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American Zionist Emergency Council, "B", 1943-1946.

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Resolution sent to

E. Neumann

Peter T Bergson

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
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Nat'l Comm. on Hebrew

Liberation

simon bricklin * 333 S. Broad St. * Philadelphia

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TELEPHONES: PENNYPACKER 1677 . . RACE 1481

JUN 26 1945

June 25th '45

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

To American Zionist Policy Committee

55 West 42nd St

New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Rabbi Silver

I am enclosing a copy of a letter
I sent to Senator Pepper and of a statement
on Zionist procedure at the present moment.

You will oblige me greatly if you
will let me have your reaction both.

With Zion's greetings

Simon Bricklin

JUN 26 1945

June 25th, 1945.

Senator Claude E. Pepper,
Senate Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:-

In your telegram to me on December 11th, 1944, you said: "However in view of the appearance of the Secretary of State before the Committee and the disclosure of certain matters not unfavorable to the cause, and the situation prevailing in the Committee I voted for the temporary postponement of the resolution. I thought that under the circumstances this was the best way to advance the cause. The subject will be up again shortly. You can count upon me to continue to support a Jewish homeland under Jewish Commonwealth in those old Jewish lands". ¶ Now more than 6 months have passed since that meeting and you can judge for yourself whether "the disclosure of certain matters not unfavorable to the cause" were truly so or not. ¶ You will agree that the political status of the Jewish people regarding Palestine has not been improved, in fact, has become worse; immigration into Palestine has been stopped completely. The Jewish nation has not been represented at the San Francisco conference, while Soudia Arabia Lebanon Iraq and Syria were. ¶ I should like to call your attention to the following observations that I believe are fundamental in dealing with the Palestine problem.

1. The United States has a treaty (#728) with Great Britain regarding Palestine. It would be advisable that you and your colleagues in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who are favoring a Jewish Commonwealth should ask for a clear interpretation of every article in that treaty. Let the American people, especially those who are interested in Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth know what are the rights of the U. S. Government with regard to the Palestine Mandate.

2. Public opinion of liberal American is favorably disposed towards a Jewish Commonwealth and is reflected in the statements made by all the United States Presidents since Woodrow Wilson and in the platforms of the Democratic and Republican parties in the recent campaign and is represented in the membership of the American Palestine Committee, which includes more than a majority of the Congress and the U. S. Senate.

From the above it is clear that the American people thru their elected representatives in both houses of Congress (acting thru the State Dep't.) look to a fair administration in Palestine

under the Mandate. Thus the United States has a definite policy with regard to Palestine and therefore the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is the concern of all the American people and not only of the Jews.

To rebuild Palestine, however, is the concern of the Jew; to help realize its political independence is the concern of the United States.

In view of the above may I ask you as a great American liberal, a leading member of the American Palestine Committee and as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to ask the State Dep't for an interpretation of our treaty with Great Britain with regard to Palestine and not to relax in your efforts until you have obtained an interpretation which is fair and just and in the spirit in which the treaty was made.

After having obtained that interpretation, I would urge you to see to it that our State Dep't makes it known to the world and especially to Great Britain and demands action in the spirit of its interpretation.

I know this is a rather difficult task but it seems to me, it is the only way in which we, Americans, can make our actions square with our words, and silence the sinister forces that are active against a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. This will remove the charge against the United States of being a party to a treaty which is not carried thru.

May I have the privilege to send a copy of a letter to a number of Senators with whom I corresponded from time to time regarding Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

Sincerely yours,

SIMON BRICKLIN.

P. S. I am enclosing a booklet "How can one Forget?" dealing with the Palestine Mandate.

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA SUCCEEDED IN ABOLISHING THE WHITE PAPER! Wouldn't that news electrify American Jewry, especially Zionists.

This vital objective can be accomplished ONLY THROUGH POLITICAL ACTION which needs the support of an awakened, aroused and militant public opinion.

No amount of economic development in Palestine, purchase of land, or a large membership per se in the Z.O.A. could nullify the White Paper.

It, therefore, becomes obviously clear that the main activity of the Z.O.A. should be political activity through stimulating American public opinion; American public opinion, and not Jewish public opinion, because the Jews form only 3% or 4% of the people in the United States, and the political creation of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is the concern of the United States and not of the Jews in the United States.

HAS THE UNITED STATES A DEFINITE POLICY REGARDING PALESTINE? The answer is "yes". It is based on the following facts. A unanimous resolution in the U. S. Congress in 1922 favoring the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; the favorable statement made by all the presidents since Woodrow Wilson; the positive plans in the Democratic and Republican National platforms, pledging to work for a Jewish Commonwealth; a majority of both the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate as well as leaders in religion and public opinion, etc. throughout the country, are members of the American Palestine Committee -- but the most important fact is our Treaty with Great Britain regarding Palestine.

It is, therefore, clear that what we Zionists have to do is to continuously prod our Senators and Congressmen to keep after the State Department to see to it that England carries through her trusteeship over Palestine in the spirit of the mandate which is a part of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain.

This continuous prodding of our Congressmen and Senators has to be done by thousands and tens of thousands of Americans -- Jew and non-Jews alike -- throughout the Country, for we Zionists must become conscious and continuously act in the spirit that to help create politically the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is not the concern of the Jew alone, but of the entire American people. Therefore, we must stimulate American public opinion, which is 96% non-Jewish. Our Zionist political and public relation efforts must be directed almost entirely to the non-Jewish world.

TO REBUILD PALESTINE IS THE CONCERN OF THE JEW, but to help gain its political independence is the concern of the American people.

HOW CAN WE STIR THE AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION? True public opinion in a democratic form of government is not dependent on an organization (machine) pushing it, but on the free expression of the thousands and tens of thousands of its citizens. Therefore, it should be clear to every Zionist that unless he and every friend, Jew and non-Jew, of Zion, in his city is not stirred continuously to do propaganda on behalf of a Jewish Commonwealth, then whatever political work is being done by the Zionist leaders is nothing more than "Shtadloms -- back door politics". Your best example of the above principle is the Political Actions Committee in the last presidential campaign. Every ward had a committee working among its voters. The P.A.C. didn't depend on the number 5,000,000 C.I.O. members per se, but on the work of the individual members.

HOW CAN WE STIR OUR LEGISLATORS TO WORK FOR A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH? Every Senator and Congressman is obligated to the voter in his precinct, and not to the country at large. He is moved to action by the requests of his own constituency and not so much by the general request of a leader from an organization. It is, therefore, obvious that there must be a continuous flow of letters, telegrams, visiting committees to every Congressman and Senator from his district, urging him to aggressive action on behalf of a Jewish Commonwealth. This means to visit the State Department and demand an explanation why the United States permits England to administer Palestine contrary to the treaty that it has with England pertaining to Palestine.

It is necessary that we, Zionists, make it clear to all our friends, political and non-political, that we Jews have passed the stage where we are satisfied with a favorable statement from them.

We want action. We want then to fight for the realization of a Jewish Commonwealth with the same persistency and devotion that the enemies who oppose the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth fight.

WE WANT THEIR ACTIONS TO SQUARE WITH THEIR WORDS. If you agree with the above ideas, then you will realize that what the Zionist Organization needs is an active, aggressive public relations department with fully staffed offices in many parts of the country and a REALIZATION THAT THE CREATION OF THE POLITICAL STATUS FOR A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN PALESTINE IS THE CONCERN OF ALL AMERICA, WHICH IS 96% NON-JEWISH.

Therefore, while prodding the National Z.O.A. to create the above machinery, let every Zionist in the meantime, FOR TIME IS OF THE ESSENCE, constitute himself a committee of one and gather around him as many as he can who believe like he does, in political activity, and carry on the public relations and political work in their neighborhood.

