

Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series I: General Correspondence, 1914-1969, undated. Sub-series A: Alphabetical, 1914-1965, undated.

Reel Folder Box 2 144 7

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

[March, 1944] In 11 En 9 the tropic point the Jouil people in wavy parts of the world and the hundred thousands 9 refuges who will have to be card for it is on product hope that the divers polaries way be opened for few entry of Jews into that country and that then show he full offer tours for alongston and semowie development. so that they way construis the wholes of the various of which are the Commerce were wealth the Juish prople which are premient (day with 52 8 the governments) following the last war found and offered of said In which the amen our people has always wantikes the warment sympathy, we has the fro HAR LINE

3 - '44

In view of the tragic plight of the Jewish people in many parts of the world and the hundreds of thousands of refugees who will have to be cared for, it is our hope that the doors of Palestine may be opened for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and economic development so that they may continue the upbuilding of their national home in accordance with the intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine which our government, following the last war, favored and approved of, and for which the American people has always manifested the warmest sympathy.

aH. Silver

June 29, 1944 Mr. Dewey D. Stone 53 Arlington Street Brockston, Mass. My dear Friend: I was rather surprised to receive your letter of June 26 informing me that you have some misgivings about the radio project which the Emergency Council has launched. I am inclined to believe that you have been misinformed. I shall be in New York on Monday and Tuesday, July 10 and 11, for meetings of the Emergency Council and I shall be pleased to have you have luncheon with me on either day at which time I shall be happy to tell you the reasons for the project and why it is so tremendously essential. I might, in passing, merely state the following. The project contemplates an intensive national broadcast over a period of thirteen weeks beginning in August and going through the three critical pre-election months during which our resolutions in Congress are to be brought up for action, and what is even more important, during which period we have been led to believe an important statement announcing a new policy for Palestine may be expected. It is important that we have direct and quick access during this critical time to American public opinion. We may have to rally it at a moment's notice. We have had great difficulty heretofore getting access to the radio. This project does not in any way conflict with the longrange recorded radio program which the ZOA is planning to put on as part of its educational program. My own suggestion would of course be that the ZOA's program should not begin until after the thirteen week national hook-up program of the Emergency Council, which of course, is also a ZOA project, for the Emergency Council is only the political arm of the ZOA and of the Other Zionist groupings. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED DOMESTIC CABLE TELEGRAM FULL RATE DAYLETTER DEFERRED NIGHT NIGHT MESSAGE LETTER NIGHT SHIP LETTER RADIOGRAM Patrons should check class of servi desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

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R. B. WHITE

NEWCOMB CARLTON CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD J. C. WILLEVER FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

7-2-44

Dewey Stone

I WILL BE IN BOSTON STATLER HOTEL BEGINNING TOMORROW MORNING THROUGH WEDNESDAY VISITING MY SON AT HARVARD. WOULD BE VERY HAPPY TO SEE YOU AND MR. HARRY LEVINE AT TIME CONVENIENT FOR YOU. PLEASE TELEPHONE ME. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

C

PY

For Dr. Silver.

UNITED STATES POLITICAL ADVISER
ALLIED FORCE HEADQUARTERS

July 3, 1944

Dear Dr. Steinberg:

Mrs. Murphy has forwarded to me your letter of
April 27, and I am expecting by pouch the copy of
"Palestine, Land of Promise" by Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk. I shall look forward to reading this with
great interest and thank you for sending it to me.

With warmest regards to Dr. Silver, I am

Sincerely yours

(signed) Robert D. Murphy American Ambassador

Dr. Harry A. Steinberg,
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, N. Y.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL . 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. . WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Miss Elsie E. Klein

DATE: July 7, 1944

TO:

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT:

I am enclosing copy of a telegram which we received from Mr. Seelig.
I thought you might want it.

EEK:sbr Enc G P

July 8, 1944

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Director American Zionist Emergency Council 1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington, D. C.

Dear Rabbi Feuer:

This will confirm my telegram of the other day, advising that the House of Representatives of the State of Louisiana has unanimously passed a resolution asking abrogation of the White Paper, unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, implementation of the Balfour Declaration, and ultimate reconstitution of the Commonwealth - in other words, the whole works.

I herewith enclose a copy of the resolution.

We had originally intended to introduce a resolution identical with that passed by the State of Alabama, but since no opposition developed. Mr. Sidney Herold, of Shreveport, took it upon himself to substitute the stronger text, which was passed, and which asked for the Commonwealth (which phrase does not appear in the Alabama text). My telegram, which mentioned the Alabama text was due to my misunderstanding the matter during a long distance phone call from our capital city, Baton Rouge.

I would respectfully suggest that a letter of thanks be sent to Mr. Sidney Herold, P. O. Box 1467, Shreveport, La., who acted as our contact man with the Legislature in session at Baton Rouge, as he was on the Governor's staff. He handled the entire matter so skillfully and smoothly that our "pals" of the American Council (who are pretty strong here) were caught asleep at the switch. Mr. Herold is of course a very good Z. O. A. member.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

/s/ Isadore Seelig

P.. S. In the hurry and rush of the closing hours of the Legislature I did not secure the name of the member actually introducing the resolution — just know it was a man from Caddo county, but am ascertaining it and the number of the resolution for our records, and will write Monday or Tuesday with the information.

Incidentally, has anything definite been done about a co-chairman for the American Palestine Committee as yet?

Also, the American Council for Judaism has been doing some heavy direct mail solicitation in this area. Would you like copies of their soliciting letters for the record, or if that is not in your department, will you ascertain if Mr. Saul Spiro wants them, and advise me when you write?

HOUSE	RESOLUTION
NUMBER	

Expressing sympathy with the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution, and urging unrestricted immigration into Palestine in accordance with the Balfour Declaration and the Anglo American Treaty of December 3, 1924.

BE IT RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of Louisiana that
WHEREAS, on November 2, 1917, the Government of Great Britain
issued the Balfour Declaration, promising the establishment in Palestine
of a National Home for the Jewish people; and

whereas, the policy thus outlined was concurred in by unanimous vote of the two Houses of the Congress of the United States in a joint resolution adopted June 30, 1922, and implemented by the Anglo-American Treaty of December 3, 1924, wherein the Governments of the United States and of Great Britain, respectively, contracted and agreed for the putting into effect of the

*declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by
the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the
said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of
a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the
civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities
in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by
Jews in any other country*;

WHEREAS, the sufferings of the Jews in Europe under the heel of the Nazis cry out to the enlightened conscience of the United Nations, and the need for the full implementation of the promise of a Homeland of their own for the stricken and persecuted Jewish masses has become not merely a matter of justice but a dire necessity; now, therefore,

RESOLVED by the House of Representatives of the Legislature of the State of Louisiana that it express its profound sympathy to the victims of Nazi religious persecution and racial hatred; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we respectfully urge that the gates of Falestine be opened for the unrestricted entry and settlement of Jewish refugees, and to their unrestricted rights as promised in the Balfour Declaration; and that in pursuance of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration, and of the solemn compact between the Governments of the United States and His Majesty's Government, there be established such political, economic, and administrative conditions as will insure the development of Palestine into a self-governing Commonwealth, which shall be an integral part of a new democratic world order in accordance with the principles for which we now fight; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be spread upon the records of this House, and the Clerk of the House be and he is hereby directed to send copies thereof to the President of the United States and to the Secretary of State, and to the two Senators from Louisiana and to each of the Representatives of Louisiana in the National House of Representatives.

C O P HEROLD COUSIN & HEROLD Shreveport, Louisiana July 5th, 1944 Rabbi Leon I. Feuer Director Washington Bureau American Zionist Emergency Council 1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W. Washington, 9, D. C. Dear Rabbi Feuer: I am enclosing copy of resolution adopted by the House of Representatives of the Louisiana Legislature last night by unanimous vote. Sincerely yours, /s/ Sidney L. Herold SLH/mb

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL . 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W. . WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Miss Elsie E. Klein

DATE: July 11, 1944

TO:

Dr. A. H. Silver

SUBJECT:

I am enclosing copy of a letter that came from Mr. Seelig with the Louisiana State Resolution attached to it. Also, a letter from Mr. Herold who also attached a copy of the Louisiana Resolution.

eek; sbr

Encs

July 13, 1944 Mr. Harry L. Shapiro American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Nadison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Shapiro: Here is a fine letter which I received today from Mr. Jacob Billikopf. I have asked Mr. Billikopf to obtain permission from Professor Singer to publish his letter. As soon as we obtain that permission Professor Singer's letter should be given wide publicity. He is a very important person. With all good wishes, I remain Very sincerely yours, AHS: BK

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Filgrim Hotel Flymouth, Mass. Dear Rabbi Silver: I wish to thank you for your kind letter of July 21st. I could not do so earlier, since I was out of town for some days.

Thank you also for your kind invitation to spend a day with you at Plymouth.

I just changed my plans and decided not to go to Colorado and the West Coast, since I was able to get a house suitable for the summer at Stamford, Connecticut.

I am going to move there next week, and as soon as I am through with all the work connected with that, I will write you again and will try to arrange to visit you at Plymouth.

In the meantime, I wish you a very pleasant vacation.

With kindest regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Salman Schooken

New address: Ellis House Hunting Ridge Road Stamford, Conn.

September 8, 1944

Honorable Building Washington, D. C.

Dear Congressman Scotts

We are writing to you with regard to the Resolution recently introduced into the Senate and the House, calling for the immediate establishment of "emergency rescue shelters in Palestine for all Hebrews who can get there" and in regard to which, as co-Chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council representing the organized Zionist Movement in this country, we venture to address to you the following observations.

The Congressmen and Senators who have sponsored this Resolution are moved by the noblest humanitarian sentiments and their sympathetic efforts deserve the thanks and gratitude of Jews everywhere. It is obviously necessary, however, to consider whether the Resolution in fact promotes the object which it seeks to serve. So far as any practical results are concerned, in present circumstances unfortunately, particularly in view of the state of war existing between Rumania and Hungary, the passage of such a resolution will do nothing to promote actual rescue. On the other hand, its introduction serves to obscure certain immediate needs of the refugee situation and to prevent action in that regard.

The immediate question with regard to the Jews of Hungary is not that of providing camps for their reception abroad but of securing their exit from Axis-controlled territory. Thus several thousand Jews in Hungary are at present actually in possession of immigration visas to Palestine, but the Nazis have hitherto succeeded in preventing their escape.

Even under the Palestine White Paper there are still some 14,000 immigration certificates into Palestine available for distribution. But on the pretext that these certificates should be ear-marked for Jews in Hungary and other Axis countries, the British Government has virtually put a stop to all Jewish immigration into Palestine. For while the prospects of any bulk transfer of Jews from Axis occupied territories are at present small, thousands of Jewish refugees who have reached Italy and other "safe" areas and wish to begin their lives afresh in Palestine, are precluded from doing so because the certificates are reserved for persons in enemy territory. These other refugees

Bonorable Hugh D. Scott, Jr. -2- September 8, 1944

are in fact physically safe but morally and materially they are deteriorating. Moreover, their removal from southern Italy in particular, by making room for others, would greatly improve the prospects of rescue from Hungary and elsewhere via Yugoslavia. Accordingly, what is necessary is not the creation of temporary refugee camps in Palestine for Jews in Hungary, but the opening of Palestine to Jewish refugees wherever they be.

The Resolution as it stands, therefore, is inadequate and ineffective, but in addition it is objectionable on two other grounds. In the first place it is premised on the condition that Jews shall be brought to

first place it is premised on the condition that Jews shall be brought to Palestine for temporary internment in refugee camps, but subject to ultimate removal elsewhere. This is in diametrical opposition to the internationally recognized claim of Jews to come to Palestine "as of right and not on sufferance." And secondly, the terminology of the Resolution embodies a conception which is utterly alien to and resented by the great mass of Jews everywhers. It is the terminology of Mr. Peter Bergson and his handful of associates of the so-called "Hebrew Committee of National Liberation". These self-appointed spokesmen of the "Hebrew" nation draw a distinction between the Jews of America and those of Palestine and Burope. The latter gre stated to be not Jews but "Hebrews", and it is these "Hebrewa" that Mr. Bergson and his friends claim to represent. The fact that the democratically elected representatives of the Jews of Palestine and the entire Jewish press of Palestine from extreme right to extreme left ridicule the representation which has thus been thrust on Palestine Jewry and have described it as a fake and a fraud, troubles Mr. Bergeon not at all. It is sufficient for his purposes if well-meaning Christians can be led to believe that he has in fact a mandate on bohalf of Jewry and if with their support he is enabled to indulge in one publicity stunt after another and to travel under the false colors of one who speaks as the authorized representative of his people.

The net result of a resolution such as that now submitted to Congress will be:

- (a) That nothing practical whatsoever emerges.
- (b) That the offensive terminology of the Hebrew Committee, which cuts off from the Jewish people a great fraction of its numbers, will find official recognition in a resolution of the Congress of the United States, and
- (c) That instead of affirming the right of Jews freely to enter their National Home in Palestine, it is proposed to put that country on the same basis as say the camp at Oswego -- a temporary shelter from which they will be subject to ultimate removal.

It is earnestly to be hoped that this effort by a tiny splinter group in Jewish life to mislead unsuspecting well-wishers of the Jewish people and to impose through them its own peculiar ideology, will be seen for what it is.

Honorable Hugh D. Scott. Jr. September 8, 1944 - 3 -We desire again, in conclusion, to express appreciation of the motives which animate the sponsors of the resolution before Congress. We would most earnestly urge them, however, in the interest of the cause which they so sincerely desire to help, to concentrate on the one real measure of Jewish salvation, namely, the opening of the gates of Palestine to all Jews who may wish to go there, wherever they may be, and the reestablishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. With kindest regards, we are Sincerely yours, Abba Hillel Silver AHS: SSW: HH Stephen S. Wise

RECEIVED SEPTEMBER 8,1944

NLT NAHUM GOLDMANN 1720 SIXTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST WASHINGTON

VIEW CHANGED SITUATION APPROACHING SOVIET AMBASSADOR REGARDING
FIRST CONTINUED IMMIGRATION FROM RUMANIA SECOND RELIEF FROM
PALESTINE TO NEEDY JEWS IN NEWLY CONQUERED OCCUPIED TERRITORIES
THIRD EMISSARIES TO BUCAREST OTHER CENTRES FOR RESCUE ACTIVITIES
FURTHER AFIELD STOP SOLICITING FOREIGNS SUPPORT STOP PLEASE
ACT LIKEWISE VISAVIS SOVIET EMBASSY STATE DEPARTMENT STOP
WE REOPENING COLONIAL WHOLE QUESTION IMMIGRATION FROM LIBERATED
OTHER COUNTRIES STOP PLEASE ACT ACCORDANCE MY IMMIGRATION
STATEMENT TRANSMITTED PALCOR ITA STOP FOR YOUR ADDITIONAL
INFORMATION ISTANBUL REPORTS NO DIFFICULTIES REGARDING SHIPPING
BLACKSEA STOP TURKISH BOAT NOW ANCHORING CONSTANZA TWO BULGARIAN
BOATS READY BURGAS YOUTH EXHAUSTED IN LABOUR CAMPS INSISTS
PALESTINE STOP POSITION NUMBERS REFUGEES INCLUDING TRANSMISTRIAN
ORPHANS HOPELESS UNLESS EMIGRATE STOP CABLE STEPS PROSPECTS STOP
STILL WITHOUT YOUR COMMUNICATION CABLE WHETHER WHEN SENT

MOSHE SHERTOK

cc Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Lourie

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1201/

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

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1944 SEP 11 PM 5 46

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=
19810 SHAKER BLVD (CLEVE)=

NB457

Sto 3740

LESOURD REQUESTS ME OBTAIN YOUR ACCEPTANCE ADDRESS BANQUET HONORING CHIEF JUSTICE MAXEY AUSPICES A.P.C. REGIONAL CONFERENCE PHILADELPHIA OCTOBER 10TH BELVEDERE HOTEL. PRESIDENT MARSH TOASTMASTER. KINDLY WIRE. THANKS

BLANCHE J SHEPARD .==

09 65 p. Dr St

A.P.C.10 .

September 11, 1944 Miss Sulamith Schwartz American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Miss Schwartz: I am enclosing herewith a letter which I received from the UPA of Winnipeg. Inasmuch as I haven't 400 copies available, I am turning the letter over to you. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK Enc.

Hugh D. Scott, Jr. O Seventh District Pennsylvania Arnon M. Gulick Secretary Y CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES WASHINGTON. D. C. September 12, 1944 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, New York My dear Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Wise: I appreciate your letter of September 8 and I am glad to have points of view which you have been good enough to express to me with regard to Palestine. It happens that I have given my word to Mr. Charles Lowenthal of Philadelphia that I would follow up sponsorship of the Resolution introduced by any assistance I could render, and I feel obliged to carry through on a promise given. As you mention in your letter, I was not aware of the wide cleavage of opinion which appears to exist and I will certainly call your letter to Mr. Lowenthal's attention. Very truly yours, signed Hugh D. Scott, Jr.

TO BLANCHE SPEHARD - AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL - 342 Madison Ave. - N.Y. TELEGRAM SENT COLLECT -- 9-15-44

REGRET UNABLE TO ATTEND MEETING OCTOBER TENTH PHILADELPHIA. MUST BE IN ATLANTIC CITY A FEW DAYS LATER FOR ZOA CONVENTION. SUGGEST WISE GOLDSTEIN HELLER OR SOMEONE ELSE. KINDEST REGARDS.

SILVER



CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN (52)

SYMBOLS

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NL=Night Letter

LC=Deferred Cable

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Ship Radiogram

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HW59 16=XJ NEWYORK NY 15 1026A

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE EAST 10TTH ST M !! 59

AND ANSEL RD=

PHILADELPHIA A P C REGIONAL CONFERENCE. PLEASE WIRE I REGARDS=

BLANCHE SHEPARD CLUB PROGRAM SERVICES

APC

ELIHU D. STONE

ATTORNEY AT LAW

44 SCHOOL STREET

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Sept. 20, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I should like to join your many friends in wishing you and your family a happy New Year. I pray that the coming year will be a messenger of joy and peace for the Jewish people everywhere. May it be the year during which Palestine will be reconstituted as the third ewish Commonwealth.

I should like to reiterate a few of the things which I communicated to you in a letter a few weeks ago relative to the imperativeness of an immediate survey of the political situation in Washington. I hope it is not too late. At this particular time it should not be too difficult to find an entrance into the State Department for the purpose of ascertaining the attitude of the Secretary of State towards the Palestine Resolution now pending in Congress. As you well know, the Department of State articulated through the office of Mr. Stimson. Hence, it seems to me that the effort to use the good offices of Senator Wagner to visit the War Department may not be the best strategy since the War Department is merely the echo of the State Department in this instance. Moreover, Senator Wagner is not the best man in my opinion for such an undertaking. He lacks enthusiasm. It may be advisable that the heads of the War Department be approached.

In view of the political situation in the country, it seems to me that the heads of the National Committees of both major parties should be contacted. Both Senator Connally and Congressman Ploom will, no doubt be responsive to the advice from their respective National Chairmen.

I appreciate the vicissitudes of the past weeks which interfered with your activities. However, a supreme effort may yet save the situation in Washington.

I expect to see Congressman Martin at his home during the coming week as well as Congressman McCormack. I should like to hear from you with reference to any suggestions that might be made to them.

I should like to urge again the advisability of appointing a committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council for the spe-

cific purpose of helping our friends of both parties in their campaigns for re-election.

I hope that you liked the editorial in the Jewish Advocate. I believe the revelations were timely.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely,

ELIHU D. STONE

EDS:ir

WRHS © 650



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

My dear Mr. Shapiro:

I cannot impress upon you enough how utterly urgent it is to get out our Congressional Book immediately even if the editorial work which is being done by Mrs. Schwartz is not as perfectly done as it would otherwise be. It is absolutely necessary to back up the emotional slack which will follow the Congressional recess. Before criticism starts, and before the ZOA Convention in Atlantic City, we should broadcast throughout the country the story of this Congressional opinion on the subject of the Jewish Commonwealth.

By the end of next week you should have the full story of this Congressional Book told in a comprehensive release, saying that the Book mill appear on October 15 and giving the full story of the overwhelming endorsement of Zionism by the Congressmen and Senators of the United States. Get an excellent release out on the subject mentioning the important names and quoting from important statements, etc. etc. Terhaps Manson, Lamm, together with you and Mr. Fink can work on this release over the weekend and let me see the draft of it next Monday.

Sometime before October 15, I would like to have at least fifty to a hundred copies printed and available for distribution. A definite date can then be set, before October 15, for a press dinner and conference which I will attend where I would present these copies to the newspapermen and also give a sort of report of our work and an outline of our future activities. I could come to New York for such a conference on Thursday, October 12.

Time is absolutely of the essence in this matter and I am definitely high-pressuring you. I should like you to put everything aside, if necessary, and devote yourself entirely to getting out this release and this volume — the release next week and the volume October 13 — if you have to sit on the doorsteps of the publishing house. Do not hesitate to put on extra help for proof-reading, etc., if necessary, or in having our own people work overtime. This job must be done on time.

With all good wishes, I remain

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-1160

September 21, 1944

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

We sent 400 copies of your pamphlet on "Zionism" to the UPA of Winnipeg, as you requested.

Enclosed in this letter is the jacket for the forthcoming Frankenstein book which ought to be out in a few weeks. We hope the jacket seems satisfactory to you.

Sincerely,

Sulamith Schwartz

SS:EG

may you a most happy new year - and if it is happy for you, it will automatically help line (10. Dam swe.

September 22, 1944 Mr. Elihu D. Stone 44 School Street Boston, Mass. My dear Elihu: Thank you for your kind letter of September 20. Congress, as you know, has recessed. There is nothing to be done about our Resolutions until after the elections when Congress reconvenes. Between now and then there may be certain announcements made which might make action on our Resolutions no longer necessary. On the other hand, such announcements may make action on the Resolutions even more imperative. The situation, as of the moment, is in suspense. A statement from the Chief seems to be inevitable before long. With all good wishes for a very happy new year, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

CLUB PROGRAM SERVICE

41 EAST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MURRAY HILL 2-1160

September 22, 1944.

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Committee

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Dear Dr. Silver:

I conveyed your regrets to Dean LeSourd, who was indeed sorry and disappointed to learn that you could not accept the APC dinner invitation in Philadelphia on October 10th.

After a great deal of consultation with Dr. LeSourd, Dr. Atkinson, Dr. Voss and With our Philadelphia Committee, it was decided that Dr. Abraham A. Neuman of Dropsie College could best serve the cause, and I understand that he was accepted. Neither Dr. Wise nor Dr. Heller found it possible to accept. I do not think that Dr. Goldstein was approached in the matter.

May I again send to you and your family my very best wishes for the New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Blanche J Shepard

Director

BJS:BI

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P

Y

(September 25, 1944)

PA20 XGX W 838 LONDON 54/53 17 1629

NLT ARTHUR LOURIE 342 MADISONAVE NEWYORK

YOURS 7/9 DELAYED STOP TOTAL IMMIGRANTS FROM ENEMY SINCE SEPTEMBER

OVER FOURTHOUSAND STOP HEADS FAMILIES HUNGARY FOR WHOM WE SECURED

PERMITS OVER EIGHTEENTHOUSAND BUT EXIT PROVED IMPOSSIBLE STOP LATTER

NUMBER UNIMPLIES RELAXATION RESTRICTION STOP SEE MY CABLE GOLDMANN

CONCERTED URGENT EFFORT IMPERATIVE WHILE IRON HOT

MOSHE SHERTOK

O P

Sept. 28, 1944

PA 184 XWX GBW2684 LONDON 45 21

NLT NAHUM GOLDMANN JEWISH AGENCY 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

FURTHER MY MESSAGE REGARDING AMERICAN JEWISH PARTICIPATION STOP WE

CANT RAISE QUESTION HERE SUGGEST YOU EXPLORE POSSIBILITY SMALL COM
TRIBUTION CABLE STOP PROBABLY FLYING PALESTINE AROUND OCTOBER FIRST

CHERTOK.

American Zionist Emergency Council C 342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y. 0 TO: Dr. Silver September 28th, 1944 Bennett Silverblatt, Esq. 803 Sun Building Lowell, Mass. Dear Mr. Silverblatt: Your letter of the 25th addressed to Doctor Silver has been received in this office and is being forwarded to him. Permit me, however, to thank you for the kind sentiments you expressed in your letter, and it is very gratifying to hear that Lowell will continue its fine work. Best wishes for a Happy New Year, Cordially yours, Harry L. Shapiro HLS: HBR Director

C BENNETT SILVERBLATT Attorney 803 Sun Building Lowell, Mass. September 28th, 1944 Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver 342 Madison Avenue New York, N. Y. Dear Rabbi: I beg to acknowledge check for \$250. in connection with the return of the contribution of the Lowell Zionist Emergency Council towards the cancelled radio broadcast. I might state that this is the first time in my communal experience of the return of a contribution, and I must confess that it gave me a momentary thrill. I wish to take this opportunity of stating to you that in my opinion the American Zionist Emergency Council has done a splendid job -- in fact one of the best. It has created a public opinion among the non-Jews in America in favor of the cause of Palestine, so that the establishment of a Democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is no longer a debatable question in America. This is evidenced by the clear cut declarations by both political parties favoring the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. That this had its effect on Great Britain is evidenced by the announcement in the newspapers on September 19th that a Jewish brigade is being formed by the English Government for active operation in the war theatre. That to me is a recognition by Great Britain that the Jewish people are a nation, and as such they are entitled to a national homeland -- which ofcourse must be Palestine. I trust that the American Zionist Emergency Council will continue its good work, and I wish to take this opportunity of stating that you can rely on the continual hearty cooperation of the Lowell Zionist Emergency Council at all times. With best wishes for a Happy New Year, I am Sincerely yours, (signed) Bennett Silverblatt 9/28/44

I looked over the latest issue of "Palestine' and it is very good. I would suggest, however, that we try to include in our next numbers a few more articles from the pen of non-Jews. You will recall that I suggested a few names to you. Have you written to them? Mr. Jacob Billikopf, who had been corresponding with quete a number of prominent non-Jewish writers and professors, may have certain suggestions to make to you. It might be worthwhile writing to him. Some of the eminent chergymen who are members of the American Palestine Committee may be invited to contribute brief articles on specific subjects. Dr. Atkinson and Voss may make certain suggestions to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS: BK

P.S. It might be well to include in the next issue of "Palestine" a few pungent paragraphs from Frankenstein's book.

THE WHILE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 20, 1944

My dear Mr. Segal:

I am cheered by your splendid letter of September twenty-fifth, advising me of the action of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance in adopting that resolution at their annual conference, in support of my Administration. It is a source of real strength and encouragement in this hour of crisis in world affairs to know that I have the confidence of your steadfast and patriotic group. In return I give my solemn pledge to carry on to victory and a lasting peace.

