional or dryling factual. My feeling was that the emotional orators were stirring up a temporary feeling which would pass very easily. Those who tried to be factual were dull, but gave one the confidence that they knew what they were talking about. Probably no program could survive if it had only the factuists, but I was deeply impressed with the need for avoiding pure sentimentalism and the creation of a confidence that the situation in Palestine had a history, had a sociological and economic basis, and had potentialities which could be understood by anyone.

What I am giving you is a series of reasons why I like the looks of the book which you have sent me.

With gratitude and personal greetings,

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED) John A. Wilson

Director

M/

C
O
P
Y

November 24, 1944

MEMORANDUM

To: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
From: Emanuel Neumann

I am enclosing copy of a letter received from Professor Wilson, Director of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. He was until recently the head of the Near East section of the Office of Strategic Services in Washington.

Though I can't describe him as a pro-Zionist, his attitude is, I think, a better one than it was years ago. I tried to cultivate him somewhat and have in any case maintained personal relations with him. His letter is thoughtful and emphasizes the need for sustained effort on the intellectual and academic level.

(SIGNED) EN

EN/M
(Enc.)

copied - RK-11/28/44

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WESTERN UNION

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A. N. WILLIAMS
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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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	TIME FILED

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

To Emanuel Neumann

11-24-44

19

Care of or Apt. No. 521 Fifth Avenue

Street and No. New York, N.Y.

WANT A REPLY?

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

Place

VIRGINIA HAS BEEN NOTIFIED THAT HER NEPHEW MORRIS LAZARON JR. WILL BE MARRIED

SUNDAY MORNING AT NORFOLK VIRGINIA. SHE IS LEAVING TODAY FOR NORFOLK. REGRET

UNABLE TO KEEP LUNCHEON APPOINTMENT DO YOU WISH ME ALONE OR WOULD YOU POSTPONE

IT. REGARDS

ABBA

Sender's Name

Address

Tel. No.

Letter No. 78

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

November 28, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Here are a few items:

- 1) I received a letter from Professor Carl Friedrich which I am enclosing together with a copy of my reply. What, if anything, do you think should be done about it?
- 2) I saw Eliahu Ben-Horin yesterday and had quite a chat. He is being quite successful in his journalistic work. The coming issue of Harper's will carry an article by him on the Near East. He will have another article in Magazine Digest, dealing with Ibn Saud, and other articles in other journals. I am not sure whether you know that he resigned from the Revisionist organization (NZO) some time ago and made a statement that he no longer believed that the existence of a separate organization could effectively promote the Zionist cause. He is therefore unaffiliated. It has occurred to me that we might be able to use him both as a free lance writer and also perhaps as a person to be in charge of getting Zionist articles into the periodical press. While he still has Revisionist views on some questions, I believe that once he were connected with us, he would follow our official line. It might be a good idea for you to have a talk with him and decide for yourself.
- 3) Rabbi Halpern of the Midwood Jewish Center at Flatbush is the newly elected President of the Brooklyn Region. He is a good friend of Abe and Jack Goodman, and I had a long talk with him at lunch. Goodman thinks it would be most desirable for you to have a good, ~~from~~ ^{frank} talk with him and tell him a few things, in the course of your stay at Pittsburgh. He will be there as a delegate to the Conference, and so will Abe Goodman. Incidentally, I think that in your appraisal of Goodman the other day, you did less than full justice to his zeal. If he did not speak up at a meeting or meetings of the ZOA Executive, it was probably that he was somewhat overawed in the presence of the "big shots." But I was present at a public meeting of his district, at which he reported on the Atlantic City Convention. He delivered a fighting speech and went all out to such an extent that it produced some repercussions among some of the people there. He is prepared to resign as Treasurer of the ZOA together with a group of others, and is strongly in favor of an open public campaign against the Administration and to do his share in that connection. I would strongly recommend that you have Goodman and Halpern meet you at breakfast, lunch or otherwise

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

November 28, 1944

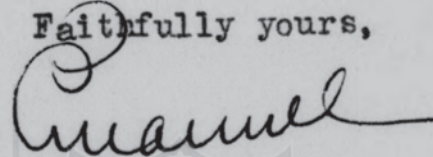
in Pittsburgh, and give Halpern an earful.

As a matter of fact, it would be extremely useful for you to meet privately a group of people from various cities who will be there and tell them what you think of the purges and the campaign of repression and obstruction which the ZOA Administration is carrying on.

4) This is I believe an excellent moment to approach Rosenbloom both to find out whether he is prepared to resign, and also in the matter of financial assistance. He could easily spare two or three thousand dollars, which would be most useful. Without some kind of organization, an independent organ, etc., we can get nowhere.

With best regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

ARCHIVES



EN/M
(Enc.)



COPY

November 30, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Commission on Palestine Surveys
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Neumann:

I have your letter of November 21st.

You may be assured that I count myself now as always among those who have great respect for your talents and abilities as well as for your services to the Zionist movement. You will no doubt recall that a few weeks ago I asked you to head an important department in the ZOA expansion program.

The talents and abilities you have to offer to the movement in the present stage of its political program are available to the Emergency Council regardless of whether you are a designee of the ZOA or not. They are available by virtue of the fact that, under the present setup, you, as Chairman of one of its Commissions, are taking part not only in the meetings of the larger Council but in the meetings of the Executive of the Emergency Council. Therefore your discontinuance as one of the ZOA designees does not affect your ability to serve the cause.

At the last meeting of the ZOA Executive a list was ratified in which your name was replaced by that of Dan Frisch, the newly elected Chairman of the ZOA Administrative Council, who should be intimately conversant with the work of the Emergency Council and should participate in it, and who has moved to New York for the next six months in order to be close to all the central activities of the ZOA. The net result of this replacement is that we gain an additional place on the Emergency Council, bring into it an additional worthwhile person without depriving the Council of your own participation in its deliberations and program.

Now an additional word about why you were not renominated by the ZOA as one of its official designees on the Emergency Council. In the opinion of many, you have forfeited consideration as a ZOA designee because of your conduct during the year vis a vis the ZOA. It is not only that you have intrigued against the administration up to and at the recent Convention by organizing an opposition based on the false issue that the ZOA was "sabotaging" the Emergency Council. This issue was met squarely by me in Atlantic City at your caucus and I believe that the great majority were convinced that it was a false issue. The agitation, however, had the unfortunate effect of distracting the minds of many of the delegates from concentrated consideration of ZOA problems and program. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of the delegates not only reelected the administration but even strengthened it. Your so-called "generous" gesture to which you refer, namely, that you withdrew the opposition slate, was a transparent effort to make a virtue of a necessity. You knew the Convention was overwhelmingly against you. I, on the other hand, did not challenge your description of your gesture as generous because of my eagerness to heal the

November 30, 1944

irritations which you generated and I thought that your "face-saving" allusion to your generosity may as well go unchallenged.

It was my hope that with the close of the Convention the air would be cleared, and I waited to see whether it would be so. What happened?

Within a week following the Convention, reports reached me from various places that you were in communication with the people, already laying plans for the next Convention along the same lines of your unsuccessful attempt prior to this Convention. It was apparent that you would again do your utmost to keep "the political pot boiling".

There is another consideration which is even more serious. There are certain elementary standards of internal discipline which all groups are expected to observe. They are observed in Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi. It seemed to me that you were not observing this standard in your relation to the ZOA Executive of which you were and are a member. There were several instances of which the most glaring was your strenuous effort in the Emergency Council to put obstacles in the way of the ZOA Convention receiving the historic message of President of the United States.

Regarding the other name which you mention in your letter, as one of the alternates on the Emergency Council, there are considerations which any fair-minded person would deem valid including the consideration that an alternate should be resident in New York, as is the case with the other Zionist parties, so as to be available for meetings at short notice. Because of his position on the staff of the Emergency Council, this person too has the privilege of attending and participating at meetings whenever he is in the city. I yield to no one in my regard for him as a personal friend and as a colleague. His place as an alternate is taken by the newly elected Chairman of the Keren Hayesod Board who, together with Judge Rosenblatt, the President of the Keren Hayesod, will, as he should be, conversant with work which the Keren Hayesod is subsidizing substantially.

It is my hope that we may have a successful year on the political as well as on the organizational front, though the road, we know, is still a hard one. I trust that the program which I have proposed to the ZOA, requiring great efforts on the part of our Zionists will, together with the political program, receive their proper attention and that our Zionists will be permitted to concentrate on their tasks at least until a few weeks before the Convention.

Sincerely yours,

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Letter No. 79

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

December 13, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

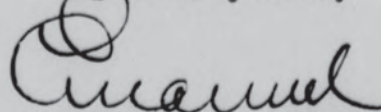
This is confidential. Mr. M. Z. Frank, who is a journalist and works for the ZOA, just told me on the phone that after hearing you in Pittsburgh and getting your point of view, which he interpreted as an appeal to the people if necessary over the head of the Administration, it made a considerable impression on him. He called my attention to an editorial in today's "Forward" which he said was a strong attack on the Administration for letting us down. The editorial was written by Mr. Rogoff, who is strongly pro-Zionist. Abe Cahan, of course, stands by the President through thick and thin. Rogoff, on the other hand, said to Frank that he knows enough about the President to know that he is not to be relied upon.

Since writing this: Shapiro advises against this step. We may reconsider.

Just heard from Gellman, who asked my opinion about having the Mizrachi send a letter to members of the governing bodies of the various Zionist organizations and to other leading Zionists throughout the country explaining their point of view in support of your position. I thought it was a good idea and advised him to go ahead. I will, if necessary, collaborate with him in the drafting of the letter. Yesterday I spent a couple of hours in drafting the memorandum which is going out to the local Emergency Committees.

Cheerio!

As ever yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

December 15, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a check for \$500 for the Press Service. I shall await your letter about Rosenbloom.

I understand that Goldmann had a press conference with Yiddish writers Fishman, Frank and Meckler, trying to give them the line which they should follow -- not to criticise the President, etc. Isreeli could give you the facts. The Yiddish Press should be urged to follow the line which it logically took -- to keep pressing the State Department and the President for an explanation -- especially now that Stettinius has declined to send the letter which was requested. You should get in touch with them individually. I may want a conference with the Yiddish Press either before or after our meeting on Wednesday.

I understand that caucuses have been held in which Segal participated looking towards a re-organization of the Emergency Council. I think you ought to have a talk with Segal as he seems to be easily swayed by people to yield and make concessions. He and his friends should not enter into any caucuses without first contacting me.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

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Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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

NB245 18=NOJ NEWYORK NY 15 109P

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVE= E.105 + Ansel

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM
1944 DEC 15 PM 1 28

PLEASE MAIL GOODMAN FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS FOR PRESS
SERVICE STOP CONCERNING ROSENBLOOM WRITING YOU AIR MAIL
TODAY REGARDS=

EMANUEL NUEMANN.

No.	To RDP (W)
sk 1 At 2 P	To Be mld

620150

December 15, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have just wired you as follows: "PLEASE MAIL GOODMAN FIVEHUNDRED DOLLARS FOR PRESS SERVICE STOP CONCERNING ROSENBLOOM WRITING YOU AIRMAIL TODAY REGARDS"

Abe Goodman has been going into the financial condition of the Press Service and he tells me that in addition to its regular income the Press Service requires additional outside aid to the extent of about \$1200 a month - until it begins to get its money from the Welfare Funds. Though the dinner planned here was called off, efforts are being made to get contributions from the persons who had accepted the dinner invitations and are therefore presumably prepared to contribute. This mail effort ought to yield some money, possibly two or three thousand dollars, eventually.

In Pittsburgh, Magida spoke to Charles Rosenbloom, who agreed to contribute to the Press Service \$500 a year for several years and will probably send his first check in January.

Recently, some weeks ago, Abe Goodman advanced to the Press Service \$1000 as a loan, which I understand he is prepared to leave as a contribution. He may also be induced to advance a little more money provided he knew a reliable group of people would take the matter in hand and make the necessary efforts. He will be unable to do that since he is returning to Florida next week. It should certainly be possible to find a few substantial people who are friends of yours to undertake that responsibility. But in the meanwhile provision must be made for the next few weeks.