The demand of the hour is a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, which means political action, and so every true devoted Zionist must bend ALL his energies to political activity and keep everlastingly at it until the goal is accomplished.

For if we stop in our political activity, no matter how difficult the road ahead may be, let us realize that for that time we yield to the enemies of Zion, for they never stop in their fight against Palestine.

EVERYTHING --- ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, LAND PURCHASES, ETC. MUST GIVE THE RIGHT OF WAY TO POLITICAL ACTIVITY, FOR THAT ALONE IS THE KEY TO A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN PALESTINE.

(For further information contact Simon Bricklin, 333 S. Broad St., Phila. 7, Pa.)

C
O
P
Y

July 2nd, 1945

Mr. Simon Bricklin
333 S. Broad Street
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Mr. Bricklin:

I have been holding your letter plus the copies of your correspondence to Senator Pepper for Dr. Silver because I expected him to be in New York on last Friday. Changing circumstances made it impossible for him to be here, and I shall continue to hold these until he does come to New York. At the moment he is not in his office in Cleveland as he has gone for a short vacation.

I am certain that he will feel that your correspondence has been of the most constructive nature.

Sincerely yours,

HLS:RB

Harry L. Shapiro
Executive Director

acknowledged

HENRY H. BLUM, M.D.

940 GRAND CONCOURSE
NEW YORK 56, N. Y.
TOPPING 2-1500

July 11, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

As a member of the American Zionist Policy Committee and as a consistent admirer of your leadership and protagonist of its restoration (I drew up the petition to this effect in behalf of the large West Bronx Zionist District), I wish to add my word of congratulation upon your resumption of leadership. It is heartening to see justice triumph. Moreover it makes one feel more hopeful about the future of the Zionist cause both in this country and elsewhere to have your energy, enthusiasm, and capacity again at the service of American Zionism. May you have the opportunity and support you deserve.

While I am writing I should like to inquire if you are contemplating any changes on the staff of the Emergency Council. If so, I should like to recommend for your consideration as an aide-de-camp, an excellent man, Dr. Ephraim Fischhoff. Formerly a rabbi (with a fine Hebraic background), now a teacher of sociology at Hunter College and the New School, he has many talents which might be of use to you. A sound scholar, an accomplished writer and linguist, a charming personality, and a captivating speaker, he could be used in a variety of capacities. He is, of course, no stranger to Zionism, having done considerable speaking for the Z.O.A., Hadassah, and has taught at the Hahonim school; he has also served as editor of the Esco Palestine Study just finished, and is now writing some pamphlets for Hadassah, as I understand. Should you desire further information about Dr. Fischhoff, please get in touch with me. I (and several influential Zionist friends) will be glad to say more in his behalf.

With heartiest wishes for your success as you return to leadership,

Sincerely and faithfully,

H. H. Blum

Henry H. Blum, M.D.

RHB:DM

July 12
Sent 5:20 PM

July 13, 1945

SPECIAL DELIVERY

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York City

Dear Dr. Silver:

I shall appreciate receiving from you a statement for publication in The New Palestine--News Reporter on the occasion of your departure for the London Conference.

An additional note on the unity within the ZOA will be appreciated.

With kind personal regards,

Cordially yours,

EEB:es

Ernest E. Barbarash

July 15, 1945

Dr. Henry H. Blum
940 Grand Concourse
New York 56, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Blum:

Thank you very much for your letter of July 11 and your
felicitations. I hope we will be able to do a good
job in the Emergency Council.

I am grateful for the loyal support at the hands of so
many friends during the past trying period. I am grate-
ful to you for the name of Dr. Fischhoff. I shall
certainly keep his name in mind.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Most cordially yours,

ARS:W

TIME INC.

Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20

September 28, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Neumann:

In the New York Times of September 27 I read an advertisement of your protest meeting of September 30, with the heading "An End to Imperialist Treachery." I confess I was shocked by such a notice. I am afraid this is simply adopting the totalitarian technique. There is absolutely no hope for the Zionist cause if Britain and America drift apart. And this kind of technique is certainly doing what it can to promote the drift. My misgiving is increased by the fact that such outstanding moral leaders as Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise are the chairmen of such a meeting.

Is it true that the British have offered to internationalize Palestine but that Truman has refused? I have felt for years that the Zionist movement, instead of pushing the British into a position which they are not strong enough to maintain, should aim its fire at the American Government. This business of our lecturing the rest of the world on what it ought to do but refusing to take any responsibility ourselves, is suicidal. Let us talk about this some time.

Sincerely yours,

(SIGNED)

Raymond L. Buell

Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D. C.

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE HUGO L. BLACK

September 28, 1945

Dr. Abbah Hillel Silver,
American Zionist Emergency Committee,
41 W. 42nd Street,
New York City, N.Y.

RECEIVED			
NOTED BY		REFER TO	
DATE			DATE
	OCT 2		1945
ANSWERED			

Dear Dr. Silver:

Understanding that hundreds of thousands of Jewish people who were driven from their homelands by Fascist prejudices and persecutions may be compelled to go back into hostile atmospheres unless Palestine is opened to them, I regret to be unable to participate in your Madison Square meeting. It is my earnest hope that what is said and done at this gathering will help to solve this pressing problem which means so much to so many people.

Sincerely yours,

Hugo L. Black
HUGO L. BLACK

FAST



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Via RCA

NLT DR STEPHEN WISE DR ABBA SILVER AMERICAN
ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVE NEW YORK CITY =

IN THIS DIFFICULT HOUR ALL OF ISRAEL AND THE
VANGUARD OF OUR PEOPLE THE YISHUV JOIN IN YOUR
OUTCRY PROTESTATION AND HOPE STOP MAY OUR
DESPERATE CALL PENETRATE THE HEARTS OF ALL
RIGHTEOUS MEN IN JUSTICE =

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sent _____ date _____
10/1/43

Telephone: HAnover 2-1811

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DIRECT



RADIOGRAM

RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

TO ALL THE WORLD

BETWEEN IMPORTANT U S CITIES

TO SHIPS AT SEA

RECEIVED AT 64 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4. AT _____ STANDARD TIME

W4181 STE P2/50 =

Via RCA

LOVING AMERICA UPON WHOM WE DEPEND FOR
PREVENTION EXTERMINATION ISRAELS REMNANTS AND
LIQUIDATION HIS HOPES STOP MAY YOU SERVE AS
YISHUVS MOUTHPIECE BEFORE THE PRESIDENT OF THE
USA AND HIS ASSOCIATES WHO WILL SURELY NOT
FORSAKE US IN THIS DECISIVE HOUR STOP LET US
ALL HAVE FAITH THAT THE SACRED BOOK = =

Telephone: HAnover 2 1811

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FAST



DIRECT



RADIOGRAM RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA

TO ALL THE WORLD

BETWEEN IMPORTANT U S CITIES

TO SHIPS AT SEA

RECEIVED AT 64 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4. AT _____ STANDARD TIME

W4181 STE P3/28 =

Via RCA

OF BOOKS WILL OUT LIVE AND QUICKLY SUPPLANT
 THE UNJUST AND SHAMEFUL WHITE PAPER GIVING WAY
 TO ESTABLISHMENT JEWISH COMMONWEALTH =

MEYER BERLIN
 WOLF GOLD
 LEON GELLMAN
 MAX KIRSHBLUM

Telephone: HAnover 2-1811

Form 112 TA 134-R

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of RCA COMMUNICATIONS, Inc. In telephone inquiries quote the number preceding the place of origin.

October 2, 1945

Dr. Raymond L. Buell
Time, Inc.
Time & Life Building
Rockefeller Center
New York 20, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Buell:

I was glad to have your letter of September 28th indicating a continuing and close interest. I suppose that the wisdom of using the head "An End to Imperialist Treachery" is debatable though I confess that I don't quite see the relevancy of referring to it as "totalitarian technique."