Please express my deep appreciation and thanks to your fellow members as I want them to know how grateful I am to them, individually and collectively, for their loyalty.

Very sincerely yours,

(signed) FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

Mr. Louis Segal General Secretary Jewish National Workers Alliance 45 East 17th Street New York 3, N.Y.

ASSOCIATION OF YUGOSLAV JEWS IN THE UNITED STATES, Inc.

381 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: MUrray Hill 4-5427

DR. ISAAC ALCALAY Chief Rabbi of Yugoslavia Honorary President

Dctober 3, 1944

OTTO HEINRICH Honorary Chairman

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

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AND
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I am happy to inform you that I have just received a letter from my compatriote and leader of the Yugoslav Zionist Movement, Dr. Alexander Licht, in which he specially asks me to convey his best regards to you.

MEMBERS

Dr. Licht reports that he and his family are in good health. his address is:

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Dr. Alexander Licht Pension Metzger 10 mornerasse Zurich, Switzerland

Very truly yours,

Roman Smicell

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MUrray Hill 2-1160

October 5, 1944

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

It was a pleasure to have the comments of "Palestine's" best reader. You are right in saying that we ought to have more non-Jewish authors, and we are quite aware of the fact. It is difficult, however, as surely you know, to get non-Jews who are sufficiently informed and sufficiently interested and sufficiently able at writing. I have been in touch with Dr. Voss during the last few weeks and we have several non-Jewish authors in mind for forthcoming issues of "Palestine".

As soon as there are copies of the Frankenstein book, I will send one for review in "Palestine" to that Dr. Singer in Philadelphia with whom Mr. Billikopf has been in touch. In general, I think we ought to make up a very careful list of non-Jewish intellectuals to whom to send the book for comment and review, and I expect to do this with Mr. Lowenthal in the near future.

I am hoping to receive a new article by Frankenstein to publish shortly. I have asked him for one, believing it timely for it to appear when the book is launched. I trust it will come through on time, since he has agreed to write it.

Thanking you again for your suggestions, I am

Cordially yours,

Sulamith Schwartz

Sulamith Schw

Jewish National Workers' Alliance

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45 EAST 17th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y.

October 5, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver,

I am pleased to enclose herewith a copy of a letter that I have received from President Franklin D. Roosevelt in reply to the resolution which was adopted at the annual conference of the Jewish National Workers' Alliance in connection with the forthcoming election campaign.

It will be of interest to you to know that the resolution expresses the hope that the President will use his influence to help solve the Jewish problem through the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth, to which the President made no reference.

I am.

Very sincerely yours

LOUIS SEGAL General Secretary

LS:PMK AFOE ENC. R C A

RADIOGRAM

W863 LONDON 70 26

OCT. 6, 1944

Via RCA

NLT ABBA SILVER 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

REJOICE YOUR SPLENDID REACTION LATEST NEWS STOP
HOPE IT IS WIDELY REALISED THIS AGENCYS
ACHIEVEMENT FROM BEGINNING TO END STOP WE REGARD
PARTICIPATION YOUR END HIGHLY DESIREABLE EVEN IN
MERELY TOKEN STOP IF YOU AND FRIENDS CONCUR
PLEASE TAKE INITIATIVE IN SECURING AGREEMENT YOUR
COMPETENT AUTHORITIES FOR CONCLUSION CERTAIN
NUMBER APPLICANTS SUITABLE CLASSES WHEREAFTER
AUTHORITIES HERE COULD BE APPROACHED STOP PLEASE CABLE

GEORGE SHERTOK

October 16, 1944. Mr. Reuben Fink 151 West 40th Street New York City Dear Mr. Finks At the last meeting of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Emergency Council I had the opportunity both of presenting to the Committee the volume which had appeared that day, "America and Palestine", and also of informing them of your devoted and selfless work in preparing the material, editing the book and having it published within a minimum period of time. On behalf of the Council I was asked to convey to you the expression of their appreciation and warm thanks. We all feel that you have performed a service to the common cause which, like the volume produced by you in connection with the 1922 Resolution, will be not only of great political value but will constitute an outstanding historical document in the history of the movement in this country. Very cordially yours, AHS:LLB Abba Hillel Silver

MEMORANDUM

To

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date Oct. 18, 1944

From

Sulamith Schwartz

Here is the new issue of "Palestine" -- before it can reach you by the slow and orderly processes of our regular mailing. It is late because of the concentration of holidays in October -- but neither Mr. Lipsky nor I is after all responsible for that and we do promise to catch up with ourselves next month. We also promise you first rate "goyem" next month. And we hope that this product is not too bad.

SS: EG

"etober 20, 1944

Mr. Alfred H. Sachs 501 Guardian Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Mr. Sachs:

We are taking the liberty of enclosing a pamphlet expressing the viewpoint of the American Council for Judaism. We urge you to read it, as it concerns a problem to which no American citizen of the Jewish faith can be indifferent.

We would appreciate having your opinion and enlisting you with us to help in our program.

Thanks to the efforts of the Council in the past year, more and more Americans are beginning to understand the real issues. However, we have a long way to go before the point of view of integrated versus nationalist Jews is widely known and appreciated. We need the active cooperation of all who believe in our program and we earnestly hope that you are of such a mind.

Very sincerely yours, (signed) Elmer Berger

Rabbi Elmer Berger

LAW OFFICES OF Alfred H. Sachs 501 GUARDIAN BUILDING CLEVELAND Cotober 23, 1944 CHERRY 8955 Habbi Elmer Berger Executive Director The American Council for Judaism, Inc. 1001 Feystone State Bldg. 1321 Arch Street Philadelphia 7. Pa. Dear Rabbi Berger: I received your letter dated October 20, enclosing your pamphlet entitled "Zionism vs. Judeisa", together with an application blank and return envelope addressed to your office. Frankly. I do not feel complimented by your selecting me as one suitable for "conversion" to your "ideals". Since you are soliciting my opinion, I shall endeavor to give it to you herewith, as briefly as I can. From your stationery. I note that your president is one whose mane has during recent years been associated with the America First Committee, one of Hitler's fronts in this country. Apparently, the only Cleveland member of your Board of Directors is a lawyer who had been brought up on charges before our Bar Association, and, disbarment proceedings have been filed against him in our Common Pleas Court. As far as I can see, practically none of the laymen listed on your stationery have ever taken any active interest in any constructive phase of Jewish religious or philanthropic work. Only a handful of the reform rabbis, who ere members of your Board, have ever been known for leadership in Jewish life. These, as well as the remaining rabbinical members of your group who are first-class nomentities. have been criticised severely by the Central Conference of American Rabbis for their associstion with your group. It is, indeed, an anachronian for such people to talk about directing Jewish life during this, the greatest, crisis in the history of our people. The fact that the Jevish people too has a "lunatic fringe" only proves that we are a "nation asong nations". Your designations, "Zionism vs. Judsism" and "Integrated vs. Mationalist Jews" are, to say the least, insulting to the intelligence of any rational jew. In my opinion, it would be more expressive of the truth to designate your "Integrated Jews" as Jews who have played no part in Jewish life, know nothing of Jewish history and tradition, and have no gemine interest in the future of the Jewish people. Your designation, "Mationalist Jews" might much better be described as Jevs who have had a Jevish education, who know something about Jewish tradition, who have a relationship to the Jewish people, here and abroad, and who are interested in the welfare of their group. The affiliation of new like Babbi Wolsey, Embbi Lazaron, and Judge Frank with a selfappointed group such as yours, I can only exclain on the basis that they, most likely, never went to "Cheder". Why a gentleman like Fr. Mosenwald would want to pour out his own substantial funds on a negativist "ideal" such as yours, I can only explain on the wellknown psychological thesis of self-hate. Wany of the other gentlemen working with you are probably good-natured fellows who know little, and are guided by the leaders of your group who are interested in this matter more from the standpoint of personal advantage, financial or otherwise, than from the standpoint of any ideal. But even you, the dried-up twigs of our age-old tree, have, perhaps subconsciously, seen fit to bind your "tref-posul" booklet in blue and white covers, the symbol of Jewish national and cultural renalesance.

Rabbi Elner Berger The American Council for Judaism, Inc.

You state that through the wisdom of your group. "Americans are beginning to understand the real issues". Many of my good friends and I, as good and loyal Americans as you are, enyway, are Jews devoted to the religious, educational and philanthropic ideals of their people, and we are also highly interested in the upbuilding of Pelestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Whether you call it "nationalist" or otherwise, the aim is the same, manely, to establish in the place, closest to the Jewish dreams of 1900 long years, an internationally secured home, not just a refuge, for such of the Jewish people as require it, and want to establish themselves and their children there. It is no less American for an American Jew to be in favor of a Jewish Mational Home in Pelestine than it is for an American Czech to be in favor of an independent Czechoslawskia or for an American Pole to be in favor of an independent Poland, or for an American Albanian to be in favor of an independent Albania. England and France are, you will admit, quite respectable mations, notwithstanding the fact that many of their some and grandeous abide happily in this country as good American citizens. Though being good citizens of many countries, the Jews are no less entitled to a small state of their own then are the Bulgars or the Jugoslave.

This idea has been adopted and approved many times by the Nations of the World, including the United States of America. The establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine has been approved by all of our presidents since Wilson, by The Congress, and, individually, by practically all of our leading statesmen, educators and religious leaders - Jewish and Christian alike. The immediate dire need for such a national home has only been accentuated by Masi marder, oppression and persecution.

Only recently, the Republican and Democratic Conventions have both adopted planks in favor of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. These plants have been unequivocally approved within the last two weeks by Prosident Moosevelt and by Governor Devey. In the concluding remarks of the President's recent statement, he says, "I know how long and ardently the Jevish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jevish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this ain". The newbers of the United States Senate and of the House of Representatives are prependerently in favor of that program. The Jowish people, both those suffering in Europe, as well as those living in the United States, are wholeheartedly in favor of it. "he American Jevish Conference has only a year ago affirmed this program by a majority of 97% of the 500 delegates attending. Mr. Winston Churchill, England's illustrious prime minister, has, on muserous occasions, approved the establishment of a Jevish Metional Mome in Palestine and the right of the Jevish people thereto. The British Labor Party, our own Associations of Jewish Eabbis, Christian Ministers, and University Professors, as well as the A.F. of L and the C.I.O. have all formally approved it and have pledged their assistance in this humanitarian endeavor. All those things, you knew of course, but the numbers of your self-appointed little group are either too ignorant or too bigoted to try to understand the matter on its merits, or at least to bow to the will of the prependerant majority.

In conclusion, may I state that your "organization" - a more letterhead supported by Mr. Becommeld's bulging funds - should be avoided by all self-respecting News as a plague. The "meshumedin" leaders of your group would do well to terminate this stupid effort of yours to fight the Jewish people, or soomer or later they will be compelled to meet the wrath of organized American Jewry, who, losing patience, will, in some well-directed and concerted manner, make the name of your group anothers emong News and Christians alike.

Very sincerely yours.

October 20, 1944 Mr. Ezra Shapiro Guardian Building Cleveland, Ohio My dear Ezra: I am enclosing herewith correspondence which I received this morning from Mr. J. L. Teller, the editor of the Independent Jewish Press Service. It is self-explanatory. It is important that Mrs. Bolton be contacted by a representative committee in the very near future. Have you discussed the matter with Dan Wasserman? Let me know what you decide to do. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, .

> AHS: BK Enc.

October 20, 1944 Mrs. Sulamith Schwartz American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Sulamith: Would you please put the name of Dr. Dilworth Lupton, 2253 Delaware Drive, Cleveland, Ohio on the mailing list of "Palestine" and of all other significant publications of the Emergency Council. He writes an important column daily in the Cleveland Press. He is a liberal and a friend of our Movement and he would like to keep abreast of the developments. Your October issue of "Palestine" is very good. I hope that you will make good on the "goyin" in the next issue. I rather think that it is time now for another "Information Bulletin" to our community contact people. We have a lot of news to convey to them: (1) the statement of the War Department; (2) contemplated action on our resolutions in the near future; (3) the statement of President Roosevelt - its significance; (4) The statement of Governor Dewey; (5) the new Volume, "America and Palestine" -- how it is to be used, the significance of the poll; (6) the questionaire which is being sent around among candidates; (7) the resolution adopted by the ZOA Convention endorsing the work of the Emergency Council, etc. etc. "ith all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours. AHS: BK

MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date October 25, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

This is supplementary to what I wrote with reference to
Miss Zondek. Miss Hilb of the World Jewish Congress phoned
me today to say that all of the documents in connection with
Miss Zondek's application had been submitted, and they are
now awaiting a hearing before the efficial of the State
Department. It may be a number of weeks before this will
come about.

Stepus

Regards.

HLS: HH

andrew L. Somers

In a telegram to the recent convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Representative Andrew L. Somers as Co-Chairman of the American League for a Free Palestine asks for the "reconstitution of the Zionist Organization of America as an American non-sectarian organization completely divorced from internal Palestine politics."

We believe that Representative Somers has a sincere desire to help the cause of the Jewish people. To our deep regret, however, we must state that he is being misled and used by sources the true nature of which he has failed to perceive, and that he is in consequence harming the very cause he seeks to serve.

The Zionist Organization of America was established nearly fifty years ago and is open to all who seek to associate themselves with the cause of rebuilding Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. It has played a part of supreme importance in making possible the splendid achievement of the Jewish settlers in Palestine. Unconcerned with "internal politics" in Palestine, it has striven in a non-partisan spirit for the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland. Representative Somers' demand for what is in effect the liquidation of the Zionist Organization of America does little credit to his judgment or, we believe, to his knowledge of the facts. On the other hand, we would ask whether Representative Somers is fully aware of the nature of the group to which he has chosen to lend his name. He purports to speak for the American League for a Free Palestine, which in turn supports the pretensions to leadership of the Jewish National cause in Palestine of the "Hebrew Committee for National Liberation." Both the League and the Hebrew Committee for National Liberation have been formed at the instance of a handful of Palestinians, headed by Mr. Peter Bergson. The Hebrew Committee comprises this tiny group of self-appointed individuals. To any one who knows the facts, their claim to represent the Jews of Palestine is farcical, were it not that they have persuaded well-meaning people in this country to accept them at their own loudlyproclaimed valuation. The 600,000 Jews of Palestine are democratically organized on a basis of universal adult suffrage and elect their own representative bodies of which the central council is the National Council of the Jews of Palestine. The National Council, representing many shades of opinion, has repudiated and warned against the claims and activities of the self-appointed Hebrew Committee. Palestine Jewry has a vigorous and many-sided press. Without exception that press had condemned the efforts of Mr. Bergson and his associates.

We would ask Representative Somers by what right, however excellent his intentions, he would flout the democratically expressed will, not only of Jewish Palestine, but also of the internationally recognized Jewish Agency for Palestine and the World Zionist Organization. We would urge him to go further and to investigate the background of the Bergson group. He will find that Mr. Bergson was formerly associated — to the point of raising funds for its support — with the Irgun Zvai Leumi, which by its terrorist acts in Palestine is threatening the very foundation of Jewish work and hopes there. There is no means of determining whether Mr. Bergson is still in any way associated with the Irgun Zvai Leumi. It is significant, however, that whereas the Jewish community of Palestine and the authoritative Zionist bodies have expressed their horror at the outrages perpetrated by the Irgun group and their determination to stamp out the manifestations of this lunatic fringe in Jewish life, Mr. Bergson and his associates of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation have at no time expressed their public disapproval of this group.

We would in conclusion earnestly urge Representative Somers, as a good democrat, that if he seeks, as we are sure he does, to promote the cause of the Jewish National Home, that he disassociate himself from this small group of adventurers and work together with constituted and elected organs, representing millions of Jews, who will warmly welcome his cooperation. That is the least we have a right to expect from one who professes to be in the forefront of the fight for a Jewish Palestine.

.

If Representative Somers realized how mortified and angry the bulk of American Jewry is over the antics of Mr. Bergson and his coterie — their ludicrous claims, their irresponsible pronouncements, their Graustarkian "embassy" — we believe he would refuse to further the selfish ends of a handful of charlatans.





TEL. CAPITOL 6714

ELIHU D. STONE

ATTORNEY AT LAW

44 SCHOOL STREET

BOSTON B, MASSACHUSETTS

Vctober 50, 1944

Er. Abba Hill=I Silver, Chairman, Mcccutive Committee, AZEC The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Bear Dr. Silver:

In retrospect, the recent ZOA Convention at atlantic City will be remembered for two outstanding facts:
The declaration of President Roosevelt in favor of a dewish Commonwealth in Palestine and your report of the work of the Zionist Emergency Council. Those of us who are familiar with the facts, know that the former is a direct result of the latter. Surely history will properly appraise it.

I have sent an article to the Jewish Morning Journal about ten days prior to the Convention which was published in the bunday is the curing the Convention. +t is gratifying to note that the views expressed by me in that article so thoroughly coincide with your own views. I paid a deserved tribute to you in terms which one might call an understatement.

Tremendous progress has been made under your leadership. The advantageous position attained by us should be exploited to the maximum. I should like to suggest that the
resolution pending before the Committee on Foreign affairs
be changed into a "joint" resolution which, when passed, will
require the signature of the fresident of the United States.
This is similar to the resolution which was adopted in 1922.
This is similar to the resolution is of greater dignity.

I should appreciate it very much if you would be good enough to let me know as to whether or not my active participation will be required in Washington in connection with the action on the pending resolution at the coming Movember session of Congress. It is not convenient for me to suddenly leave the office, hence, I would appreciate your letting me know in advance one way or the other in accordance with your judgment, in order forme to know how to plan.

- 2 -In closing may I say to you: Do not be discouraged by the obstacles from within. It has been the lot of every Jewish leader in our history to be faced by snipers and ambush. The paramount objective is the work of rescuing and the restoration or Jewish Rational Life in Eretz Israel. The unpleasantness and the irritation of the moment sink into insignificance. A great deal has been achieved; the Jawish Commonwealth is on the way. Incidentally, I should like to express to you my appreciation for the kind reference you made to me at the 4ionist Vonvention. With kindest personal regards, vord slly, FDS: ic

ELIHU D. STONE

ATTORNEY AT LAW

44 SCHOOL STREET

BOSTON B. MASSACHUSETTS

Oct 31, 194

Dear Dr. Silve :-I should like to call you attention to the bolance of \$ 1500 due Ine from the granist Emergency contrail for servicer undered.

2 understand that your approval is necessary and shapino connot act millout attructions from you ad did violence to my Law Jo Hice. I assure you to angue it Believe ne the position of a dollar a year ma would tel Breterable ... you are a very busy nar working for Klad Israel. Howelde I hope that you will de Derael "to be that you will de longrafinate chappe but I should like to received an acknowledgment. I know you appreciate the Compelling reasons An Africa communication I With Kindfest personal Regards Elila J. Store Dr. alba Hillel Silver Chairma Exec. Comm. On Zioninist Emergray conneil

Governor Saltonstall issued a message calling on the people of Massachusetts to join in the observance tomorrow of "Palestine Day". His statement was as follows:

In the midst of the First World War, on the second day of November, 1917, His Majesty's Government of Great Britain, with the approval of all allied governments, issued a declaration in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. This declaration was a matter of profound interest not only to the Jewish people but to all mankind. It was in accord with the highest dictates of humanity and the loftiest principles of justice that at long last the Jewish people be granted an opportunity to restore their National life in the ancient land of their forefathers.

This declaration received the official approval of the United States of America when the 67th Congress unanimously adopted a resolution on September 11, 1922, "in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people." Thus recognition has thereby been given to the historic connection of the Jows with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country.

During the last twenty-five years, the Jewish people more than justified the expectation of their well-wishers in Palestine. The Jewish achievements in Palestine have been remarkable. They have turned sand dunes into crange groves. They have pushed ever farther into waste land the frontiers of cultivation and settlement.

Today, under the lash of the Nazis ghastly persectation, their eagerness to return to their homeland is multiplied. The tragedy of a people who have no country has never been so deep as it is today. The

sympathy of the people of Massachusetts, their eagenness to do everything they can to help the persecuted Jews in Europe, has never been so firm as it is today.

We recall with profound appreciation the great contribution made by the Jews of Palestine to the war effort of the United Nations. They shall no longer be the forgotten people.

we behold in our vision the rebirth of the Jewish people on the banks of the Jordan, where a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth will be established granting the Jewish people a place of equality and dignity in the family of the peace loving nations of the world.

Therefore, I urge the people of Massachusetts to join tomorrow, Nov. 2 in the observance of "Palestine Day."

-10-

Dear Dr. Silver: But bah. 31, 1944.

The aforesaid won bound die afternoon by
the fovernoon & Man. It may be not enable
to your It is worthy note how the Jewish
Continonwealt in being incorporation are afficial
vacabulary our statean ant next Clift up. Itsee
gov. 3 actor years will be out next Clift up. Itsee

November 1, 1944 Mr. Elihu D. Stone 44 School Street Boston 8, Mass. My dear Elihu: Thank you for your kind letter of October 30. We are to canvass the situation with the State Department on November 9. If the coast is clear we will immediately proceed with action for the Resolutions. In that case we will of course want you in Washington for as long a time as it will be necessary. But there is nothing to be done now until after election. The matter of our Resolutions was discussed at great length last Monday evening at the Emergency Council meeting. The feeling was, of course, that we should not give the signal for action until we have cleared the situation with the higher-ups. That will be done. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

ELIHU D. STONE

ATTORNEY AT LAW

44 SCHOOL STREET

BOSTON B. MASSACHUSETTS

nov 3, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver: -

I simessely hope that you found
it possible to commicate with the.

Shapoiro relative to my norther.

I know you are contracted with

manifold torred. Hence this respectful

reminder.

With kindest personal regards

Condially

P. S. 2 visited Fall Rive sporte there in town, town, marking also controlly such the Contract of and helping Christian Herter I besieve that to st perfectly consistent would be vise if you could write a word appearation that Gowner Soltanshall for this these thousand the will be shall the sixthese Proclamation. He will be shall be sh

November 3, 1944 Rabbi Jesse Schwartz 527 Sherbrooke Street West Montreal, Canada My dear Rabbi Schwertz: I have been asked by Dr. Silver to reply to your letter to him with reference to the participation of representatives of the Canadian Zionist Organization at the meetings of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Emergency Council. The Council is more than happy to welcome your representatives at their meetings. At these, as you know, the major issues are generally considered and a line of policy laid down. The meetings of the small executive body are in a different category; they are really working meetings concerned with the day to day business, and it is sought accordingly to limit the attendance exclusively to the members of the Executive. Thus representatives of the Zionist Actions Committee in New York or of such bodies as the Hashomer Hatzair who participate in discussions of policy at the meetings of the Council, are not present at the Executive Committee meetings. I hope that you and our other Canadian friends will understand and assent to our position. I need not add, of course, how glad we are to maintain close and constant contact with the Canadian organizetion. I take this opportunity of confirming that the Rev. MacLean will spend a month in Canada after his visit to this country, and that the Canadian Zionist Organization will pay him & 150 and a proportionate ghere of the expenses. With kindest regarde Yours sincerely AL:CK Arthur Lourie

November 5, 1944 The Honorable Leverett Saltonstall State House Boston, Mass. My dear Governor Saltonstall: I read with extreme pleasure the Palestine proclamation which you issued on the occasion of Balfour Day. I wish to send you my profound appreciation and that of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I have known of your good will and of your sympathetic interest in our Movement for many years, and this official act of yours is but another evidence of your readiness to be of assistance wherever you can to further this great cause. I hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you before long and of addressing you as Senator Saltonstall. with all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

November 5, 1944 Mr. Roman Smucer, Secretary Association of Yugoslav Jews in the United States 381 Fourth Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Smucer: Thank you so much for your kind letter of October 3 and for the information which you have convoyed to me about Dr. Alexander Licht. I appreciate your thought To Iness a great deal and I shall communicate with Dr. Licht. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

November 5, 1944 Mr. Alfred H. Sachs 501 Guardian Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio My dear Mr. Sachs: Thank you for your kindness in sending me copies of your correspondence with Rabbi Elmer Barger. Your reply is excellent and I am sure that it will not be published in the "Information Bulletin" of the American Council for Judaism." Very sincerely yours, AHS: BK

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November 9, 1944

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

From a casual conversation I had with Dr. Niebuhr, I noticed that he is visiting Cleveland and Cincinnati the week-end of December 2nd. I do know that he has a very full program; yet, if you are interested in his forthcoming visit, I would be very glad to ask him whether he could accept such speaking engagement as you would wish me to place before him.

With kind regards, I am

BJS: DE

Blanche J. Shepard Director

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WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

I SHOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO HAVE DR. NIEHBUR OCCUPY MY PULPUT ON SUNDAY MORNING DECEMBER 3. PLEAS WIRE WHETHER HE CAN DO SO. I WOULD ALSO APPRECIATE SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR SPEAKER TO BE IN MY PULPIT SUND Y MORNING NOVEMBER 26.

A H SILVER

November 15, 1944 Mrs. Sulamith Schwartz American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Sulamith: Whatever happened to Emanuel Neumann's pamphlet on the Jewish Commonwealth? And when is Frankenstein's book appearing? Are you getting a few non-Jews to write for the next issue of "Palestine?" With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Zionist Organization of America
Zionist Organization of America
November 14, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

We have just had mailed to you a copy of our edition of the Frankenstein book. I hope you will feel that its format is appropriate.

Mr. Lowenthal and I will do our best to have it received with the understanding and acclaim it should evoke. We are starting on that process right now, though the official publication date will be immediately after New Year-a time considered more propitious by the publishers than this crowded Christmas season.

Sincerely yours,

Sulamith Schwartz

SS:LF

November 15, 1944 Mrs. Sulamith Schwartz American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Sulamith: There have come to me from many sources a request for a question and answer brief, say four-page pamphlet, on the meaning of the Jewish Commonwealth. I believe we spoke about it some time ago, and Rabbi Feuer or someone else was to get it up. I think it is very important that we should have such a pamphlet immediately available in large quantities. I have heard from communities where the American Jewish Committee has been attempting to organize local chapters, where Proskauer and others have attacked the Jewish Commonwealth. That is also true of those communities where the Council for Judaism has been at work. A brochure giving in concise question and answer form the official position of our movement on the subject, such as that outlined by Dr. Leo Kuhn of the Jewish Agency of Palestine recently, and gotten up in an attractive format, is imperative. Please make that a must on your schedule. This, of course, will not take the place of the pamphlet on the Jewish Commonwealth which Emanuel Neumann was to prepare for us. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

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11-17-44 Mrs. Blanche Shepard To WANT A REPLY? "Answer by WESTERN UNION" Care of or Apt. No .__ 342 Madison Avenue or similar phrases may be included without charge. Street and No ._ New York, N.Y. Place PLEASE MAKE RESERVATIONS FOR RABBI SILVER NEW YORK TO CLEVELAND NOVEMBER 21 LATE TRAIN #59 BESSIE KLINE - SECRETARY TO DR. SILVER

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COULD YOU GET ONE OF THE FOLLOWING FOR SUNDAY MORNING DECEMBER 3. FRANK GERVASI-

MAURICE HINDUS JAMES G. MCDONALD PLEASE WIRE OR PHONE.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Sender's Name.