On the phone I urged you to call Rosenbloom on the long distance. Perhaps you ought to ask him to come to Cleveland for a good talk with you on the whole situation. He is important from several points of view. He is a good name; he is a member of the ZOA Executive which meets Tuesday night, and he can help financially. I think you should impress him with the gravity of the situation and appeal for his more active support on the basis of his personal loyalty. He should by all means be in New York on Tuesday because we may decide to attend the ZOA Executive Committee meeting - all of us, including yourself. I believe that if we do that, there is a good chance that the ZOA Executive will be split and deterred from giving to its representatives on the Council the wrong kind of binding instructions. Every vote will count.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

December 15, 1944

Above all, Rosenbloom should be made to feel that we will require a substantial fund, at least \$25,000, in order to protect the position, and that you look to him to make a generous beginning. Here in New York, through a handful of people, we raised the other day \$3,000 and will raise much more. If he will agree at least to advance a few thousand dollars now, we can use a part of it to help keep the Press Service afloat a little longer until we have a chance to catch our breath and turn around. Meantime I am very seriously concerned about the IJPS because it is our only medium to the Anglo-Jewish press throughout the country. We dare not lose it.

There is to be a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Brooklyn Region Monday night for a discussion of the internal situation. The ZOA Administration has selected as its spokesman for this occasion James Heller, while I am to represent the "opposition." Heller is coming to that meeting, a sufficient indication of the importance they attach to it.

Whatever happens at the meeting of the Council next Wednesday night I would like to impress upon you one thing: they are out to discredit you and to implant the idea among Zionists everywhere that we have lost much of what we had gained with the President because of your actions. Every failure to get support from the State Department or the White House will hereafter be debited to your account. It will therefore be essential for you to counteract all that by carrying on a campaign of your own throughout the country. One step in that direction is for you to summon soon a conference to key men to report on the whole situation and to give them a point of view. In addition, it will also be necessary for you to make a number of speeches at important centers in defense of your policy. Unless that is done, and done quickly, they will succeed in confusing the Zionists, poisoning their minds and demoralizing the movement. Its fighting spirit can be saved and preserved only by preserving their confidence in you. Steps along these lines should be taken at once.

If the result of Wednesday night's meeting is that you quit at once, you will have no opportunity to carry out this campaign of education. Therefore, even if you should wish to resign "ultimately," a period of a month or two ought to elapse to give you time for the purposes I have mentioned.

In view of the above, my thought at the moment is that the result of the debate Wednesday night should perhaps be the appointment of a committee to study the whole situation, including the internal situation, and to bring back a report and recommendations to a later meeting of the Council, leaving matters in the meanwhile in statu quo.

Do drop me a line in reply to this letter if you can.

As ever yours,

Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am sending this letter in duplicate to the Temple and to your home.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

December 15, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have just wired you as follows: "PLEASE MAIL GOODMAN FIVEHUNDRED DOLLARS FOR PRESS SERVICE STOP CONCERNING ROSENBLOOM WRITING YOU AIRMAIL TODAY REGARDS"

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Letter No. 81

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

December 22, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

The Yiddish press today is not bad; the Forwards was the best; the Morning Journal had a good editorial. I spoke to Morris Weinberg this noon and he told me that they were going to have an editorial, which was about to be considered by the Editorial Committee. According to his statement, he was entirely with you and for you, etc., etc. I am to meet with him.

I also took the trouble to check with Smolar and Teller regarding the stories they are sending out.

I just had a long talk with Harry Silver, and we analyzed the situation again. We were agreed that it is unrealistic to expect any kind of satisfactory result to come out of next Wednesday's meeting because any plan of reorganization that would be acceptable to you would be unacceptable to the others, and vice versa. Of course, even if there is only one chance in a thousand, one should be prepared and for that reason I suppose it would be well for you to be in New York next week.

We also reached the conclusion that no effective fight could be put up unless we had sufficient means at our disposal to building up an effective organization. The men would be available if the money were available. Bob Silverman wants to quit the UPA and throw himself into this work; so do people in the JNF; so would Manson and others.

We considered two plans. Shapiro's idea was that the first four or five thousand dollars at our disposal (\$3000 we have now) should be used for the purpose of raising a fund of some \$200,000. This he feels can be done by having meetings and dinners in a number of cities, to be addressed by you, and some of them to be addressed by others. This would be a brief and intensive campaign lasting about one month. To be successful it would have to be undertaken at once and while interest in the subject and indignation are at their height. Shapiro's point is that if you devoted all your time for fifteen months to the Emergency Council, you owe it to yourself to devote one month to this effort so that you could have an effective organization at your disposal. Otherwise the others will have a field day and capture Zionist opinion.

The alternative to this program would be to raise a large fund from a handful of wealthy persons; who they would be, I do not know.

Neuman

It is with deep regret that we have found it necessary to resign as members of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America. The course of action pursued by the Administration leading to the elimination of Abba Hillel Silver from the political leadership as well as general tendencies which prevailed have left us no alternative but to dissociate ourselves from this administration.

The ruthless elimination of Dr. Silver after a year of unprecedented activity, exemplary devotion and brilliant achievement has shocked the whole Zionist movement. This action was carried out in an arbitrary manner, in disregard of the views of the Zionist rank and file and in defiance of public opinion. All suggestions and proposals made with a view to healing the internal breach and restoring unity have been repeatedly rejected. A public breach and a public controversy have been deliberately precipitated and forced upon the movement to its detriment.

Far from following the democratic ^{tradition} of the Zionist movement, the Administration has been building an ~~ex~~ extensive and powerful machine to impose the will of a small group which has entrenched itself and means to perpetuate its control. With the growth of the membership, the individual members are being increasingly deprived of their proper voice and influence in the affairs of the organization. The National Conventions have lost their parliamentary character and have become a series of mass meetings in which a round of oratory replaces and stifles free discussion and critical analysis. Committees are packed and dissenters are purged. Criticism is silenced by eliminating the critics. The end result of such a system must inevitably be the decay of Zionist democracy and ultimate disintegration.

By remaining in the Executive Committee, we would be condoning the actions of the Administration and be false to our convictions. By resigning, we regain our freedom of action and retain our self-respect.

We shall conduct ourselves as members of a "loyal opposition," serving the movement and the organization in the manner we deem best. We shall cooperate in positive and constructive efforts while exercising our right and duty to engage in free discussion of Zionist policies and to voice legitimate criticism whenever it is called for. We shall fight for an undiluted and aggressive Zionism and for such reforms and changes within the ZOA as are in our opinion long overdue.



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WESTERN UNION

1206-

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ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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.

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

HAVE CABLED JERUSALEM STOP PLEASE SEND OUT AT ONCE TO ANGLO JEWISH PRESS
FOR THIS WEEKS ~~XXXX~~ ISSUES AND TO ZIONIST DISTRICTS OR COMMUNITY CONTACT GROUPS
OUR INTERPRETATION OF YESTERDAYS VOTE STOP REQUEST HERE FOR COPIES SHAPIROS
LETTER. HAVE IT PRINTED AND FORWARD ME FEW HUNDRED COPIES. REGARDS

SILVER

WRHS



January 10, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I think that you should follow up the matter of Schneour. If he is to do anything, this is the time in which to do it.

Is Naiditsch's article to appear?

I am leaving tonight for St. Louis to address the meeting of the American-Palestine Committee.

I shall look forward eagerly to your coming here to occupy my pulpit on Sunday morning, January 21. In view of the train delays which have been frequent, I would suggest that you take the eight o'clock train out of New York which arrives here at seven in the morning. I will make reservations for you at the Wade Park Manor.

What would you suggest as an appropriate title for the subject which you will discuss?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

January 12, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am sending you herewith, confidentially, a very interesting and revealing letter of Pierre van Paassen. His own reaction to the situation pleased me a great deal as well as the reaction which he has been receiving from audiences when he discussed the controversy. Judging from his letter, the ZOA gang is evidently terribly frightened and have been trying to get someone to speak up for them and defend them before the Jewish public. Their own voices have failed to convince.

Please show this letter to Shapiro and Manson. It cannot, of course, be used, because he writes to me in confidence. I am also enclosing a copy of the resolutions adopted by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council.

I met with a rather large group in St. Louis and told them the whole story. I believe the meeting will be productive of good. Some resolutions will be forthcoming, and Goodman promised to raise funds. He is a very fine man and very strong for us.

The series of meetings of the American Palestine Committee in St. Louis were extraordinarily successful. The entire community for two days was subjected to a well-told pro-Palestine educational campaign, and 25,000 school children saw our Palestine films. Meetings were arranged for hundreds of school teachers, clergymen, the Rotary Club, etc. etc. The climax was last evening when nearly 800^{plus} 700 of whom were non-Jews -- assembled at a banquet at the Jefferson Hotel and listened to a series of addresses on Palestine given by Dorothy Thompson, Atkinson and myself. On the two-day program, Freidrich, McDonald, Dr. and Mrs. Lowdermilk and many others participated. Tuvim and LeSourd are doing an excellent job. Tuvim wants to resign from the Emergency Council. I advised him not to. The work which he is doing in the arrangement of these regional conferences is very important for the Zionist cause. An excellent resolution was adopted by the Conference and forwarded to the President.

Mr. Neumann

-2-

January 12, 1945

Here are some items of interest. I am informed that Dr. Edward C. Lindeman saw the President recently and the latter told him that he would like to have public pressure from Christian sources brought to bear on him in connection with our cause. If that is, his objection to the passage of our resolution in Congress is even more mystifying, unless he gave Dr. Lindeman the traditional run-a-round.

From Lowdermilk I learned that Palestine may be on the agenda of the meeting between Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin. He quoted a high authority who suggested that concrete plan touching boundaries, etc. be made available to the President. Perhaps you should pass this information on to Mr. Lourie for what it is worth.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 12, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have your letter of the tenth. I am trying to get hold of Mr. Schneour and I am checking up on Naiditch's article as well.

Meanwhile there has been a veritable spate of other articles which I hope you have been seeing. Today there was a fine article in the Morning Journal by Bublick, and yesterday one by Leon Kusman; Sunday there will be another column by Fishman, and ~~Tuesday~~ an article by Auerbach. In the Forward two articles by Crystal have appeared and a third one will appear tomorrow. In the Day there will be a second article by Jacob Richman on Sunday. The statements of the Poale Zion and Mizrachi have also been featured. So far as the Yiddish press is concerned, the job could not have been better done.

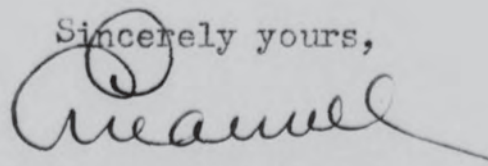
Regarding my visit to Cleveland, I already have a reservation on the 8:15 train from New York Saturday night but will try to get on an earlier train if at all possible.

As for the title, if you wish me to speak on the subject of the crisis, then I would suggest as the title "Zionist Policy and Zionist Leadership". If you don't want me to speak on the controversy, the title might be altered to read "Zionist Aims and Zionist Policy."

We had a rather good meeting of our inner group last night to clarify our further line of policy. It was agreed among other things: (a) that we continue our campaign of education; (b) to try to form some kind of central body for the Zionists of the Metropolitan area under our guidance and leadership; (c) to plan for a dinner as a tribute to you.

More hereafter!

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am returning the original Morgenthau correspondence.

January 14, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

You may recall that I sent you the cable from the General Zionists in Tel Aviv. The cable should be answered. Please prepare a draft of a cable and telephone me.

I have not yet had a reply to the cable which I sent to Ben Gurion in connection with Mrs. McCormack's statement in the New York Times.

I trust that translations have by now been made of excerpts of articles and editorials which have appeared in the Yiddish press. Zionists who do not read the Yiddish press are not sufficiently familiar with the issues involved in the controversy and with the reaction of the Yiddish press to what has happened. So far they have heard only from us, who are the interested parties, but not from the public opinion. Excerpts of articles of ten or fifteen writers, and editorials which have appeared not only in the Yiddish press, but in some of the Anglo-Jewish papers -- Los Angeles, Boston, Hartford, Milwaukee, etc., and the resolutions of a dozen or so districts indicating the number of registered Zionists which they represent, would make an impressive booklet which should be widely distributed immediately.

I have made reservations for you at the Wade Park Manor and have also arranged for your transportation back to New York on the train leaving Cleveland at 7:15 P.M.

I will arrange to have you meet with a group of our friends at lunch on after services.

Naiditsch and Schneour are two important matters which should be followed through.

I shall arrive in New York Thursday morning.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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WESTERN UNION

1206-

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

Jan. 16, 1945

WANT A REPLY?