I agree with you entirely that the success of the Zionist cause requires Anglo-American cooperation but I question whether the way to contribute towards such unity is by ignoring British defaults or by allowing the British Government to pursue a course which automatically results in embittering millions of Americans. Is it not healthier for the bitterness to come out publicly and frankly rather than have its expression suppressed and allowing it to fester?

As for the extent of that bitterness, you can well imagine it when you read accounts like the testimony in the New York Times today concerning the killing of 80,000 Jews in the Oswiecim murder factory in one day. The slogan to which you draw my attention may seem harsh and extreme but I want to assure you that the feeling among the masses has run far ahead of the attitude of our leaders and they are likely to get out of hand completely if the leadership appears too gentle and too moderate in their expression.

The really important problem is the one to which you refer in your second paragraph "Is it true that the British have offered to internationalize Palestine but that Truman has refused?" I don't know but I seriously doubt it. What the British seem to desire is that America should share the moral, political and military responsibility without having Britain yield any part of its actual control of Palestine. That to me sounds like a desire to eat your cake and have it.

Personally I do not shrink from the idea of having two or three American warships out there - they will probably have little to do; but if Britain wants to retain the mandate and control over Palestine it is difficult to see why it should call upon American military and naval forces. Actually as I see it, Truman's letter to Attlee urging the admission of 100,000 Jews is in itself a significant

Dr. Raymond L. Buell

October 2, 1945

act by which the American Government has assumed a large measure of moral and political responsibility. However, I am all with you in the thought that we should press our own government to assume a greater measure of public and international responsibility for the solution of the problem.

With kind regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M



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TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

10-6-45

WANT A REPLY?

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

The Hon. James F. Byrnes
Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

DR. WISE AND I WHO ARE JOINT CHAIRMENT OF THE XXX AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF A MEETING WITH YOU UPON YOUR RETURN FROM LONDON. WE WOULD BE VERY GRATEFUL TO YOU IF YOU WOULD GRANT US SUCH AN OPPORTUNITY AT YOUR EARLIEST CONVENIENCE. WE KNOW HOW HEAVILY BURDENED YOU ARE AND WE WOULD NOT BE IMPOSING UPON YOU WERE IT NOT THAT OUR MATTER IS ALSO VERY URGENT AS YOU UNDOUBTEDLY KNOW. KINDEST REGARDS.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
The Temple - Cleveland

MEMORANDUM

FROM: Ernest E. Barbarash
TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
SUBJECT:

DATE: October 8, 1945

I learn that the Associated Press in Washington has received today a request from its London office to cable a dispatch on the Stimmung which prevails here with regard to the Zionist question. Jerry Korn, whom I know, got the assignment to write up the dispatch. I asked him to wait until I communicated with New York but he stated that since he had to file the dispatch immediately he could not wait until the information arrived from New York, I therefore did the next best thing; conveyed to him a picture of the situation in line with the material I received from the Emergency Council in the past few weeks. Regards.

October 10, 1945

Mr. Ernest E. Barbarash
Zionist Organization of America
1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington 9, D.C.

My dear Mr. Barbarash:

I am happy that you were able to supply the representatives of the Associated Press with the information which it requested. I hope that it will be widely circulated in England -- and not distorted.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

October 12, 1945

The Hon. Justice Hugo L. Black
Supreme Court of the United States
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Justice Black:

Please pardon the delay in answering your letter of September 28. I have been away from the city nearly all of the time.

I am deeply grateful for the heartening message which you sent, one which will help us greatly at this critical time. The Madison Square Garden, as you have probably seen in the public press, was an extraordinary demonstration. It is estimated that about seventy thousand people crowded the hall and the streets around it. Such meetings are being held all over the country. American public opinion is expressing itself in many ways demanding that the doors of Palestine be opened for Jewish refugees and that the development of the Jewish National Home should not be interrupted by the mandatory government which had assumed the obligation to facilitate its upbuilding.

It was a great joy for me to have had the opportunity of meeting you and of talking over our problems with you. With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

TENSION ENVELOPE CORP.

Originally

BERKOWITZ ENVELOPE CO.

19th and CAMPBELL STREETS

Kansas City 8, Missouri

HARRISON 0092



October 13, 1945

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
c/o United Palestine Appeal Inc,
41 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In this morning's paper I read an article by Marcel Wallenstein, an American correspondent in London, analyzing the Arab-Jewish situation in Palestine. I also read an article from Washington of the joint resolution with bipartisan sponsorship introduced in both the House and Senate to open Palestine to free entry of Jews, but which side-stepped the controversial issue of Jewish sovereignty, but provided for free entry of all Jews who wanted to settle in Palestine, with the right to colonize, and with a program that Palestine would ultimately be established as a free and independent democratic state with full citizenship rights for its inhabitants without discrimination based on racial or religious factors.

As a non-Zionist deeply interested in the welfare of our Jewish people wherever they may be, I want to urge you as an ardent Zionist to use your influence to champion a compromise such as is indicated in this resolution. Even if the Zionists do not get every final right and privilege they want, it will be far better to get something accomplished than to let this crucial period pass with the Jews fighting among each other, and the world powers wearying of the endless bickering and taking no action whatever.

The time for compromise is here. Do not let it pass. The extreme Zionist program in my estimation will never be accepted and still have the backing and protection of the great powers, especially the United States.

If the militarist Jewish element control Palestine, they ^{might} ~~will~~ do so only temporarily and the whole Zionist movement ~~will~~ be eradicated through wholesale slaughter by the Arabs in the not too distant future. Palestine must be protected first by the United States and also by Britain and Russia. It can not stand alone in the midst of hostile neighbors. In the interests of Jewish humanity, compromise now on a workable plan that will mean safety and freedom. Let the Jews make a united stand before the world now. They may never have another opportunity.

Sincerely yours,

Walter J. Berkowitz
Walter J. Berkowitz

WJB:V

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

In reply refer to
PL 867N.01 /9-2945

October 16, 1945

My dear Mr. Weiss:

I acknowledge the receipt, by reference from the White House, of your letter of September 27, 1945, regarding Palestine.

As you know, the problems concerning Palestine are difficult and complex and this Department is giving constant attention to those aspects with which it may be concerned.

This Department and other agencies of the Government are keenly aware of the problems facing the Jewish people of Europe, arising from their persecution by the Nazis. Measures of relief have been going forward actively and are being intensified now that hostilities have ceased.

As you are no doubt aware, the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Incorporated, is now in Europe and is actively pursuing a program of relief for the distressed persons there. Furthermore, it is expected that a team of approximately ten persons each from the American Jewish Labor Committee will go into Europe to further this humanitarian work.

The Harrison report, to which you refer, appeared in the press shortly after your letter to the President was written. However, in the event that you may wish a copy of that report for your files, I am enclosing it.

Your courtesy in writing to present your views to the President is appreciated; you may be certain that careful consideration will be given to the opinions expressed in your letter.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ James F. Byrnes

Enclosure:

Copy of White House release
of September 29, 1945.

The Honorable
Samuel A. Weiss
House of Representatives

LABOR STANDARDS ASSOCIATION

805 BANKERS SECURITIES BLDG.
PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

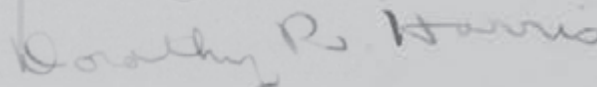
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THE BLUM STORE
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STRAWBRIDGE & CLOTHIER

October 17, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:

Before leaving for Cincinnati, where he is to speak at the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Billikopf requested that I send you in confidence copy of a letter to Mr. Charles G. Ross, Press Secretary to the President. Dr. Billikopf was confident that Mr. Ross, who is very close to the President, will show him the letter.