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American Zionist Emergency Council 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America Murray Hill 2-1160 Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America November 17, 1944 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple East 105 Street at Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio Dear Dr. Silver: I look forward to having a few minutes with you on Tuesday, but since those few minutes may not materialize I hasten to answer your recent note. You must by now have received the Frankenstein book. Would you think of a few strategic people to whom it should be sent in your name -- whether governmental, academic, legal, or clerical? I have just had it sent with Mr. Neumann's compliments to Buell, Babcock, and Paul Hanna; and with the Christian Council's compliments to Niebuhr, Lindeman, Albright, and Wendell Phillips. It also has gone to Mr.

Billikopf and his pro-Zionist philosopher acquaintance, Dr. Singer, whom I incidentally asked to review it for "Palestine." Would you want Dr. Lupton to get it?

I have asked Mr. Neumann -- plaintively and frequently -about his Commonwealth pamphlet. He is so busy, worried, and involved that I am afraid you are the only person who can now make him sit down for a few hours to finish the job (it's almost ready, you know). Will you try to urge him, very forcefully?

When you get to New York you will see the new issue of "_alestine" (with very estimable "goyim" in it); your Atlantic City speech in pamphlet form; and various other pieces of literature.

Would you want the Atlantic City speech sent to all the members of the National Administrative Council of the U.P.A.? Or to some of them? Or just to the New York members? Or do you think them not consistently Zionist enough?

Sincerely yours,

Sulamith Schwartz

SS:LF

November 20, 1944 Mr. Ezra Shapiro Guardian Building Cleveland, Ohio My dear Ezra: Professor Leon Roth, Rector of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, who recently addressed the Hadassah Convention, will be in Cleveland on December 6th and 7th. He will address the Cleveland Zionist Society on the evening of Wednesday, December 6th. Mr. Samuel Finkel, Director of the American Friends of the Hebrew University, has written to me asking that an opportunity be granted to Professor Roth to meet with the members of the Jewish Welfare Fund Committee inasmuch as the Hebrew University is a beneficiary of the Jewish Welfare Fund. It would be nice to arrange a lunch on for Professor Noth on Thursday, December 7th. Will you please get in touch with the proper authorities and see whether such a luncheon can be arranged? I would attend to the matter myself, but I am leaving town today and will be out of the city a good deal of the time during the next ten days. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

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MESSAGE SENT BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE PRIME MINISTER FIELD-MARSHALL J. C. SMUTS TO THE "ZIONIST RECORD" FOR PUBLICATION IN THE SPECIAL WEIZMANN BIRTHDAY NUMBER OF FRIDAY. THE 24th NOVEMBER, 1944.

I am profoundly pleased to hear that the Jewish communities throughout the world will celebrate the 70th anniversary of Dr. Chaim Weizmann
on the 27th November. It is a well-deserved honour, but it is more. In
honouring Dr. Weizmann Jewry is honouring itself. For there can be no
doubt in the minds of those who know that Dr. Weizmann is the greatest
Jewish leader that has appeared not only today but for a very long time.
His services to his people are immense and no honour can be great enough
for him.

I have known him for a very long time now and I can claim him as a personal friend. I look upon him as a great man, as one of the outstanding men of our age. His character, his integrity and devotion to the cause to which he has dedicated his life mark him out as one of the most exceptional leaders the Jewish people has produced, and that is saying a good deal.

He is not only a great leader of men, and an outstanding public figure of our age. As a scientist, a thinker and scientific discoverer he belongs to the first rank. Tribute from the highest quarters has repeatedly been paid to his scientific services to the Allies in the Great War. But for his inventive genius we might have been in a sorry plight when the great crisis of munitions came upon us and munition production became our first priority in that war. At that moment Mr. Lloyd George called for Weizmann's services, and the situation was saved. At that time also his power as an organiser was revealed, and in due course he became the acknowledged leader of the Zionist movement. His services in that connection call for no particular mention. One can say without exaggeration that but for him, the respect entertained for his profound judgment, and the confidence felt in his character and personality, the cause of Zionism might have met with much smaller success. He became the acknowledged leader and in a sense the soul of the Zionist cause.

He has had his trials, his setbacks and bitter disappointments. You cannot be a great man without stirring the envy and the opposition of the numerous small men. But I think the real greatness of the man has appeared more clearly in these years of strife and opposition. He had a difficult people to lead and troubles from within and without his Zionist circle grew thick upon him. But he held on valiantly, unswervingly. And I may add this: that if the Zionist cause does not reach its full fruition the blame will not be on Dr. Weizmann. He has poured out his strength, his genius, his soul for his people with a singlemindedness which has been the admiration and wonder of all who knew him intimately.

The greatest Jewish leader before him failed to enter the Promised Land and died on the mountains of Vision and Disappointment. This is a hard world, hardest for its greatest sons. But whether he sees the fulfilment of his vision or not, he himself has been a vision and a revelation to all those who have known him intimately. He was worthy to be the leader of a great and just cause, and his figure will not be less, even if like Moses he does not himself see the full ripe fruit of his immense labours. His mark is made on time and will not be washed out. May this anniversary celebration be a fefreshment to him in a very thirsty time. All my warm good wishes to a true friend and a great man.



THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, Inc. EIGHTEEN HUNDRED NINETEEN BROADWAY, NEW YORK 23, N. Y.

November 28, 1944

Dear Rabbi Silver:

At the risk of being accused of carrying coals to Newcastle, I am anxious to have you know officially how appreciative we are of your participation in our recent convention held in Cleveland.

We know that a large Cleveland audience would flock to hear you no matter on whose platform you appeared, but it cannot fail to be gratifying to us that the large and distinguished audience that came to the Music Hall on November 17th came as a result of the Hadassah convention.

It is always stimulating to every Zionist to listen to an address by you, and this occasion was no exception.

I know that I express no more than your own wish when I say that every member of our National Board is earnestly hopeful that our joint work for Palestine will result in an early solution of our age-old Jewish problem.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Robert Szolá National Secretary

30 Hald

Pabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street and Ansolm Road
Cleveland, Ohio

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American Zionist Emergency Council 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America MUrray Hill 2-1160 Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America December 18, 1944 . Miss Bessie Klein The Temple Cleveland, Ohio Dear Miss Klein: Mr. Shapiro paid Dr. Silver's hotel bill amounting to \$65.63 in Pittsburgh during the American Jewish Conference meeting. Will you kindly ascertain from Dr. Silver whether this is to be considered an Emergency Council expense or is to be billed to the American Jewish Conference. Thanking you for your courtesy, I am, Sincerely yours, Rose Shepatin Bookkeeper TS.

December 24, 1944 Miss Rose Shepatin American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N.Y. Dear Miss Shepatin: Thank you for your letter of December 18. Dr. Silver suggested that you get in touch with Mr. I. L. Kenen of the American Jewish Conference and ascertain whether the bill of \$65.63 is to be charged to the American Jewish Conference or to the Emergency Council. With best wishes, I remain Very sincerely yours, BJK Secretary to Dr. Silver.

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DR ADBA HILLEL SILVER = THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

944 DEC 26 SK 3748 1055 med

AS PRESIDECT OF JUF OF NE I URGE YOU TO RECOUSIDER YOUR

RESIGNATION AS CHAIRMAN OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL.

DISAPPOINTED AS WE ARE. LET NOT DEFEAT AND FRUSTRATION DISCOURAGE US BUT LET US CONTINUE TO FIGHT WITH EVEN GREATER COURAGE AND DETERMINATION UNTIL JUSTICE TRIUMPHS.

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AMERICA WAS THE ORDER.

FOR YOUR COURAGEOUS LEADERSHIP VARY THE NEW YEAR BRING VICTORY TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND FULL JUSTICE TO OUR PEOPLE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN PALESTINE

63 Bay State Rd

. BQA 6

ADBA HILLEL JMF NE SHAIN.

C 0 P December 26, 1944 Hon. Edward R. Stettinius, Jr. Secretary of State Washington, D.C. Regarding N. E. Dear Sir: Thank you very much for your kind letter of December 6, 1944, I am sorry that I did not answer it sooner because I realize how greatly occupied you have been in the past few weeks with very important matters of state. In the light of what has happened recently I find it very difficult to reconcile certain facts: 1. Secretary of War, Honorable Henry L. Stimson, in a letter dated October 10, 1944, addressed to Senator Taft of Ohio, wrote as follows: "I do feel that the military considerations which led to my previous action in opposing the passage of this resolution are not as strong a factor now as they were then. In my judgment political considerations outweigh the military and the issue should be determined upon the political rather than the military phases." 2. The letter from the President of the United States to the Zionist Organization of America of October 15, 1944, which was read at the Convention by Senator Wagner of New York, in which the President stated that the American people gave their support to free immigration to Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine and "if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization." Then Senator Wagner added, "This clears the way for favorable action by Congress on the Palestine Resolution." What a feeling of ecstasy permeated through the 1,000 delegates present and the 5,000,000 Jews of America who read about it in the newspapers!' Everyone felt that at long last justice was being done our people and the four to five million who were brutally murdered for no other reason than that they were Jews had not died in vain. Therefore the entire Jewish population of America was not only puzzled but amazed and stunned at what transpired in the last few weeks when it was necessary for the secretary of State to appear before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to urge the members to table S.P. 247.

C 0 P Hon. Edward R. Stettinius Page 2. Secretary of State Since the Balfour Declaration we have poured millions of dollars into the upbuilding of Palestine. The State Department is well acquainted with the creative accomplishments of Palestine from the economic, sanitary, cultural, educational, and above all, from the military points of view in greatly helping the war effort. For years we have pleaded with the British Government to fulfill her obligation to Palestine but without success. The Grand Mufti, who has been residing in Berlin these years, and the Effendi, who never made a move to help the United Nations in the days when England was hard-pressed by the Axis forces, have, nevertheless, been able to prevail upon the Colonial Office against the better judgment of the British people. However, our hope rested upon America, our great President, and the State Department. We were assured of it by the incorporation of the Palestine plank in the platform of both the Democratic and Republican parties also by the President's letter referred to previously. I cannot believe that in view of all this that something of great importance has happened since to shatter our hones. Therefore, I plead with you, Sir, to reconsider the entire Palestine

Therefore, I blead with you, Sir, to reconsider the entire Palestine question and that you may shortly announce a more favorable attitude. We are not asking for sympathy, but for justice. We are pleading for the hundreds of thousands of Jews in Europe who have suffered untold misery and who have been humiliated beyond human endurance and who have survived by the grace of God and are not longing to emigrate to Palestine where they can forget their sorrows and build for themselves a new life of hope and courage.

Wishing you a very successful and victorious New Year, I remain Sincerely yours,

Dr. Arthur I. Shain, President New England Jewish National Fund

(Please send reply to 63 Bay State Road Boston, 15, Massachusetts.)

I myself am not concerned with personalities but only with causes. I am in the habit of saying "Amen" even if I don't happen to like the "Cantor" whe at the moment happens to be leading in prayer. In this case I have the highest respect and regard for both Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver and I have no doubt that each believes himself to be absolutely right in his approach to the problems involved, yet one of them must be in error. I have given the matter much thought and have tried to sound out some of the leading Zionists in this community, and it would seem that there is substantial agreement here that the wishes of the President of the United States must be respected if we are to succeed ultimately. Our thinking is not based on any fatalistic belief in his infallibility but rather on the simple fact that Mr. Roosevelt is in a position as Chief executive, to influence policy far more than the

combined voices of both Houses of Congress. And since he has over the years proven himself again and again to be our friend, and since he has publicly reiterated his position on Palestine throughout the years, and since he will ultimately have to work the problem out with Churchill and Stalin it seems clear to us here that nothing should be done to alienate him in any way.

I wish that you would convey the above to both Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver as being the sentiments of those Zionists in New Haven with whom I have talked, and that you further indicate to both of them our feelings, that harmony at the top is essential particularly at this moment in Israel's tragic history.

Cordially yours.

MH:1/2/45

LOUIS SACHS (signed)



December 28, 1944 Dr. Arthur I. Shain 63 Bay State Road Boston, Mass. My dear Dr. Shain: Tay I tell you how deeply grateful I am for your lovely telegram. It greatly heartened me. I am afraid that my resignation will have to stand because it is quite impossible for me to work with the Emergency Council as it is at present constituted. I want to assure you, however, that I shall continue in the future as in the past to work in behalf of our movement and to defend the classic principles of Zionism against appeasement and Court-Jew intercessionism which have for so long blighted our movement. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

December 30, 1944

(23)

I have been informed that you stated that I received my information concerning the Resolution on Palestine from Mr. Manson. I don't need to go to Mr. Manson for any information. I have my own

When you stated that I received my information from Mr. Manson, you bore false witness against me and against him which you, as a rabbi, have no business doing. You should have checked your sources.

With best wishes to you personally, I am

Faithfully yours,

GES: HP

George E. Sokolsky

Rabbi Isadore H. Shoulson 401 Sharpless Street West Chester, Pa.

December 31, 1944

Mr. H. Shapiro 342 Madison Avenue New York City

Dear Mr. Shapiro:

I have received, what you called, your last communication as director of the Council. My heart grieves indeed upon this whole sad situation. I wished to be present at the meeting held on Thursday night, and to express myself, but by some mistake I was informed that the meeting was to be on Wednesday and I did come to N.Y. for that purpose, and left because of lack of time to stay over the next day.

Please be assured that I am entirely in agreement with the policies suggested by Dr. Silver. We all feel the great need for militant political Zionism at the present time. I nevertheless disagree in the need for resignation and breaking up our ranks, and in the confusion that it has created in the minds of the average Zionist laymen. I sincerely pray to God that Dr. Silver will soon reconsider his resignation, and with the full confidence of his people to back him, he will once more lead and we shall follow, as in the past, "Ken yehi rotzon".

Sincerely yours,

ISADORE H SHOULSON (signed)

Ry Lear abba: Dec. 31, 40 thanks recept of your series of checks for the falls. Horald's seevent address; Pot. Harald Selver 1 st Rad. Sta. See 832 Dig. Dew. Bn ER. 0 72 Yo San Francisco, Calif. Dan certain Friald will be delighted to be or from pri. Hise are I Rappered to letterally hump int Cash other last Thursday in the doorerry of the needing from of the UPa at the start of the Afeleal meeting Called for that day. He fave me a specially worm and lengthy have sheke ful paratoucally worm and lengthy have sheke that he should not like I have another fight with austher Selver. By instantanies were never afraid of a pight - if it was

le - shem Shawaim. De reflective, repealed the Abrace. Probably, be is that much learned in Hebrew... in Hebreir... Have been frelowing with valued interest the recent battle It find deveriences was te me for a long time a forefore conclusion. The Old man is not dear yet now have his cours received from the over-entiring communities of the Medler front was a vis the distributing but still receins of azi least for harr apparently all along undersaled thereties frages Maying protected charge energy schurg the scene of the actual surge aclass of the vereble Stope - de foldsteens, the Hellers, etc., the. The gronest Organ galon, who have been for many fears rooging the balla against your top leadership, it was always the free Leville Et hititimest was prever pulley the strengs. The former were only his strape, as even the late hern - coals the Catherleys the Caller of ourse because of his dependence on the theep Rem Cand a judge ship.

Through them are, be has deer "laying" for you for the apportune verment, sandentally your spen apportion to Rosswell during the last two vatoral election - whether you realizetion not - waleually helped hes scheme. For ever the rank and fell the large majority worken are steel stay for you, were deforged, my stepled and confused at four said stand, and alekty Cause 6000 Jam flore that you deleded theurien wither the Courcel. Fru opportunity und Egan come therein: Who obs 11 1150 objel 21 My laters on my new work is contensely In about all my leisure time. In the Commedia two mest worthy volumes on "The Pherise's the Freiderfirse Back grown of their Jaille, "a Try very recentific and clarifying statement The their important subject, on which or much

Jane and I are planning & spend a week somewhere, the middle of faminay, towark our Selver ouriversay, Owen, I Horald's absence, we have decided 4 omet the other were work wellance family fet together on this reasen Fra upras & yourself singerin our the tryp, wo which Juniare marine fren me, as eva WRHS ARCHIVES

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R. B. WHITE

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ARTHUR I. SHAIN, M. D. COMPANIES AND ASSESSMENT BOSTON, MASS. 63 BAY STATE ROAD January 4. 1945 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple East 105th Street at Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio Dear Dr. Silver: Thank you very much for your letter in response to my telegram. Again I must state that all of us regret your determined stand regarding your resignation. Yesterday I received a long letter issued by our president, Dr. Goldstein, stating at great length the "so-called" other view of the events that have occurred in the American Emergency Council. I hope to attend the Administrative Committee meeting which is to be held on Sunday, January 7, 1945, at the Commodore Hotel in New York. I certainly will not remain a silent listener. I am enclosing a copy of a letter that I have written to the Secretary of State, Honorable Edward P. Stettinius, Jr.; this is in response to a letter I received from him in answer to a telegram that we sent to the President of the United States. At the annual conference of the Jewish National Fund of New England which was held on November 26. 1944, the thousand delegates present adopted a resolution thanking the President for his letter to the Zionist Organization of America on October 15, 1944. The fact that the President turned the telegram over to the State Department must have been of some significance. Do you think a letter such as this sent by the chairmen of the Jewish National Fund Councils throughout the country would carry any weight and would it influence the State Department to issue a more favorable statement regarding the "Palestine Question." I would be very happy to hear your comments regarding this. With kind regards, I remain Very sincerely yours. Arthur I. Shain, M. D. gis/md enclosure

January 9, 1945 Dr. Arthur L. Shain 63 Bay State Road Boston, Mass. My dear Dr. Shain: I was delighted to receive your letter of January 4 and a copy of your communication to the Secretary of State. I should be very much interested in learning whether you received a reply, and what the reply was. whether letters should be sent to Mr. Stettinius along the lines of your communication is a matter which I believe the Emergency Council should decide. You may wish to communicate your suggestion to it. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, A S:BK

Milwankee Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

January 9, 1945

RABBI LOUIS SWICHKOW Chairman

MRS. HARRY BRODY
Secretary
715 E. Beaumont Ave.
EDgewood 0283

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver c/o The Temple 105th and Ansel Rd. Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a copy of a Resolution which was adopted today, unanimously, by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council. The original of this Resolution was sent today, via Air Mail, to the American Zionist Emergency Council, c/o Dr. Chaim Greenberg, and we requested him to read this Resolution at the next meeting of the Council.

I am also enclosing my own personal comments on the dissension between yourself and Dr. Wise, which appeared in the January 5th issue of the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle. (These comments were printed in my weekly commentary on the news.)

With kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow, Chairman, Milwaukse Zionist Emergency Council

2363 North 54th Street Milwaukee, 10, Wisconsin Address official communications to The Secretary of State Washington, D.C. DEPARTMENT OF STATE (seal) Washington In reply refer to NE - 867 N-01/12-26-44 January 10, 1945 My dear Dr. Shain: I am writing to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of December 26, 1944, with further reference to Palestine, and specifically to the position taken recently by the Department of State in opposition to certain resolutions which had been introduced into Congress in this connection. I am enclosing for your information a copy of a statement issued by the Department under date of December 11, from which you will note that the Department informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, in response to an inquiry from that Committee, that the passage of these resolutions would be unwise at the present time from the standpoint of the general international situation. In reaching this decision, we, of course, had in mind the views of many organizations in this country such as those set forth in your telegram of November 29, 1944. The Department is anxious at all times to accord the most careful consideration in matters of foreign policy to the opinions of representative American groups such as yours. We have, furthermore, taken the most careful note of the further information regarding your attitude on the Palestine question as contained in your letter of December 26. As you will observe from the enclosed statement, however, it was necessary for the Department, taking into consideration the general international situation, to advise against the passage of the Palestine resolutions at this time. Sincerely yours, (signed) E. R. STETTINIUS, JR. Enc.: Statement by the Department of State December 11, 1944 Dr. Arthur I. Shain, President, New England Jewish National Fund, 63 Bay State Road, Boston, Massachusetts

January 10, 1945 Mr. Eluhu D. Stone 44 School Street Boston 8, Mass. My dear Elihu: I deeply appreciate your letter of January 2. Your loyal support throughout has been most heartening. I have been gratified by the response of the rank and file of Zionists throughout the country, many of whom have written to me and telegraphed. The attitude of the Jawish press has been particularly fine -- frank, forthright and incisive. The conspiracy of the little cabal of ZOA office-holders has blown up in their faces. They had hoped that they could bring about my elimination quietly and painlessly. I shall be in Boston to speck at Harvard University on Sunday, January 21. I hope I may see you at that time. "ith all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

ARTHUR I. SHAIN, M. D. 63 BAY STATE ROAD HOURS 2 - 6 BOSTON 15, MASS. AND BY APPOINTMENT January 12, 1945 Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio Dear Dr. Silver: I received your letter simultaneously with a reply from Mr. Stettinius, our Secretary of State. Since I felt you would be interested in knowing what he wrote I am enclosing a copy of his letter. I should be interested in hearing your reaction to his statement. With kind personal regards, Cordially yours, Dr. Arthur I. Shain, President New England Jewish National Fund Enc.

Chaplain Herman Eliot Snyder 13 January 1945 Lleas St. Silver. Even out Leve hoer come reverberations of the Lappenings in the civilian world. Just world you to Know that we are with you and back of you.

With the dest personal regards. Human Snyden Post Chapel

Comp Ht. Tendleton Oceanside, Calif

January 15, 1945 Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow, Chairman Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council 2363 North 54th Street Milwaukee 10, Wisconsin My dear Rabbi Swichkow: Thank you so much for your kind letter of January 9 and for the copy of the resolutions which was adopted by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council which you sent me. I am deeply grateful to the members of the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council for their expression of confidence and support. It has been heartening to receive so many expressions of confidence from Zionists from all sections of the country. The reaction of the Jewish press has been particularly gratifying. I read with deep appreciation your own comments in the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle. With all good wishes, and hoping that I may have the pleasure of seeing you before long, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

January 15, 1945 Rabbi Isadore H. Shoulson 401 Sharpless Street West Chester, Pa. My dear Rabbi Shoulson: Mr. Harry Shapiro sent me a copy of the letter which you wrote to him on December 31. May I tell you how deeply I appreciate the sentiments expressed therein. It has been very heartening to me to receive so many expressions, from Zionists all over the country, of confidence and approval. The Jewish press particularly has been fine and understanding. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

Dear Dr. Silver,

I have heard vaguely about your dissociation form the Emergency Committee (long overdue) and that you are contemplating some sort of sctivity aimed to further Zionist objectives in a more vigorous fashion. Some of us have been waiting many years for such an eventuality. We would not identify ourselves with the blackguards of the "Hebrew Embassy" outfit, and yet no one else solicited our aid. There are, I assure you, hundreds of us throughout the land who during the past few years have been desperatedly craving to do something, but had no one to turn to. I have discussed the matter with many of my own friends; each is willing to do something, but at the same time needs a focal point to which he may gravitate. Among the many crimes of the Z.O.A. not a minor one is the failure to make an inventory of its human resources. Immediately after Pearl Harbor the govt set about preparing a survey of its intellectual resources. It was a masterly achievement, a peerless contribution to the war effort. But this is an aside. Again I give you my assurance that there are many young Zionist in the country who are ready and prepared for a New Deal. Be good enough to let me know what are the things you are contemplating to do. You will have in us nort merely passive sympathizers but active and intelligent (more significant) coworkers. I might add that I began a letter to you soon after Roosevelt knifed the first resolution, but gave up because of seeming futility.

A brief note of self-identification might not be out of place. I hold a Master's dad doctor described degrees in modern history from Harvard University (1935). I know Hebrew well (well known to Dr. Touroff and Professor Wolfson). Abe Duker and Nen Halpern are good friends (I saw Duker last night; he is now in the Army, attached to Office of Strategic Services). I am also in the Army, stationed in Washington.

Oh, yes. H. Schoolson and I were jointly inducted. I am trying to get him back here and the matter is proceeding well. Also, when Ben Gurion was here I arranged for him to meet Professor Langer, who, as you may know, is the real head of the Office of Strategic Services. I am also enclosing a phosoatat. Please return it. And I am not looking for a post-war job. I was on the staff of the Library of Congress 1935-42 (ust in kentric Trisins)

Sincerely yours, I'V tone.

S/Sgt Isaac Stone

Hq. Sq.

Bolling Field, D.C. (War Dept, Ext. 71497)



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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER THE TEMPLE:

REMINDING YOU WEIZMANN 70TH EIRTHDAY DINNER HISTADRUT
AUSPICES JANUARY TWENTY THIRD HOTEL BILTMORE. WILL CONSIDER
YOUR ATTENDANCE HONOR OTHERWISE REQUEST MESSAGE THIS
AUSPICIOUS OCCASION. MAY I HEAR FROM YOU BY MONDAY=

O150 JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG CHAIRMAN PALESTINE-HISTADRUT
CAMPAIGN 45 EAST 17TH STREET NEW YORK CITY.

HISTADRUT AUSKID

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECE TE SEGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 25, 1945 S/Sgt. Isaac Stone Hq - Sq. Bolling Field D.C. My dear Friend: I want to thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing to me. I appreciate very much what you say in your letter. There is so much truth in it. I have been greatly heartened by the reaction of the rank and file of Zionists throughout the country, and by the nigh nnanimous championing of our position which has been taken by both the Yiddish and the Anglo-Jewish press. We are now laying the ground-work to keep actively before the minds of our people the political objectives on which we cannot yield, and the line of action which we believe essential to achieve them. As our program of action advances a little further, and becomes more clearly defined, I shall be very happy to get in touch with you again. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

ETERNAL FOUNT COMMITTEE

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Rabbi Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

To express my sentiments and that of my son, Mendel M. Selig of Leominster, Mass., in the present controversy in the Zionist ranks, I am enclosing an article which appeared today in the Jewish Day. Jewish history repeats itself, but let us hope for a brighter ending.

For the last three years I am writing on the sidra and haftorah of the week every Friday in the Jewish Day. In a few months all these articles will appear in book form in a lucid English translation. My first book, The Eternal Fount, has been very favorably accepted and I hope that the new books, five volumes, will receive the same treatment.