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

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

WRHS



following
RECEIVED ~~THIS~~ CABLE FROM TEL AVIS THIS MORNING QUOTE PLEASE CABLE IMMEDIATELY FOR READERS HABOKAR TEL AVIS GENERAL ZIONIST DAILY FULL PARTICULARS ZIONIST CRISIS SITUATION. IF SILVER ABSENT CABLE HIM OUR REQUEST UNQUOTE SIGNED HECHTMAN BERNSTEIN. SUGGEST THAT YOU SEND A CABLE IN MY NAME GIVING THE INFORMATION REQUESTED. REGARDS.
SILVER

A.L.

January 22, 1945

MEMORANDUM FOR DR. SILVER

In a letter from Abe Goodman dated January 15th, he writes among other things: "By the way, I invited Dr. & Mrs. Silver to be guests in my home. At the same time I transmitted a request from the Local Federation Drive to have Dr. Silver as the principal speaker at a dinner scheduled February 24th. So far I haven't received Dr. Silver's reply."

Today I received another letter from Goodman dated January 18th in which he says: "Not having heard from Dr. Silver, I put through a call to Cleveland yesterday and found that he is out of town. The people in charge of the local Federation drive are very anxious to have him at their dinner, which is scheduled for February 18th (not 24th). I certainly hope that he and Mrs. Silver will find it possible to accept my invitation and to spend a little time in this community. As I said to you some time ago, in the winter months this community has much more than local importance. People come here from all parts of the country, and whatever happens here at this time can be radiated to many places elsewhere."

It may not be a bad idea at all. You might take a week's vacation in Miami and you may also secure some funds here. We have a fine nucleus consisting of Abe Goodman, Morris Weinberg and Isidore Fine of Brooklyn, the latter one of the pillars of the Brooklyn Jewish Center and of the Brooklyn Zionist Region, a former president of the region, a very wealthy man who is on our side of the fence.

*In any case please send him a wire.
He is too good a friend to ignore.*

EN

Attached letter from Pittsburgh.

EN/M

January 25, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith some letters which might interest you. Please return them when you are finished. Shapiro and Manson might wish to see them too. Do you by any chance know this Isaac Stone, who seems to be an interesting fellow? You may be interested in using his services as he is anxious to serve.

The letter of Joe Weingarten is also very interesting. He practically invites his friend Stephen out. He should be invited to join our committee. So should Rabbi Theodore H. Gordon of the Hillel Foundation at the University of Wisconsin, who sent me a very fine letter.

I came across the London Jewish Chronicle of January 5. It has quite a bit on the controversy, but a good deal of it is written by one who is biased the wrong way. Do you know who the correspondent of the London Chronicle in New York is? It might be helpful to get him straightened out.

There is a good article in the Jewish Post of Indianapolis, dated January 19, written by Rabbi Benjamin Schultz, on the attitude of the Yiddish press towards the controversy. It might be well to make a reprint of it.

I have accepted the invitation of Miami to open their campaign on February 18. I will be there over the week-end and it might be well for Mr. Goodman to arrange a meeting of his friends.

The editor of the Sentinel of Chicago, dated January 18, on his page "The Editor Views the News" has an editorial called "Dr. Silver Convicts Himself." It might be worthwhile for you or Manson to write a rejoinder directed to his chief argument. I am enclosing the editorial herewith. The answer, of course, should be to quote from the instructions sent out during the last few days by Goldstein and the Emergency Council calling for a flood of telegrams to be sent to the White House. The question is, when is pressure pressure?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

January 26, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a preliminary list of people who should be asked to be sponsors at the March 21st dinner. There are other names which should be added, which you, Shapiro, Manson and Tuvim may think of. I will send in some additional names myself. The invitations to these people should be sent out pretty soon. Their names can then be used on a letterhead.

Please ask Mr. Shapiro to check over the addresses. They may not all be correct. Most of them are correct, I believe.

Have you given some thought to charging only \$10 per plate and not counting on the income of the banquet to meet our financial needs? The fifteen thousand dollars or so which might be raised could well be obtained from a small group of people. There would be some who would hesitate to come to a testimonial meeting when they know that the profits would be used to fight the ZOA Administration. Conceivably the ZOA gang would give wide publicity to the fact that the purpose of the meeting is not a testimonial to Dr. Silver but to raise money to finance a campaign against the ZOA. It might be better from a public relations point of view to have the meeting on the 21st as a straight testimonial affair. Think this over and talk it over with Shapiro and our other friends.

After you have discussed it with them, call me on the telephone.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 29, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

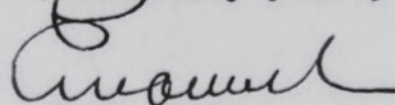
I acknowledge receipt of the various letters you sent me which were received yesterday (Sunday) and today. We are going full steam ahead. I am enclosing copy of the letter which is to go out over Rosenbloom's signature as it has been revised by Shapiro, Manson and Tuvim. They made certain insertions. They insist upon the insertions, which you will note.

I am also enclosing copy of the reply I have received from Sumner Welles. I am afraid it's no go there.

Confidentially; I had lunch today with Saul Spira, the Secretary of the ZOA, who admitted that if the Convention were held today, you would carry it without question. I shall write you more fully about it. I am leaving for Toledo in a few minutes. I may call you from there tomorrow.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

January 30, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Mr. Biben may be interested in reprinting the article "Whither U. S. Zionism?" in his weeklies. It is an excellent article and I have an idea who Wm. Kleinfeld is.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

February 1, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I believe that it would be desirable to have nine or ten signatures attached to the letter to be sent to the sponsors inviting them to be on the Committee of Sponsors for the March 21 dinner. I would suggest the following names: Louis Lipsky, Emanuel Neumann, David Wertheim, Leon Gellman, Professor Horace M. Kallen, Michael Hollander, Mordecai M. Kaplan (if he is with us) or Rabbi Milton Steinberg; two or three names of non-Jews should also be added - James G. McDonald, Pierre Van Paassen, Bishop Francis J. McConnell.

These people should be telephoned to at once and the letter to the sponsors should go out at the earliest possible moment with a post-card for a reply.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

February 2, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

The enclosed letter and cable of Meyer Berlin will interest you. The Emergency Council tried to throw sand in people's eyes by the statement which they issued to the JTA that they did not know of any such proposal to invite Wise, Halprin and Goldstein to Palestine and that they knew only of the all U.S. Zionist delegation which the Council had discussed for quite a number of months. I suggested to Rabbi Kirshblum that he give the substance of Berlin's cable to the JTA. I am also enclosing a very fine letter which Rabbi Kirshblum wrote to a Mr. Teitelbaum of Johnstown, Pa.

In making up the list of sponsors for the March 21st dinner meeting, it might be desirable to include the names of a few Hadassah women who have been with us, certainly the names of Mrs. Rose Jacobs, Mrs. Schoolman (?) and Mrs. De Sola Pool(?). I think Mr. Cohen of the Esco Foundation should be invited.

Has Pierre Van Paassen accepted the invitation to speak?

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

February 9, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I thought you would be interested in the enclosed letter which I received this morning from Rabbi William B. Silverman of ^{Atlanta} North Carolina. Please show it to Shapiro, Manson and Tuvim. Has Silverman been invited to serve on our Policy Committee?

I think it would be a fine thing to ask Sumner Welles to serve as a co-chairman for the March 21st meeting as well as Wallace.

We ought to make certain that the writers of the Jewish press who were so fine through all these weeks are invited to be on the Sponsors' Committee -- I mean men like Dingol, Crystal, Fishman, etc., and of course Mr. Weinberg.

I hope that preparations have been made for an effective and early announcement of the formation of the American Zionist Policy Committee. This should be done within the next day or two, as far as the Yiddish papers are concerned, and by Monday the article should be in the mail for the Anglo-Jewish press.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

He advised students to read the Yiddish press but he said this: The Yiddish press is quite partial in the case of Wise and Silver. Neumann and company mean to take for themselves control of the ZOA through the American Zionist Policy Association. Fortunately for us, no special convention could be held now. Therefore Silver led us only to partial fatality. If Neumann gathers a bit more strength, the officers of the ZOA will have to resign. Goldstein was elected because he was thought more easy to deal with. It is shameful that Goldstein was singled out for persecution just because he supports Wise.

He discussed Weizmann's contemplated visit in March or April with two missions: (1) Chalutziah and (2) the bringing of peace. But he said he won't succeed to bring peace because it is either one or the other.

He said he received a letter from Weizmann three days ago in which he wrote: "I am sorry that I called Neumann (?) to leadership at Wise's side. I evidently made a great mistake." Many of Neumann's friends are gangsters. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh and his gangsters seek to replace the serious-minded men with Silver.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 12, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Last week Dr. Wise addressed his students at the Institute of Religion and I am sending you a report which I got from one of the students. In the last paragraph there is a reference to a letter from Weizmann, which I believe to be a mistake. Wise must have referred to you rather than to me at that point. I understand there was a letter from Weizmann, which I have not seen of course, but I am told that it expressed Weizmann's distress over Wise's proffered resignation, the hope that Wise would withdraw it, and then a statement more or less to the following effect: "I had hoped that everything would be all right, but from what I have heard from Meyer, I had evidently made a mistake in my original choice." I repeat that this is not an actual quotation since I have not seen the letter.

Yesterday we had another victory in Pittsburgh at a Regional Meeting of the Tri-State Region, comprising Pittsburgh, Western Pennsylvania, parts of West Virginia and Eastern Ohio (Youngstown, Akron, etc.). The efforts made by Goldstock and myself to prevail upon Levinthal to keep out of the controversial discussion failed. He spoke for about 45 minutes - the usual argument with which we are now so well familiar. I answered at length, speaking I should think about an hour. The result was a resolution adopted unanimously, calling for your restoration to the political leadership. Levinthal pounded away at the argument that such a resolution is equivalent to the demand that Wise be "thrown out." The only concession made was that the resolution spoke of your return to the leadership together with Dr. Wise.

This result was not anticipated by Levinthal and he left, quite unhappy and dejected. When he finished his presentation, there was applause and he felt confident that he had won over the majority to his point of view. He ~~also~~ later on that I made a "powerful and brilliant argument for a bad case." Levinthal did not enter into the discussion until after two or three delegates had spoken and he could see that the drift was pro-Silver. He then plunged in. Incidentally, he waved a photostatic copy of the telegram received by Wise in October from the White House. I am asking him now in a letter whether he would let me have a copy of that telegram, which he did not read at the meeting.

The letter that you had from Rabbi Silverman is excellent. I wonder whether he would have any objection to our circulating among some of our friends excerpts from his letter without giving away his name, his town or any other indication of the source. It would be useful.

I had a long talk with Elihu Stone, who has returned from South America. He is going to go to Cuba again and return before Pesach, after

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

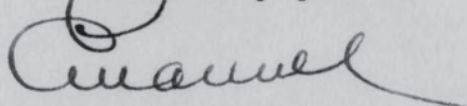
February 12, 1945

which he will be prepared to tour the country for us if necessary. I urged him to handle the situation in New England right now in view of the fact that they are about to hold a conference of Emergency Committee chairmen. The plan we worked out is that he is to arrange a dinner meeting with some of the people and prepare them for the coming conference.

There are many other matters I shall have to write you about in another letter.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)



February 13, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I hope that by the time this letter reaches you we will have straightened out the matter of Professor Einstein. I sent him a telegram shortly after you spoke to me.

I think it was a mistake to feature him so prominently in our release because it singled him out and would naturally arouse counter-measures on the part of the Wise boys. We should make very sure in inviting people onto our committees or as speakers that they understand fully the situation and the controversy which exists so that in accepting they will do so with their eyes open. To get a man and then have him withdraw is to embarrass ourselves badly, and to play into the hands of the opposition.

I understand that we had agreed that Senator Mead should be invited to speak. At the time that he is invited, he should be apprised of the controversy so that he will not plead ignorance of the fact when pressure is brought on him, as it undoubtedly will be, and he will feel constrained to withdraw at the last minute. Certainly no name should be publicly announced by us as far as the program is concerned before we have checked and double-checked.

I think the situation in New England should be carefully watched. I do not know when the conference of the Emergency Committee is to be held there, but some of our people ought to be on hand a day or two before the conference and during the conference. Elihu Stone is excellent, but he ought to have some re-inforcement.

The account which you sent me of Wise's address to the members of his Institute is very interesting, though a bit confused. It would be worthwhile to get another report from someone who was also present. It would be interesting to obtain a copy of the Weizmann letter which Wise quoted as well as the

Mr. Neumann

-2-

February 13, 1945

photostatic copy of the telegram received by Wise which
you requested from Levinthal.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 15, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 % Mr. Abraham Goodman
 3355 Flamingto Drive
 Miami Beach, Fla.