Sincerely yours,



Dorothy R. Harris
Secretary to Dr. Billikopf

Dr. Abba H. Silver

C O P Y

October 15, 1945

Dear Charlie:

My very good friend, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, one of the ablest Jurists in Pennsylvania and former President of the Zionist Organization of America, recently returned from the World Zionist Conference, held in London.

He gave me a most graphic account of what took place there. I was literally moved to tears when he quoted Dr. Dobkin, a noted Palestinian, who had just arrived from Germany where he had conferred with a hundred and twenty Delegates, and many hundreds of guests, assembled from thirty-two concentration camps and centers in a hospital near Munich.

These people represented fifty percent of the remnants of those millions who had passed through the Germany concentration and death camps. What a tragic picture this must have been - all survivors of Dachau and Buchenwald! Everyone of those present represented a world of indescribable tragedy having been in the corridor of the gas-chamber of Oswiecim.

Mr. Dobkin quoted these poignant words of the Chairman of that unprecedented assembly in the concentration camp:

"We speak today not only in the name of millions of victims and in accordance with the sacred testament they left us which says: We are innocent victims of an historic injustice. We have been massacred because we had no chance to live on our own soil. May the rising pyre of our burning bodies kindle a new light in the world that the leaders of the great nations may see the agony of the homeless Jewish people, and may allow them to return to their ancestral home. Interestingly, on German soil, soaked with Jewish blood, training farms are being established for Chalutzim - pioneers for Palestine. They have already been set up. Jews live there with one hope only: ALIYAH - TO GO TO PALESTINE."

Judge Levinthal told me that all of the Delegates assembled in London regarded President Truman as their great hope and salvation. He also reminded me that during the High Holidays prayers were offered for the President in Synagogues throughout the world. I do hope the President's efforts with Prime Minister Atlee will bear fruit.

As ever

Devotedly yours,

Jacob Billikopf

P. S. Since dictating this letter I have had a four hour visit from a Mr. Darrell N. Garwood who is writing a History of Kansas City for a large publishing house. He quizzed me at great length about Frank P. Walsh, William Volker, Jim Reed, William R. Nelson, Jim and Tom Pendegrast, Joe Shannon, Judge Merrill Otis and others. (I was the best man at the Judge's wedding.) When he was in Kansas City gathering material, folk told him that he should by all means see me because they thought I would give him valuable information.

When we parted, Garwood said: "What you told me is most illuminating. In addition to writing the History of Kansas City, I am tempted to write the Life of Frank P. Walsh."

I made inquiries about Garwood and have learned that he is the author of a remarkable Biography of Grant Wood, the famous Iowa artist.

Mr. Charles G. Ross
White House
Washington, D. C.



CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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NBJ71 19 GOVT=SN WASHINGTON DC:22 1135A

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

COMMODORE HOTEL=

TENTATIVE ARRANGEMENT FOR CONFERENCE TUESDAY AFTERNOON
AT FOUR OCLOCK WITH SENATORS MENTIONED. PLEASE CONTACT ME
ON ARRIVAL FOR CONFIRMATION=
OWEN BRESTER USS.

Is America to be a Party to the Palestine Betrayal?

Solemn Pledges Discarded by the Administration

Arabs—Arbiters of Jewish Fate

"This government will not support a final decision which would affect the basic situation in Palestine without full consultation with both Jews and Arabs," Secretary of State, James F. Byrnes, announced on October 18th in his statement of policy on the Palestine question.

Secretary Byrnes also revealed that assurances to this effect, and in the very same language, were contained in President Roosevelt's note to Ibn Saud, in reply to his exhortations on Palestine, in a letter dated March 10, 1945. Both these letters were made public by Secretary Byrnes.

Ignoring His Own Pledge

On October 15, 1944, President Roosevelt, in a well-publicized letter to Senator Wagner, stated that "if re-elected" he would take all necessary measures to implement the plank in the Democratic platform to open Palestine to "unrestricted immigration and colonization" and to pursue "such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

This was a pledge given to the American people with the expectation that it would influence the election results. *This was a pledge—one of the pledges—on which Mr. Roosevelt and his party rode to power.* There was not a shred of indication in this pledge by the Democratic Party and its presidential candidate that no final decision shall be taken with respect to Palestine—without "full consultation" with the Arabs.

THE DUAL POLICY STANDS EXPOSED

The revelations of Secretary Byrnes have shocked public opinion. They unmasked a two-faced, double-dealing policy which is unworthy of this great and most powerful democracy. They show that while the Jews were publicly promised something definite, the Arabs were secretly assured that no definite stand was taken.

When Is a Decision Final?

Now just what is that final decision that our government will not support without consulting the Arabs? Was not the Balfour Declaration a *final decision* with regard to the fate and future of Palestine? Was not the mandate of the League of Nations such a final decision? Was not the unanimous resolution of Congress in favor of Palestine as a Jewish National Home, adopted prior to the issuance of the mandate and clearly aimed to influence its policies—was not this a clear-cut decision? And what was the meaning of the pledge of the Democratic Party and the solemn and binding promise of its presidential candidate to support the establishment of Palestine as a free Jewish Commonwealth if not a final decision?

An "Unchanged" Policy

In his letter to Ibn Saud of April 5th, President Roosevelt seemingly forgot all these decisions, and while indicating to him that no definite stand on Palestine had yet been taken by this country, he had the "pleasure to renew the assurances" that the "policy of this government in this respect is unchanged." It was unchanged indeed, this policy of the Administration which made every effort to table the Palestine Resolution in February and March of 1944, and fought it down when it was reintroduced in December of that year. It is this very policy of the same administration which cynically and clumsily hid its antagonism to Jewish Palestine behind the arguments of "military expediency" and the "Allied war effort" during the war, and which even today, when these arguments are dead and gone, continues the game of delaying tactics under the new mask of "consultation."

Adverse Advisers

Fifteen months after the party in power unqualifiedly pledged to the whole world to support the establishment of a Jewish State, it declares today that it requires *consultation* of Jews and Arabs on this issue. Said Secretary Byrnes, "on several occasions this matter has been the subject of oral and written discussions with various Arab and Jewish leaders." *Were not these consultations sufficient? Did the question of Palestine arise yesterday?* We affirm that the Administration heard times innumerable all parties interested in this question. President Roosevelt was even fortunate enough to get the personal opinion of Ibn Saud in his famous private "five minute talk" from which he learned "much more than from a lot of previous correspondence," and he could certainly have learned a lot more from Ibn Saud's letter of March 10th.

A "Lesson" in History

In his letter to the President, Ibn Saud raises the question of the historic status of the Jews in Palestine. He claims political priority for the Arabs as the occupants of Palestine since the dawn of history, 5500 years ago, and as direct descendants of the pre-Hebrew Ganaanites. Every student of the Bible and of world history will recognize these statements as brazen falsehoods and as a deliberate perversion of the facts. Every student of history knows that never was Palestine an independent state, or even a recognized political entity, except during the long period of Jewish reign and the brief period of the Crusaders' domination. Never was there a Palestine Arab State. Never was there in Palestine even local Arab patriotism, unless that term be applied to British artificially instigated anti-Jewish agitation. Yet these preposterous claims were advanced by the Arab spokesman to confuse public

opinion and befog the issue which is clear-cut and well-defined by the mandate over Palestine. For, the preamble of this mandate categorically states: "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."