Wishing you the best of success and hoping to see you again in the leadership, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

Harris L. Selig

Harris T. Vela

Enc.

(1) co

Rev. Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER The Temple, Cleveland:

"It is a very meaty volume. The writer has very deftly brought to play upon the signficant parts of the portions of the week the most challenging and revealing sayings of the Aggadah, and added his own stimulating commentary in each instance. The volume is a real contribution to modern Jewish homiletics."

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Dr. H. L. GORDON

Literary Critic, Jewish Morning Journal:

"THE ETERNAL FOUNT, by Harris L. Selig, consists of discourses on the weekly portion of the Bible and the holidays. We are indeed fortunate in having a great talmudic scholar whose thoughts are so well expressed in English. A perusal of his interesting work will bring back memories of the magical atmosphere of the great academics of learning which have served as reservoirs of our great culture. It is difficult to review this treasure of profound and pithy ideas which Mr. Selig has comprised for us. One must read and study every line and sentence of it to understand and fully appreciate it."

appreciate it."
"This volume will spare any rabbi or public speaker much time and effort in preparation of his addresses. We ought to have more such authoritative works for America's educated Jewish youth,"

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"These essays on the sidras of the week are masterpieces of this type of writing."

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"The author has included so many ideas and so many quotations from the whole realm of Jewish letters as to render the work very nearly a homiletic encyclopedia. . . . The book will serve not rabbis and speakers alone, but all Jews interested in obtaining authentic knowledge of their own heritage, and all young people who require further impetus toward Jewish loyalty."





January 30, 1945 The Staff American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N.Y. My dear Friends: I was deeply moved by your letter of January 26 which conveyed to me the information that the entire Staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council had decided to inscribe my name in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund. Your letter reached me on my birthday, and made the day doubly happy for me. Among the deepest satisfactions which were mine during the sixteen months when I was Executive Chairman of the Emergency Council was the unfailing loyalty, friendship and devotion which I was privileged to enjoy from all the members of the Staff of the Council. I seldom have worked with a finer group of men and women, and I shall long treasure the memories of my association with you in the comradeship of a great service. With all good ishes, and again thanking you for your gracious act, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

Mr. Herman Shulman, Chairman January 30, 1945 Administrative Committee American Zionist Emergency Council Mr. Harry Steinberg In view of our recent conversations, I am submitting herewith a supplement to my letter of resignation submitted to Mr. Arthur Lourie, Acting Director of the Emergency Council, in order to make my position unmistakably clear. This letter is made necessary by some of your remarks at our meeting yesterday which were wholly unjustified. For some weeks now I have been giving consideration to submitting my resignation as Assistant Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council. My misgivings were due to the feeling that the policies and program of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, which in my opinion represent the "line" that Zionist leadership should take, are being scrapped by the new Administration of the Council and the leadership, as now constituted, does not inspire the high degree of confidence and cooperation which are so terribly essential in carrying on Zionist political and public relations work. At the time of the golit within the Emergency Council I was busy in Cincinnati on an assignment for the American Palestine Committee. Upon returning to New York I discussed my position with Dean Howard W. LeSourd, Director of the American Palestine Committee, and at his urging, agreed to conduct, as my last assignment, the California Conference on Palestine. But there were difficulties in the way. For the past two weeks a state of indecision seemed to prevail within the Council regarding the advisability of holding such a Conference although it had been scheduled many months back and the local committee had done considerable preparatory work. As the time was drawing near. I did my best to force a decision in the matter, and as you will recall, at our meeting on Thursday, January 25, with Mr. Hayim Greenberg, we arrived at what both you and I agreed was a definite decision to hold the Los Angeles Conference. It should be made clear that the organization of such a Conference would have been a difficult task at this late date in view of the shortage of time. I fully realized that should the Conference be a failure, the responsibility would be mine. However, I had made a commitment with you which I intended to honor. I, accordingly, made arrangements on Thursday night to leave for California within three days. On Friday, January 26, however, I was informed by Mr. Arthur Lourie that a subsequent meeting would have to be held at which it would be determined finally whether or not the Los Angeles Conference would or would not be cancelled. (This is in no way intended as a reflection on Mr. Lourie as doubtlessly he was acting on the basis of later information). From this I naturally assumed that my earlier commitment to you regarding my participation in the Conference was no longer binding and that I was now free to carry out my original plan of resigning from the Council. This I did, and made arrangements accordingly. It was therefore impossible for me yesterday to alter my plans.

Mr. Herman Shulman, Chairman Administrative Committee -3-January 30, 1945 American Zionist Emergency Council In leaving the Emergency Council, permit me to assure you that I bear no ill-will towards yourself, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, or to Mr. Hayin Greenberg.

January 31, 1945 Mr. Harris L. Selig Eternal Fount Committee 1123 Broadway New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Selig: Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the article which appeared in "The Jewish Day" which I read with great interest. I have frequently enjoyed reading your sermons and I derive a great deal of pleasure and profit from them. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

Harry A. Steinberg 322 West 84 St. Mew York, M.Y.

> Adam Rosen 210 West 101 St New York, M.Y.

February 5, 1945 Chaplain H. E. Snyder Post Chapel Camp Joseph H. Pendelton Oceanside, California My dear Chaplain Snyder: Thank you so much for your kindness in writing to me. I enjoyed reading your note and I am happy to know that you are with me. It has been gratifying toreceive so many similar messages from all parts of the country. The rank and file of American Zionists have not been misled by the conspiracy of a small power-hungry clique now in control of the administration of the Zionist Organization of America. I wish you all success in the splendid work in which you are engaged. With all good wishes, I remain Very sincerely yours, AHS: BK

GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN. RADIII

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 53

February 8, 1945.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, Onio.

Desr Rabbi Silver:-

I have just returned to Gastonia from Atlantic City where I attended the meetings of the Zionist Emergency Councell. Undoubtedly, you have already been informed of the proceedings, but I am taking the liberty of writing to you with these personal observations. Why? Because I regard myself as another Silver/man, but mainly because I believe that we can have no unity for the cause of Zionism until you are restored to active leadership.

The conference was a waste of time - poorly organized, miserably conducted, and an insult to those who came long distances because of their wish to contribute something to Zionist objectives. I would be assamed to conduct a Forum in Gastonia with such little planning as was obviously the case in Atlantic City. After thinking about the whole thing, I can only conclude that these regional meetings are being held for the purpose of consoledating Wise prestige and leadership, and not to give any substantial direction to the local emergency chairmen.

The meeting started with the appointment of Judge Leventhal as chairman. Mr. Schulman gave a report on some of the political activities of the AZEC. Rabbi Wise reported on his meeting with the President: "What I Said To The President, And What The President Said To Me". The chair then asked for questions appropos these two reports. A man was recognized (I believe from Newark) and instead of asking a question, read a statement from his local committee demanding the reinstatement of Dr. Silver. Man after man uttered similar demands. The meeting was on its way to a Silver landslide - and the sentiment was overwhelmingly pro-Silver. The delegates didn't mince words. The statements were frank. All could be summed up with "We demand Silver. We like his militant energetic policy - and there won't be much Zionist activity in my community until he is reinstated." As you can imagine, Wise was very much aroused and wanted to speak, but was restrained - not by the chairman, - but by the insistent demands of delegates who had not been

GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RADDI

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

-2- Rabbi Silver

heard. Finally, the delegate from Atlantic City moved that the meeting go on record expressing a demand for the reinstatement of Silver. Judge Levinthal ruled the motion out of order. There was considerable excitement and discussion until I moved an appeal from the decision of the chair. Judge weinthal said that he would naturally have to yield to that motion, but begged that we first hear Schulman and Wise. Schulman, in effect, offered a defense of Wise. Then Wise got up and with effective and impassioned eloquence expressed the following: I have served Isrsel for over 40 years, - is this my reward? Does Silver have a monopoly on militant leadership? Who helped out the Balfour Declaration scross? Brandels and I! I won't impose myself on the Zionist organization. The outcome of this and similar meetings will determine my future course of action....Dr. Wise, in my opinion, was guilty of resorting to a refined form of emotional blackmail. He appeared ill and distraught. One could only imply from his remarks that s pro-Silver declaration of any kind would be a repudiation of his years of service to Israel, and that if we voted any such declaration he would resign. My impression was substantiated when I heard from a reliable source that Dr. Ignael Goldstein passed a note to the original maker of the motion stating that he had better withdraw his motion or Wise would resign. . After Wise sat down, the Atlantic City man withdrew his motion.

From that time on - any Silver sentiment was squelched. The people on the rostrum smiled benighty and said: Now that we have expressed ourselves and have achieved unity, we can now go on to constructive work. Ban! No unity had been achieved - and we never did get on with constructive work.

Dr. Chaim Greenberg was not present that evening. He had been detained by his own organization. The next day, he addressed our meeting - and it was the only gleam of light one could see. his theme was "the return to Classical Zioniam". He said that his organization voted to support the present Wise-Greenberg set-up by a vote of 21 to 6.

I'm not going to write more of the details of the meetings, unless you wish further information. Let it suffice for me to state that if the sentiment of the delegates had been expressed without inhibition, there would have been a pro-Silver landslide. I have reason to believe that the Boston meeting and other meetings will reveal a similar sentiment. Zionism needs Silver today. The rank and file of Zionist workers want him, and I believe that if proper channels are available, an overwhelming demand for the restoration of Silver to Zionist leadership can be rendered articulate and effective.

GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RAUDI

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

-3- Rabbi Silver

I have no way of knowing how much of this YOU ANOW or want to know. There are many other aspects of the meeting that strike ne as important: the content of Wise's talk with the President, Mrs. Epstein's pro-Wise thinking, - but above all, the fact that most of the delegates returned to their respective communities in noWISE informed, without a motivating drive, without zeal and pep and enthusiasm for their work, and without the tremendous Zionist lift that should be so important for Zionist workers today.

Mr. Lester Cohen of Uniontown struck me as being a valued and energetic worker, and should be contacted for his impressions.

Again I repeat, it is my opinion that there can be no unity without Silver, and because unity is requisite for the important work of the Zionist Emergency Council, I have written this letter.

With kindest personal regards and all good wishes for your health and happiness, I am

Sincerely

William B

3. Silverms

February 9, 1945 Mr. Harry A. Steinberg 322 West 84th St. New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Steinberg: I was surprized to receive your note informing me that you have resigned from the American Zionist Emergency Council. I had hoped that you would find it possible to remain, knowing how valuable your services are, and what a fine contribution you made to the progress of our work. But I can understand the considerations which finally decided you to resign. I am confident that the Zionist Movement will continue to benefit from your devotion and talents. Mr. Shapiro informs me that you are leaving for Florida. I shall be most happy to see you there at the end of next week. Thank you for sending me a copy of the article which in "Youth and Nation" of the Hashomer Hatzair. It has always been to me a source of amazement and amusement to watch the dialectical acrobatics and inventive ingenuities of some of the spokesman of some of the parties in Zionism. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

February 9, 1945 Rabbi William B. Silverman Temple Emanuel South and West Third Gastonia, N.C. My dear Billy: Thank you so much for your fine and newsy letter which I read with keen enjoyment. It supplements and reinforces what I have been told by other friends who attended the meeting. The little cabal which had hoped to achieve my resignation quietly and painlessly has had its conspiracy explode in its face. The gentlemen are terribly frightened and un-nerved. They are desperately trying now to hush up the whole matter. They will, of course, not succeed. An American Zionist Policy Committee is being organized. You will undoubtedly receive an invitation to join it, if you have not already received it. Our friends in New York are arranging a testimonial dinner on March 21, at the Commodore Hotel, and it would be fine if you could attend. With all good wishes, and thanking you again for your thoughtfulness in writing to me, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

February 13, 1945 Rabbi William B. Silv rman Temple Emanuel South and est Third Gastonia, N.C. My dear Billy: Since writing to you, I received the enclosed report which appeared in the Jewish Post of Indianapolis, Indiana. It is evidently a biased and distorted report. I believe that a reply from you along the lines of your splendid letter would serve to correct the inaccuracies of the report and would be welcomed by those who would like an unbiased account of what actually took place. I should be most happy to read your reply. The editor's name is G. M. Cohen, and the address of the Jewish Post is 508-10 Meridian Life Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

JEWISH NATIONAL WORKERS' ALLIANCE OF AMERICA אידיש־נאציאנאלער ארבעמער פארבאנד 45 EAST 17th STREET, NEW YORK 3, N. Y. - HE Pebruary 14, 1945 Mr. I. R. Goodman 722 Chestnut Street St. Louis, Mo. Dear Mr. Goodman, I was amazed to learn that rumors are being spread in New York that I have called some of our Chaverim in St. Louis, advising them to use their influence that the St. Louis Zionists should not adopt any resolution dealing with the Wise-Silver controversy. I consider this a most outrageous insinuation. I have not called anybody in St. Louis in connection with this controversy. I assume that you know that I have made my position clear at a number of meetings of the Emergency Council, which is known to all leading Zionists. Believe me, I regret very deeply that I have to call your attention to the rumors above stated, but I am doing so to eliminate the slightest possibility that someone should be mislead about my position. in this matter. With best wishes and personal regards. I am Fraternally yours, LOUIS SEGAL General Secretary LS: PEK AFOR

TEMPLE EMANUEL SOUTH AND WEST THIRD GASTONIA, N. C. WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RADIO RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83 February 15, 1945. Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver. The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Claveland, Onic. Dear Rabbi Silver: I received your letter this morning, and sent a letter to the Editor of the Jewish Post at once. Enclosed please find copy. This letter won't make me the most popular man in the world with the officials of the Zionist Emergency Council, but that is a matter of no great significance. As you have probably concluded by this time, I am with you 100%. It is not only a matter of personal affection for you, but from an objective point of view, it is my conviction that you are the man to give direction to Zionism and Jewish life in America. I want to be of service to you and that which you represent. I have already indicated my wholehearted support of the American Zionist Policy Committee, and if I can be of any assistance to you in presenting a relatively unprejudiced version of the Atlantic City meetings, I am more than happy to do so. With kindest personal regards, and all good wishes for your health and happiness, I am Enc .

J. 1 A February 15, 1945. Mr. G.M. Cohen. The Jewish Post, 508-10 Meridian Life Building, Indianapolis, Indiana. Dear Mr. Cohen:-Allow me to appoint myself special correspondent to the Jewish Post for this issue, and attempt to correct some of the misconceptions I am sure will result from the distorted, biased and wishfoolish article that had as its caption "Silver Movement Believed Dead After Secret Meet". The proceedings of the Atlantic City meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council Chairmen, and the trend of recent events, certainly do anything but corroborate that caption. Undoubtedly, by this time you have received information regarding the organization of the American Zionist Policy Committee to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver." So you see, Mr. Editor, if, as your correspondent writes: "The Silver movement is dead", appropos Mark Twain, the report has been greatly exaggerated, or there has been a speedy and unpublicized resurrection. Moreover, I cannot agree with the latter part of the caption: "After Secret Meet". As your article indicated, I attended those meetings, and I am not aware that the proceedings were in any way confidential or secret. The only caution imposed upon the delegates related to the report of Dr. Stephen Wise who requested discretion when relating the and reporting his conversation with the President. It is not my wish to further controversy in the Jewish press. However, I feel that the article you published gives an entirely erroneous impression, and should be corrected. The following is my own personal estimate, and I am not writing this in any representative capacity. I believe that the meetings were poorly organized, miserably conducted, and an insult to those who came long distances because of their wish to learn, and to contribute something to the important objectives of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I can only conclude that this regional meeting was prompted mainly for the purpose of further consolidating Wise prestige and leadership, and not for the given purpose of affording substantial direction to the local Emergency Chairmen. Certainly, the speeches and reports could have been mailed at the saving of considerable time, money and travel. Aside from the unmistakable clamor and demand for the restoration of Dr. Silver to Zionist leadership, there was very little call for action inherent in the meetings. Your correspondent was correct when he implied that the opening

meeting almost resulted in a landslide for Silver. Delegate after delegate read official resolutions and statements, - all demanding the reinstatement of Dr. Silver to the important position of leadership in the Emergency Council. When a motion was made that the meeting go on record indicating the sentiment of those present as favoring the reinstatement of Rabbi Silver, Judge Levinthal, who was presiding, ruled the motion out of order. Your informant did not mention the fact that a subsequent motion was made to appeal from the decision of the chair, and that the pro-Silverites were then requested to hear Mr. Schulman and Rabbi Wise before voting to either sustain or reject that appeal. NOW THE IS IMPORTANT, and has not been mentioned: Rabbi Wise was very much aroused, and with impassioned and effective eloquence expressed himself to the effect (I do not quote, but give my impression of his remarks) that the action taken at that meeting and other meetings of the delegates to the American Eionist Emergency Council, would determine his future relationship to the American American Council. He said that he did not wish to impose himself upon the Zionist movement. Rabbi Wise spoke of his service to Israel and to the Zionist cause and contended that he, too, had pursued a militant and energetic leadership in Jewish life. One could only conclude from his remarks that any pro-Silver declaration on the part of those assembled, would result in his resignation.

After Rabbi Wise concluded his remarks there was generous applause. It would be wrong to surmise that the applause indicated an endorsement of Wise's leadership in the Zionist Emergency Council. In my opinion, it indicated a feeling of appreciation for the many contributions he has made to Israel and to the Zionist cause. My impression that Dr. Wise would resign in the event a pro-Silver declaration should be passed was substantiated when I heard from a reliable source that Dr. Israel Goldstein indicated to Mr. Hulbert of Atlantic City, that he had better desist from pressing the pro-Silver motion or Rabbi Wise would resign that night. THEN, Mr. Hulbert withdrew his motion, not becausehe no longer adhered to it, but rather, I am sure, out of deference to an honored leader in Israel, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

I can't recall that "the trend having changed perceptibly against Rabbi Silver, many delegates, including those whose districts had passed resolutions supporting Rabbi Silver, publicly recanted". I attended the sessions, and I have no recollection of this alleged recanting. In fact, the trend was not against Rabbi Silver. If anything, and I judge by the conversations and discussions that went on outside of the meetings, there was definitely a greater impetus for and a more pronounced realization of the restoration of Rabbi Silver to Zionist leadership. SILVER SENTIMENT DIDN'T SUBSIDE! It was squelched - by the implied antagonism of the presiding leaders who definitely favored Rabbi Wise. The people on the rostrum smiled benignly and said: Now that we have expressed ourselves and achieved

-3- Mr. Cohen unity, we can go on to constructive work. No unity had been achieved, Mr. Editor, and full and complete discussion of this important subject was summarily averted. I have reason to believe that if the sentiment of the delegates had been frankly expressed, there would have been a pro-Silver landslide at any session that was held. Zionism needs Silver today. The rank and file of Zionist workers want him, and I believe that if proper channels are made available, the overwhelming demand for the restoration of Rabbi Silver to Zionist leadership, will be rendered articulate and manifestly discernible. Impressions gleaned from those meetings convinced me that there can be no unity without Silver, and because the work of the Zionist Emergency Council is so vital today, he must be restored to active leadership. The press was barred from these meetings, but the various delegates were to return home and report the proceedings to their respective communities. I believe that a report should be made to the community of Israel, and I take this means of correcting what I regard to be a distorted and erroneous version of what took place. The meeting opened my eyes to the political machinations of those opposing Silver, and convinced me of the necessity of having complete and unhindered expression of the facts. Most of the Zionists with whom I talked want to know why Silver has been victimized, and they demand an expose of the political intrigue that resulted in the present controversy. The stakes are too high. The objectives are too important to be constrained by petty fears of publicity. The entire matter should not be restricted to the limits of polite restraint, nor should we subject ourselves to the dangerous delusion of non-existent harmony. The Silver movement has never died. True, attempts have been made to bury it alive. I think that future events will disclose that the alleged corpse will make itself heard because its voice echoes the desired policies and Convictions of the Vast majority of American Zionists. Sincerely yours, Rabbi William B. Silverman Temple Emanuel, Gastonia, N.C. Aside to the Editor: Dear Gabe: I trust that you will give this the same emphasis that you gave to the article I question. Sincerely,

GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RABBE

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

Wednesday, Feb. 21, 1945.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Ansel Road at E. 105th, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I trust that you received a copy of the letter sent to the editor of the Jewish Post of Indianapolis, and found it satisfactory.

I plan to leave Gastonia Sunday night for Nashville, Tennessee, where I have been invited to be the speaker at the annual Purim Banquet of the Nashville Zionist District. I have been informed through Mr. Mortimer May that they expect from 300 to 400 people. Mr. May, I understand, is very influential in the Southern Zionist set-up. Naturally, I shall report on the Atlantic City meetings and some of the events that transpired. I'm not trying to arrogate to myself an importance that I don't have, but I may be in a position to give the American Zionist Policy Committee a boost. Please send me any necessary information that I should have for that meeting. I will be grateful for your suggestions.

Now, I hope you won't mind too much if I turn to you for advice on a personal matter. I have a fine group of Jewish people in Gastonia - about 32 families. However, Gastonia is a town of about 21,000 population - and I've got to keep myself busy as blazes to offset the atmosphere of the reactionary, sleepy south. My conscience is clear with regard to the chaplaincy, having volunteered twice and was turned down for a minor physical defect, im no way hampering me in my rabbinical work, but apparently a disqualifying factor as far as the army is concerned.

I understand that Sam Wolk is leaving Wilkes-Barre to go to Albany, - and Ariel Goldburg is leaving Charleston, W. Va., to go to Richmond. I've never written to Morgenstern for a recommendation of any kind, and he hasn't seen fit to include my name when he has been asked to suggest men for various pulpits. My impression is that Charleston would be an advancement for me. Should I try to get letters from influential people that might get me a crack at the job? The difficult aspect of the whole business is - that unless you have contacts, you can't even get a chance to try out for a pulpit - let alone get it. What do you think about Wilkes-Barre and Charleston, and do you think that I should

SOUTH AND WEST THIRD GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN. RABBU

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

-2- Rabbi Silver

do something about them? George Lieberman wrote to me about Wheeling several months ago, but it would have meant leaving my people here, in January, and that didn't seem right to me. I've never been very good at "shmeicheling" - and, I can assure you, this is the first time I have tried to push myself with regard to pulpit placement.

Dr. Morgenstern sent me to Battle Creek, Michigan, as my first position. They had no Temple structure and no congregation. I organized and worked there for two years - also serving as the civilian Chaplain at Fort Custer until they obtained an army chaplain. Bernie Zeiger, who was then in Jackson, Michigan, mentioned my name to his mishpocho here, and I was invited to come to Gastonia in August, 1943. They hadn't had a Rabbi for 13 years and were divided as to orthodoxy, conservative and reform. We worked out a compromise and here I am.

I know you are busy, and I hate to bother you with this, but I need your advise.

Pearl and Joel Jeremy join me in sending kindest personal regards and all good wishes for your health and happiness,

Cordially,

Billy,

tembers Wellington Hotel 7th And Euclid Miami Beach February 25, 1945. Lr. Harry L. Shapiro American Zionist Policy Committee 55 West 42nd Street New York, N.Y. Dear Harry: Following my telephone conversation with you, am submitting a report on the activities of the past two weeks: In Miami Beach we ran into a number of difficulties which made the work very discouraging, especially at the start. Upon contacting the Zionist leaders, I found that some of them were favorably disposed in a vague sort of way, that the majority did not feel like becoming involved in what they considered a "personal matter" involving Zionist leaders, and that some were actually hostile under the cloak of "neutrality" and a deploring of the break in unity in Zionist ranks, etc. The latter turned out to be those who because of a blood relationship or a personal friendship with one or another of the leaders of the present Zionist administration, instinctively opposed Dr. Silver. Of course, my primary mission was fund-raising and the educational work was to be of secondary importance (a mistaken ap roach as I shall point out later). The technique to be used, as we talked it out in New York prior to my leaving, was to assemble groups of 6 or 8 or 10 wealthy individuals to meet with Dr. Silver in the home of Mr. Abe Goodman or some other convenient place. Dr. Silver, in concluding his remarks, would stress the need for funds following which one of the men present, whom we already knew to e friendly and prepared to make his contribution, would rise and second Dr. Silver's remarks and announce a substantial contribution. It was to be hoped that the others would follow. Speaking with Dr. Silver in Cleveland on the telephone after my arrival here, I learned that Dr. Silver was not favorably disposed to that general strategy. It was his feeling that groups meetings do not produce results and that it would be more productive of results to schedule individual conferences or meetings with some of the local leading Jewish personalities. I considered this to be quite a major change in tactics and after consultation with you, it was a reed that we use the method suggested by Dr. Silver.

Accordingly, six appointments were made for Dr. Silver for for February 15 and 16. (Dr. Silver was due to arrive on Thursday, Feb. 15). These included Isadore Fine of Brooklyn and Moses G naburg - and 4 Mismi people.

One important factor we overlooked was the Federation Drive which is on. The Federation was very much opposed to our fund-raising work here and discouraged people from meeting with Dr. Silver, as they sensed the purpose of the meeting. Several of the people scheduled to mmeet with Dr. Silver failed to show up. I saw no good purpose in continuing to make arrangements which would only tie up Dr. Silver. As it was, Dr. Silver was receiving many callers, was making 3 speeches; during his brief stay here, and was entitled to the little rest he was getting.

On February 15, Dr. Silver spent the afternoon with Isadore Fine and Moses Ginsburg who called n him at Goodman's home. Fine had a pretty fair appreciation of the subject prior to meeting with Silver, whereas Ginsburg had read of the Zionist controversy for the first time only the day before. (Ginsburg, surprisingly enough, does not read the Yiddish press).

The following day it was decided that I follow-up Mr. Ginsburg to ask for his check. Dr. Silver and I both felt that we cold ask mm for a substantial amount and accordingly asked Ginsburg to contribute \$5000. He countered that he was not completely informed on the subject, that he would be going up to Brooklyn soon and wanted to discuss the matter further with Levinthal and others there. He said that he had no ideals that we after that kind of money, that if I had asked for a couple of hundred that he would have helped, but since the amount was so high he would have to look into the thing, etc.. Having asked \$5000, I couldn't suddenly drop down to a couple hundred and let the matter rest there.

I next ran into Ginsburg at the Federation Dinner on Sunday and tackled him again on the subject. I told him we needed funds is mediately to set up our organization, etc.. Now he seemed especially concerned about the income tax deduction. As soon as we can show him the Exemption certificate, he says he will send five hundred dollars. The matter rested there.

Isadore Fine was followed-up by Abe Goodman. He does not seem to be a "giver" and avoided Goodman. Finally, he committed himself for \$250 and Goodman will see him in New York in a week or so to collect.

Fine, as well as many Zionist leaders here who are sympathetic here, cannot see the neces ity for large-scale fund raising and are completely taken aback at the large sums of money we contemplate raising. Jake Felt, for example, who is completely with us, felt that a total of \$500 from

Miami, is an adequate amount.