Dear Abba:

Upon my return to town I found your letter of the 13th. By this time you have been informed, I believe, that I saw Professor Einstein but failed to change his position. He had already received your telegram but told me immediately upon my entering his room that it was no use; that he was simply not in a position to serve as a sponsor. He could not reveal the reason but wanted me to believe him that it was utterly impossible for him to act otherwise. He intimated that the strongest possible means were used to make him take this step. I explained that we had already sent out the publicity. He said that could not be helped but all he asked us to do was to refrain from continuing to use his name in the future. I expressed concern lest a letter or statement he may have given to others, indicating his withdrawal, might be publicized to our and your hurt. He thereupon dictated and signed the attached statement, which he said we were free to publish if necessary.

I don't think we did make a mistake in our publicity. Einstein's name had no value to us if we could not use it. So far as our opponents are concerned, I think it would have made not a particle of difference whether Einstein's name was headlined or not; they would have gotten after him just the same, as they did in the case of Van Paassen, Fertig, Kaplan and others whose names were not headlined. They are trying to do a first rate wrecking job with every name of importance.

Regarding the speakers, I agree with you entirely. For that reason I am very doubtful about approaching Senator Mead. He is a New Yorker and would figure that he needs the goodwill of Wise and other prominent Zionist leaders of New York. It seems to me therefore wiser to get someone else. One name suggested has been Senator Fulbright, whom our St. Louis friends ought to be able to land. My own preference would be for Senator Elbert D. Thomas, who is Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Senate, an intellectual. I happen to be on good and friendly terms with him and think that if I landed him, he would stick. He is also a prominent Liberal and New Deal Senator. What do you think?

I will try to get a copy of the Weizmann letter to which Wise referred, though I may not succeed.

I understand that the responses to the Rosenbloom letter have been coming in in gratifying fashion. There are now about 100 acceptances from 47 states.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

February 15, 1945

I had quite a time of it on Tuesday, rearranging my schedule and going to Princeton Junction, changing to Princeton, then back to Princeton Junction, to North Philadelphia, where I had to change again for a train to Baltimore. That evening I met with a group of leading Zionists, the majority of whom at the outset seemed disinclined to go along with us on any action in any positive way. I discussed the whole situation with them at length and in detail for over two hours. At the end they agreed unanimously to favor our position and to try to put through a pro-Silver resolution at a meeting of their board. I have since had a letter from one of the men asking for material so that he may prepare a complete resumé of our case. He is a capable young lawyer and a kinsman of mine.

Isaac Potts, President of the district, an exceedingly fine gentleman, promised me to send in his acceptance to serve on the Policy Committee.

I have also been working on Detroit, one of whose chief men was in to see me Monday morning. Feuer will be there next Monday.

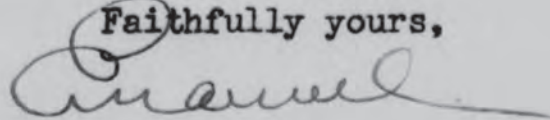
Lou Levinthal has sent me copy of the resolution adopted by the Emergency Council of Philadelphia, copy of which I am enclosing.

I understand there is no Naval chaplain in Miami or Ft. Lauderdale. There is an Army chaplain at Miami Beach, whose name is Saul Kraft, Office of the Chaplain, A. A. F. Redistribution Station #2, Miami Beach. There is also a Jewish Welfare Board worker, Benjamin Lambert of the Y. M. H. A., 1567 Southwest 5th Street, Miami, Fla. It is possible that either or both of these men may be in a position to advise what could be done in the direction of getting leave for Gabriel to be home Passover. The circumstances are that he is finishing his special training at Ft. Lauderdale in the middle of March and will then be sent to Miami and placed in an outgoing unit. Presumably he will then get a furlough before he is sent abroad. One doesn't know exactly.

I hope you have a nice time in Florida despite the likelihood of its being also a busy time.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. Besides Professor Einstein and Van Paassen, at least two others have been contacted to our knowledge, Mr. Fertig and Professor Kaplan. I have spoken to both and they have agreed to remain on the committee. Kaplan, as a matter of fact, only inquired regarding the nature of the dinner, the use of the money derived from the sale of tickets, etc. I told him that the dinner was being arranged as a tribute to you and it is our intention to give it that character. He asked me to write him a letter to that effect, which I have done, copy enclosed.

I have ^{talked} ~~told~~ Smolar of the JTA and Teller of the Press Service. Both knew

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

February 15, 1945

about Einstein's withdrawal and both had declined to print an item about it unless such item was officially sponsored by some responsible person or organization. Teller told me that the person who gave him the item called back to say "never mind." Apparently no one wished to assume the onus. The same thing, I understand, happened in the Yiddish papers. It therefore appears unlikely that Einstein's withdrawal will be publicized, though they may success in smuggling it in somewhere.

E. N.



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

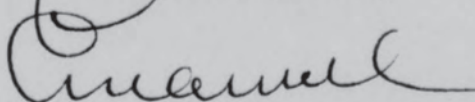
Dear Abba:

I have been having some pleasant correspondence with Mortimer May. At my request, he sent me a copy of the address he delivered at the Southeastern Region Conference last fall. He quotes you on page 2, and generally seems to be following the line you laid down in your report to the convention in Atlantic City.

I told him I was sending this on to you. If you should feel moved to do so, it would be nice for you to drop him a line. I think his paper reads very well and reveals a trained and cultivated mind. I am nursing him along. Some day I think he should be with us in our camp.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. Please be sure to return the paper either to me or to Mr. May directly.

EN/M
(Enc.)

March 2, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Emanuel:

You may get a good laugh out of the enclosed article by Mrs. Carl Alpert. I don't know who the lady is, but she has had a few articles in the same paper along the same line. However, this is evidently the line which the ZOA bunch is quietly circulating.

As ever yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 2, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have had a rather full week in connection with our affairs. What with drafting and revising the proposed statement, the preparation of a special article entitled "A Little While Longer," (to appear on the English page of the Day over Leon Feuer's signature) the drafting of resolutions and news items, I have been having some exercise in literary composition. I have also been keeping in constant personal touch with Meckler, Dingol, Edlin, Crystal, etc. The Yiddish press is certainly coming through splendidly, as you will have noticed.

Yesterday after the President spoke, I had a call from Milton Steinberg, all hot and excited and wanting to do something. It has finally come down to this: he is announcing a special sermon which he will preach next Friday night on the "Zionist Crisis and Zionist Leadership" and will let us have advance material on his sermon next Tuesday or Wednesday. He may also permit us to attach his name to a statement which I am contemplating to be issued by a group of prominent Zionists from all parts of the country.

Today I lunched with Margoshes. He is O. K. and will go along with us completely excepting for one reservation: he will not attack Dr. Wise personally because of his long association with him. He made two concrete suggestions: the first, that we arrange at once a large public meeting in Carnegie Hall or similar hall to be addressed by you. He did not think it would seriously interfere with the success of the dinner but felt that this is the moment for you to deliver a major political address in New York and not three weeks later. His second suggestion was that we establish on a modest scale ^{our own feature} syndicate to provide weekly articles to the Anglo-Jewish press. This was an outgrowth of my suggestion that he write a weekly column on Zionist affairs for the Biben newspapers. I think the luncheon was a good investment, as we shall probably see in his columns.

I have been trying to reach Weinberg on the long distance phone at Palm Beach, and being unable to reach him, have wired him to phone me. I want him to issue instructions to the Day to start a vigorous campaign demanding a reorganization of the Emergency Council and your recall to leadership.

Copy of Lipsky's letter to you and your comments reached me only today. I have been unable as yet to get hold of Lipsky. There was

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

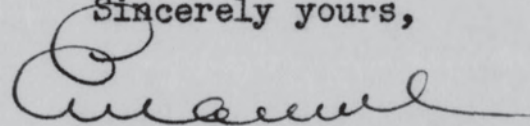
March 2, 1945

a meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Emergency Council in progress. I will probably speak to him this evening by phone and try to see him during the week-end. However, since you will be in town on Monday, I suppose you would wish to have a talk with him yourself.

I have been handicapped by a cold all week which kept me in bed one day, but on the whole I think I haven't done so badly.

With warmest regards, as ever

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M



March 26, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a copy of my answer to Dr. Wise.

I trust that you will follow through immediately with the letters to be sent to Dr. Weizmann to London and with the editorial comments of the Yiddish press, etc. on our Wednesday evening meeting. Copies should also be sent immediately to Ben Gurion. It might be well to have Mr. Segal write to Mr. Ben Gurion and give him a picture of the true state of affairs.

It is important that our office force concentrate almost exclusively in the next two weeks on the task of raising funds from among the people who attended the Wednesday evening meeting. I had a very pleasant talk with Simon Jaglom. He is eager to contribute and is eager to get others to contribute. He also wants to join our committee. You may wish to call on him and obtain his contribution.

Mr. Matz came to see me. We had a very pleasant talk. During the conversation, Mr. Fine came in. Mr. Matz is contributing a thousand dollars. He would like to have a statement from our office that we have applied for Income Tax deduction.

I think you ought to obtain Mr. Frank Cohen's contribution immediately. Once we have the money, we may mention the fact to some other potential large givers. Otherwise pressure might be brought on him to change his mind.

Mr. Matzger should also be seen right soon.

I'd like to obtain the congratulatory messages. I should like to answer some of them.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 27, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have just received your letter, with which was enclosed copy of your reply to Dr. Wise. I think it is an excellent reply and I am glad that you did not preclude the possibility of attending a meeting. The material to Dr. Weizmann and Ben Gurion has gone out and efforts are being made to get the letter sent as well.

Yesterday I have another talk with Frank Cohen. I doubt whether he will make his contribution in one payment at this time. He may do so in instalments as we go along. Most important in this connection, from his point of view, is that we establish the deductibility of such contributions for income tax purposes. That is being arranged. I am to have a further talk with him before the week is over. He is all right and I believe everything will work out satisfactorily with him.

As for Mr. Jogblum, Shapiro told me he has contacted him at your suggestion and will be seeing him. A number of our friends are getting after their friends who attended the dinner, to secure their contributions.

Dr. Akzin came to see me at my home last night to explain how he came to accept the post with the Emergency Council. It is apparently intended that he should be stationed in Washington doing work there. He wanted to know whether we thought so badly of his accepting such a post that, in the event of your return to the leadership, he would be regarded as persona non grata and be asked to quit. I told him that you have never pursued such a policy, but on the contrary made it a point to utilize the services of people whom you found employed in any organization which you took over, and that so far as I knew, your attitude towards him was a friendly one.

Regarding the internal situation, it was his view (which should not be quoted, of course) that the key to the situation so far as the Council is concerned is the Poale Zion group. If we could win their effective support, things would begin to happen. He said that Wertheim had evidently come away from his last interview with you with the impression that you insisted upon full control, a condition which Wertheim apparently felt could not be met.

I understand that today there was to have been a conference between the representatives of Mizrachi with Chaim Greenberg and Shulman regarding the internal situation. I will no doubt get a report about it in due course.

Today Weisgal was in to see me on other matters and we talked also about the internal situation. He seems to be thinking along these lines: A group of 5 could be constituted to be in charge of the political work, each one with a

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

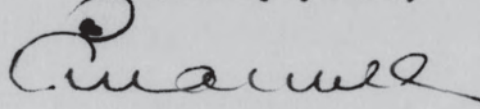
March 27, 1945

particular portfolio. It should have complete power and be expected to report from time to time to a larger group. If peace cannot be effected, he thought Weizmann should dissolve the Emergency Council altogether and let the political work be taken over by the Jewish Agency. So far as Weizmann's visit here is concerned, if he is not assured of the possibility of appearing at the San Francisco conference, Weizmann will probably delay his arrival in the U. S. A. until after that conference.

Eliezer Kaplan seems to be on his way here directly from Palestine. Rabbi Fishman, it seems, is not coming.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M



March 30, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Under separate cover I am sending you a booklet which might interest you. After you are through with it, please send it back to me and let me have your reactions.

With all good wishes, I remain

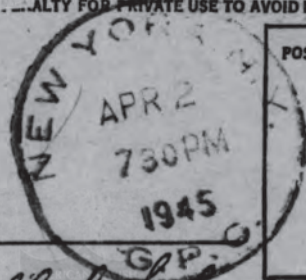
Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 3, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I was glad to have your letter in which you explain the situation regarding the Cleveland allocation. That will be useful.