The "Whole Truth" Unfolds

It should not have been too difficult for the Administration to come to a decision on the basis of the "information" it received from Ibn Saud. The Arab chieftain would have them believe that the Jews "are preparing to create in Palestine a form of Nazi-Fascism in the midst of the Arab countries which proved themselves loyal to the Allied cause in these critical times." If there is no need to refute Jewish sympathies for Nazism, there is perhaps a need to remind the State Department of some pertinent facts of Arab treachery; the "stab in the back" of the Iraqi Government and Army when the Democracies were in mortal danger; Syria's close collaboration with the Vichy regime in anticipation of a Nazi victory; Egypt's pro-fascist attitude with its Chief-of-Staff arrested by the British on the eve of his departure with the defense plans of his country for delivery to the enemy; the Mufti of Palestine, chief of Palestine Arabs, that arch-murderer and Hitler's pal, who raised a Moslem Legion in support of the Nazis; Yemen's avowed anti-Allied hatred and its long-standing alliance with fascist Italy; and finally, Ibn Saud, sitting tightly on the fence, closely watching the changing fortunes of war and contributing nothing to the cause of the Allies.

"Great Good Friend!"

These are the elements which our State Department befriends and still wishes to "consult" as a factor determining the right of the Jewish people—who have sacrificed so much for the Allied victory—to their own National Home! And it is to be deplored that President Roosevelt in his reply to a letter full of calumnies, vituperations and wildest agitation against the Jews of Palestine and the world, raised not one single objection, but on the contrary, expressed his "assurances" that he was "gratified" to receive these views. It is deplorable that this blood-stained tyrant, this vile old man, has been addressed by the Head of the American Democracy as a "great good friend."

A Fight to the End

We declare that there is no more reason for consulting the Arabs on Palestine than there is for consulting the Jews on Syria or Iraq. We base this contention upon the all important fact that when these countries were wrested from Turkey in World War I, *definite agreements were arrived at regarding their disposition.* While the pledges given the Arabs were implemented in full, the pledges made to the Jews, with official Arab concurrence, have been systematically violated and sabotaged. *We demand the fulfillment of these arrangements, and not consultations.* On the basis of these international agreements, repeatedly stated and re-affirmed, the Jews poured into Palestine their sweat and blood and transformed that country, desolate for many centuries, into a flourishing center of civilization. *To rob the Jews again of their restored homeland is as criminal as any of Hitler's robberies and annexations. The Jews will resist this betrayal to the utmost, and any Palestine "arrangement" between our Government and Britain which does not eliminate the symbol and instrument of that betrayal—the White Paper of 1939—will be flatly rejected and firmly opposed.*

LET THE PEOPLE JUDGE!

The disclosures by Secretary Byrnes and his own statement implying that this Administration repudiates its pre-election pledge, throws the whole question back into the lap of the American people. We confidently place our case in the hands of the people of America, in whose destiny and moral greatness we have unlimited faith. *They will never sign the death warrant to a Jewish Palestine. They will demand that their representatives, from the President down, shall fulfill their obligations and redeem the nation's honor.*

THE NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

Col. Morris J. Mendelsohn President
Raphael Kurtzrok, M.D., Ph.D.
Acting Chairman, Ex. Bd.

MID-WESTERN DIVISION:
123 W. MADISON ST., CHICAGO 2, ILL.

This statement appears in newspapers in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit and Boston.
(By a column of the Treasury Department, all contributions to the New Zionist Organization of America are tax-exempt.)

I fully support your nationwide campaign on behalf of justice for the Jews in Palestine and for the persecuted and uprooted Jews of Europe. To assist you in this vital campaign, I am pleased to enclose my check in the amount of \$

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

PLEASE MAKE CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE NEW ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC., 55 W. 42nd ST., N.Y.C. 18

AZEC
Byrnes
45-46

Text of Memorandum submitted by the
American Zionist Emergency Council to the
State Department on the occasion of the meeting of
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise
with Secretary James F. Byrnes - October 23, 1945

1. The exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud which has now been made public and the statement by the Secretary of State of October 18 raise issues of fundamental importance in regard to the implementation of American policy on Palestine. Viewed in the light of the unequivocal and firmly established policy of the American Government and people as expressed in a long series of public and authoritative acts and pronouncements, that statement and correspondence, it is submitted, call for immediate clarification.

2. In March 1919 President Wilson, who was directly associated with the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, stated that:

"The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Every President since that date has given his support to the Jewish National Home objective. Most recently, in statements issued by President Roosevelt on October 15, 1944 and March 16, 1945, that is to say, almost contemporaneously with his correspondence with King Ibn Saud, the late President expressed his support for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. In addition to these pronouncements by the heads of the Executive branch of the Government, the desires of the American people as to the policy to be pursued in Palestine have been repeatedly expressed in the clearest possible fashion. On two occasions, in 1941 and 1945, a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress joined in a declaration favoring the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. A similar declaration was made on July 4, 1945 by the Governors of 40 out of the 48 states of the Union. Further, the legislatures of 33 states, representing

85% of the population of the United States, have recently gone on record in favor of the Zionist objective. In the summer of 1944 the national Conventions of both major political parties adopted declarations favoring the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and, in the words of the Democratic platform, "such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The late President Roosevelt, as well as President Truman, were elected on that platform. It must be recalled finally that our government's support of the Jewish National Home, is recorded legislatively in two Acts forming part of the supreme law of the land, namely, the Joint Resolution (No. 73) unanimously adopted in 1922 by the 67th Congress of the United States; and the United States-British Convention on Palestine, ratified by the Senate on February 20, 1925 and proclaimed in December of that year.

3. The policy therefore to which our Government and people stand deeply committed is clear and unmistakable. Of this fact, however, neither the letter of President Roosevelt nor the statement of Secretary Byrnes take any cognizance whatever. It is true that in neither instance is the traditional American position in fact repudiated. Nevertheless it is deeply disturbing that it should not have been found necessary to make affirmatively clear that American policy on Palestine has already been established by the public pronouncements of the Presidents of the United States and otherwise - a policy which is predicated upon the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their National Home through free immigration and the close settlement of Jews on the land. That omission can only lead, and has already led, to serious doubts and misunderstandings. It is not conceivable that the law of the land, the will of the American people and the repeated pledges of the heads of our Administration publicly made, should

thus be disregarded in official correspondence. The issues raised by the publication of this correspondence cannot be ignored and places upon our Government the responsibility of indicating in clear and precise terms whether or not it abides by, and proposes to act in accordance with, the policy so long and firmly established.

4. President Roosevelt's letter refers to assurances previously given to King Ibn Saud regarding the attitude of the United States with respect to the question of Palestine. The exact nature of these assurances is not disclosed, but it is respectfully submitted that whatever their tenor, they would not be valid if inconsistent with the publicly stated objectives of American policy or with the terms of the Palestine Mandate.

5. At the same time, it is deeply to be regretted that President Roosevelt's letter, while assuring King Ibn Saud that no action would be taken by our Government that might prove hostile to the Arab people, failed to point out that the policy of the Jewish National Home, envisaging as it does free Jewish immigration into Palestine and the ultimate establishment there of a democratic Commonwealth under the auspices of a Jewish majority, could not be conceived as hostile to the Arab people. The desire of the Jews to live in friendship and good neighborliness with the Arab countries and with the Arab inhabitants of Palestine is well known, and neither Jewish aspirations in Palestine nor the declared policy of this country in support thereof, nor yet the conduct of the Jewish people in Palestine resulting in great good to the Arabs can be construed as hostile to them.

6. The occasion will be taken separately to deal in detail with the contents of King Ibn Saud's letter and with the Arab claim to Palestine, a matter which had been considered fully by the Allied Nations in connection with the territorial settlements made at the end of World War I and the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. It is doubly regrettable that

the reply sent by President Roosevelt to that communication failed to repudiate its baseless attacks and its vilifications of the Jewish people. It is painful to observe that such calumnies as that the Arabs have reason to fear "a series of massacres" at the hands of the Zionists, that the latter "are preparing to create a form of Nazi-fascism" and that it is the intention to "do away with" the inhabitants of Arab countries, should have been allowed to stand unchallenged by one who knew how false those statements are.