Shepard Broad also met with Dr. Silver that first afternoon. The purpose was not fund-raising. Shep, an important figure, was very much impressed.

That evening Dr. Silver attended a lawn-dinner given by Mrs. Hollander for the Federation leaders. I met some of the Federation leaders there and arranged several appointments for Friday. These meetings did not materialize for he reason mentioned above.

The following day Dr. Silver and Goodman visited Charles Rosenbloom at xx Golden Beach and returned too 1 to to meet with one of the leaders (Zionist) who had come for a 3:30 appointment. This individual, Nathan Glosser, subsequently took sick and was impossible to arrange for another meeting. Glosser is quite wealthy and we may yet be able to do something with him.

Friday evening and Saturday morning Dr. Silver attended services at different temples and spoke briefly on Saturday morningx at Rabbi Lehrman's temple. A word should be said about Lehrman. During my alks with him, I sensed that he had a certain amount of logalty to Wise (he is a JIR graduate) but that as a local Zionist leader he would be with us. Prior to my talk with him, I learned that several of his members had exchanged very frank remarks with him about not supporting Wise here lest he incur enemies. Some of his more important members are Silver supporters and resented for example, his extending the use of the pulpit to Wise for a major address and not giving the same invitation to Silver. He is important here, but not strong enough to buck some of the local Zionist leaders here who have not hesitated to speak to him in a forthright manner and instruct him to maintain at least a spirit of neutrality.

Saturday afternoon, Louis Lavine of Massachusetts visited Goodman's home and Dr. Silver gave him a detailed picture of the developments within the Emergency Council prior to the shelving of the Palestine Resolutions. Lavine was quite impressed. There should be some sort of follow-up there but just what form it should take I don't know. Dr. Silver and Abe Goodman should be consulted on this.

Harry Sirkin also called on Dr. Silver that day. Subsequently Sirkin gave me a check for \$100.

Saturday night the local Rabbis and Zionist leaders called on Dr. Silver and he spoke to them for about an hour. Impression was very favorable. A number of questions was asked and Dr. Silver's handling of the entire evening was excellent. Morris Weinberg came down from Palm Beach and spent some time with Dr. Silver. I was not present during that meeting.

On Sunday morning, Dr. Silver again spent some time with Louis Lavine. And on sunday night Dr. Silver delivered his talk before the Federation -- Initial Gifts Division Dinner.

At Monday Luncheon of 4ionists, Dr. Silver a dressed approximately 200 people. He left that night for Cleveland.

Before leaving, Dr. Silver asked me to call upon some of the leading Zionists for contributions. I was to follow-up some of those who had heard Dr. Silver on Saturday night and some who had been to the luncheon.

Accordingly, in the next 4 or 5 days, I managed to see or talk to about 20 people and asked contributions f them. A little over \$300 has been collected all told. Some funds may yet be forthcoming and a Mr. William Shayne xxxxx said he was mailing his contribution directly to New York.

The people selected to be approached were chosen after consulting with Dr. M.A. Lipkind, who is the veteran Zionist here and considered the ultimate Zionist authority in Miami Beach. It was Dr. Lipkind who interested Shepard Broad and many of the others here in Zionism. He is a retired doctor from New York who lives in a very modest income, but highly respected here.

Two years ago Lipkind was for Dr. Goldstein in Columbus. Last year he was a supporter of Dr. Silver in Atlantic City and today more than ever is for Silver. He is really the only person in Miami Beach who has a thorough Zionist background.

It was Lipkind's suggestion that the District make a contribution to Dr. Silver out of funds that are now being raised in connection with a \$50 plate dinner to beheld in April. Out of the \$10,000 profit which the District hopes to realize, some of it has been earmarked for the Expansion fund, for JNF, and for the District itself. Out of the District allotment, it is planned to make a contribution to the Policy Committee. Lipkind, Goodman, and 2 others are on the Allocations Committee.

We should keep in close touch with Dr. Lipkind who will keep us informed on all matters here. At the present time Dr. Wise is here, and Dr. Goldstein is coming down to speak at the Dinner in April.

Dr. Lipkind always heads the delegations to the Conventions. He has volunteered the information that he will see to it that the 4 delegates vote for Silver. Should Rabbi Lehrman insist on being a delegate, he will see that the Zionist Board

issues specific instructions to Lehrman to vote for Silver

At the present time, xxxxx Dr. Lipkind is working on a resolution to present to the Board asking for the recall of Dr. Silver.

XXX I have seen the resolution and edited it briefly.

There may be some opposition to it from Rose (Joseph M. Rose, with whom Dr. Wise is staying) and from Van Stratten.

Should the moment not seem opportune in view of Dr. Wise's presence, who may choose to be present at the meeting - he was present last year- it will be held off until after Wise and "oldstein have left. Dr. Lipkind wants to push it through without too much bitterness and will do it in his own way and at the proper time.

As I stated above, I spent the major portion of the past week visiting people asking for financial contributions. Wise's friends here made a great to-do about this "slushfund"business and remonstrated with Dr. Lipkind about it. Under the circumstances, Dr. Lipkind felt that we might do ourselves harm by continuing this at the present time and he asked me to discontinue approaching people.

You see, in approaching people, I was forced to use his name as a measure of introduction and he was thus becoming openly identified with us. He feels that he can be of more use to us at the proper time if he does not openly assist us in asking for money. People generally do not anter like to be asked for money, and mix Lipkind doesn't want any hidden resentment against himself which might jeopardize his leadership in the more important matters of Zionist policy, etc. I feel he is right.

Lipkind is our greatest support here and you should work closely with him on matters not only in Miami Beach, but throughout the entire region - where he has volunteered to co-operate.

Simonhoff was not present Saturday night, as he was ill. I haven't seen him but I did spend an evening at he home of Rabbi "ax Shapiro, who, I feel is with us.

Contributions received are as follows and checks are enclosed:

Harry Sirkin - 31	l Lincoln Road -	100
Shepard Broad -	420 Lincoln Road	50
N.H. Darsky	1455 Euclid Ave	50
Dr. Louis Lytton	420 Lincoln hoad	25
Isidore Goldberg	1719 Jefferson	25
Jake Felt		25
Bernard Feiner	826 Washington Ave	25
Benjamin Appel	4430 Royal Palm Ave	10
		310.

All of the above, with the exception of Feiner and Appel should be on your mailing list.

Bruno Weil at 420 Lincoln Road should also be on the mailing list.

I believe that acknowledgements of some sort should go to those people who contributed.

In addition to approaching the Zionists for money, I also visited and phoned a number of Federation leaders here such as Monte Selig, Jacob Sher, Carl Weinkle, etc.. They asked for a few days to think it over, following which I got the stock answer from all of them. They do not want to get into anything "political", etc.. Most of them are anti-Zionists and we can get nowhere with them on a purely Zionist approach. When I put the matter to them on a purely personal relationship—that of expressing a personal tribute to Dr. Silver for his having come down here to speak - they countered that it was against their "principles" to contribute to any movement with "pol tical" affiliations. There is no answer to that.

Of course, they resented our activities here and actively discouraged others who gave servious thought to helping them. Men like Sam Katz, and the Lavine Brothers, who might have helped were frightened off. Some of the men, such as Katz, were not ashamed to tell me directly, "the Federation is opposed to my contributing"...

in conclusion:

Miami has not been a realetest case of our methods of fundraising for we were not given the opportunity to try any of the 2 methods by which we can hope to raise considerable funds. Surely, the door-to-door knocking by an outsider such as myself is not the answer.

For ourselves, we have not yet worked out a "formula" which we can use. Before we go out on another such mission, I believe that Dr. Silver, you and I, and Abe Tuvim should get together to see if we can't work out such a formula.

Perhaps the method of small groups should be tried. Certainly individual meetings with Dr. Silver should be encouraged. But we will have to find a method which will produce maximum results in a brief space of time with tiring Dr. Silver to the extent that he was taxed here.

I believe, too, that the community leaders should be made to feel that they are under obligation to help days and weeks before we arrive on the scene. We should not arrive on the scene like lighthing out of the sky. The community leaders should feel we are there at their request and meetings, large and small, should be arranged by themselves. Let them feel obligated to see that our mission is a success. We will advise and "push" them, but they must "front" and approach their own people, who will give to them but not to outsiders.

Temple Emanuel

SOUTH AND WEST THIRD

GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RABBI

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

March 1, 1945.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Ansel Road at E. 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:-

I'm glad that you found my letter to the Jewish Post acceptable. Please call upon me if ever I may be of any service.

Just returned from Nashville today. It was very stimulating to talk to 400 enthusiastic Zionists. In my talk I alluded to the Zionist Policy Committee, and I had an opportunity to clarify a lot of misunderstanding. Mr. Mortimer May is very influential in the South - being the President of the Southeastern Zionist District. I had but a few minutes of conversation with Mr. May because he was departing for Florida the next day. It is my impression, however, that he is inclined toward Rabbi Wise.

Thanks so much for expressing your willingness to write to Charleston, West Virginia in my behalf. It seems to me that Charleston is a much better proposition than Wheeling - but you are in a much better position to know. A letter from you to the Charleston congregation will undoubtedly stimulate them to extend an invitation for me to be a candidate for the pulpit.

I'll be talking to the Durham (N.C.) Zionist district in about two weeks - so please give me any leads that may be helpful. Does the Zionist Policy Committee have a Speaker's Bureau? I've found much ignorance and confusion with regard to the entire controversy. The people are hungry for the facts and want to ask questions. I imagine that speakers should be sent out to enlighten them.

With kindest personal regards and all good wishes,

William B. Silverman

Monte Savin (M.D.)

Sel

Hollywood 3, omst Disturb

Edward Lawyer

Byo United Bank Bldg.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

March 8-1945

Denne Return

Dr. A.H. Silver, The Temple, Ansel Rod at E.105-str. Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver; -

Here comes "another" one of your Temple Members to make your otherwise very buisy days, even more crowded.

But there has been something on mymind for quite some time and I wish to unload myself.

It has to do with the assistance we Jews owe in particular to the Government of The Netherlands, (Queen Wilhelmine).

Perhaps you will agree, that we are particularly indebted to the People of The Netherlands for their magnificiant Loyalty to and in our cause, and so far as I can see and observe, no particular appreciation was manifested by Jewry in General for their great sacréfices, including Queen Wilhelmine. Or am I wholly mistaken?

Would it not be well if we American Jews (world Jewry) will come forward in a Nation wide undertaking to manifest our very great appreciation for their devotion to our cause and do it in a way that would be outstanding?

The details and kind would naturally be left to our great Leaders, such as you are my Dear Dr. Silver.

Please give this further thought, or em I 'way too late in suggesting it.

Very Cordially yours,

min.

March 14, 1945 Mr. Samuel Silberger 820 United Bank Bldg. Cleveland, Ohio My dear Friend: Thank you so such for your letter of March 8. Your suggestion has great merit, and I am taking the liberty of forwarding your letter to the American Jewish Conference in New York City. I am sure that its Executive Committee will give serious consideration to your suggestion. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK



· THE SAVOY PLAZA-

FIFTH AVENUE 58" AND 59" STREETS
NEW YORK 22, N Y

March 15, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver 19810 Shaker Blvd. Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

A check for \$500, from my brother and me, made out to the American Zionist Policy Committee, has been sent to Mr. Kalman Ostow, who is a friend of mine. I explained to him that we had met and discussed the subject, and he advised that he would deliver the check to the Committee.

I thoroughly enjoyed our recent luncheon conference, and if you ever find time to communicate with me on some one of your future trips to New York, I should consider it a real pleasure to renew our acquaintance.

Sincerely yours,

Incereis yours,

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Saginaw

John Merdler

THE JEWISH NEWS

A Weekly Review of Jewish Events

2114 PENOBSCOT BLDG. DETROIT 26, MICHIGAN

Randolph 7956

March 15, 1945

Rabbi Leon Feuer Collingwood Avenue Temple 2335 Collingwood Toledo 10, 0.

CONFIDENTIAL COPY TO DR. SILVER

Dear Leon

We would have carried it overwhelm ngly, but the sole anti-Silverite—(all this is to be strictly confidential, under the circumstances)—Larry Crohn, asked as a personal favor that no action be taken until after the 20 arguments between you and Levinthal next Monday. Council members conceded on this point. Now, our members are angrier than hell about it and many want action. I feel more confident that we shall get it.

This means that I shall have to call another meeting in a couple of weeks for the projected action.

As to next Monday: We have decided to meet with you for dinner before the neeting. But you must be prepared for an argument—and you should know that the two main points will be that it is impossible to work with Dr. Silver, based on Cleveland's experiences—Clevelanders especially making the argument; and that every time FRD sees Silver or hears his name, he sees red. I did not mince words last night in demolishing the latter argument as insulting to an entire people and in disbelieving the first. But—YOU should be prepared. Please be calm—since Levinthal IS a cold and calm guy—and let's plan some strategy so that we can carry our baord.

Some weeks ago I wrote Dr. Greenberg reprimanding him for his stand. I have a lukewarm answer from him and am replying today.

We'll see you Monday.

Yours,

PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

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John Merdler

THE JEWISH NEWS

A Weekly Review of Jewish Events 2114 PENOBSCOT BLDG. DETROIT 28. MICHIGAN

Randolph 7956

March 15, 1945

Dr. Hayim Greenberg American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, H. Y.

Dear Dr. Greenberg,

I am prepared to applaud your actions as being exactly in line with the program that had been formulated by Dr. Silver. I fail to see that other program Zionists can possibly pursue, and I am not so sure that any one of us deserves or wants thanks.

But the proper handling of a program is important, and I can not dissociate past experiences from present affirmations of degires to be firm in our demands. A certain policy was followed, we were given cortain plodges, the election ended, Dr. Silver was purged-then came FRD's and Churchill's speeches. Do you expect us to sit back and dream sweek dreams?

All I need to do is to follow the line delineated in the leading editorial in the current issue of Middisher Kassefer (perhaps you even wrote it), and we echo that PDR owes us an explanation. All we need do is listen to Judge Rothenberg's ranks of March 11 in shich he asked for a "clarification" of FDR's views, and you have what we went.

I believe, and those who believes as I do believe, that as uninterruption of what Dr. Silver's policy pursued would have prevented "delays" end the type of statements which were made by FUR and Churchill.

I am sorry, Dr. Greenberg, but I can not accept what you say in your belated reply as a thorough justification of your position. What you said in Atlantic City was a white-wash of an action-why else would we need a series of meetings-like the one which had been cancelled for Chicago for this week-end? I asked the national office whether the Chicag meeting, before it was cancelled, was to be a talk-fest or a meeting for action. There was no answer. A few days after my inquiry we heard of the meeting's cancellation.

Please don't interpret this as an attack upon you personally. My esteem for you is undiminished. But I believe you have been drafted into an unfortunate position which justifies an aborinable purge is Zioni of a man who is one of our ablest, if not the ablest, tribune.

My best regards to you personally.

Yours sincerely

March 28, 1945 Mr. Hyman Sobeloff The Savoy-Plaza Fifth Avenue 58th Street New York 22, N.Y. My de r Mr. Sobeloff: Thank you so much for your kind note and for your generous contribution to the American Zionist Policy Committee. I am deeply grateful to you for your ready help. I enjoyed so much our luncheon and I hope that we may have the pleasure of seeing each other a ain before long for there are many things that I should like to talk over with you. I was greatly heartened and uplifted by the remarkable testimonial dinner the New York Zionists and friends tendered to me last Wednesday evening. It was truly a memorable occasion. I send you my warmest greetings for the Holiday of Passover which I pray may be known as a two-fold festival of liberation -- from gypt and from the Nazis. Most cordially yours, AHS: BK



Chaplain Charles & Shulman, U.S.N.R.

Commander 7th Fleet

Fleet Post Office San Francisco, Calif.

PHILLIPINE ISLANDS

11 April. 1945

Dr. Abba H. Silver, The Temple. Cleveland, O.

Dear Friend:

I had been covering most of the reaches of the southwest Pacific for weeks as the Jewish chaplain of the Seventh Fleet before I arrived on these islands a couple of weeks ago. My story would be of interest as it affects our Jewish personnel out this way on the ships and on the meny many island shore installations since I traveled from Manila to Melbourne in Australia partly on errands associated with my position as assistant to the Fleet Chaplain, partly of course, in connection with the primary duty of attention to Jewish men, their spiritual life andtheir material needs. But this is not primarily the purposes of this letter to you. There are about 10 chaplains of the Jewish faith in the Phillipines now. Most of us have gotten together at least once to discuss our needs andthe situation of our brethren in the world.

To say that we were dismayed at the news of the split in the Emergency Council which thus deprived that body of your leadership is to put the matter midldly. Here is the memorandum which we drew up and signed and forwarded to the those concerned. You are, ofcourse, free to make it public if you choose. Our wish is that the Jewish people of America could be moved by our plea which is made "lishmo". We have nothing to gain but encouragement in our work and inner peace in our exposed positions of danger when we labor for the peace of Israel and the best direction of its present difficult life under the guidance of those who can best lead our people:

"It was with pain and disappointment that we learned of the dissolution of the UJA. Being far from home, we are entirely ignorant of the immediate issues and personalities which brought about the collapse of American Jewry's greatest united effort. However, precisely because we are so far removed from the scene, we see the whole matter in a new perspective. We regard that which has happened as a serious setback and can testify that it has saddened thousands of American Jewish soldiers and sailors to whom we minister. We do not pretend to speak on behalf of all Israel, but we can homestly affirm that we do speak for one of the most comprehensive cross-sections of Ameridan Jewry. We do believe that the impact of the war and the religious program that has been in effect in most military installations has stirred latent Jewish loyalties in many a heart. There has been a wholesome weakening of partisanship and parochialism, as together—Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Zionist, non-Zionist, Hebraist

and Middishist—we meet in Jewish fellowship. Our men have begun to develop a sense of K'lal Yisroel, a kinship with a collective Israel, gratter than that represented by any one sect or group. When they return home and find a community pitiably fragmentized, hopelessly segmented and divided, they will not only suffer disillusionment, but we fear that they may surrender to a negative reaction against organized American Jewish life. We do not know all the factors in the situation. We are not committed to any one agency within the UJA. We plead for a reunited effort, so that our work, conscientiously performed not without sacrifice and hardship, should not be completely vitiated. With an earnest hope that our voice may be heard and with best wishes for an inspiring Passover, we remain.

Sincerely.

(Signed) Charles E. Shulman
Morris Adler
Samuel Charney
Albert Gordon
Winokur
Strumpf
Mantel
Jolt
Nussbaum
Finkel
et al

There are many observations that can be rendered from first hand experience in the Pacific among thousands of our men. But one salient one is their faith in a stronger American Jewish community. It is difficult, extremely difficult to include in messages to them a comment on the causes of the breakdown of of our joint Jewish efforts on behalf of our people. They cannot understand this.

Something happens even to Rabbis out here. The suffering we see, the privations we bear without complaint because those we serve bear greater ones, the looks in the eyes of our wounded (sometimes one wishes he could bury the dead rather than attended these wounded), the wistful memories of the things that belong to a peaceful household of Israel, all these make power and pelf so inconsequential in the greater scheme of things. We live from day to day not knowing whether we shall ever return. And that is why our thought may be considered more mentorious to those who have the difficult role of Jewish leadership in Israel's difficult hours.

I thought you would be interested in the above reflections and of our joint feeling in the matter. It goes without saying that your leadership in this cause must, we feel, not be sidetracked.

Regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Charles E. Shulman, Chaplain, USNR Jewish Chaplain Seventh Fleet

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 11, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Many thanks for your welcome note of the 8th, enclosing letter from Miss Kossoff of Avukah, University of Michigan. I have written Miss Kossoff, suggesting the names of several speakers and have referred the other questions put by her to our Politcal Department for attention.

With best wishes, I am

BJS:ER

Very cordially yours,

Blanche J. Shepard

Director, Speakers Bureau

Temple Emanuel BOUTH AND WEST THIRD GASTONIA, N. C.

WILLIAM B. SILVERMAN, RABBI

RABBI'S STUDY: PHONE 83

April 17, 1945.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I thought you might be interested in seeing the enclosed - which I wrote for my Zionist Study Group here in Gastonia.

Twenty minutes after I had completed the article, I heard the tragic news of the President's death.

Since the article concerns a statement made by the late President, I thought that its distribution might be in poor taste. However, after considering the matter, I concluded that the principles set forth are more valid than ever, and so I revised the first few pages.

I hope this finds you and your family well and happy.

Pearl and Joel Jeremy join me in sending warmest personal regards and all good wishes,

Cordially,

Dieen

SEATTLE ZIONIST COUNCIL PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE 1107 31st Avenue Seattle 22, Wash. May 23, 1945 We wish to call your attention to the following facts regarding a visit by Rabbi Elmer Berger, Executive Director of The American Council for Judaism, in our 1) Rabbi Berger addressed a public meeting in Seattle on Thursday, May 10th. Ten local businessmen issued an invitation for this meeting to all members of the Seattle Jewish community. a) Delegates of the Seattle Zionist Council immediately, upon receipt of the invitation, approached the chairman of the meeting, Mr. Alfred Shemansky, to permit two speakers of the Zionist group to participate in the discussion following Rabbi Berger's address. b) We were informed by the chairman of the meeting that after consultation with his colleagues and Rabbi Berger, he will not permit us to "discuss" publicly the theories and practices of the American Council for Judaism or Rabbi Berger's address, but we shall be permitted "to ask questions." 2) Rabbi Berger invited a reporter of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer," our city's only morning newspaper to accept his statement regarding the policies of the American Council for Judaism. a) Rabbi Berger's statement and the contents of his interview with the reporter of the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" appeared then on Saturday, May 12, in said paper. We enclose a reproduction of this interview and Berger's statement herewith. (Enclosure #1) b) The Seattle Zionist Council, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Sam L. Levinson, upon learning of Berger's statement, was called for a meeting on Sunday, May 13. It was unanimously agreed upon that Rabbi Berger's statement contains a defamation of American Zionists and those American Jews who are in sympathy with the cause of Zionism. It was the opinion of the representatives of all local Zionist organizations that especially a non-Jew must get the impression from Berger's statement that Zionists regard their loyalty to America in second place to their loyalty to Zionism and Palestine. It was also the opinion of the Zionist representatives that such statement is in strict violation of the traditional principles of Judaism. In order to counteract the bad impressions which Berger's statement has created in our community at large, a Public Relations Committee of the Seattle Zionist Council was appointed and charged with the responsibility to release to the Jowish public, and if it deems necessary, to the public at large, any kind of material and press-releases which would help to destroy the implications of the Berger statement.

- 3) The Public Relations Committee of The Seattle Zionist Council, under the chairmanship of the undersigned, and consisting of Mr. Max A Silver, businessman and well-known civic leader in our community, and Rabbi Arthur Zuckerman, Director of Seattle B'nai B'rith Hillel Foundation, has thus taken the following steps:
 - a) The entire Jewish community of Seattle and its environs received the enclosed letter and photostatic copy of the press-release by Rabbi Elmer Berger. (Enclosures #2 and #3). BEFORE THIS MATERIAL WENT OUT, THE LOCAL OFFICERS, NAMED IN THE PRESS RELEASE, WERE INFORMED OF THE CONTENT OF OUR MATERIAL AND WERE EXPLICITLY ASKED IF THEY WOULD BE WILLING TO RETRACT FROM THE BERGER STATEMENT. IF SO, WE OFFERED TO ENCLOSE IN OUR LETTERS TO THE COMMUNITY A STATEMENT TO THAT EFFECT. WE WERE INFORMED THAT THE LOCAL OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM WILL NOT MAKE USE OF OUR OFFER. Therefore, our material went out without any further comment.
 - b) The Public Relations Committee has prepared a release to "THE TRANSCRIPT," the Pacific Northwest's Community-Owned Jewish Newspaper. We are herewith enclosing copy of this release. (Enclosure #4) The undersigned was informed by the managing editor of The Transcript that this community-owned only Jewish newspaper in our city will not publish our release due to its controversial contents and since it is the established policy of The Transcript to ban from publication any controversial issues. We, therefore, offered The Transcript to publish our release as a "Paid Advertisement." This offer was accepted on Wednesday, May 16, but was withdrawn by the chairman of the board of directors of The Transcript the following day, and so we were deprived of our right to publish in our own and only Jewish newspaper our answer to Rabbi Berger's statement.
- 4) The undersigned has brought the following motion before Seattle Lodge #503, I.O.B.B., at an open meeting of the lodge on May 16, 1945:

"I move that we go on record that it be the opinion of Seattle Lodge #503, I.O.B.B.

THAT we present the Anti-Defamation League a news article that appeared in the "Seattle Post-Intelligencer" on Saturday, May 12th, which gave the views of Rabbi Elmer Berger of The American Council for Judaism, and

THAT the Lodge insist that the Anti-Defamation League take action as it may deem proper, to protect us from the implications and inferences regarding the Americanism of Jews, as contained in this news article."

The motion was duly seconded and was carried by all present against one vete.

We have submitted in the foregoing statements and in the enclosures to you all the facts known to us in regard to the appearance of Rabbi Elmer Berger in Seattle. We shall appreciate it if you would comment on this release in any way you see fit and proper, and we shall appreciate if you would mail to us any release or comments you have made or will make in this matter.

Sincerely yours,

SEATTLE ZIONIST COUNCIL PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Rabbi Franklin Cohn Chairman

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

248

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

• LAckawanna 4-7319

May 25, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a letter for you from Mr. Samuel Greenblatt, the father of Joseph Greenleaf, who has done so much to further our cause in the Westchester Region.

Mr. Greenblatt enclosed a \$100 check with his note to you, and I am sure he will be thrilled to receive a few words from you.

For your information, the Resolutions Committee of the Westchester Regional Convention met last night and our forces were able to push through two very fine resolutions. The "die hards" of the opposition raised as much cain as they could, but following a three-hour meeting, were voted in the minority.

Sunday will be the all-important day and although the pro-Administration forces will do their utmost to defeat the resolutions on the floor, we shall be prepared for them.

Cordially yours,

Harry Steinberg

HS: ab Encl.

May 29, 1945 Rabbi Louis Simsovitz 228 King Street Portchester, N.Y. My dear Rabbi Simsovitz: From my friend, Mr. Harry Shapiro, I received a report of the regional meeting which took place on Sunday. He informed me of the magnificent stand which you took and the manner in which you urged the adoption of the two resolutions. May I tell you how deeply grateful I am for your action. The little clique of politicians who have maneuvered themselves into positions of power in our movement are decisively beaten every time the issue is debated in public and Zionists have an opportunity to express themselves. With all good wishes for the early consummation of our Zionist ideal, I remain Most cordially yours, ARS: BK

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

LAckawanna 4-7319

June 1, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing a copy of the statement prepared by Mr. Neumann for Mizrachi. Mr. Neumann has told me of his conversation with you. I spoke with the Mizrachi leaders here and tried to arrange for a gettogether with Neumann but due to their crowded schedule, nothing can be done today. Mr. Gellman assures Neumann, however, that no action on our matter will be taken at the sessions of this Mizrachi conference, and that the matter will probably not come up until Monday or Tuesday.