I am glad you liked the memorandum which I prepared yesterday in answer to the letter sent out by the Emergency Council. We have also gotten *out* today some publicity with reference to the action taken by the ZOA and their press release. The feeling in informed circles here is that the action of the ZOA is a confession of defeat but that they are also trying to save their faces. I don't know yet whom Goldstein is appointing though I hear that one of them will be Frisch and presumably Lipsky will be another. All in all it shows that we have waged a pretty effective campaign, but of course the bad political situation is an important contributing factor.

In our own immediate circle there is, however, considerable feeling against a deal which will return you to the Emergency Council but leave the ZOA situation as it is. This feeling is strongly entertained by some of our most active supporters in all parts of the city. They will in fact feel severely let down if it happens that way. What could be done about it? There have been various suggestions. Torczyner, for example, proposed that as an extra-legal measure and because of the uncertainty regarding the holding of the next convention, the membership of the ZOA Executive be enlarged by the coopting of ten additional members representing your following. Such an arrangement could be ratified by a vote of the members of the Administrative Council, even by mail. There may be other solutions along those lines.

Assuming that they will be prepared to give you the effective leadership of the Emergency Council in one form or another, there is also a strong opinion that a net set of representatives of the ZOA to the Council be appointed in agreement with you. You should have the right to name at least half of the five members and three alternates representing the ZOA. Assuming that the Mizrachi and Poale Zion will go along with us, we would then be assured of a working majority. Enlarging the membership of the Council and of the Executive Committee may make both bodies cumbersome and may not be as effective from the point of view of a working majority. It is also felt that we should not agree to the dissolution of the Policy Committee, which should continue to function, although probably in a modified form, until the next convention. Its continued existence may serve as a whip over the ZOA group and as a deterrent against any further shenanigans.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 3, 1945

It is also suggested that the committee of the ZOA (on which your partisans will probably not serve) should negotiate with a group representing you rather than with yourself directly. This would give us greater flexibility in negotiation. Above all, it is of the utmost importance for your own political security in the future that whatever arrangements are agreed upon should be arrived at with a knowledge and approval of some of the people who have backed you throughout. Otherwise they may be deeply disappointed and discouraged from attempting anything in the future if the need should arise. I would include men like Morris Weinberg, representatives of the New York Zionists and some of the people in the country. *in this category*

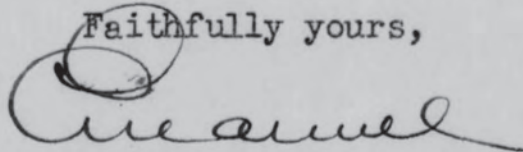
I shall be away all of next week in Denver. As my program looks at present, it is as follows:

Wednesday, the 4th	At home
Thursday, the 5th	In Washington
Friday, the 6th	At my office
Saturday and probably Sunday	At home
Monday	In Boston to address a Christian Conference on Palestine
Tuesday afternoon	Depart for Denver, arriving there Thursday morning
Return to New York probably Tuesday morning, the 17th	

I understand that you are speaking for the UPA in Canada Monday or Tuesday and have urged Manson and Auerbach to utilize that for publicity.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Leumann

EN/M

April 3, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

Rabbi Silver has requested me to inform you that his residence telephone number has been changed from Skyline 3740 to DREXEL 1090.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 20, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have had a long talk with Louis Segal, one which he emphasized was strictly private. The substance of his remarks was as follows:

I am not quite sure whether I got this accurately

The affairs of the Emergency Council have been agitating the Poale Zion party for some time. There is a definite division in the Central Committee. At one meeting a motion was put through with a narrow margin, to the effect that the party should support efforts at conciliation with you on the reestablishment of a united front. Thereupon Greenberg stated that he must ask to be relieved of his position in the Emergency Council. It was then decided to defer action to another meeting. Greenberg then had a private conversation with Segal in which he told him that he did not intend to retain his position in the Council because of the general atmosphere, the attitude of the Yiddish press and the existing differences of opinion within the party; but that he wished to choose his own moment for resigning.

After the article by Grodzinsky appeared in the Kempfer, containing a nasty attack on you and on David Pinski, the matter was taken up with Mr. Greenberg. He said that Grodzinsky (who is Associate Editor of the Kempfer) had submitted the article to him but that he, Greenberg, had declined to assume responsibility for its publication or to act as Editor with respect to the article. Grodzinsky thereupon submitted the article to Mr. Wertheim, who assumed the responsibility of approving its publication. It was then decided to discuss the matter at a meeting of the Central Committee in the presence of Grodzinsky and Wertheim. When the matter came up, Grodzinsky corroborated Greenberg's statement but since Wertheim was absent, further consideration of the matter was deferred to another meeting at which Wertheim would be present.

At a meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, a panel for San Francisco was recommended by Lipsky on behalf of the Executive Committee, a list which included the co-chairmen of the Conference and including also Dr. Wise and Herman Shulman of the Emergency Council. Segal raised the point that the Emergency Council had 3 chairmen, one of whom had been omitted and therefore moved the inclusion of Greenberg's name. Lipsky insisted that the list as submitted by the Executive Committee be adopted without changes. A vote was taken and Segal's motion was defeated. Subsequently Dr. Wise withdrew his name in order to make room for Greenberg, and Greenberg then accepted the appointment. This arrangement was accomplished upon Nahum Goldmann's suggestion that Dr. Wise would be asked to be one of the representatives of the Jewish Agency at San Francisco.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 20, 1945

At the last meeting of the Central Committee of the Poale Zion, a proposal was submitted coming from the Mizrachi that the Poale Zion appoint a committee to confer with the committee of the Mizradhi to consider the internal situation and a possible reorganization of the Emergency Council with a view to drawing you in. By a very close vote the Central Committee decided to appoint such a sub-committee to confer with Mizrachi. It consists of 4 persons, 3 of whom favor the status quo and 1 who is in favor of reorganization.

Lipsky has spoken to Segal and told him that the Peace Committee of the ZOA has a formula under consideration to which he wanted Segal's reaction, as follows: Wise to remain as Chairman of the Council, you to be elected as Vice-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee, Greenberg Vice-Chairman of the Executive. The Administrative Committee may or may not be continued. Segal replied that he could make no comment because the proposal involves Greenberg. Lipsky asked whether he would undertake to discuss the proposal with Greenberg, which Segal declined to do. Presumably Lipsky will do so himself. Segal expressed the opinion that Greenberg would probably decline to serve as Vice-Chairman of the Executive.

I gave Segal some idea of the feeling in our circles that there was no use in your returning to the Emergency Council unless you have a working majority with you and that even then there was serious question in our minds whether you ought to return with the ZOA setup being what it is. Segal thereupon expressed his own view in emphatic terms, as follows: The ideas propounded by Lipsky may not be accepted by the Wise faction; the Hadassahs in particular seem to be most strongly set against any such reorganization. However, if such a proposal is made to Dr. Silver, he ought to accept it. Segal believes that they would not dare to try shenanigans again if you returned to office. On the other hand, if you rejected such a proposal, you are bound to lose the support of a large section of public opinion.

Beyond that, he strongly advocated two things: (1) Continued agitation in the press. Regarding this point, he said that in a recent conversation he had with Morris Weinberg, the latter assured him that he was not going to drop the issue but would continue pressing it. (2) The formation of a national committee of women from among the Hadassah membership to counteract the intensive activity of the Hadassah leadership, which is directed against us.

So much for Mr. Segal. - Here are some additional bits of information: There have been spats between Wise and the Mizrachi; and between Lipsky and Wise in connection with the big open air mass meeting to be held at the Lewisohn Stadium on April 29th. Various people suggested that you be invited to speak, a suggestion which Wise has repeatedly rejected. He is to preside. Mendel Fisher and Dan Frisch seem to be particularly active in favor of peace. Fisher urged Wise to invite you to address the mass meeting. Then Frisch went to see him together with Lipsky. Wise flew into a rage, attacking Lipsky and demanding to know why he is working against him, etc., etc. I believe Wise is getting himself messed up more and more with some of the important people.

Gellman called me up and told me that they have had a cable from their people in Palestine to the effect that they are at odds with Weizmann

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 20, 1945

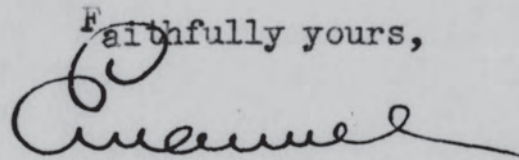
and Ben Gurion, who favor agitation for immigration and want to soft pedal the Commonwealth. Mizrachi here are at a loss as to what they should do. He did not tell me about the proposed meeting with the Poale Zion, about which I learned subsequently from Segal. I shall have a further talk with Gellman. - I have seen neither Lipsky nor Fishman since my return from Denver.

Today Wise, Greenberg and Shulman are supposed to be seeing President Truman.

That is all for the present.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

P. S. I made it clear to Segal that I could express no opinion about Lipsky's proposal either on your behalf or on behalf of the Policy Committee. I did tell him that personally, speaking for myself, I did not think that the proposal would be regarded as acceptable. It was impossible to leave Dr. Wise in the position of sole Chairman of the Council; If you came in, it had to be clearly understood that you are to direct the political activities. There could be several Co-Chairmen of the Council as well as Vice-Chairmen; an Administrative Committee with Shulman as Chairman would never do, etc., etc.

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 30, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Congratulations on your triumph yesterday! It worked out precisely as we had anticipated. I suppose you saw the account in today's Times, which is a whopper. I told the boys that the thing to do now is to transmit the atmosphere of yesterday's meeting to the Jews of the country through all available channels. I hope it will be done.

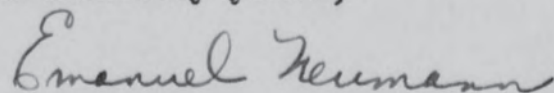
I am sorry to have missed you last night. As it turned out, Gabriel arrived early yesterday morning, to be precise at 4:30 A. M. We returned to bed at six o'clock. In the evening, after the dance concert, I had to rush down to the station to make sure of a return ticket for Gaby while he was having his supper, and by the time I got around to phoning the Commodore, you had checked out.

I got your message about the meeting of the ZOA Executive Committee, but it has been postponed to May 13th. I expect to attend it and will try to follow the line you suggest.

I am awfully glad we advised you to accept the invitation to speak at the Stadium and that you followed that course. Beyond doubt, it has further strengthened your position. Whatever the effect of the meeting politically, internally it will certainly bear fruit.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

May 4, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I should like you to consider seriously the suggestion that you make a tour of the Pacific Coast before the summer months set in. Our case has not been presented there and the Administration forces have been concentrating upon winning over the Pacific Coast. That is a shrewd political move on their part, for at the Convention they will be getting proxies from those districts. It will also give you an opportunity to get a first hand account of what our Jewish representatives actually did or did not do in San Francisco.

We have now had two great meetings in New York on March 21 and last Sunday, and yet we have raised very little money in New York for our work. I urged that the March 21 meeting be followed up immediately by actual solicitation among those who were present at the banquet. It is now six weeks since that meeting and nothing has been done. I have addressed Zionist groups in St. Louis, Columbus, Boston, Providence and elsewhere but no effective work was done to follow up with solicitation of funds, instead of which I am being asked to go here and there and everywhere to address meetings. I have spoken to Mr. Shapiro time and again about this, but things move awfully slowly.

I am wondering whether something can not be done immediately in New York to raise fifteen or twenty thousand dollars. A finance committee was appointed some time ago. It has as yet done next to nothing. It seems to me that if four or five of our friends will take ten or fifteen cards each and spend a few hours seeing these people substantial results can be had. If we are going into a campaign to capture the next ZOA Convention then

Mr. Neumann

-2-

May 4, 1945

surely we will require considerable sums.

I write you this in confidence. You should talk the entire financial situation over quite realistically with Mr. Shaprio and Tuvim.

By the way, has Frank Cohen sent in any part of his pledge?

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



May 11, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I can understand the reasons which make it difficult for you to leave for the Pacific Coast at this time. Perhaps you will be able to get away later on. I believe that it is important.

I understand that Ben Gurion is on his way to the United States. I do not know whether we carried out our original intention to write him in full about the controversy. In any event he should be seen early upon his arrival so that he gets our side of the story before he is pumped full by the opposition.

Shapiro telephoned me this morning and said that you and he are to see the representative of the Income Tax Division in Washington next Tuesday or Friday. I hope that we will obtain the permit. Otherwise we shall encounter even great difficulty in obtaining funds.