7. It is sufficient to say here with regard to King Ibn Saud's letter that the Arabs have neither legal nor moral title to the sovereignty over Palestine. While they conquered the country over 1,300 years ago, Arab rule ceased as early as 1071. Throughout the centuries the role of the Arabs in Palestine has not been creative but destructive. In the eroded, poverty-stricken and disease-ridden country which within the last few decades the Jewish people set out to reclaim, it was difficult to recognize the land of milk and honey described in the Bible. In the twenty years between the two World Wars the Jews have done much to repair the ravages of the previous 1300. They have conquered deserts and swamps, revived agriculture and industry and established in Palestine a sturdy, self-reliant community. The Pan-Arab claim to Palestine is an attempt to add yet another to the immense, but for the most part thinly populated and undeveloped territories of the independent Arab states. This expansionist appetite has recently manifested itself also in the demands put forward by the Arabs for Eritrea, the Sudan and Cyrenaica. The great mass of the people in the various Arab states are kept down in ignorance and fanaticism, in dirt and wretchedness by a ruling class which shows little or no interest in the improvement of their miserable lot. As regards the ethnic claims, about 75% of the Arabic-speaking people in Palestine today are themselves recent immigrants or the descendants of persons who emigrated to Palestine in comparatively recent times. If Palestine exists as a separate concept, it is

because of its immemorial association with the Jews and Jewish History. At no time was there a Palestine Arab State. It was the Jewish people which produced in Palestine the civilization and religious culture which, along with that of Greece, molded the civilization and the spiritual life of the whole Western world.

8. In general, it is desired to protest against a procedure which seems to accord a right to the various Arab states to be consulted in the affairs of Palestine. The right of our own Government as one of the principal Allied and Associated Powers in the first World War as well as by virtue of the United States-British Convention above mentioned, to participate in the future disposition of Palestine is obvious and unquestioned. The right of the Jewish people to be consulted is likewise clear and undeniable and is legally confirmed by the League of Nations Mandate which, in recognizing the right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine, authorized also the recognition of the Jewish Agency for Palestine as representing the interest of all Jews in the establishment of the National Home. The Arab states are in this matter without legal standing of any kind and we submit that their attitude in recent years is certainly far from giving them a moral voice in this issue.

9. We feel constrained, at the same time, to make a frank statement of our views with regard to the course of action pursued by the Executive branch of the Government and the State Department in particular, over a period of years. Despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist acts, promises and pronouncements to which we have referred, the policy they express has not been translated into action. On the contrary, numerous acts and omissions have emboldened the Arab leaders to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause, and that the pronouncements made here from time to time were meant for home consumption. We have consistently disregarded these allegations as unwarranted aspersions upon the good faith and political integrity of our Government.

10. We are now compelled to review the situation in the light of the recent correspondence. We must recall that so far as we are aware, the Government took no effective action to protect the interests of the Jewish National Home, at the time of the issuance of the British White Paper in 1939, or to rectify that wrong in the years which followed. The Government did not energetically intervene even when opening the doors of Palestine became an urgent humanitarian necessity because of the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Europe. It appears further that our Government failed to advise its representatives abroad, particularly in the Near East, that it was definitely committed to the policy of the Jewish National Home and to instruct them to be guided accordingly. The State Department has, on various occasions, appointed to positions of importance in the Near East, persons known as avowed opponents of this policy, and has had to rely in turn, upon reports and advices emanating from them. On two occasions the Executive branch exerted its influence to prevent the adoption by Congress, of a resolution reaffirming the traditional American Policy on this subject. Above all, our Government has failed to utilize the fluid political conditions created by the war and the process of political reorientation and re-organization under way in the Near East, for the purpose of insuring the status of the Jewish National Home in the context of its Near East policies.

11. On the other hand, our country has given generous support to Arab aspirations. It was among the first to recognize the independence of Syria and Lebanon. It has encouraged Arab States to make last-minute declarations of war against Germany on the eve of the San Francisco Conference, assuring them places of honor among the United Nations, irrespective of their war records. Nor has it withheld its support from the Arab League despite the fact that the League has declared its opposition to Jewish aspirations and has proclaimed the liquidation of the Jewish National Home as one of its major objectives.

12. The one gratifying positive act in relation to Palestine has been President Truman's recent request to Prime Minister Attlee, the outcome of which, however, is still uncertain. We take grateful note that the statement of Secretary Byrnes indicates that measures to facilitate immigration into Palestine of substantial numbers of the survivors of European Jewry should, and can be undertaken forthwith, and that such immigration does not affect the "basic situation" in Palestine. The "basic situation," is in fact that established by the Mandate, which calls for the facilitating of the immigration of Jews into Palestine and their close settlement on the land. We therefore earnestly hope that our Government will continue to press for the immediate admission of 100,000 Jews from Europe in line with President Truman's request. But the statement of the Secretary is silent regarding the attitude of the Government in relation to the "basic situation." The only light which it sheds on that issue - which is the crux of the whole matter - is the statement that "it would be the policy of this Government not to reach final conclusions without a full consultation with Jewish and Arab leaders." This is a point of procedure rather than a definition of policy. Moreover, the statement indicates an intention to wait until "any proposals emerge," rather than to act on its own initiative in conformity with established American policy.

~~12.~~ The point has now been reached, at which ambiguity and delay are no longer feasible. Millions of American citizens, who have a strong moral and humanitarian interest in this problem, look to the Administration for immediate and forthright action, which will once and for all dispel any possible uncertainty regarding its present position and future intentions. We cannot believe that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which did not lift a finger in their own defense during the war and which were, indeed, either actively or passively hostile to the democracies, should be allowed to deflect our country from a just

"A"

course of action. The request is made on behalf of masses of suffering humanity who cannot wait. It would be cruel to deny their last hope for individual and national rehabilitation; but it would be the very refinement of cruelty to keep them further in suspense, or to feed them with promises which turn to ashes in their mouth.

11/1

* * *



C O P Y

THE COLLEGE OF JEWISH STUDIES
220 South State Street
Chicago 4, Illinois

October 29, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I regret that due to illness I was unable to acknowledge your letter of October 10th any earlier.

I have asked Mr. Benjamin Harris, a member of the Chicago Delegation to the Emergency Conference in Washington to send a written report of our visit with the senators and the congressmen to your office. To my knowledge that report was sent.

Since we were eager to meet as many of our Illinois representatives as possible, we divided the visits among the members of our delegation. I personally, with a number of members of our delegation, visited Senator C. Wayland Brooks and Congressmen Wm. C. Link, Wm. A. Rowan, Alexander J. Rea and A. J. Sabath.

Senator Brooks seemed quite annoyed about the fact that the Jews of Chicago do not look upon him as a friend. In behalf of our delegation I assured him that to our knowledge he never said or did anything in public which was unfriendly to our people.

In regard to our immediate mission we asked him to support the president's request for 100,000 certificates and also urged him to support the resolution in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine when such a resolution is introduced in the Senate. He promised without any reservations in regard to the first. About the resolution he felt that he could not commit himself in advance without knowing its exact contents and form. My associates and I feel that it would be decidedly worthwhile to have the American Zionist Emergency Council cultivate Senator Brooks, for we did not get the impression that he is sufficiently convinced or interested in our cause.

The congressmen were very friendly and encouraging. We did, however, get the impression that Congressman Sabath is peeved that he is not consulted by the Zionists. It seems to me that he looks upon himself as the one who could be entrusted with the job of presenting matters of Jewish interest to his colleagues.

I have been told by the other members of our delegation who visited Senator Lucas that he met them in a very friendly spirit and promised his cooperation. All in all we felt that our visit to Washington was not in vain. We were particularly encouraged by the energetic and effective manner in which the Emergency Conference was conducted and the spirit that prevailed.

As the chairman of the Chicago Delegation allow me to express to you our great indebtedness for what you are doing in behalf of our cause in these trying days. Your deep understanding, great gifts and boundless zeal have done much to arouse American Jewry to its responsibility to Israel and Palestine.