My own feeling is that if Mizrachi does issue a statement, paragraph 6 of Neumann's statement will be watered down considerably. On the basis of my conversation with Kirshbloom, he evidently feels Mizrachi is not ready for the break at this moment.

Isreeli called on me today and urged that you meet with Frisch when you come here as Frisch is most anxious to see you, possibly Wednesday. Will you confirm the appointment on Monday.

Neumann lunched with Weinberg today and tried to impress upon him that now is the time for another campaign in the Yiddish Press. Weinberg seemed amenable to the suggestion and within several days, is arranging to lay down a program for meckler, Fishman, Dingol, and possibly one or two others.

I shall be away from the city this weekend. In the event that you want to contact Mr. Neumann, his phone number at the Commission is Murray Hill 2-0694 and the number at his home is ACademy 2-2561.

Cordially,

Harry Steinberg - pr aB

HS:ab Encl.

Dictated but not read.

Maurice Aronsson Fred M. Butzel Theodore Levin Maurice H. Schwartz Philip Slomovitz Isidore Sobeloff Abraham Srere Henry Wineman

COMMUNITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE Rabbi Morris Adler Sidney Allen Louis Bass Irving Blumberg Morris Blumberg A. R. Brasch H. C. Broder Mrs. Douglas I. Brown Harry Cohen Ahraham Cooper Lawrence W. Crohn Aaron Droock Clarence H. Enggass Maurice A. Enggass Mrs. Joseph H. Ehrlich James I. Ellmann Walter Field Lionel Fink Rabbi Moses Fischer Rabbi Leon Fram Mrs. Max Frank Dr. Leo M. Franklin Hon. William Friedman Morris Garvett Mrs. J. B. Gaylord Fred Ginsburg Dr. B. Benedict Glazer Mrs. Samuel R. Glogower Dr. A. M. Hershman Samuel N. Heyman Israel Himelhoch William Hordes Bernard Isaacs Herman Jacobs Benjamin E. Jaffe David Kabaker Edward Kahn Abe Kasle Leon Kay Julian Krolik B. M. Laikin Isadore Levir-Prof. Samuel M. Levin Samuel Lieberman Henry Meyers Lawrence J. Michelson Max Osnos Herman Pekarsky Herman Radner Charles Rubiner Samuel Rubiner Louis Robinson Aaron Rosenberg Harry Schumer Nate S. Shapero Isaac Shetzer Hon. Charles C. Simons Leonard N. Simons Rabbi Isaac Stollman Rabbi Joshua S. Sperka Morris Schaver Joseph M. Welt Melville S. Welt Herman Wise Rabbi Max J. Wohlgelernter Harry Yudkoff Maurice H. Zackheim Bay City-Louis B. Harrison Jack Rabinovitch Jackson Rabbi Bernard Zeiger

Rabbi Eric Friedland

John Merdler

THE JEWISH NEWS

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June 22, 1945

Rabbi Leon Feuer Collingwood Avenue Temple Toledo, O.

Dear Leon

By this time you must have seen the enclosed.

We are working on action by Poale Zion and Hadassah and to have local party leaders press for action.

Last night I spoke in P_ntiaca and made a strong plea for speedy recall of Dr. Silver to leadership. In fact, it was a political speech -- in answer to a question placed to me by the president of the Pontiac District, Julius Levine, 11 N. Sa inaw. You should get in touch with him and I am sure you can get an official Pontiac expression.

I wish you would let me know what has developed in the last few days.

Best regards.

Yours

Philip Slomovitz

FIVE MINUTES AND TWELVE LETTERS

by

Rabbi William B. Silverman

FIVE MINUTES AND TWELVE LETTERS

In his last message to Congress, following the meetings of the Big Three in Yalta, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made the following statement in reference to his conference with King Ibn Sa'ud of Arabia:

"ON THE PROBLEMS OF ARABIA, I LEARNED MORE ABOUT THAT WHOLE PROBLEM, THE MOSLEM PROBLEM, THE JEWISH PROBLEM, BY TALKING WITH IBN SAUD FOR FIVE MINUTES THAN I COULD HAVE LEARNED IN THE EXCHANGE OF TWO OR THREE DOZEN LETTERS."

What did the President mean by this statement? Many interpretations have been advanced. Each word has been subjected to considerable analysis and discussion. A perplexed Jewry awaited some explanation from the President, hoping that he might amplify and clarify his statement to favor the establishment in Palestine of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. But, Franklin D. Roosevelt was not destined to refer to this subject again, and the President's untimely death has made both the debated statement and the hope of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine more enigmatic than ever.

Moreover, since President Harry S. Truman has promised to carry out Mr. Roosevelt's policies, the statement made with reference to Ibn Saud and the results of that conference, may ultimately determine the future of the Jewish people.

Mr. Roosevelt made this statement as an aside- an impromptu remark that is subject to various interpretations. It could be maintained in fairness to a man who always manifested the greatest friendship for the Jewish people, that he meant to convey the idea that he had learned more about Ibn Sa'uds views on the Moslem-Jewish problem from personal conversation than from two or three dozen letters. Regardless of interpretation, however, the fact is that Mr. Roosevelt's prepared text contained no allusion to so important a problem as the future of the Jewish people, and it's hope for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

The Jewish people, the world-over, had eagerly awaited some encouraging

-28-

word relative to this hope. The uprooted and tormented ker of
Europe were hungering for some substantial promise of redemption,some statement of assurance that might be sucked into their
desolate beings as a breath of sustaining life; a straw of hope
to be grasped with their remaining strength. Instead of hope or
promise or assurance, there was only a controversial statement
that could be construed as a confession of indebtedness to an
Arab leader for conveying information about the "Jewish problem".

The Jewish people have cause for dismay. Those Zionists who had reduced their efforts, and limited their activities, restricting their vision, placing their hopes upon the favor and good-wall of one man, were

(cont. p. 2b)

sadly disillusioned. The faction in the Zionist movement that had enthusiastically surrendered initiative and yielded to the President's request to leave matters in his hands "but a little while longer", was anything but encouraged.

The failure of the Yalta, Malta and Egypt Conferences to evolve a satisfactory decision to facilitate a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was a vindication of the position taken by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and a vast majority of action-minded Zionists. This attitude, now articulated through the American Zionist Policy Committee, asserts that the matter of a Jewish Commonwealth is too immediate and too vital to be left to the discretion of a few great but politically-fallible men. In accordance with the essence of the Democratic process, Dr. Silver contended and still maintains that the American people, the Congress of the United States, every stratum of American opinion, every religious denomination, voices from every economic and cultural level must speak out for justice and stimulate action, strengthening and even forcing the President's hand in the interest of justice and in behalf of the Jewish people.

We have hoped. We have prayed. We have waited a little while longer. And now the time factor is again brought into focus by the STATEMENT ALLUONATO President: "I have learned more about the Moslem and Jewish problem in five minutes conversation with King Ibn Saude than from a degen letters."

Five minutes. Relatively speaking that isn't a long period of time. But relatively speaking, it can also be an eternity of significance, a protracted period of misery. During those five minutes while the President was speaking with Ibn Sa'ud, helpless Jews were dying in Nazi Europe, and soldiers of the Allied Armies were making the supreme sacrifice for democracy, for the Four Freedoms, for international decency and righteousness. To a soldier waiting to go into action, five minutes may verge upon infinity. In five minutes a firing a squad can mow down hundreds of victims. In five minutes a multitude of Jews

can be erammed into the Crematoriums of Nazi Europe, or herded into gas-chambers for mass annihilation. It may have taken only five minutes for King Ibn Saud to throw in his lot with the Allies. In less than five minutes the Arabs may have been given the assurance of a place at the peace-tables of the United Nations. In Five minutes may determine the destiny of nations and the world. his pieceintes

What the President is learned during those precious five minutes with the Arab leader has not been disclosed. Unquestionably, Ibn Saud did not take the fleeting minutes to recite the glorious contribution of Palestine Jews to the allied war effort. It is hardly likely that he spoke of the 30,000 Palestine Jewish youth serving in the armed forces, or even alluded to the 135,000 men and women who volunteered for military and civilian defense. Presumably, he was silent about the thousands of Palestine Jews who died on the battlefields in Libya, Egypt, Greece, Crete, Ethiopia and Italy. Surely, he did not enumerate the 47,000 Jewish workers engaged in war industries and industrial war projects. It is inconceivable that he would take the time to recount the vital contributions made in terms of food and supplies, or even by implication suggest for consideration the inestimable value of the scientific, technical and medical services rendered by Palestinian Jews.

It is a specious assumption that Ibn Saud spoke about the Arab war effort at all, for such a subject might have been a source of considerable embarrassment. However, if he did presume to speak on that topic, it is reasonable to conclude that fewer than five minutes would have been needed to exhaust the subject.

Despite all hypotheses, assumptions and suppositions to the contrary, the indisputable fact is that Saudi Arabia is now a member of the United Nations and will be an represented at all forthcoming peace conferences. The Arab delegation will be seated along with the other representatives of the Allied Nations, nominally an ally, supposedly a mutual friend of the

democratic objectives which the United Nations hope to achieve in the interest of a righteous and durable peace. The Jewish people, and specifically Palestine Jewry will be the "Forgotten Ally", without a recognized delegation and without official representation.

In order that justice might not be listed as a casualty of war, and the sacred objectives of the United Nations rendered futile, five minutes should be devoted to an appraisal of the Arab position in resent years. We should recognize our allies and know our enemies. The facts are available. The documents are on hand. Claims may be validated or shown to be false. The record of contributions to the allied war effort is no supernatural phenomenon to evade the distates of either reason or logie. There is concrete evidence to be presented. Justice also demands five minutes. Allow five minutes for these established facts and then let conscience direct judgment.

FIVE MINUTES

I. "... It is pertinent to ask - who in the Near East has kept faith with Britain and the other United Nations in this war?

The Iraqi, who in Britain's darkest hour attempted a pre-Nasi revelt? The Egyptians, who refused to lift a finger to halt Rommel's approach to Alexandria? The Syrians, whose land has teemed with Fascist spies? The Palestine Arabs, whose leader is doing Hitler's work openly?

By contrast, the Palestine Jews have created a real arsenal of Democracy in the Middle East. More than 30,000 have volunteered for service in the British Army (this is equivalent to a volunteer enlistment of 8,000,000 in the United States) and the Jewish National Home is providing food, ammunition and other supplies to United Nations' forces.

("Palestine 'Analysis' All One Sided, Johannes Steel. Reprinted from "The New York Post", May 2, 1944.

II. "... Palestine became the arsenal of democracy in the Middle East, employing about seventy-five thousand workers, twenty-five thousand of them in military camps and on port operations, totaling one third of the adult Jewish population directly in war industry. The rest were indirectly employed in helping to win the war by growing food and keeping transport moving. Palestine's production of small arms and

ammunition remains an imposing secret...
The Palestinian, and predominantly Jewish, war effort can also be measured in terms of the thousands of tens of food raised to feed large armies of Britons, Americans and even the Poles bivouseked in and about Palestine for nearly four years. The Jews themselves went meatless. eggless, petatoless and sugarless long before rationing hit the United States. The Arabs weren't rationed. The official reason: They couldn't read ration eards and the whole idea was too complicated for them anyway. The real reason: The Arab world had to be appeased in every possible way.

> (Frank Gervasi, Colliers War Correspondent, Reprint from Colliers, April 22, 1944.)

III. "Reports long current that Germans from Palestine were in command of the Arab Liberty Legion, organized on German soil by Haj Amin el Husseini, Mufti of Jerusalem, and new in service against the Allies, were confirmed today by the Transocean News Agency, a Nazi news service, in a broadcast recorded by British monitors.

The German commanders, the Nazi news agency reported, speak Arabic, Hebrew and Yiddish and have long been trained for the specific purpose of 'mobilizing the Arab peoples for their freedom'

Observers of the Palestine scene declared here that the German commanders heading the Arab Liberty Legion were likely the pre-war contact men between Berlin and the Mufti of Jerusalem. On at least one occasion, during the Palestine disturbances of 1936-9, it was reported that police dogs on the seent of Arab terrorists followed a trail to the German Templar colony of Waldheim. Batteries and wire of the type found near the sight of an exploded mine were later discovered at Waldheim. For unknown reasons, the investigation was not pursued further at the time. Arab terrorists were known to have been in the pay of Italian and German agents throughout the disturbances.

(London (JPS)-November, 1944.

IV. "But the crux of the desperate situation lay in the Near East. And there an ominous and sinister stillness prevailed at the British army's back. Young King Farouk of Egypt and his ministers had refused to lift one little finger in the defense of their invaded country. We know from diplomats who were in Cairo at the time that Nazi victories were commented upon with hopeful smiles and an exchange of meaningful glances in the malaces on the Nile. In Palestine the effendis (landed aristocrats) were telling the fellshin (peasants): "New go and sell your land to the Jews and be quick about it, for in a month Hitler will be in Jerusalem, and you will not only have your land back but everything the Jews possess."
Let the knives be sharpened! The great day is about to dawn. The Jews! protector is beaten".

Twenty-four hours of the day the radio stations of Bari, Palerme, and Berlin were screaming the promises of Musselini - the "Sword of Islam" - in the Arabic language: "Loot, immeasurable death to the English and Jews!" The two honored guests of Adolf Hitler - the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin Effendi El Husseini, and the ex-Premier of Iraq, Rashid Ali-el-Gailani Bey, announced their speedy return and a settlement of old scores. In the mosques of Baghdad, Cairo, Amman, Jerusalem, Damaseus and Mesul, a careful investigation revealed, ulemas and muftis time and again working up the believers to a frenzy of excitement by pointing to the nearness of the hour of quittance in blood with all the roumis and

infidels.

Let us have done with the preposterous myth of the Arabs eagerly awaiting for an opportunity to rush to Britains aid! The truth is that the se-called Arab world - that is to say, the princes, potentates, imams, mullahs, and emirs - were yearning to stab Britain in the back. King Ibn Sa'ud, who was suddenly to declare himself an ally of Britain

-6-

and America, had not a word to say and could not spare a single trooper, camel, or donkey when Rommel stood at Alamein."

(The reference made is to the summer of 1942.
Pierre Van Paassen, The Forgotten Ally, pp.179-180)

V. "... 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 darly 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-matrians ridden Arab oligarchies attempted to seize power and stab the democratic nations in the back. In Equpt 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 Feuhrer'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 "ational Home.

(Emanuel Neuman, "Zienism and the Arab Werld".
Testimeny submitted to the Committee on Foreign
Affairs of the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1944.

The hand of the clock may have moved in measured time as the seconversation between President Roosevalt and King Ibn Sa'ud progressed. The ticking of the clock may have synchronized with the cadence of diplomatic speech. Perhaps President Roosevalt took another few seconds, and exceeded the five minutes to bid farewell to Ibn Sa'ud. Justice too, requires but a few seconds more to quote:

"THE GREATEST CONTEMPORARY ARAB HXTX HERO IS ADOLPH HITLER!"

(John Gunther, "Inside Asia", 1939, p. 577.

The alarum of truth should ring out and summen the conscience of the world to a moral alert. Let the ringing voice of truth arouse the United Nations from dogmatic slumber to a sober awakening of justice - for the Jew.

The testimony from unimpeachable sources lead to but one mi conclusion:

the perfidy of the Arab world is in glaring contrast with the loyalty of the Jews to the allied war effort. This should give us pause to consider the travesty on justice that is perpetrated by Arab delegations seated as Allies, while the Jews have no official status and no means of presenting their just claim for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The Jews, unlike the Arabs, did not wait until the handwriting of allied victory was seen on the seemingly impregnable walls of the Siegfried Line. The Jews were the first victims of Nazi aggression, but likewise were they among the first to not only declare war, but actually wage war against the franking formidable strength and military might of the Axis Powers.

Is it any wonder that the Jewish people are deeply disheartened by the trend of contemporary events? Can we take hope and look to the future with optimism knowing that when immediate action is imperative, Mr. Winston Churchill speaks of "that most remarkable man, King Ibn Saud" and declares: "Although we did not reach a solution of the problems of the Arab world and of the Jewish people in Palestine, I have hopes that, when the war is over, good arrangements can be made for securing the peace and progress of the Arab world and generally of the Middle East .. "? We can only conclude that Churchill also devoted five minutes or more to discuss matters of grave interest to the Jews with Ibn Sa'ud, and that all decision with regard to Palestine must be tabled until the conclusion of the war. Since "good arrangements" have not been specifically applied to the Jews, it seems clear that Mr. Churchill expresses a primary interest in securing the peace and progress of the Arab world. The so-called Jewish problem must wait. No solution of the Palestine question is to be expected until the end of the war.

The pitifully uninformed may wender why the Jews are dismayed, why they cannot wait "but a little while longer". Those unfamiliar with Jewish suffering may question the need for immediate action. They may be

startled and amazed when the Jewish people, as if by mass reflex, shudder and draw back in fear and frustration at the prospect of further waiting. Telstei ence called the Jew "the emblem of eternity", but that is no reason to conclude that the tenuous thread that binds thousands of European Jews to life may not be snapped in less than five minutes, or that the hope of the Jewish people for a homeland in Palestine must be deferred ad infinitum.

Jews are a patient people. Despite the continuous persecution to which they have been subjected and the repudiation of assurances and promises made to them, the Jewish people patiently and tenaciously cling to the metivating ideals of justice and ret righteousness endunciated by the prophets of hi their faith. However, a time may come when patience car be construed as moral weakness; when acceptance becomes surrender, and acquiescence a synonym for cowardice. We have waited for justice. We have waited for thousands of years for the restoration of nationhood. We have waited for the fulfilment of a Jewish Homeland promised in 1917. We have waited for the abrogation of the infamous White Paper of 1939. We have waited for the world to act, to intervene in behalf of the Jews. We have waited for the democratic nations to provide means for the salvation of the "remnants of Israel" surviving the 12 years of Mitler persecution. We have waited for the doors of Palestine to be opened in the name of humanity and Christian compassion. Authorities on the science of Simanties might offer ingenious explantion of the emotional disturbances set in motion by the word "wait" when that word is applied to the Jewish people, but the victim of that word has little sympathy with swanx sophistry and casuistic interpretation, knowing that the word "wait" also spells the difference between life and death, for countless people.

After years of agonized lament, and after fervent appeals to the conscience of the democracies, the Jew waited in August 1941, when Mr. Winston Churchill spoke on the Atlantic Charter meeting and pledged redemption for the conquered peoples of Europe. "Have faith, have hope, deliverance is sure", he said. Many peoples were specifically mentioned and included in his remarks. But there was no mention made of redemption and deliverance for the Jews. They are still waiting for him to include the Jewish people on the international agenda of deliverance.

On November, 1943, when the Big Three's Moscow declaration announced punishment for the Nazis because of crimes against Italians, French, Dutch, Belgians, Norwegians, Cretans and Poles, the Jews were not even mentioned until Secretary of State Cordell Hull issued an addendum eighteen days later.

There is "a time to keep silence, and a time to speak". Is there a more propitious time for the democracies to speak out for Jewish rights than the present? Is the problem of Palestine to be relegated to the status of a political afterthought? Are the Democracies blinded by the glaring fact that Palestine is inextricably bound up with the objectives of this war and the ideals that are basic to a post-war peace?

The Hebrew Philosopher-Poet, Jehudah Halevi called Israel "the heart of the nations". Today, maimed and suffering Israel is the "Purple Heart" of Civilization. We don't want to wait for posthumous awards. We want Palestine reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth new!

"Wait. The time is not ripe. A little while longer. Wait until after the war", they tell the Jewish people. But the important issues confronting the United Nations and problems of post-war security are being considered NOW - and there is no thought of deferring IMPORTANT decisions until after the war, or the vital big three conferences would have been limited to a discussion of military matters alone.

Mr. Churchill insists that the solution of the Palestine problem must be postponed. Mr. Roosevelt asks for "but a little while longer", and then asserts that he had learned more about the Moslem and Jewish

problem in five minutes conversation with Ibn Saud than from a dozen letters. Five minutes and twelve letters. Five minutes of conversation with Ibn not 2003 Dozen Sut Saud equated with twelve hypothetical letters. We offer twelve letters that also convey information about the Moslem and Jewish problem and respectfully submit them as evidence in the case for the Jewish people. These letters are not imaginary, but real. They are addressed to various persons, but they all lead to the same conclusion.

TWELVE LETTERS

Letter No. 1

Foreign Office, November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation. 1)

Yours sincerely,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR

Letter No. 2 From Emir Feisal, son of King Hussein of Hejaz, Head of the Arab Delegation to the Peace conference.

Delegation Medjazienne Paris, March 3, 1919.

Dear Mr. Frankfurter.

I want to take this opportunity of my first contact with

^{1.)} The Balfour Declaration was officially issued by the British Govt. The Declaration was confirmed and approved by all the Allied and Associated Powers as a group; by all the leading Allied Powers individually, and by some of the other nations.

American Zionists to tell you what I have often been able to say to

Dr. Weizmann in Arabia and Europe.
We feel that the Arabs and Jews are cousins in race, have suffered similar oppression at the hands of powers stronger than ourselves, and by a happy coincidence have been able to take the first step towards the attainment of their national ideals together.

We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy on the Zionist movement. Our deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted yesterday by the Zionist Organization to the Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, in so far as we are concerned, to help them through; we will wish the Jews a most hearty welcome HOME.

With the chiefs of your movement, especially with Dr. Weizmann, we

have had, and continue to have the closest relations. He has been a great helper of our cause, and I hope the Arabs may soon be in a position to make the Jews some return for their kindness. We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist, and there is room in Syria for us both. Indeed I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need for cooperation of the Arabs and Zionists, have been trying to exploit the local difficulties that must necessarily arise in Palestine in the early stages of our movements. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry, and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principle, but on matters of detail such as must inevitably occur in every contact of neighboring peoples, and as are easily adjusted by mutual good-will. Indeed nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

I look forward, and my people with me look forward to a future in which we will help you and you will help us, so that the countries in WHICH WE ARE MUTUALLY interested may once again take their place in the

community of civilized people of the world.

Believe me

Yours sincerely,

FEISAL

Here we note that the Arab leader himself validates the Jewish claim to Palestine. He is eager and happy to assist the Jews and even welcomes them HOME. The date of this letter is 1917. Yet, at a **AXXXXXXX** later date, the Arabs claim that Palestine was pledged to the Arabs in 1915.

¹⁾ In London and Paris, December 1918, Feisal welcomed the Balfour Declaration.

Letter No. 3 - Correspondence with King Hussein

July 11, 1922.

"No pledges were made to the Palestine Arabs in 1915. An undertaking was given to the Sherif of Mecca that His Majesty's Government would recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within certain territorial limits, which specifically excluded the districts of Mersina and Alexandretta, and the portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo. It was also stimulated that the undertaking applied only to those portions of the territories concerned in which Great Britain was free to act without detriment to the interests of her Allies. His Majesty's Government have always regarded, and continue to REGARD PALESTINE AS EXCLUDED BY THESE PROVISOS FROM THE SCOPE OF THEIR UNDERTAKING. (italics mine) This is clear from the fact to which the hon. Members refers, that in the following year they concluded an agreement with the French and Russian Governments under which Palestine was to receive special treatment.

So far as I am aware, the first suggestion that Palestine was included in the area within which His Majesty's Government promised to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs was made by the Emir Feisal, now King of Iraq, at a conversation held in the Foreign Office on 20th January, 1921, more than five years after the conclusion of the correspondence on which the claim was based. On that occasion the point of view of His Majesty's Government was explained to the Emir, who expressed himself as prepared to accept the statement that it had been the intention of His Majesty's Government to exclude Palestine.

When I assumed responsibility for Middle Eastern Affairs I went carefully into the correspondence referred to, and my reading of it is the same as that of the Foreign Office, as was recently stated in the Declaration of British Policy in Palestine, which has been published and laid before the House. I am quite satisfied that it was as fully the intention of His Majesty's Government to exclude Palestine from the area of Arab independence as it was to exclude the more northern coastal tracts of Syria.

WINSTON CHURCHILL, Sec. of State for the Colonies.

This letter is pertinent in view of recent Arab developments suggesting the establishment of a Small Jewish autonomous minority group within a so-called Arab Palestine.

It is also indicative of the erratic and contradictory expression of the Arab claim on Palestine. Apparently, Emir Feisal does not maintain a very consistent position on this matter. In his letter to Mr. Frankfurter in 1919, he was happy to welcome the Jews home. However, in 1921, he contends that Palestine was to be included in the area of Arab independence. Following the conversation with British officials he is ready to accept the statement that it had been the intention of the British government to exclude Palestine.

Letter No. 4 - Correspondence with King Hussein

March 1, 1923

"I have not been content merely to accept those statements as they appeared but since I have been at the Colonial Office I have to the best of my ability and power, most carefully investigated the subject for myself, and I certainly see no reason on broad grounds, to dissent from the interpretation which the late Government has placed upon the promises. Whether they were expressed in the best terms or not, it is perhaps not for me to say, but undoubtedly there never was any intention when the pledge was given to recognize the independence of the Arabs so as to include Palestine. I think that is perfectly clear, and in my own mind I am certain of it. Although the terms may not have been expressed in the clearest possible language, I think it was the intention of both Sir M. McMahon and the Government at the time when those pledges were given, that Palestine should not be included."

Duke of Devonshire, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

The Arabs have claimed Palestine on the basis of an alleged promise made by Sir Henry MacMahon, British High Commissioner at Cairo, to the Sherif Hussein of Mecca (later the King of Hejaz). McMahon's own letter, and many others, indicate definitely that Palestine was not included in these promises.

Letter No. 5 - A letter to the Times of London.

July 22, 1937.

Sir: Many references have been made in the Palestine Royal Commission Report and in the course of the recent debates in both Houses of Parliament to the 'McMahon Pledge', especially to that portion of the pledge which concerns Palestine and of Which one interpretation has been claimed by the Jews and another by the Arabs.

It has been suggested to me that continued silence on the part of the

giver of that pledge may itself be misunderstood.

I feel, therefore, called upon to make some statement on the subject, but I will confine myself in doing so to the point now at issue - i.e., whether that portion of Syria now known as Palestine was or was not intended to be included in the territories in which the independence of the Arabs was guaranteed in my pledge.

I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised.

I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein.