I again wrote to Shapiro two days ago about the necessity of concentrating on individual solicitations in New York right away. I have difficulty in persuading him to move in this direction. He is constantly thinking in terms of luncheons and meetings at which money is to be raised. So far there has been not a single luncheon or meeting in New York or elsewhere where money was raised. It simply can not be done that way. If five or six people will take eight or ten prospects and interview them in the next week or ten days, a very substantial sum of money can be raised.

Mr. Shapiro also tells me that he has not been very successful in getting up an activity among the Hadassah. He seems to be laboring under some kind of inhibition. I don't know what it is. I wish you would find out. It should not be difficult to interest two or three representative women in New York in our cause and to get them to circularize 100 or 150 Hadassah women throughout the country and send a telegram similar to the 146 ZOA leaders to Hadassah headquarters. I am sure that the wives of some of the 146 would be glad to sign such a statement. This, in my judgment is an important action and should be

Mr. Neumann

-2-

May 11, 1945

executed systematically and with dispatch. A brochure on the role of Hadassah in this controversy should be written and circulated to the local members of Boards of Hadassah in the principal cities. I requested Mr. Shapiro to get these lists some time ago.

I understand that there is to be a meeting of the Executive of the ZOA next Monday. It might be well for you to have a clear understanding with Mr. Lipsky as to what position to take at the meeting should there be a report of the Peace Committee. You ought to tell Mr. Lipsky of the suggestion that there be not one but three co-chairmen of the Emergency Council which might possibly include him. I do not know whether Mr. Lipsky is in New York or in San Francisco.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:EK



May 6, '45

Dear Abba,

Your special delivery letter reached me yesterday at home (while I was entertaining the Marvin Trowenthal & the Forczyners). I am home today - Sunday - with a cold and am replying by hand.

1. Pacific Coast. I have given this matter the most serious consideration & do not find it possible to undertake the tour - at least not as matters stand as of today. Such a tour involves several weeks absence ~~from~~, an absence I cannot afford. I am in the midst of discussions with E. Kaplan regarding the future of the J. V. A. project here & in Palestine. Ben Gurion is arriving about the 15th & will have a hand in these discussions & decisions. This is a matter to which I have devoted almost 2 1/2 years & if at all possible I would like to advance our plans along the road toward realization. I am under no illusions, for I realize that I have incurred the hostility of various people in the course of the controversy and they will probably use their influence to bring about any

elimination from this work though I have
carried it on my shoulders with great success.
The discussions which are going on relate
not only to the J. V. A. but to the whole question
of planning activities & economic work
generally in the U. S. A. for Palestine. For
me to absent myself at this time & go
to the Coast on the proposed tour will amount
virtually to eliminating myself from the
plans & activities under consideration. It is
not a question of my present livelihood
(I have not been receiving any compensation
for my work since last summer) -
but it involves my future, whether here
or in Palestine. I would like to undertake
such a tour the moment it is possible for
me to do so. Perhaps in June; I don't know.
In the moment it would be almost irresponsible
for me to disappear from the scene here
for several weeks. Moreover, even if I
threw all ^{these} considerations to the wind, it
would not do from the psychological
standpoint. I would be in a state of anxiety
& depression during the tour, feeling as
I would that upon my return I would be standing
vis-a-vis de rien. That state of mind does

not make for effectiveness. Apart from the discussions to which I have referred I am looking into various other possibilities in the line of private business.

2. Policy Committee finances. I will go into the matter with Shapiro. Certainly much more should have been made of the opportunity after the dinner of March 21. Shapiro has been telling me that he wanted to arrange a group meeting or luncheon of a number of well to do people a week or two after the dinner but that you disagreed & disapproved the plan. Other plans adopted have not produced much. I don't know what the financial position is, how much we are spending, what is the payroll etc. Shapiro never went into these matters with me & I did not want to pry. If you want me to deal with the question of the budget & how to balance it, perhaps you should advise Shapiro accordingly. - In any case we will try to activate the ways & means committee. - Is Shapiro reporting to you regularly about fundraising activities?

3. Frank Cohen. I spoke to him on the phone last evening & told him about the progress we are making re tax deductability.

He had seemed interested in the idea of getting together with a group of substantial people on the question of financing the work. I may see him this evening at his home. He was at the Hadwin meeting last Sunday. Have no doubt we will be getting money from him soon. He favors forming a national committee of 1,000 members for the reorganization of the J. O. A. He seems to want a housecleaning. I will follow him up.

Alde Goldstein of Hartford was to see me. He urges the formation within ~~the~~ ^{each} districts of a Silver Circle or group so that we may have a definite organization for the next convention.

I can see no real objection to this. Do you?

San Francisco looks worse & worse from our standpoint. But Weizmann ^{apparently} expects to see Churchill fairly soon. They say Churchill has not changed & is still a Zionist. Perhaps. As we yours & Enamored.

May 14, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am anxious to get to Palestine to see my folks. Both, as you know, are eighty-five. Mother has been very ill during the year and has been pressing me to come over. Father, though well, has had a fall recently and has been in the hospital for some time. My feeling is that if I do not see mother this summer, I will probably not be able to see her any more.

I know that it will be difficult, almost impossible, to get priority today on the basis of such a private necessity. It would have to be some mission. I do not know under whose auspices to travel. You mentioned speaking to someone connected with the World Jewish Congress. I do not know the gentleman, but I am inclined to believe that he would probably inform Goldmann and Wise and these two gentlemen would do their best to see that I do not get over to Palestine. Perhaps someone in the Keren Hayesod could advise you. Once I obtained some official mission I could get friends of mine in Washington to facilitate matters. I should like to go as soon as possible and return by way of London.

I hope that you had success in Washington in connection with our application for deductibility.

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

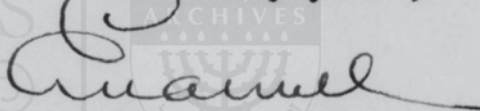
May 14, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing proof sheets of an article by
Pierre Van Paassen in the forthcoming number of The
Protestant which will interest you. Joe Brainin thought
we might want to have reprints made. Please return the
article to me with an expression of your opinion.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(^unc.)

May 15, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I read the proof sheets of Pierre Van Paassen's article in the May issue of "The Protestant." It is excellent. It should be reprinted in the Yiddish press and our Policy Committee should have reprints made for distribution.

I am sending along the financial statement of the Policy Committee as of May 1. I don't know whether you have seen a copy of it. When you are through with it please return it to me. You will note how urgent it is for us to get money at once, to get Mr. Cohen's contribution, and to get the tax deduction privilege.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

May 21, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I received a card this morning announcing that the American Jewish Committee has selected Elliot E. Cohen as the new editor of its publication "The Jewish Record" which is now to become a monthly publication. This is the Elliot Cohen who was on the staff of the Menorah Journal in the Twenties, and who was the author, you may recall, of that article, "The Age of Brass," which appeared in the Menorah Journal of October, 1925, filled with venom against Judaism, the Rabbinate, etc. You may recall that Henry Hurwitz at the time asked me to write a rejoinder which he refused to publish. This led to quite a flurry in the public press and to the publication of my article in "The Jewish Tribune," at that time edited by Herman Bernstein. I am sending you the reprint of my article which carries a foreword recounting the incidents connected with the article.

At that time Elliot E. Cohen was one of the smart-alec journalists whom Hurwitz was rallying round the Menorah Journal and with whose aid he hoped to storm the citadel of American Jewish life. Most of them were flirting with communism and certainly hated everything that was positive in Jewish life and religion. I am wondering whether Mr. Cohen has since changed his views. I am also wondering ~~which~~ the American Jewish Committee selected this particular individual to edit its magazine.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

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FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Emanuel Neumann

749 W. End Ave.

N.Y.

I require two priority applications. You mailed only one. Please send additional one airmail special delivery

Abba Hillel Silver

6-45

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WRHS



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 5, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
 Hotel Chdsea
 Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Abba:

Following our conversation, I have been trying to get hold of Israel Goldstein, whom it is difficult to reach because he is at a meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference. So are Frisch and Levinthal. But I will speak to Goldstein at the earliest opportunity.

I am expecting to get from Mr. Alkow very soon a copy of the by-laws of the Emergency Council and a list of the members of the committee and the whole setup so that we can plan intelligently.

Tomorrow afternoon there is to be a meeting of our group, to whom we will give a report on developments and give them an opportunity to express themselves. It may even be well to have them express themselves regarding the persons who should be added to the Council and its Executive Committee so that they may feel that they are having some say in the matter, even if it's only by way of suggestion.

As matters stand, I would be inclined to favor Fishman and Elihu Stone as the two to be added both to the Council and to the Executive Committee. As to their alternates, I would be inclined to favor Miller and Abe Goodman. The drawback in the case of Miller is that in a pinch he may again find himself embarrassed or inhibited by his relationship with Wise. In the case of Goodman, the trouble is that during the winter he will be in Florida. We may perhaps reserve to ourselves the right to name a substitute for Goodman in the fall. Another possibility is to name other alternates now from among our New York supporters, such as Judge Greenberg, Jacques Torczyner, Marcus Abramson of the Bronx. They are certainly as good as Sam Rothstein or Irving Lipkowitz.

As for myself, I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that I should not go on the Council and its Executive Committee. Almost inevitably I would be drifting into the role of a "whip," keeping people in line, insuring the smooth functioning of a cohesive majority, ironing out grievances and that sort of thing; and frankly, I don't feel I can continue with that sort of role

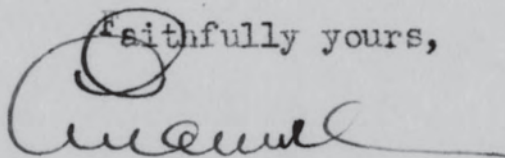
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 25, 1945

which consumes enormous quantities of time and energy, which I simply cannot afford to give. There is also the possibility that I may be going to Palestine, at least intermittently if not permanently. I shall do my best to help complete the work of reorganization, which will close another and most interesting chapter in my Zionist experience. I will, of course, always be at your disposal while I am in the country for occasional consultations, etc. I do hope that this triumph which is yours will lead to greater achievements in the future and to further triumphs for the cause as well as yourself. I have written this letter to you because I plan to make my position known to our friends here and I would not do so without advising you first.

With warmest regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/ML



June 15, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

This week's "The Jewish Post" carries a very excellent article by M. Z. Frank, on page 16, on the Fertig dinner which was held in New York, and a very warm championship of our case. I thought you might want to see it. This is the same Mr. Frank, is it not, who is a correspondent for the Palestine Dailies? It would be desirable to have him send a few articles in a similar vein to Palestine.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

HOTEL CHELSEA ATLCTY=

HAVE SET APPOINTMENT WITH LEVINTHAL AT YOUR HOTEL
TOMORROW 330 PM I PLAN TO ARRIVE AT NOON FOR ADVANCE
CONVERSATION REGARDS=

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

330 PM.

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

JUNE 18, 1945

CABLEGRAM

MR. THEODORE REZNIKOFF
HAMBURGO 138
MEXICO, D. F.

NLT HAVE CONSULTED DOCTOR SILVER WHO REGRETS EXCEEDINGLY IT
WILL BE UTTERLY IMPOSSIBLE TO VISIT MEXICO NEXT MONTH. HE AND I
^{YOU}
SEND CORDIAL GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES FOR CONTINUED SUCCESS

EMANUEL NEUMANN



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Chelsea
Atlantic City, N. J.

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing duplicate application form for priority. I am also enclosing lists of the voting members of the Emergency Council and its Executive Committee.

I never acknowledged your letter of May 21st and the pamphlet "Why Do the Heathen Rage?". I have read the pamphlet with great interest, or rather re-read it for I recall having read it when it first appeared in the form of an article. Perhaps something ought to be done about the American Jewish Committee designating Mr. Elliot Cohen as Editor of the Contemporary Jewish Record, though I don't know what.

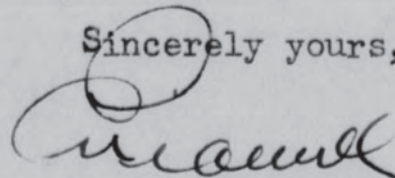
In reporting on the conversation that Israeli had with Ben Gurion, I forgot to mention to you that Ben Gurion told Israeli that he had had two conversations with you which were "very satisfactory". Apparently B. G. is friendly.

Today's Yiddish press and the New York Times are pretty good.

I shall probably be seeing you tomorrow.

As ever,

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/m
(enc.)