Cordially yours,

SMB:EBG

(signed)

Dr. Samuel M. Blumenfeld

October 31, 1945

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I trust that you are making headway with the Hoover matter. Would it be possible for you to see the Editor of the New York Sun and get a favorable editorial in that Paper for our cause? It would be very helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

[October? 1945]

JACQUELINE BUNIM

1703 Avenue K
Brooklyn, N.Y.

Dear Rabbi Silver,

I went to the Conference uninvited.

I felt like our Zionist leaders felt at San Francisco
'and as they have felt on many other occasions —
as a beggar hanging around in the lobbies of Conference
halls, waiting... This cost me plenty of health.
Sometimes I wonder if I am a great fool.

After all, why should the advancement of our work
mean more to me than it means to some of our
leadership? I know one thing — ignorance of facts
or conditions exonerates one in a great measure — but
to know that work has to be done — to have people
who are able and qualified to do the work that is so
 sorely needed — and not to take advantage of it —
because this ^{matter} does not come under one's particular
responsibility or office — is unpardonable!

right moment slipped a memorandum into ^{knowingly} the hands of the Colombian delegate. This was ^{Christian} not done in my name but in the name of Colombia. ^{and willingly} The Commission members thought so well of these ideas that they presented them verbatim.

Thirteen months after my work in Colombia had been completed ^{and} these ideas were not implemented by the Jewish Agency. — ideas that were so essential for the welfare and progress of our work! Here, in a two day Conference they were accepted as a basic formula for working.

All I can say is that I am grateful and happy. The most important thing is — that my ideas were going to be put to work.

Of course the old adage still holds "There is many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip". The idea itself will not always work — one must

What are we, who are still young in the movement, to think when we look up to our leadership for maximum implementation of ideas and find ideas dying by the wayside because of bureaucratic limitations? It is most disheartening. Only a great love for one's people can move one to close one's eyes and take personal "flaps" and continue to work in the face of such disheartening facts.

The one compensation that came to me, for the unpleasant ~~task~~ role I was forced to play was the cognizance of some of my ideas and their adoption into the future ^{working} program of the International Christian Council for Palestine.

The Colombian delegate was not present at the meetings we had in Colombia when we planned a program for action. By being present at this Conference I watched its progress and at the

Know how to implement it. Well if I can't find the easy way of showing the way, I shall again "begin lobbies" Perhaps the Christian Cars will be easier to get than that of some of our correigionists!

You must forgive me for sounding so bitter - but one can "burst a bloodvessel" when one knows what the work needs and one sees the work dying out for want of direction and implementation. I must reiterate I do not hold you responsible because you weren't aware of the situation and perhaps you will argue that in the past Latin America was not in your realm. With the creation of this International Christian Council for Palestine, I believe national boundaries will become intertwined as must our program of work.

Thank you for the time you have spent reading this and the enclosed report. Sincerely,
Ethel J. Benson

Report

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of
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MRS. LOUIS A. BUNIM

-on-

THE CREATION OF THE PRO-PALESTINE COMMITTEE OF THE REPUBLIC OF COLOMBIA

September 11, 1944

When the American Palestine Committee was created I was deeply impressed with the significance of this political move. I recognized it as a new direction in our Zionist thinking, which must augur well for our people.

Three and a half years ago, when in South America, I felt a keen need for similar work here. I voiced my idea to several people. Mr. Emanuel Neuman was the first to encourage me, Dr. Nahum Goldman the first to set the idea in motion.

Content with my background, Dr. Goldman asked me to do the work in the countries I had planned to visit. I would be backed with cables to the Zionist Federations in these various countries, instructing them to collaborate with me in the creation of Pro-Palestine Committees.

He subsequently introduced me to Mr. Jacob Averbuch and Mr. Gutt of Colombia, who extended an official invitation from the Zionist Federation of Colombia.

I should like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation of and thanks to both Mr. Jacob Averbuch, Secretary General of the Zionist Federation of Colombia and Dr. Salvador Rozental - whose cooperation was of infinite aid

to me. Mr. Averbuch, in particular, is not only a very well-informed Zionist, but an ideal whose zeal is expressed in tireless service to our cause. These qualities plus a keen understanding of the needs of these Pro-Palestine Committees prompt me to recommend him as Liaison Officer for the Colombian Pro-Palestine Committee. I believe he is the most capable and liked Zionist in Colombia.

CONDITIONS IN COLOMBIA, AT TIME OF MY ARRIVAL, RE: JEWISH QUESTION

I came to Colombia with the conviction that the initial work must be done quietly in order to prevent opposition forces from sabotaging our effort.

I knew about the strong Arab colony, the thick Anglo-American Alliance -- with the American Ambassador echoing all the Anti-Zionist statements of the British Ambassador; I knew of President Lopez' preference that we wait with this work until he was no longer president. I knew we must work quietly to build a solid foundation that these counter-forces could not break.

I started my work with the aid of a few good and very influential friends who introduced me to the nation's leading personalities.

In the course of my conversations I found an appalling ignorance on everything pertaining to Jewish life. The little the Christian world knows is based upon what it hears from Anti-Semitic sources. In Colombia it is primarily the Arab colony (10,000 Arabs) and Argentinian propaganda which has a wide circulation.

In our conversations, I had the chance to answer ~~ink~~ some and irritating questions. When I destroyed the Anti-Semitic myths and then gave a positive accounting of our people, there was a transformation. They began to see Jews in a different light; they were actually repentant -- eager to make amends to help us. Our great tragedy is that so few Jews have enough information to correct¹ the distorted ideas or to present⁵ the positive aspects of Jewish life.

HANDLING OF THESE PROBLEMS:

WITH CHURCH:

When Monseigneur Emillion Brigard, the Associate Archbishop (next in line for Archbishopry) and Emilio Castro, one of the leading clergymen in the country, spoke of their opposition to Jewish persecution, I had the courage to tell them that as long as they would continue to stress that Jews killed Christ, there would be Anti-Semitism. If they were really in opposition to the idea, they must change their method of teaching their biblical history. There must be a different emphasis in a true Christian spirit.

WITH THE PRESS:

I asked the editors of all the newspapers WHY didn't Colombians know all about what happened to European Jews? Why didn't the press carry the story? How could we hope to win the understanding and sympathy of the masses if they knew nothing about what was happening to us? I laid the guilt of complicity in this crime against the Jewish people on their doorstep, for as representatives of the intellectual world, it was their obligation to tell the world. They failed us in our greatest moment of need.

WITH POLITICAL LEADERS:

4

I attacked their silence. I pointed out the necessity for being informed and for action (particularly at all world conferences). I showed them the cost of their silence to us.

CREATION OF COLOMBIAN PRO-PALESTINE COMMITTEE:

Then we discussed the practical problems of Palestine of today and tomorrow, with the result that despite the difficult political situation (The revolution in Colombia) we were able to create a Pro-Palestine Committee consisting, at the time of my departure of 68 of the leading intellectual and political figures of the country.

We worked on the basis of quality rather than quantity. Under separate cover you will find a short bibliography on each member. At present I shall only name those that occupy the most important positions in the three largest cities in which I worked.

THE COMMITTEE CONSISTS OF:

4 Cabinet Ministers:

Minister of Education	-- Dr. Antonio Rocha
Minister of Economics	-- Dr. Carlos Sanz de Santamaría
Secretary of the Treasury	-- Dr. Gonzalo Restrepo

-- and above all --

Secretary of the Interior	-- Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo (the great writer and great orator, who is the most brilliant political figure in the country)
---------------------------	---

President of the Senate	-- Dr. Julio Salazar Ferro
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COMMITTEE CONSISTS OF....(continued)

Secretary General of the
National Liberal Party

-- Davio Samper

Eight Ambassadors & Ministers

Three Diplomats (various positions)

The editors of all the leading newspapers of the three
largest cities.