Yours faithfully, A. Henry McMahon

5, Wilton Place, S.W. 1.

American Palestine Committee, Washington, D.C.

February 19, 1944.

Hon. Thomas F. Burchill, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

Dear Congressman Burchill: The American Palestine Committee, formed in 1941, has become the vehicle through which leaders in American life are expressing their support for rebuilding the Jewish National Home in Palestine. On behalf of the officers of the committee, we take pleasure

in extending to you an invitation to join our membership.

A Hitler edict has pledged the destruction of all the Jews of Europe. About 2,000,000 have already been wantonly slaughtered. The voice of conscience and humanity calls to leaders of American public opinion to express their sympathy in practical terms; to assure the Jews of Europe, still living that the hope of re-creating their lives in a free, democratic Jewish National Home will be realized with our support.

In the years between the two world wars, the Jewish National Home has received moral and political support from the United States under successive administrations, regardless of party. The reasons which led our people and Government to favor this cause from the outset are still valid; but the case for the Jewish National Home is far stronger today. First, the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine is no longer a doubtfull experiment but a convincing reality. The Jewish National Home has made a truly inspiring record in peacetime pioneering and development, in saving hundreds of thousands of refugees from Nazi terror and in contributing valuable manpower and economic support to the United Nations' war effort.

Secondly, the need for the Jewish National Home - for many hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of uprooted Jews - will be far more pressing

on the termination of the present war than at any previous time.

The American Palestine Committee is working earnestly and constructively toward that humanitarian goal, in cooperation with the leading responsible organizations of all faiths throughout the country. By signing the enclosed statement of principles signifying acceptance of membership, you will strengthen the hands of the American Government in its traditional support of the Jewish National Home policy, and hearten the homeless Jews of Europe with the assurance that the pledge to rebuild the Jewish homeland will be redeemed with our help.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT F. WAGNERY, Chairman CHARLES L. MCNARY, Co-Chairman

The American Palestine Committee is made up of Christians. Its purpose is to provide a means for the expression of the sympathy and good-will of Christian America for the movement to reestablish the Jewish National home in Palestine.

^{1.)} It is now an accepted fact that the slaughter of Jews exceeds 5 millions. Some authorities maintain that the number is now 62 million.

As early as 1891, Christians were active in the effort to secure Palestine as a National Homeland for the Jewish people. The following letter was occasioned by the outrages against the Jews of Czarist Russia. The proposal to President Harrison was conceived, developed and executed by Christians. The leader of this endeavor was Rev. William E. Blackstone, a clergyman of national reputation.

Letter No. 7 - A letter to President Harrison:

".... Why not give Palestine back to them (the Jews) again? According to God's distribution of nations it is their home - an inalienable possession from which they were expelled by force. Under their cultivation it was a remarkably fruitful land, sustaining millions of Israelites, who industriously tilled its hillsides and valleys. They were agriculturalists and producers as well as a nation of great commercial importance - the center of civilization and religion.

Why shall not the powers which under the treaty of Berlin in 1878, gave Bulgaria to the Bulgarians and Servia to the Servians now give Palestine back to the Jews?.. If they could have autonomy in government, the Jews of the world would rally to transport and establish their suffering brethern in their time-honored habitation. For over 17 centuries they have

patiently waited for such a privileged opportunity.

We believe this is an appropriate time for all nations and especially the Christian nations of Europe to show kindness to Israel. A million exiles, by their terrible sufferings, are piteously appealing to our sympathy, justice and humanity. Let us now restore to them the land of which they were so cruelly despoiled by our Roman ancestors."

Every President of the United States from Woodrow Wilson to the present Strief Executive, Franklin D. Roosevelt, has endorsed the cause of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

Letter No. 8 - Letter to Rabbi Stephan S. Wise

"I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weismann Commission has one in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist Movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour on behalf

¹⁾ A roster of those who signed this memorial constituted a Who's Who among leaders of the United States. From "America and Palestine", Fink.

of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the achievement civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in other countries.

I think that all America will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress, the Weizmann Commission has been able to lay the foundations of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that

bears of spiritual rebirth."

WOODROW WILSON 1)

Less than a fortnight before his election to the Presidency of the United States, Franklin D. Roosevelt, then the Governor of New York, addressed a letter to Mr. Morris Rothenberg of the Zionist Organization of America.

Letter No. 9 - to Mr. Morris Rothenberg.

As you know, I have on prior occasion expressed my fullest sympathy with the purpose of the Balfour Declaration. Out of the World War came a matter of great spiritual significance - the establishment of a homeland for the Jewish people, recognized as such by the public law of the world. In the realization of this aim, the United States played a leading role. I know how close it was to the wish of President Wilson. The formal terms of its expression during the War, the so-called Balfour Declaration, had his personal approval, and he did much to have it written into the peace treaty. The subsequent unanimous endorsement of the Balfour Declaration by both Houses of the United States Congress, gave further proof of the deep interest of the American people in the purpose of the Declaration AND IN THE FULFILMENT OF THE MORAL OBLIGATION WHICH IT

Jewish achievement in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration windicates the high hope which lay behind the sponsorship of the Homeland. The Jewish development in Palestine since the Balfour Declaration is not only a tribute to the creative powers of the Jewish people but by bringing great advancement into the sacred land, HAS PROMOTED THE WELL-BEING OF ALL THE

INHABITANTS THEREOF. (italics mine).

I shall personally watch with deep sympathy the progress of Palestine. I extend to your organization my sincerest wishes for continued success and achievement.

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT

October 28, 1932.

¹⁾ On March 2, 1919, President Wilson said: "As to representations touching Palestine, I have before expressed my personal approval of the Declaration of the British Government regarding Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied Nations with the fullest encouragement of our Government and people are agreed that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

During the 47th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America held October 14-17th, 1944, the delegates were electrified, and there were tears in the eyes of 1,000 people as Senator Robert Wagner read a historic message from President Roosevelt pledging his support of Palestine, established as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Letter No. 10

The White House, Washington, D.C.

Honorable Robert F. Wagner, 530 East 86th St.

Dear Bob:

Anowing that you are to attend the Forty-Seventh Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the Delegates assembled my cordial greetings.

Please express my satisfaction that, in accord with the traditional American policy and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Demonsatic Party at its July convention this year included the following plank in its platform:

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

Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable.

I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if reelected I shall help to bring about its realization.

With Gordial regards and best wishes,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

The devotion of the Jewish people to the cause of freedom, and particulary the support given to the Allied war effort, has never been questioned. Despite disappointments and broken promises, and the infamous White Paper of 1939 which doomed thousands of Jews to death, restricting them to the terror trap of Nazi Europe, barring the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and creating incalulable Jewish suffering, in the hour of Britain's crisis, official Zionism rallied to Britain's defense.

The compelling story of the Jewish contribution to the cause of the United Nations is yet to be told. The intriguing details of "The Best-Kept Secret Of The War" are yet to be revealed.

Letter No. 11 - A letter to Mr. Neville Chamberlain

August 29, 1939.

Dear Mr. Prime Minister,

In this hour of supreme crisis, the consciousness that the Jews have a contribution to make to the defense of sacred values impells me to write this letter. I wish to confirm, in the most explicit manner, the declarations which I and my colleagues have made during the last months, and especially in the last week: that the Jews "stand by Great Britain and will fight on the side of the democracies".

Our urgent desire is to give effect to these declarations. We wish to do so in a way entirely consonant with the general scheme of British action, and therefore would place ourselves in matters big and small, under the co-ordinating direction of his Majesty's Government. The Jewish Agency is ready to enter into immediate arrangements for utilizing Jewish man-power, technical ability, resources, etc.

The Jewish Agency has recently had differences in the political field with the Mandatory Power. We would like these differences to give way before the greater and more pressing necessities of the time.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

The White Paper of 1939 will undoubtedly be recorded as one of the blackest and most disreputable acts of legislation in civilized history. Certainly, the head of the Jewish Agency, Chaim Weizmann, might have been exonerated at the bar of justice had he taken advantage of Britain's peril to withold Jewish aid, to cajole and bargain, to make all Jewish services to the Allied cause contingent upon the abrogation of a document that condemned hundreds of thousands, even millions of Jews to indescribable torture and death. Instead, he is authorized to volunteer the services of Palestinian Jewry and mobilize the resources of his people in defense of Britain.

^{1.)} Pierre Van Paassen, "The Forgotten Ally", Chapter 4, The Best-Kept Secret Of The War.

Bereft of hope and deprived of a haven R in Palestine, millions of Jews have perished. The Jewish dead can no longer bespeak the anguish of their suffering, but an echo of their heroism and martyrdom has reached us. The final cry from the depths must be heard. "The voice of thy brother' blood cries unto Me from the ground".

Letter No. 12 - A Letter From Poland

To: Dr. Ignacy Schwartzbardt, 1) London.

Dear Doctor:

We write to you as the voice of the blood of tens of thousands of dying Jews. We are now living through the last act of our terrible tragedy. Nazi barbarians, faced with defeat, are slaughtering the pitiful remnants of the Jewish population.

They began with the Lublin District, which lies closest to the receding battle front. In this district the Germans had concentrated a number of camps where 40,000 Jews barely existed - most of them from Warsaw and the District of Lublin. The largest of these camps are: Trawniki

(10,000), Poniatow (15,000)....

On Wednesday, November 3, 1943, at 6 A.M. all the men in Trawniki were called out for the alleged purpose of digging air-raid shelters. After two hours, they were surrounded by machine-gunners and all of them without exception, were shot down. In the meantime 50 trucks drove into camp. All the remaining women and children were loaded on them and taken to an extermination center, where they were forced to strip off their clothing and were then machine-gunned in the same fashion as the men. After this massacre, 3000 Italian Jews were brought to this camp and the same fate awaits them.

A similar massacre took place in Lublin on Friday. Several thousand Jews were murdered there. At the same time a bloody "selection" took place in the camp at Poniatow. The greater majority of the camp inhabitants,

almost all women and children were sent to their deaths ..

We are now making desperate efforts to rescue outstanding individuals from the camps. This is, however, a monumental undertaking, involving great effort and money. We are convinced that within a very short time there will remain only those few score thousand Jews who are hiding outside the ghettos and camps, either in the Aryan quarters or in the forests, where they live, literally like cave-men. During their dying moments, the remnants of Jews in Poland cried out to the world, begging for help.

in Poland cried out to the world, begging for help.

We know that you are with us heart and soul and that you experience deeply our martyrdom which is unexampled in history. We also know that you are powerless. But let those circles who could have helped us at least know

what we think of them.

The blood of 3,000,000 Polish Jews will call for revenge not only against the Nazi murderers, but against those indifferent elements who have contented themselves merely with words but have done nothing to rescue from

¹⁾ Dr. Schwartzbardt, Jewish representative in the Polish National Council in London.

the hands of the beasts a people doomed to extermination. This we, the last of the Jewish population, can never forget or forgive.

May this - possibly the final cry from the depths - reach the ears of the world! ...

THE JEWISH NATIONAL COMMITTEE (representing all Zionist parties in Poland.)

P.S. - To the General Federation of Jewish Workers in Palestine:

"As we write you these lines, we doubt whether we will ever see you....

Our sufferings you can neither understand nor conceive. In order to understand them you, who are in London and Tel-Aviv, would have to be possessed of diseased imaginations. All the centers of Jewish life have been erased from the earth. Their inhabitants met death in the torture centers of Treblinka, Sobibor, Belzec and Oswiecim...

As you read our letter, do not for a moment think that we are broken in spirit or have fallen victims to resignation. We regard our merciless doom with sober eyes. We know you have done everything possible to save us. We also know that you are helpless. It is easier for us to die, knowing that freedom will come to the world and believing that Palestine will become the Fatherland of the Jewish Nation.

Yours,

Five minutes and twelve letters! The clock ticks and the precious minutes are deposited in the vault of eternity with ordered precision. The minute hand of the clock moves to determine the Jewish future and to regulate Jewish destiny. Each swing of the pendulum multiplies Jewish apprehension. To the Jewish people, time is not to be computed as an academic question of Physics. It is a histus of hell where every minute is borrowed from death. It is a deferment of doom for Jews and Jewish hopes until the Democracies speak out for Jewish salvation in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

Twelve letters are but fragments of evidence substantiating the validity of Jewish aspirations relative to Palestine. Two or three dozen letters could offer further proof of the justice of our cause. The pen of truth, dipped into the fathomless well of Jewish blood, could provide a million letters validating the Jewish claim on Palestine as a fee and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Whatever subjects the President and Ibn Sau'd discussed during the five minutes of conversation, we can only pray that the topic of future minority status of the Jews in Palestine was scrupulously avoided.

Rumors and reports indicate that the Arabs are considering the possibility of proposing the admission of another 100,000 - 300,000 Jews to Palestine after the expiration of the immigration quota under the terms of the British White Paper with the proviso that all further immigration will be prohibited. It is also claimed that the Arabs will only agree to a permanent Jewish minority in Palestine.

Is the fate of the Jewish people to be determined by the Arabs?
Will the ugly specter of appeasement rise once more to haunt the conscience of mankind? Will Ibn Sa'ud be the one to shape Jewish destiny in Palestine? These questions tremble on the lips of the Jewish people everywhere.

Our fears are intensified when we read the words of Shiek Youssef \$\\$\frac{1}{2}\\$\sin\$, adviser to King Ibn Saud. He declared in an interview with PM in Cairo, "our attitude toward the Jews is the same as Europe's attitude". One has but to think of Europes attitude, and by Europe he can mean only Nazi Europe, to determine the nature of the Arab attitude toward the Jews. Shiek Ussin is advocating a return to Poland of all Jews in Palestine who have come in Since the Balfour Declaration. Why Poland? There can be no conclusion other than the fact that he is happily reminded of the 6\frac{1}{2}\text{ million Jews who have been slaughtered there.}

What will happen to the Jews if they are relegated to a permanent minority status in Palestine? "And what do Arabs do with minorities?" asks Pierre Van Passsen.

"What did they do with the Christian minorities in Lebanon, in Syria? Do you remember what happened to the peaceful Assyrian minority in Iraq in 1933 when .. Nuri Pashi was Minister of the Interior? They were simply massacred, and there was no interference. The civilized world, the Christian world, stood aside as usual and excused itself: 'One must not and one cannot interfere in the purely

internal affairs of a sovereign state like Iraq. That would not be proper or legal! " 1)

Professor William Foxwell Albright speaking at the National Conference on Palestine in March 1944, also inveighed against the horrible possibility of a Jewish minority in Palestine after the war:

"Since the Turks drove out or butchered all their Anatolian minorities they have been quietly engaged in eliminating almost all of the Armenian minority in Istanbul. Meanwhile the Iraqi followed their example and scarcely had Great Britain handed over political domination of the country to its inhabitants than the latter proceeded to try to eliminate the Assyrian Christians by wholesale massacre. In recent years the potential menace in the Near East has become far worse, because on the old principle of the Jihad there has been superimposed a new and deadly doctrine which arose in the most advanced Protestant Christian nation of the world. Protestant Germany. It was Protestant Germany which has taught the world how to destroy minorities by mass massacre, using gas and steam chambers and all the paraphernalia of modern science, including medical science. I regret to say. Germany has been a very successful teacher and I am sorry to say that the Arabs have been good learners; TOO MANY OF THE ARAB LEADERS NOW ADVOCATE THE SAME METHODS. (italics mine). They say: WE MUST ELIMINATE ALL OUR MINORITIES, CHRISTIANS AND JEWS ALIKE, (italics mine) just as the Turks did in Anatolia, as the Iraqians started to do in Iraq, and as the Germans have subsequently done efficiently in what was formerly a Christian country.

I am stressing these unpleasant facts so that none of us will feel that because he happens to be a Protestant or any other kind of Christian his skirts are clean. Not one of us has clean skirts; yet the fact that we are all guilty before God and our fellowmen does not mean that we have the right to sit back and shut our eyes while the Christian and Jewish minorities of the Near East are handed over to the tender mercies of a

fascistically disposed Moslem majority.

The Arabs, at present, are proceeding on the assumption that

Palestine is an Arab State today, and that it will continue to be an

Arab state in the post-war era. They are not waiting for the United

Nations to substantiate this assumption. At a recent meeting of the

Conference of Arab States held in Cairo, among the signatories of a

Constitution for an Arab League was a representative of the Palestine

Arabs. The Palestine representative was treated as the Foreign Minister

of a purely Arab country. Certainly, the Arabs aren't waiting until the

conclusion of the war to formulate a solution of the Palestine problem.

By sins of commission and the implications of omission, the Allied

Nations have tended to validate the conclusion that following the war,

Palestine will be an Arab State with a permanent Jewish minority. Could

1) Pierce Van lansson, The Jorgotten Wy"

the Arabs interpret the White Paper of 1939 as other than Great
Britains tacit endorsement of an Arab State in Palestine? If all the
humanitarian appeals to save the persecuted Jews of Europe brought no
action save the White Paper, and at the very height of Jewish suffering
the gates of Palestine are virtually closed to the Jews, what other
conclusion could be derived other than an the implied approval of an
Arab majority in Palestine?

Recognizing the injustice wrought upon the Jewish people, on May 23, 1939, Mr. Winston Churchill rose in the House of Commons and said:

"I regret very much that the pledge of the Balfour Declaration, endorsed as it has been by successive Governments, and the conditions under which we obtained the Mandate, have both been violated by the Government's proposals. There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, but I will not trouble about that. I select the one point upon which there is plainly a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration - the provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five year's time by the decision of AN ARAB MAJOR MY. That is a plain breach of a solemn obligation."

It is difficult to reconcile the prophetic voice of Mr. Churchill in 1939, with the Mr. Churchill of 1945, deferring the solution of the Palestine situation until some nebulous future date and maintaining "hopes that when the war is over, good arrangements can be made for securing the peace and progress of the Arab world and generally of the Middle East..". Mr. Churchill is familiar enough with Arab sentiment be construed to to know that "peace and progress of the Arab world" can only mean an Arab majority and a Jewish minority in Palestine.

We, who have always maintained the greatest admiration for both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt, regret to see them constrained by political expediency rather than immediate justice, and advocate the suspension of decision until some future date. Prior to World War II the Mufti of Jerusalem also expressed the desire that the Palestine problem be postponed. The following passage from the evidence said before the Royal Commission over which Lord Peel presided indicates one

reason for Jewish apprehension when political leaders speak of leaving its fate to the future.

Sir Horace Rumbold: "Does His Eminence think that this country can assimilate and digest the 400,000 Jews who are now in the country.

The Mufti: "No".

The Chairman: "Some of them would have to be removed by a process kindly or painful as the cause may be?

The Muft1: "WE MUST LEAVE ALL THIS TO THE FUTURE."

The statement: "we must leave all this to the future" has ominous implications for the Jewish people. A study of the Arab treatment of other minority peoples can give little comfort that the future, if determined by an Arab majority, could hold anything but exile, mass deportation or massacre for the Palestinian Jews.

The Arabs did not believe that Palestine could assimilate and digest the 400,000 Jews who were then in the country. Today there are over 600,000 Jews in Palestine, and an even greater number of Arabs. Dr. Walter Lowdermilch, the noted American agricultural expert, in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise" proves that in the Jordan Valley alone room can be made for at least 4,000,000 new immigrants, without in any way disturbing Palestine's present population of 1,600,000.

We have heard a lot in recent months about "the absorptive capacity of Palestine" in terms of miles, areas and persons. Some so-called Arab authorities have questioned the absorptive capacity of Palestine as described by Dr. Lowdermilk. Some ask "Is there room for additional Jews in Palestine" in terms of absorptive capacity, and when the problem of Palestine is brought up for discussion, there is usually someone who will cast doubts on the possibility of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine because of a belief that the country has reached a saturation point.

It may be bitter irony to remember that very few people thought in terms of "absorptive capacity" when Jews were jammed into cattle-cars,

and herded into gas-chambers. Who thought of "absorptive capacity" the when millions of Jews were stuffed into Crematoriums of Nazi Europe?

Was there a point of saturation when Millions of Jews were penned up like animals in Nazi concentration camps. If they could find room for death, - the democracies of the world will find room in Palestine for life!

The Mischief of Munich Must Be Undone

The war aims of the Allies, and the exalted post-war ideals of the democracies will yet be tested in the crucible of Zion. Justice for Palestine is not only a question of present emergency, but the actions of the Democracies now, and the solutions proposed now, must be a portent, a moral prognosticator of the future status of our post-war world, and either a verification or a contradiction of our hope for a just and lasting peace.

The principle of appeasement has emerged as a horrible monstrosity born of the Munich era. It is a mode of action irrevocably bound with weakness and inextricably tied-up with tyranny and injustice. Will the Democracies "sell-out" the Jewish people in order to appease the insatiable appetite of the Arab world. Will the hopes of the Jews for nationhood be sacrificed on the alter of Arab appeasement?

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, in an adress on March 21st, 1945, aptly summarized the Jewish point of view on this question of appeasement:

"It is not our duty to prose partial solutions. The statesmen of the world may prefer partial solutions in the hope of insuring peace. This, you will recall was the Munich complex. Lack of vision and courage may again postpone the just and definitive decision. This will undoubtedly acerbate the political conditions in Palestine and in the Near East. But this is beyond our control. What is within our control is the resolve to make known our cause to the world, and to demand justice at the bar of history. We must ask nothing that is unjust and unreasonable. We must accept nothing that is unjust and unreasonable..."

[&]quot;... The MacDonald White Paper was a product of that disastrous Munich era when the rights of other smaller nations were also sacrificed and other solemn international committments were scrapped. Munich led to

the Second World War. It has been the high hope of all that a victory of the United Nations will undo the mischief of Munich and will rectify the wrongs which were there and since perpetrated. What was ruthlessly taken away will be rightfully restored. Will this principle of reparation and restoration be applied to all peoples, except the Jews? Are the promises to the Jewish people alone to be ignored and dishonored? Is our loyalty alone to go unrequited, our sacrifices unrewarded and our dead forgotten?"

Mr. Winston Churchill reflected this same opinion in 1939, when, as a member of Parliament, he denounced the White Paper of 1939, demanded the fulfilment of the promises made in the Balfour Declaration, and warned of the dangers of another Munich:

"I cannot understand why this course has been taken. I search around for the answer. Is our condition so perilous and our state so poor that we must in our weakness, make this sacrifice of our declared purpose? I must say that I have not taken such a low view of the strength of the British Empire, or of the very many powerful countries who desire to walk in association with us; but if the Government, with their superior knowledge of the deficiencies in our armaments, really feels that we are too weak to carry out our obligations and wish to file a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy, that is an argument which, however, ignominious, should certainly weigh with the House in these dangerous times. But is it true? I do not believe it is true. I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hand twenty years ago in Palestine is beyond our strength, or that faithful perseverance will not, in the end, bring that task through to a glorious success. I am sure of this, that to cast the Balfour plan aside, and show yourselves infirm of will and unable to pursue a long, clear, and considered purpose, bending and twisting under the crush and pressure of events - I am sure that that is going to do us a most serious and grave injury at a time like this. What will be opinion of the United States of America? Shall we not lose more -What will be the and this is a question to be considered maturely - in the growing support and sympathy of the United States than we shall gain in LCAL ADMINISTRATIVE CONVENIENCE, if gain at all indeed we do? What will our potential enemies think? What will those who have been stirring up these Arab agitators think? Will they not be encouraged by our confession of recoil? Will they not be tempted to say: They're on the run again. This is another Munich!

Be admonished by your own words, Mr. Churchill. Take heed that your postponements and deferments, your pronouncements and your invendos with regard to the Palestine problem - do not tempt one to say "They're on the run again. This is another Munich!" Both Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt have been unalterably opposed to the principle of appeasement in public pronouncement and in foreign and domestic policy. Palestine must not be an historic exception **
in their record of courageous adherance to justice.

PALESTINE: TEST OF DEMOCRACY

Palestine has been thrust into the international limelight as the test-case of the future. The treatment accorded to the Jewish hope for Palestine and the solution of this "world problem" will be incontrovertible evidence of the sincerity of the democracies in the pursuit of their quest for universal justice. It will either validate the integrity of the United Nations and give assurance of world security, or it will reflect appear suspicion upon the exalted war aims of the Allies, and reduce them to the status of unforgivable mockery.

"The Palestine question is the acid test of democracy," asserts
Professor Eduard Cl Lindemann, Professor of Social Philosophy of the New
York School of Social Work,

"It is the acid test of peace. A peace which leaves the Jewish question unresolved, will leave us who believe in democracy vulnerable to all the future Hitlers, all the malcontents who will use this historic scapegoat to build up their nefarious movements. If we should enter into such a peace as leaves no room for the solution of the problem of which Palestine is the symbol, then there will be no peace.

I believe that the Jewish homeland should be established now, before the war is over. This should be done in order to provide a solution for the very large group of Jews among the so-called uprooted people of Europe. The most recent and perhaps the most authoritative discussion of this problem, just published by the National Planning Association in a pamphlet called "Europes Uprooted People", comes to the conclusion after painstaking statistical study, that the total number of people who will be found after the war in places where they do not belong, and perhaps without statehood, passports and visas, will be 12,425,000. Of this number the percentage of Jews will be very, very high.

Where will these millions be resettled? Are Americans willing to take our pro rata share of them, regardless of whether they are Jews or not? We know in our hearts that we are not. Two of our largest pressure group organizations, the Daughters of the American Regolution and American Legion, have already gone on record as being opposed to postwar immigration.

Now, I do not see how Americans can in one breath say "we will not take these uprooted millions," and in the next breath, "Neither will we help anybody else furnish a place for them." This problem weighs very heavily upon my conscience, and I believe that all Americans must accept moral responsibility for it."

The Test Case of Christian Ethics

Let no one delude himself with the absurd belief that Palestine
is solely a Jewish problem. It is a world problem. It is a problem

of the democracies. It is a Christian problem.

This is not a war for physical possession alone. It is a war of eternally opposed philosophies. It is the classic struggle between Christ and anti-Christ, between Baal and the Lord God whose name Israel brought to the Nations.

It is the Jews who have been used as a point of attack not only against free civilization but against the very core of Christian belief. It is on this theme that the German Feuhrer has attempted to mobilize the dark passions, hatreds and fears by which he hopes the Western nations will ultimately collapse. In their quest the Germans have made the Jewish people the victims of the most unscrupulous, poisonous and successful propaganda the world has ever seen. No one has remained untouched by it. It has extended into the farthest reaches of the world like an invisible miasma which has already seeped deep into the soul of humanity and from whose evil effects Western civilization may never recover.