June 30, 1945

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

You will recall that I spoke to you in Atlantic City about the wife of Dr. Ginzburg. I am enclosing herewith her letter. Perhaps you can help her.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

[undated]

"TEXT OF STATEMENT BY MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN"

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I, in the first place, express my appreciation of the courtesy extended to me and also of the manner in which these hearings are conducted.

I am an American of Jewish descent and have been interested in the Zionist movement since my youth. In 1932-1933 I served as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and resided there for several years thereafter in a private capacity. These seven or eight years spent on the spot have helped me, I believe, to a better understanding of the problem.

In order to deal with the question under consideration within a short space of time, it is necessary, I think, to strip it so far as possible of non-essentials and cut through to the heart and core of the matter. The issue, whatever its complexities, can be reduced to its essential elementary terms.

The case as between the Jews and the Arabs is in the nature of an international dispute submitted to the bar of public opinion. Actually it was adjudicated many years ago, and the Resolution we are considering is essentially a reaffirmation of a judgment rendered in the past. The case may be considered under two heads: (1) Zionism and the Arab world, and (2) the position of the Palestinian Arabs. While the two aspects are related they are nevertheless distinct.

So far as the Arab world is concerned - and by that I mean for the moment the Arabs of Southwestern Asia: Arabia, Iraq, Syria, etc. - their case regarding Palestine is easily stated. They claim Palestine as part of the Arab domain, which Arabs are entitled to rule, and they assert that Palestine should have been included in the Arab domain and should never have been promised to the Jews in any form. They rest their claim chiefly on rights of

possession, the record of the Arab revolt in the First World War and the promises allegedly made to them at the time.

From the point of view of international law the record is by this time pretty clear, having been minutely studied and dealt with by many competent authorities. I will attempt to summarize it briefly. Historically, the Arabs had lost their sovereignty over nearly all of these lands many centuries ago - in fact, during the Middle Ages. They had been overrun by successive invasions and finally conquered by the Turks, and the countries in question were incorporated in the Ottoman Empire and governed as such since the year 1517. The Arabs were subjected to the autocratic rule of the Turkish Sultans. They were steeped in poverty and misery. Their physical as well as moral fibre was affected. Their hopes for freedom and a brighter future depended upon the ultimate collapse of Turkish power and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. But there was little prospect of this being brought about through the efforts of the Arabs themselves. They were too weak, too dispirited, disunited, lacking in leadership and resources.

Their chance came with the outbreak of the First World War, when Turkey took her plunge on the side of Germany, which brought her into conflict with Great Britain, France and Russia. For the Arabs it was a historic opportunity. Even so it required a great effort on the part of the British and all their skill and diplomacy, as well as the expenditure of large sums of money, to induce the Arabs of the Hejaz in the interior of Arabia to revolt under Hussein and Feisal. And it took continued British effort, British leadership and British money - more than \$50,000,000. of it - to keep the revolt from collapsing after it was started. This revolt was confined to only a part of the tribes in the Arabian peninsula and some of the Transjordanians; while other sections of Arabia as well as the Arabs of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine did not participate in it, but remained largely passive. On the

other hand, many of them served with the Turkish armies fighting against the British. Authorities differ as to the military value of the revolt. Certainly it has often been exaggerated beyond all proportion. Whatever assistance was given by the tribesmen, who harried the Turkish flank, unquestionably it was British troops and British Empire forces who fought the major campaigns, defeated the Turkish armies and liberated all these regions. The cost in British life and treasure was heavy, particularly in Mesopotamia.

What would have happened in an earlier age under these circumstances? Either the outright annexation of these countries, their incorporation in the British Empire or the establishment of protectorates on the old model. But there was a new spirit abroad, and new ideas, which found expression in Wilson's Fourteen Points. The principle of national self-determination had been enunciated primarily to hasten the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; but there was a disposition to apply these principles reasonably, and to the extent possible also in the case of the less developed countries of the Near East, which were not considered quite ripe for self-government. In that spirit, negotiations went forward between the representatives of the British and the leaders of the Arab revolt. These negotiations were complicated by parallel negotiations which were going on simultaneously among the Allied Powers themselves regarding their respective spheres of influence. But the British and Arabs did reach a certain understanding.

What was that understanding? In a nutshell it was this: The Arabs were to get independence in Arabia proper, i.e. in the Arabian peninsula, and they were to get semi-independence in what is now Iraq and the interior of Syria. Two small areas were definitely excluded under the terms of this understanding, two small countries which were reserved because of special circumstances and considerations. The first was Lebanon, with its important

Christian population, who had been oriented toward France as their traditional protector. The other was Palestine, which was to be set aside for Jewish resettlement and the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home.

II

That, in substance, was the Anglo-Arab understanding, the plan which they hoped to put through at the Peace Conference. The Arabs were there and represented by a delegation headed by Feisal, working earnestly for the adoption of this plan which gave them 95% of all they had claimed. Pursuant to this plan, Hussein was already recognized as King of the Hejaz in Arabia, while his son, Feisal, was to reign in Damascus, capital of Syria, and another son, Abdullah, was to become King of Iraq subject to British guidance. Under the contemplated arrangement the Arabs had the prospect of independence and semi-independence in all these areas, aggregating over 1,000,000 square miles of territory. Moreover, they also had the prospect of ultimate unity or confederation through the circumstance that these various countries would be ruled by members of the same family, the new dynasty of Hussein. It was from their point of view an excellent bargain. Under the circumstances they considered it reasonable and prudent not to press their claims with respect to Lebanon and Palestine, in view of British commitments there. As the situation was summarized by the Royal Commission: "If King Hussein and the Emir Feisal secured their big Arab State they would concede little Palestine to the Jews."

Before and during the Peace Conference Feisal had numerous conferences with Dr. Weizmann and other Zionist leaders and repeatedly placed himself on record in support of Zionist aspirations. Indeed the Arabs and Zionists presented a united front at the Peace Conference, and they supported one another reciprocally, as had been agreed between them. In the sight of the world by their words and actions, the Arab spokesmen recognized the validity of Jewish national aspirations with regard to Palestine.

Had the Anglo-Arab understanding been fully carried out at the time, the subsequent history of Arab-Jewish relations might have been different. The Arab-Jewish alliance established by Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann might have continued indefinitely. Unfortunately, as it turned out, the Anglo-Arab understanding was not implemented at one stroke, at the Peace Conference, but only in stages in successive years, after much agitation and rioting in Syria and Iraq, which had their repercussion, also in Palestine. In their resentment against the European Powers the Arabs broke also with the Zionists. Step by step, however, the Arabs achieved almost all that had been promised to them, and in some respects even more.

In April, 1920, the Supreme Council met at San Remo to decide on the disposition of the Ottoman Empire and the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty. It awarded to France the Mandate over Syria and Lebanon, and to Britain Mandates over Iraq and Palestine. The Arabs protested this arrangement, chiefly with respect to Syria, and Feisal had himself proclaimed King in Damascus, only to be driven out by the French. Thereupon the British, in the following year, placed Feisal upon the throne of Iraq, while his brother Abdullah, who turned up in Transjordan, was recognized as the ruling prince of that country. So far as Palestine was concerned, the terms of the Balfour Declaration were incorporated in the Treaty of Sevres negotiated between Turkey and the Allied Powers. As is well known, the Balfour Declaration, as subsequently incorporated in the Mandate for Palestine, was recognized and accepted by all the Allied Powers and indeed by fifty-two nations by the community of nations. It had become part of the fabric of international law.

In 1932 the British Mandate for Iraq was terminated and replaced by a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and the independent Kingdom of Iraq. Four years later, in 1936, a similar development seemed imminent in Syria, where the French Government negotiated with the Syrian Arabs for the termination of

the French Mandate and the recognition of independent States in Syria and Lebanon, with treaties of alliance between them and France. This arrangement failed of ratification by the French Chamber of Deputies at the time. Recently, however, during the present war, official declarations have been made, both on behalf of the French and the British, declarations which were approved by the Government of the United States, promising the independence of those countries in the near future.

In the net result, the democracies have finally recognized virtually all the original claims of Arab nationalism to Arab independence with respect to Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Transjordan - an area covering about 1,200,000 square miles of territory and equivalent to the combined areas of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain - embracing all so-called Arab lands in Asia, and including some non-Arab districts - with the single exception of Western Palestine, with its 10,000 square miles, constituting less than 1% of the total area. Even that ardent champion of the Arab cause, the famous Lawrence of Arabia, declared years ago that the promises made to the Arabs had been fulfilled and "we have come out of the Arab affair with clean hands!"

So far, then, as the Arab world is concerned, it has, substantially speaking, achieved 99% of its goal and given up more than 1%. And though it took years to achieve, the deal has been on a highly satisfactory and profitable one from their point of view. All in all, the Arabs were perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of allied victory in the First World War, considering their very modest contribution toward that victory. Perhaps no other nation gained so much in territory and independence for so little as the Arabs had contributed toward their own liberation. If today they come forward and renew their claim to the inclusion of Palestine in their vast domain, that claim is unwarranted from every point of view. Not only have other rights and interests intervened, not only has Palestine advanced a long way in its

evolution as the Jewish National Home, not only is there today a more pressing need than ever for maintaining and developing that National Home, but what is also pertinent and relevant, there is no pressing need which should actuate the Arab States to demand this additional strip of land. Their present domain is not only vast, but greatly underpopulated. The combined population of all the Arab territories I have mentioned does not exceed 15,000,000. All of them could be comfortably accommodated in Iraq alone, if fully developed and there would still be ample room for many more millions in the future. Actually, the sparseness of population in the Arab countries is one of their greatest problems, their greatest weakness and the greatest source of danger for their future security. The Arabs have not too little land, but too much land, and lack the means and the manpower to develop what they have and to defend it.

In a paper presented to the Royal Asia Society in England in 1926, Jafar Pasha al-Askari, the Prime Minister of Iraq, stated: "The size of the country is 150,000 square miles, about three times that of England and Wales, while the population is only 3,000,000....What Iraq wants above everything else is more population." A similar situation obtains in Syria, where only one-sixth of the cultivable land is being cultivated. For the Arab world, thus richly endowed, to reach out its hand and strike at the international commitments solemnly made with respect to Palestine, with a view to its annexation and its incorporation in the Arab domain, is not only a breach of international law but a case of incipient imperialism.

III

I come now to the second part of our discussion: the position of the Palestinian Arabs. Here the position taken by their spokesmen is simple to the point of over-simplification. They are there; they have been there for centuries; they therefore have the right of ownership, as it were, of sovereignty,

of domination. They contend that whatever Feisal and the other Arab delegates to the Peace Conference might have said or done by way of waiving Arab claims to Palestine in favor of the Jews, they, the Arabs of Palestine, had not given their consent and were entitled to be masters of the land.

But the question is not so simple. Considered as a group, the people who inhabited what is now Palestine at the time of the World War were not a nation, had never been recognized as such and had never exercised national sovereignty over that territory. In fact, there was no such thing as Palestine, in the political sense. It was merely a geographical concept. What is now Palestine is made up of certain parts of the Turkish villayets, or provinces, of Beirut and Damascus, and of the Sanjak or district of Jerusalem. The inhabitants were largely Arab speaking, but of diversified and mixed origins. The majority were Moslems, with important Christian and Jewish minorities. They had no sense of nationality as Palestinians, and such of them as were Arab nationalists insisted that Palestine was and should remain Southern Syria. There was no Palestinian nation.

Nor did the Arabs of Palestine help the Allies to liberate the country as did Palestinian Jews, who enlisted in the famous Jewish battalions. They either fought with the Turks against the British or deserted in large numbers to become prisoners of war, fed and sheltered by the British army.

The Palestine we know today was the creation of the Peace Conference and the Mandate. Palestine was constituted as a distinct country in its present frontiers, precisely because the Allied Powers, representing the democratic world, did not intend to make it as another Arab State. If that had been the intention, there was no need or justification for carving out this territory and separating it from the surrounding country. On the contrary, the Allied Nations clearly recognized that this small country held a unique position - unique in many respects. It was the birthplace of three great religions; it was held in veneration by half the world; it was the

ancestral home of the Jewish people, whose continued historical association with the land was known and sympathetically recognized throughout Christendom. On these grounds and because of the determination of the civilized world to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home, Palestine was definitely excluded from what was to be the Arab domain, and was placed under a special Mandate which took full account of the peculiar character of the land and the special purposes to which it was to be dedicated. That Mandate, an international instrument validated by fifty-two nations, expressly recognizes the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home." In this connection, the prefix "re" is of decisive importance. What was clearly intended was not the creation of something new, vague and without precedent, but the reconstitution of something which had existed in the past. By the force of this word "reconstitute" the National Home was identified with the Jewish Commonwealth which had existed in Palestine in the Biblical period and in post-Biblical times.

The argument now tendered is that this determination does not square with the principle of national self-determination, as some of the Palestinian Arabs would interpret that principle. The discovery that there was for the time being a majority of Arab speaking people in Palestine is not a new discovery. It was vividly present to the minds of Lloyd George and Balfour, of Woodrow Wilson and Prime Minister Smuts, and of all the allied statesmen when they rendered their verdict, in favor of the Jewish National Home. The doctrine of self-determination did not spring from Arabia, but from the minds and hearts of the most enlightened and progressive statesmen in Christendom. They, if anyone, were entitled to interpret the principle and give it proper application. If they made this determination in the case of Palestine,

they did so after weighing all the equities and balancing the needs and claims both of the Arabs and the Jews, the claims of both races to life, liberty and happiness. They decided that the Jews were likewise entitled to national self-determination, in the sense that they should be given the opportunity to reestablish a national existence in the one tiny spot on the face of the globe to which they had a moral and historical claim. They squared it fully with their conscience on the ground that this disposition was necessitated and sanctioned by the dictates of humanity and justice on the highest plane. In their view the national interests of the Arab peoples and their national aspirations were being recognized in the vast Arab domain. So far as the Arab speaking population of Palestine was concerned, who numbered at the time between 500,000 and 600,000 souls, their rights were to be safeguarded in Palestine not only as individuals, but also as a religious and cultural community. All of these rights have been scrupulously safeguarded hitherto and must be scrupulously safeguarded in the future. No one who has spent time in Palestine can fail to be impressed with the extraordinary extent to which the Arabs of that country, the common people, have prospered under the Mandate and benefited by Jewish immigration and economic development. They are undoubtedly in that regard the most fortunate group of Arabs in the world.

There is one further consideration. It must be borne in mind that whatever was the position in 1919 or 1922, and whatever were the contentions of the Arabs a quarter of a century ago, the situation has changed materially during the years which have intervened. The Palestine we know today is not the country we knew then. In a very real sense it is a new country, a new Palestine. The land has been transformed. In reliance upon the solemn pledges made to the Jewish people then, in reliance upon solemn international

covenants, a half million Jews have entered and settled in the country. They have poured into it their energy, their love and devotion, and some \$600,000,000 in cash. They have drained its swamps, reforested its naked hills, built cities, established industries, planted great stretches of orange groves, harnessed the waterpower of the Jordan and electrified the countryside, developed the mineral resources of the Dead Sea. In short, they took a neglected and derelict country, the mere carcass of a land, as someone has described it, and transmuted it by their labor, sweat and blood into something new: a thriving, modern, progressive, semi-industrial country. The new Palestine is almost as different from the old as Southern California is different from the desert which we took over about a century ago. And it is this new Palestine, this oasis of civilization on the rim of the desert, which Arab nationalism would now have the democratic world place under Arab national control.

And why? What new claim has Pan-Arab nationalism upon the consideration of the democratic world? What contribution have the Arabs made to the democratic cause during this, its greatest crisis? Where did they stand when Rommel stood at the gates of Alexandria? What Arab banner was carried to the field of battle to defend, not merely the cause of democracy, but their own countries, the freedom and independence which had been so dearly won for them with the lives of Britons and Frenchmen and Americans, during the First World War? For now it may be told. Now that the dire threat to the Near East which was so imminent two and three years ago has been definitely removed, the truth may be spoken. During those dark and anxious days, the whole Near East was a veritable quagmire of intrigue and treachery. Would-be Quislings, the leaders of Fifth Columns, were active everywhere. Axis-minded, Fascist-ridden Arab oligarchies attempted to seize power and stab the

democratic nations in the back. In Egypt the Prime Minister himself, Ali Maher Pasha, had to be removed from power and kept in isolation in a country villa because of his complicity with the enemy. The Egyptian Chief of Staff, al-Masri, had to be arrested under suspicious circumstances. In Iraq, Rashid Bey al-Gailani, struck at the British prematurely before help could reach him from his Nazi allies. The leader of the Arab extremists in Palestine, the notorious Mufti, was commuting between Rome and Berlin doing the Fuehrer's work. Nowhere in this entire region did the democratic cause, hard pressed as it was, find firm and active allies save in Palestine, which had become an outpost and bastion on our far flung battlefront.- Palestine, with its Jewish National Home.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The Resolution you are considering is a reaffirmation of an American policy and a word of cheer and of hope to the harassed multitudes of the Jewish people in Europe and their brave vanguard in Palestine. Why this reaffirmation and why the express reference to the goal of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth: The answer is obvious. The Balfour Declaration was unquestionably meant to help, in the words of President Wilson, "to lay the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." The policy was so understood, quite definitely, by our own Government at the time. There is clear documentary evidence of that fact. Our government interpreted the Balfour Declaration as a policy leading to the establishment of Palestine "as a Jewish State." The record attests it. But in the course of these years, under pressure of Arab intransigence and a campaign of terror carried on with the help of the Axis, the original contract was gradually whittled down, interpreted and reinterpreted beyond recognition, a process which culminated in the White Paper. It is, therefore, not enough to repudiate the White Paper, but to avoid recurrence, in the future. It is therefore necessary to go over the record now and cross the t's and dot the i's. That can best be done by a clear and unmistakable reference to the underlying purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the goal it contemplated - a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

[undated]

STATEMENT BY EMANUEL NEUMANN, OF NEW YORK CITY

Lawyer, Member of the Commission on Palestine Surveys,
in charge of its operations.
Made as he released the attached announcement.

Recently we have heard much about a pipe-line to "oil the next war."
This proposal is not a pipe-line for war; it is a life-line to rehabilitate
many of the survivors of the present war.

Two years ago, when I first suggested to my friend, Dr. Lowdermilk,
that he write up his experiences in Palestine, I never imagined that he would
produce this magnificent plan for a "Jordan Valley Authority." When it came
in the summer of 1942 I was so impressed with it that I immediately submitted
it to Dr. Chaim Weizmann, who was then visiting this country. As a scientist
he was profoundly interested and immediately approved the idea of a thorough
engineering investigation.

In seeking the cooperation of experts, I met with a gratifying response.
A number had been to Palestine; all were eager to help in its rehabilitation.
Our consultants are serving gratis.

The Palestine question has been described as "controversial." Statesmen
and politicians have wrestled with it for years with results far from satis-
factory. It occurred to Dr. Lowdermilk and to us that the problem might also
be approached on a different plane. Who knows but that technicians working
on a scientific level may help us toward a solution. Perhaps scientists and
engineers may succeed where statesmen and politicians have failed.

This is an "all American plan." The conception of the idea, the inspira-
tion provided by T.V.A. and Boulder Dam, the techniques, the engineers, the
scope and magnitude of the plan, are all American. If it is ever carried out
in Palestine, it will be a lasting monument to the American spirit. Already,
in a sense, little Palestine is the America of the Near East. The J.V.A. would
leave upon it forever the imprint of our American civilization.

The execution of this project and similar projects elsewhere as part of post-war reconstruction will provide a market for American materials, machinery and equipment, as well as American brains and services.

Where will the money come from? To my mind -- and this is a personal opinion -- the financing of such a project over a period of years would require the cooperation of a) the Palestine Government; b) Jewish organizations; c) private capital and d) credits based upon looted Jewish property in Europe, the owners of which have been first robbed and then "liquidated" by the Nazis -- loot for which Germany must make some restitution.

The J.V.A. is a multiple-purpose project in a higher sense of the term:

- 1) It will make room for large numbers of Jewish settlers;
- 2) It will raise the level and living standards of the Palestine Arabs;
- 3) It will serve a model and ferment for the whole Near East.

* * * * *



Neuman [undated]
Dewey

DRAFT STATEMENT

The events of the past years have demonstrated that the problems created through anti-Semitism and anti-Jewish policies can neither be localized nor isolated. The consequences of Jewish oppression in one country register sooner or later in the rest of the world. The tensions generated in one place are bound to have their repercussions and to produce corresponding strains and stresses elsewhere. Neither the United States nor other countries equally distant from the European scene have failed to be affected by the long and unequal struggle between large Jewish communities in Europe and their oppressors. This was true long before Hitler. Under the Czarist regime in Russia, thousands of Jews were victims of pogroms and hundreds of thousands fled to Western lands. The waves of persecution, followed by waves of emigration, were rightly regarded at that time as constituting not merely a domestic but an international problem.

In the year , the Government of the United States took occasion to express its condemnation of the anti-Jewish policies of the Czarist regime by abrogating the commercial treaty between America and Russia on the ground that Czarist practices involved discrimination against American citizens of Jewish faith. That was the technical ground; actually, ~~of course~~, it was intended as an expression of our indignation ^{over} ~~towards the~~ treatment of the Jews ^{in Russia} ~~generally~~. Incidentally, it was a Republican administration - the administration of President Theodore Roosevelt - which took that strong position in defense of Jewish rights. A Republican statesman of Jewish descent, Mr. Oscar Straus, who served as our Ambassador to Turkey a generation ago, developed the ^{legal} theory that when one country treats any group or class of its citizens with such harshness

and cruelty as to send waves of its stricken and impoverished nationals into other countries in large numbers it committed thereby an unfriendly act not only towards its ^{own} nationals but towards such other countries. Since that time we have traveled far in the direction of ^{realizing} recognizing that the oppression of minority groups by ^{an autocratic government} any nation is not its "own business," but the legitimate concern of the community of civilized nations.

This conviction has been deepened by later events in Eastern and Central Europe, and more particularly by Nazi barbarism. By undertaking the systematic extermination of a whole people, Nazi Germany has not merely perpetrated a historic crime of staggering proportions but has attempted to set a precedent striking at the very roots of civilization itself. The condition of the surviving Jews, uprooted, deported, despoiled, impoverished, broken in health and spirit, confronts us with an international problem which must be dealt with courageously and constructively by the United Nations. ^{Moreover,} The problem of Palestine and of Jewish immigration to that country is ^{intimately related to} ~~inextricably bound up with~~ the problems of European Jewry.

Viewing these questions from the standpoint of America and of the United Nations, I believe the time is ripe for adopting definite policies with a view to their permanent solution. Among such policies I would envisage the following:

- 1) The establishment by international action of a Bill of Rights for all Axis countries and all liberated nations, and the incorporation of such a Bill of Rights in their respective Constitutions.
- 2) Recognition of the fact that the Jews of Europe have been singled out by the Axis for oppression and extermination and that consequently special measures must be adopted to deal with the special problems of ^{European} Eastern Jewry as a group, many of them ^{whom are} now stateless ^{as well as} and homeless.
- 3) The rehabilitation of European Jews, and to the extent necessary their

resettlement should be undertaken with the active cooperation of responsible and representative Jewish agencies concerned with these matters. For this purpose, provision should be made for Jewish representation on intergovernmental commissions dealing with relief, rehabilitation and resettlement.

4) No individual should be obliged or urged either to remain or return to the country of his origin. Those who prefer to emigrate shall be helped to do so, either to Palestine or to other countries that may be prepared to receive them.

5) Their rehabilitation and resettlement should receive technical and financial assistance. The considerable funds required can be provided in large measure by exacting from Axis countries restitution of Jewish property wrongfully confiscated ^{and} for which no ^{private} claimants any longer exist.

6) Such a program requires opening the doors of Palestine wide to Jewish immigration, full facilities for colonization and development, and recognition of the right of such Jews who choose to settle there to develop Palestine into a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

In connection with the Palestine problem, I would point out that legislative action favoring the Jewish Homeland was first taken by our country in 1922 when Congress, overwhelmingly Republican, adopted a joint resolution on the subject, which was signed by a Republican President. Again this year an explicit plank on the same subject was first adopted by the Republican National Convention meeting in Chicago on June . The fact that the lead thus given was followed by similar action on the part of the Democratic Convention makes this stand a virtually unanimous expression of public opinion and removes it to that extent from the field of partisan politics. It remains for the Executive departments of the Government to take the necessary steps towards the implementation of such a policy. It is my opinion that such a

positive and constructive policy as I have attempted to outline will also have a wholesome and beneficent effect in our own country. It will go a long way towards raising the dignity of Jewish citizens everywhere and discouraging anti-Semitic fanatics and hatemongers. It will indicate that our nation intends to exert its influence at home and abroad to do away with discrimination and oppression and to accord the Jews everywhere their rightful place in a free and democratic world.