The entire Palestine situation is tarred with the brush of this calculated propaganda. Hitler has made it the test case of Christian ethics, of Western civilization against the German Moloch. He has long broadcast to the Mohammedans that he is the lineal descendant of the Prophet, and that he has been appointed by God to rescue the Moslem world from the curse of Christian domination. Night and day his radio blares out many such fantasies. 1)

This is not a problem to be deferred. This is not a secondary matter of insignificance. Palestine, as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, is vital, crucial and basic to justice and the future peace of the world. Truth must not be silenced. There is no place for inhibition and restraint when the hour calls for action. If the United Nations allow the matter of a Jewish Commonwealth to degenerate into power politics, or permit Palestine to become a coveted prize in an international spoils system, then it augurs danger for democracy, and it will intrude an ominous shadow over the security and hopes of all nations, all religions and all peoples.

"For Zion's sake will I not hold My peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until her triumph go forth as brightness and her

^{1.} William B. Ziff. An address to the National Conference on Palestine, Washington, D.C., March 9, 1944.

salvation as a torch that burneth. And the nations shall see thy triumph, and all kings thy glory" (Isaiah 62.1-2)

We have made our appeals to organizations, groups and political councils, but that is not enough. We must not keep silence. We must not rest, The cause of Palestine must be placed in the hands of the people for justice. It must rise above all considerations of political the expediency and become a cause celebre for mankind. We have protested and lamented our fate, degenerating into a people of mendicants begging the world for sympathy. Now is the time for the Jewish people to rise with dignity and courage to demand justice. The voice of Israel must echo throughout the world to command the ear of decent, truth-loving people everywhere. We must not dilute our strength with a perennial Blood of tears.

The cause of Zion must not be surrendered to the decision and action of Christians alone. The Jewish people must mobilize for its own defense before it can claim the support of allies. The voice of Israel must cease to whine its agonizing plea for consideration. It must thunder forth in prophetic protest. speaking with an accent of courage to summon other voices to join in the moral expression of righteousness. We must not surrender initiative but inaugurate a continuous campaign of action, working unceasingly and indefatigably the justice of our sacred cause. If, as a homeless people, we accept the status of beggars without protest, then we must be content with the seres disserded from the diplomatic tables of international deliberation, if any - and we must be satisfied with the discarded scraps salvaged from the refuse cans of post-war settlement. We no longer want crumbs. We must not be satisfied with scraps or vapid protestations of sympathy. We want living Jews in the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine.

We don't have to coin new mottos or devise novel catchphrases to dramatize the compelling need for action now. Theodor Herzl said: "If

you will it, it is no dream." The American Zionist Policy Committee, pursuing the realistic teachings and policies of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, has been called into being to express the will of the majority of American Zionists, and convert the dream of a Jewish Commonwealth into reality. The will of the Jewish people must be manifested without fear, without respite and without compromise. Our plea is just. Our demand is just. Our cause is just.

Leo Pinsker wrote this many years ago, but it applies to us and to the United Nations with even greater force today:

"Let 'Now or Never!' be our watchword. WOE TO OUR DESCENDANTS IF WE LET THIS MOMENT PASS BY."

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American clubs have gained for themselves an enviable reputation for keeping abreast of the plans for the new world now in the making. This new world must take into account the entire problem of minorities, with which the future of that small but historically significant land, Palestine, is directly linked. Palestine has a key position in the developing Near East, and is especially related to the tragic problem of Hitler's first victims, the European Jewish refugees.

We are in a position to provide you with speakers who can ably present these subjects, and we are certain that a discussion of these questions will add immeasurably to your club program next season.

Among the sponsors listed on this letterhead, - eminent writers, leaders in church movements and in public affairs, publicists and educators, - there are a number who, with first-hand knowledge of these questions, have addressed audiences in many sections of the country. Our long list of speakers, to whom we shall be glad to submit your dates, includes among others:

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Please indicate your choice of dates on the enclosed postal card, and we shall let you know within the shortest possible time which of these speakers, or others listed with us, will be available. For the most part, our bureau, which is non-commercial, is able to provide speakers for a nominal service charge, and under special conditions, gratis. Where speakers are committed to lecture bureaus, we shall be glad to make arrangements with their managers in your behalf.

I look forward to hearing from you, so that your club, like many other thinking groups, will call upon us to provide a speaker for a meeting next season.

Cordially yours,

Blanche J. Shepard

Director

BJS:DE Enc.

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ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF CANADA

HEAD OFFICE: 527 Sherbrooke Street West - Montreal - Telephone
BELAIR 2831

Dr. Abba H. Silver, Co-Chairman, American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Silver:

During the past year the Zionist Organization of Canada has been engaged, as you know, in an intensive program of Pro-Palestine activities. We have throughout kept you informed on the progress of our work and I think we may say that ours has not been an insignificant contribution to the common cause.

We have plans for an immediate extension of our activities and we feel that in the decisive months ahead of us these will have an important bearing in the task in which we are all engaged in arousing public opinion.

While we have been receiving invitations to attend the plenary sessions of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and we appreciate the opportunity to attend these gatherings, we feel keenly that the privilege should also be given to us to be present at your inner committee meetings.

Organization to the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, the outstanding progress the Organization has made especially in recent years, the fact that Canada as the most important Dominion in the British Commonwealth of Nations will undbubtedly play a most decisive role in the making of the peace, the significant work we have done in the sphere of Pro-Palestine activities, make it essential that we should be an courant at all times with the political developments in the United States as well as in England and in Palestine.

Shall the Door Be Shut?



"To whom was the pledge of the Balfour Declaration made? This pledge of a home of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine, but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home . . ."

WINSTON CHURCHILL

The Palestine Resolution of the Congress of the United States

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Adopted unanimously by both Houses on June 30, 1922. Signed by President Harding on September 21, 1922.

SHALL THE DOOR BE SHUT?

THE BRITISH WHITE PAPER of May 17, 1939 will close Palestine to all Jewish immigration in the spring of this year.* At a time when millions of European Jews have been massacred by the Nazis, the chief and almost the only door to escape will be slammed in the face of those hundreds of thousands who still survive and whom the Nazis have starved, impoverished, uprooted from home and occupation.

The Palestine White Paper followed by a few months the Munich surrender. It reflected the same crisis in world statesmanship and international morality. As in Europe, so in Palestine, principle was sacrificed to expediency. After a period of Axis-fed agitation and terrorism, during which the followers of the Mufti of Jerusalem who is now in Berlin, attacked and murdered not only Jews but large numbers of Arabs who refused to recognize the Mufti's leadership, Britain yielded. The League of Nations Mandate by virtue of which she governs Palestine had made her responsible "for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home" and had obligated her specifically to facilitate Jewish immigration. By abandoning these obligations to the Jewish National Home, Britain hoped to secure the support of the Arab world in the great struggle that was clearly about to begin.

That the benefits to be derived from the pursuit of such a policy of "administrative convenience" would be illusory, was pointed out at the time the White Paper was issued by Mr. Winston Churchill in a re-

^{*} The only immigrants to be admitted will be the holders of some 30,000 immigration certificates remaining from the 75,000 quota alloted by the White Paper for the five-year period ending March 31, 1944; wartime transportation difficulties have made it impossible for these to be used within the time limit set by the White Paper.

markable speech reproduced in this pamphlet. The course of events during the war has made it clear that appearement failed in the Arab world as it failed elsewhere. In Iraq in 1941 there was a pro-Axis revolt. Egypt moved no finger to aid the Allies in the defense of Egyptian soil, and as long as the German machine was in the ascendant, the Arabs of Palestine and Syria seethed with pro-Axis sentiment.

The policy of the White Paper was laid down nearly five years ago. Today the entire world is influx, and the future status and organization of the Mediterranean area, as of all central and eastern Europe, is in the balance. It might thus have been assumed that the problem of Palestine, too, would be subject to reconsideration in the light of the new situation. No hint of this has been forthcoming on the part of the British Government. On the contrary, many elements in it are ardent in their insistence that the White Paper, apparently alone of the adjustments of the Chamberlain era, must remain sacrosanct.

The White Paper consistently attempts to reconcile its proposals with the terms of the Mandate for Palestine: its renunciation of the Mandate is made to appear a logical conclusion springing from the terms of the Mandate itself. Actually, the White Paper deliberately ignores what Mr. Churchill describes as Britain's paramount pledge and obligation under the Mandate—the development of the Jewish National Home. The White Paper is not and cannot be the last word on the future of Palestine or of the Jewish people, linked to Palestine by the unbreakable bonds of history, tradition, and international recognition. It remains for the conscience of the democratic peoples, for an enlightened statesmanship in a world which has been through the crucible of a terrible war, fearlessly to face a problem which has challenged mankind through two thousand years of history. The problem is that of the national homelessness of the Jewish people, a minority everywhere with no land which it may call its own and to which it may turn for escape from the recurrent persecution to which it is subject. In a wise and courageous solution of this problem, the White Paper can have no part.

THE WHITE PAPER: A Summary

The Palestine White Paper of May 1939 is divided into three sections dealing respectively with Constitution, Immigration and Land.

(1) Constitution: The White Paper refers to the statement in July 1937 of the Palestine Royal Commission that there is nothing in the Balfour Declaration to prohibit the ultimate establishment of a Jewish state. The White Paper declares unequivocally, however, that it is not part of the policy of His Majesty's Government, that Palestine should become a Jewish state. The obligation of His Majesty's Government is limited to the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a center in which the Jewish people, as a whole, may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. The increase in the Jewish population of Palestine to some 450,000 since 1922, or approaching one third of the entire population of the country, is evidence that His Majesty's Government have been carrying out this obligation. Nor has the Jewish community failed to take advantage of the opportunities given to it. "The growth of the Jewish National Home and its achievements in many fields are a remarkable constructive effort which must command the admiration of the world and must be in particular a source of pride to the Jewish people."

On the other hand, it is the duty of His Majesty's Government to secure the development of self-government and they desire to see established ultimately an independent Palestine state in which Arabs and Jews would share authority in Government in such a way that the essential interests of each are secured. More specifically it is declared that the objective of His Majesty's Government is the establishment within ten years (i. e. from May, 1939) of an independent Palestine state. During the preceding transitional period Palestinians will be given an increasing part in the government of the country and Arab

and Jewish representatives will be invited to serve as heads of departments approximately in proportion to their respective populations. (The proportion envisaged, as appears later in the document, is one third Jews and two thirds Arabs.) Provision is to be made for the security of, and freedom of access to, the Holy Places, and for British strategic needs in the light of circumstances then existing.

His Majesty's Government will do everything in their power to create conditions which will enable the independent Palestine state to come into being within ten years, but if at the end of that period it appears to His Majesty's Government that circumstances require post-ponement of the establishment of an independent state it will consult with the representatives of the people of Palestine, the Council of the League of Nations and neighboring Arab states before deciding any such postponement. Should His Majesty's Government come to the conclusion that postponement is unavoidable, it will invite the co-operation of those parties in framing plans for the future with a view to achieving the desired objective at the earliest possible date.

(2) Immigration: The White Paper restates the principle of the 1922 (Churchill) White Paper that for the fulfillment of the policy of establishing a Jewish National Home "it is necessary that the Jewish population should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals." Until recently the economic absorptive capacity of the country had been treated as the sole limiting factor on Jewish immigration. It is now affirmed, however, that the political position in the country, including such matters as the fear of indefinite Jewish immigration on the part of the Arab population, is a factor which should not be ignored in framing an immigration policy. "The alternatives before His Majesty's Government are either to seek to expand the Jewish National Home indefinitely by immigration against the strongly expressed will of the Arab people of the country, or to permit further expansion of the Jewish National Home by immigration only if the

Arabs are prepared to acquiesce in it." The former policy means rule by force and His Majesty's Government have decided that the time has come to adopt in principle the second of the alternatives offered above. It is accordingly proposed that (1) for the five year period from the beginning of April 1939, 75,000 immigrants shall, subject to the criterion of the economic absorptive capacity, be admitted, (2) after the period of five years no further Jewish immigration will be permitted unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it.

(3) Land: In terms of Article IV of the Mandate the Administration of Palestine is required "while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced," to encourage "close settlement by Jews on the land." The natural growth of the Arab population and the steady sale in recent years of Arab lands to Jews have led to the conclusion that all transfers of land must be restricted if Arab cultivators are to maintain their standard of living and a considerable landless Arab population is not to be created. It is proposed accordingly to give the High Commissioner general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land. (Regulations in pursuance of this provision were issued subsequently; according to these Jews are to be allowed rights of free purchase in only 2.6%-260 square miles -of the total area of Palestine. A total prohibition on transfer of land to Jews was imposed in about two thirds of the country; in the remaining area transfer is permissible only under severe restrictions and subject to the consent of the High Commissioner.)

The White Paper concludes with the statement that "in framing these proposals His Majesty's Government has sincerely endeavoured to act in strict accordance with its obligations under the Mandate to both the Arabs and the Jews."

THE BREACH OF A SOLEMN OBLIGATION

WINSTON CHURCHILL

A SPEECH IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS DURING THE DEBATE ON THE WHITE PAPER, MAY 22, 1939

I say quite frankly that I find this is a melancholy occasion. Like my right honourable Friend, the Member for Sparkbrook', I feel bound to vote against the proposals of His Majesty's Government. As one intimately and responsibly concerned in the earlier stages of our Palestine policy, I could not stand by and see solemn engagements into which Britain has entered before the world set aside for reasons of administrative convenience or—and it will be a vain hope—for the sake of a quiet life. Like my right honourable Friend, I should feel personally embarrassed in the most acute manner if I lent myself, by silence or inaction, to what I must regard as an act of repudiation.

It is often supposed that the Balfour Declaration was an ill-considered, sentimental act largely concerned with the right honourable Member for Carnarvon Boroughs² for which the Conservative party had no real responsibility, and that, as the Secretary of State said yesterday, it was a thing done in the tumult of the War. But hardly any step was taken with greater deliberation and responsibility. I was glad to hear the account which my right honourable Friend, the Member for Sparkbrook gave, derived from the days when he was working in the Secretariat of the War Cabinet, of the care and pains with which the whole field was explored at that time. Not only did the War Cabinet of those days take the decision but all Cabinets of every party after the War, after examining it in the varying circumstances which have arisen, have endorsed the decision and taken the fullest responsibility for it.

When I went to the Colonial Office it was in this spirit that I wrote this dispatch, under the authority of the Cabinet, which is quoted so much in the White Paper now before us. Great use is made of this dispatch of

¹ Leopold Amery

² David Lloyd George

1922 in the White Paper. It is sought to found the argument of the White Paper largely upon it. I stand by every word in those lengthy quotations which have been made from what I wrote. I would not alter a sentence after the sixteen years that have passed, but I must say I think it rather misleading to quote so extensively from one part of the dispatch without indicating what was its main purpose. The particular paragraph quoted would do little to cool down the ardour of the Zionist and little to reassure the apprehensions of the Arabs. The main purpose of the dispatch was clear. This is what I said in paragraph (1):

"His Majesty's Government have no intention of repudiating the obligations into which they have entered towards the Jewish people."

I then proceeded to say that the Government would refuse to discuss the future of Palestine on any basis other than the basis of the Balfour Declaration. Moreover, the whole tenor of the dispatch was to make it clear that the establishment of self-governing institutions in Palestine was subordinated to the paramount pledge and obligation of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Last night the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs used a surprising argument. He suggested that the obligation to introduce self-governing institutions into Palestine ranked equally with the obligation to establish a Jewish National Home. In this very dispatch of mine, which represented the views of the entire Government of the day, the greatest pains were taken to make it clear that the paramount duty was the establishment of a National Home. It was said on page six:

"The position is that His Majesty's Government are bound by a pledge which is antecedent to the Covenant of the League of Nations, and they cannot allow a constitutional position to develop in a country for which they have accepted responsibility to the principal Allied Powers which may make it impracticable to carry into effect a solemn undertaking given by themselves and their Allies."

Now I come to the gravamen of the case. I regret very much that the pledge of the Balfour Declaration, endorsed as it has been by successive Governments, and the conditions under which we obtained the Mandate, have both been violated by the Government's proposals. There is much in this White Paper which is alien to the spirit of the Balfour Declaration, but I will not trouble about that. I select the one point upon which there is plainly a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration—the provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped in five years' time by the decision of an Arab majority. That is a plain breach of a solemn obligation. I am astonished that my right honourable Friend the Prime Minister, of all others, and at this moment above all others, should have lent himself to this new and sudden default.

Britain Has No Right to Close the Door of Palestine

To whom was the pledge of the Balfour Declaration made? It was not made to the Jews of Palestine, it was not made to those who were actually living in Palestine. It was made to world Jewry and in particular to the Zionist associations. It was in consequence of and on the basis of this pledge that we received important help in the War, and that after the War we received from the Allied and Associated Powers the Mandate for Palestine. This pledge of a home of refuge, of an asylum, was not made to the Jews in Palestine but to the Jews outside Palestine, to that vast, unhappy mass of scattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unconquerable desire has been for a National Home. That is the pledge which was given, and that is the pledge which we are now asked to break.

It is said specifically on page ten of the White Paper that Jewish immigration during the next five years will be at a rate which, if the economic absorptive capacity allows, will bring the population up to approximately one-third of the total population of the country. After that the Arab majority, twice as numerous as the Jews, will have control, and all further Jewish immigration will be subject to their acquiescence, which is only another way of saying that it will be on sufferance. What is that but the destruction of the Balfour Declaration? What is it but one-sided denunciation—what is called in the jargon of the present time a unilateral denunciation—of an engagement?

There need be no dispute about this phrase "economic absorptive capacity." It represented the intentions of the Government and their desire to carry out the Palestinian Mandate in an efficient and in a prudent manner. As I am the author of the phrase, perhaps I may be allowed to state that economic absorptive capacity was never intended to rule without regard to any other consideration. It has always rested with the Mandatory Power to vary the influx of the Jews in accordance with

what was best for Palestine and for the sincere fulfillment—one must presuppose the sincere fulfillment—of our purpose in establishing a Jewish National Home there. It was never suggested at any time that the decision about the quota to be admitted should rest with the Jews or should rest with the Arabs. It rested, and could only rest at any time, with the Mandatory Power which was responsible for carrying out the high purpose of the then victorious Allies. The Mandatory Commission of the League of Nations, as was mentioned by the spokesman for the Opposition when he opened the Debate this afternoon, has recognized fully that the Mandatory Power was entitled to control the flow of immigration, or even to suspend it in any emergency. What they are not entitled to do, at least not entitled to do without reproach—grave public and worldwide reproach, and I trust self-reproach as well—is to bring the immigration to an end so far as they are concerned, to wash their hands of it, to close the door. That they have no right whatever to do . . .

I cannot understand why this course has been taken. I search around for the answer. The first question one would ask oneself is foreshadowed in a reference made in the speech of my honourable Friend, and is this: Is our condition so parlous and our state so poor that we must, in our weakness, make this sacrifice of our declared purpose? Although I have been very anxious that we should strengthen our armaments and spread our alliances and so increase the force of our position, I must say that I have not taken such a low view of the strength of the British Empire or of the very many powerful countries who desire to walk in association with us; but if the Government, with their superior knowledge of the deficiencies in our armaments which have arisen during their stewardship, really feel that we are too weak to carry out our obligations and wish to file a petition in moral and physical bankruptcy, that is an argument which, however ignominious, should certainly weigh with the House in these dangerous times. But is it true? I do not believe it is true. I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hand twenty years ago in Palestine is beyond our strength, or that faithful perseverance will not, in the end, bring that task to a glorious success . . .

We must ask ourselves another question, which arises out of this: Can we—and this is the question—strengthen ourselves by repudiation? Shall we relieve ourselves by this repudiation? I should have thought that the plan put forward by the Colonial Secretary in his White Paper, with its arid constitutional ideas and safety catches at every point, and with vagueness overlaying it and through all of it, combines, so far as one can understand it at present, the disadvantages of all courses without the advantages of any. The triumphant Arabs have rejected it. They are not going to put up with it. The despairing Jews will resist it. What will the world think about it? What will our friends say? What will be the opinion of the United States of America? Shall we not lose more—and this is a question to be considered maturely—in the growing support and sympathy of the United States than we shall gain in local administrative convenience, if gain at all indeed we do? . . .

Britain's Need is for Fidelity and Firmness

It is hoped to obtain five years of easement in Palestine by this proposal; surely the consequence will be entirely the opposite. A sense of moral weakness in the Mandatory Power, whose many years of vacillation and uncertainty have, as the right honourable gentleman admitted yesterday, largely provoked the evils from which we suffer, will rouse all the violent elements in Palestine to the utmost degree. In order to avoid the reproach, the bitter reproach, of shutting out refugees during this time of brutal persecution, the quota may be raised, as we were told by the Secretary of State, and may be continued at an even higher level in the next five years. Thus, irritation will continue and the incentive to resist will be aggravated. What about these five years? Who shall say where we are going to be five years from now? Europe is more than two-thirds mobilized to-night. The ruinous race of armaments now carries whole populations into the military machine. That cannot possibly continue for five years, nor for four, nor for three years. It may be that it will not continue beyond the present year. Long before those five years are past, either there will be a Britain which knows how to keep its word on the Balfour Declaration and is not afraid to do so, or, believe me, we shall find ourselves relieved of many oversea responsibilities other than those comprised within the Palestine Mandate.

Some of us hold that our safety at this juncture resides in being bold and strong. We urge that the reputation for fidelity of execution, strict execution of public contracts, is a shield and buckler which the British Empire, however it may arm, cannot dispense with and cannot desire to dispense with. Never was the need for fidelity and firmness more urgent than now. You are not going to found and forge the fabric of a grand alliance to resist aggression, except by showing continued examples of

your firmness in carrying out, even under difficulties, and in the teeth of difficulties, the obligations into which you have entered. I warn the Conservative party—and some of my warnings have not, alas, been ill-founded—that by committing themselves to this lamentable act of default, they will cast our country and all that it stands for, one more step downward in its fortunes, which step will later on have to be retrieved, as it will be retrieved, by additional hard exertions. That is why I say that upon the large aspect of this matter the policy which you think is a relief and an easement you will find afterwards you will have to retrieve, in suffering and greater exertions than those we are making.

I end upon the land of Palestine. It is strange indeed that we should turn away from our task in Palestine at the moment when, as the Secretary of State told us yesterday, the local disorders have been largely mastered. It is stranger still that we should turn away when the great experiment and bright dream, the historic dream, has proved its power to succeed. Yesterday the Minister responsible descanted eloquently in glowing passages upon the magnificent work which the Jewish colonists have done. They have made the desert bloom. They have started a score of thriving industries, he said. They have founded a great city on the barren shore. They have harnessed the Jordan and spread its electricity throughout the land. So far from being persecuted, the Arabs have crowded into the country and multiplied till their population has increased more than even all world Jewry could lift up the Jewish population. Now we are asked to decree that all this is to stop and all this is to come to an end. We are now asked to submit-and this is what rankles most with me-to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and ceaselessly inflamed by Nazi and by Fascist propaganda.

It is twenty years ago since my right honourable Friend¹ used these stirring words:

"A great responsibility will rest upon the Zionists, who, before long, will be proceeding, with joy in their hearts, to the ancient seat of their people. Theirs will be the task to build up a new prosperity and a new civilization in old Palestine, so long neglected and mis-ruled."

Well, they have answered his call. They have fulfilled his hopes. How can he find it in his heart to strike them this mortal blow?

¹ Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain.

THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE*

Adopted by the Council of the League of Nations, July 24, 1922

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have selected his Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

Whereas the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

WHEREAS His Britannic Majesty has accepted the Mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the aforementioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations; Conforming the said Mandate, defines its terms as follows:

ARTICLE 1

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this Mandate.

ARTICLE 3

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the de-

^{*} The preamble and the most significant portions of the Mandate are here reproduced.

velopment of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE 3

The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE 4

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organizations and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with his Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

ARTICLE 6

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under the suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE 15

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole grounds of his religious belief.

ARTICLE 24

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the Mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.*

^{*}When the White Paper was submitted to the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League, the majority of the Commission's members expressed themselves as feeling unable "to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate, any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors."

JUSTICE for MY PEOPLE

Ernst Frankenstein

JUSTICE FOR MY PEOPLE

By ERNST FRANKENSTEIN

The Jewish problem is a world problem. For nineteen centuries it has been present in one country or another, until today it has reached a stage where a solution must be found. Many have attempted to state and solve it; but hardly any writer has brought to it such clarity of thought and psychological understanding as Dr. Frankenstein.

The ultimate cause of the problem is the Jewish religion which proscribed the adoration of the Roman emperors and thus led to the destruction of the Jewish State. Their faith alone enabled the dispersed Jews to withstand 1900 years of persecution and to maintain their cohesion. But they were homeless. This homelessness is the cause of their unnatural condition of being, everywhere, in a permanent minority. "There is no other alternative. One of the two has to cease to exist, the people or its homelessness. That is the essence of the Jewish problem."

The author brings forceful arguments in support of the Jewish legal, political and moral claim to Palestine, while his ethical "principle of the minor suffering" clarifies the Arab problem. The international guarantees which he formulates will secure the position of those Jews who prefer to remain citizens of other states.





THE AUTHOR

Ernst Frankenstein was born at Dortmund, educated in Berlin, and at the Universities of Berlin, Freiburg and Munich, and practised for many years as a successful member of the Berlin bar. After further legal studies in Italy he was appointed legal adviser to the Italian Embassy and specialized in international matters. In 1926 he began the publication of his great four volume treatise on Private International Law which won for him an international reputation. In 1930 he lectured at the Academy of International Law at the Hague. In 1931, foreseeing events in Germany, he went with his family to Paris and lived there until 1936, except for a last stay in Germany in 1933. After the German reoccupation of the Rhineland in March 1936. he left France and settled in London, where he has since been practising as an international lawyer. Apart from his principal work he has published a great number of essays and articles in German, French and Italian on questions of law and politics. Among his still unpublished works are the draft of a European Code of Private International Law and essays on philosophy and politics.

THE CASE IS STATED

"I have brought the Jewish case before the highest tribunal—the conscience of mankind. I have tried to the best of my powers to state the case and to enlighten the judges. Another man might have succeeded better. But none was there to take up the task, and my people could not wait any longer.

'He who pleads for another has to show his authority, to present his credentials. I have none. I have come forward as a son of my people, one of the millions who share with me the pride and the glory, the agony and the despair of being a Jew.

"The peoples of the world abandoned us when the Nazi horror was let loose upon us. Destiny brought upon the world that disaster which timely help to us would have averted. The fate of mankind is inseparably interwoven with our fate. . . .

"Let there be no misunderstanding. The case of the Jewish people is the test case for humanity. You cannot build a world of justice and freedom if you deny these to the Jewish people. Nobody will trust your promises if they exclude that people which has suffered most and suffered longest. . . .

"Justice is indivisible."

Ernst Frankenstein

Ernst Frankenstein

JUSTICE for MY PEOPLE

Dial