Director of the National Radio

-- Fernando Plata

Director of the Voice of Bogota

-- Gustavo Uribe

Director of the National Library

-- Enrique Uribe

Rectors of both the National University and the University
of Antioquia most important seat in nation.

REKNOWNED WRITERS:

Enrique Santos

-- The famed columnist, brother of
Ex-president Santos, known
throughout Latin America as
"Caliban".

German Arcienegus

-- Writer of Latin-American reputa-
tion; Editor of De Las Indies;
Former Minister of Education.

Jorge Zalamea^{ca} Borda

-- The present Colombian Ambassador
to Mexico, another great writer
of Latin-American reputation.

Coreilio Hispano

-- Consul General of Greece, writer
and poet of International
reputation.

Luis Edouardo Nieto Callero

-- Writer, Ex-Minister to Switzer-
land, Ex-president House of Rep-
resentatives, Delegate to the
League of Nations.

Alejandro Vallejo

-- One of the finest writers in
Colombia

OFFICERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

President

-- The illustrious Maestro Beldomerc
Sanin Cano (one of the greatest
men of letters in Latin America).

OFFICERS OF THE COMMITTEE... (continued)

1st Vice president	--	Roberto Urdaneta Arbolaez <i>EX FOREIGN MINISTER</i> (one of the foremost conservatives in the country, former ambassador to several countries).
2nd Vice president	--	Jorge Soto del Corral (the mayor of the capitol city, who formerly held three cabinet posts, - as Ambassador to France, and other countries).
3rd Vice president	--	Agustin Nieto Caballero (delegate to the League of Nations, former Ambassador to Chile. One of the former most distinguished educators in the world. Former Rector of the National University and Director of Education of Colombia.
4th Vice president	--	Elias Abad Mesa -- Dean of Law School, former Chief Legal Adviser (Chefe Consejo del Estado) to the President.
Secretary	--	Francisco Urrutia Holguin @ corresponding Sec'y. Perm. League Nations Com., International Diplomacy, son of Dr. Francisco Urrutia Jose, Chief Magistrate of the International Court of the Hague and one of the signers of the Palestine Mandate.

This is the type of men we have on our Committee.

It gladdens my heart to be able to tell you, that these men have not only endorsed our program, but each man has obligated himself to render service. However, it is our responsibility to direct them so that they can serve both to their and our best advantage.

.

ORGANIZATION OF WORKING COMMITTEES:

Since it is my conviction that a durable Jewish Commonwealth will require the understanding~~g~~ sympathy and support of the masses as well as the world's leaders, we therefore decided to use these Christian leaders as the instrument for mass education. And so we set up three major working committees: --

(continued Page 7)

- (1) EDUCATION
- (2) POLITICAL
- (3) press AND PROPAGANDA

THE EDUCATIONAL COMMITTEE:

Consists of the educators, church leaders and library directors. It will be their task to disseminate information and influence the thinking of the students and teachers and all people coming within their reach.

(a).. THE SCHOOL:

Agustin Nieto Caballero, one of our Vice-presidents, heads the committee. Dr. Nieto not only has been the guiding influence in the educational development of Colombia for the past thirty years, but has twice been chosen as Chairman of the International Conference of Educators, the last at the 1940 world Conference, held in California. At present he is head of the Normal Schools of Colombia, where teachers are being trained for service in all parts of the country. The Committee plans to have periodic conferences with these prospective teachers to discuss the Jewish question and the possible methods for correcting misconceptions prevalent in the minds of the children.

The National University, under the guidance of its Rector, Dr. Gerardo Moline, and the aid of the other teaching members of our committee, promised to hold periodic conferences and lectures both for faculty and students.

(b).. THE LIBRARY:

We have arranged with the directors of the National and Municipal Libraries to set up a special department for Jewish and Zionist pamphlets and books.

THE CHURCH:

As for the church, I did not go into the details of operations, -- just a general plan based on the pattern of the Inter-Faith Committee here in the United States and the Christian Council for Palestine. The Catholic newspapers stand ready to help us.

Roberto Urdaneta Arbolaez, our First Vice-president, suggested direct collaboration between a few of the United States church leaders and the leadership of the Colombian clergy. He was certain that a letter from the clerical head of United States to the spiritual head of Colombia, telling of the work that is being done in the United States in this field would serve as a great inspiration and stimulation to very active participation of the Church.

II. THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE:

Consists of the present and former political leaders and is headed by the 2nd Vice president, Jorge Soto del Corral and by Francisco Urrutia, our Secretary.

This Committee is aware that it will have to take the lead in bringing pressure and in forcing government action in our behalf whenever the political situation will demand it.

They also realize the need for understanding our problem thoroughly and sending their representatives to all international conferences well instructed -- instructed against intimidation and instructed to make Colombia's position on our question very clear.

THE FIRST PRELIMINARY ACT OF THIS COMMITTEE WAS A FINE CABLE SENT TO THE DUMBARTON OAKS CONFERENCE.

9-

One of the members -- the Chilean Ambassador to Colombia -- Marcelo Ruiz Solar -- suggested he would like to propose and speak for the unanimous adoption of the Jewish Commonwealth resolution at the coming Latin American Conference this winter. As professor of International Law and because of his zeal - this ambassador is well fitted for this task.

It is gratifying to know that OF THE TEN COLOMBIAN REPRESENTATIVES ON UNRRA, SIX ARE MEMBERS OF OUR COMMITTEE.

III. THE PRESENT PROPAGANDA COMMITTEE:

This consists of newspaper editors, writers, radio directors:

ROBERTO GARCIA PENA	--	Editor of "El Tiempo", ex-president Santos newspaper.
Alberto Galindo	--	Editor of "El Liberal" - the government organ.
Luis Cano	--	Editor of "El Espectador" - permanent member of League of Nations. Has served as advisor to the various presidents of past 20 years.
Juan Lozano y Lozano	--	Editor of "La Razon" Ex-minister of Education.
Plinio Mendoza Neira	--	Editor of "Sabado" - Ex-secretary of War and former ambassador to a few Latin American countries.
Alejandro Vallejo	--	Editor of "Commandos" -- one of the very fine writers and poets in the country.
Fernando Gomez Martinez	--	Editor of "El Colombiano of Medellin".
Jorge Zawadzsky	--	Editor of "El Relator of Cali" former Ambassador to Mexico.
Manuel Mosquera Gomez	--	Editor of "El Pubelo" -- of Medellin.

Before I came to Colombia the press had been completely indifferent to the Jewish problem. By the time I left, the press had already opened its doors in service to our cause and had committed itself to continued cooperation. This was one of the most gratifying pieces of work to me, for I could feel and see the effect that this educational medium was having on the country.

FUNCTIONS OF COMMITTEE:

- (a) Important Jewish news items will be carried in the newspapers.

When any event of particular significance occurs, the papers will editorialize.

The great writers on our committee have been given "carte blanche" by all the newspapers to write on any aspect of Jewish and Zionist life;

- (b) At a very animated committee meeting, a few excellent suggestions were made.

- 1.. That a specially edited NEWS SERVICE be established for DIRECT transmittance to the EDITORS of each newspaper. This must be prepared in Spanish in chronicle form, ready for publication.
- 2.. They do not want propaganda. They want the facts in concise form and -- WHILE IT IS STILL NEWS.
- 3.. It was decided that the ZIONIST LEADERSHIP here in the United States submit a list of subjects dealing with the various phases of Jewish and Zionist life, -- with accompanying suggested bibliographies. The men would then choose the subject that interests them most, and in this way a non-repetitive and well planned education program can get under way. They are planning a staggered campaign.
- 4.. They also suggested the establishment of an International Latin American Exchange, for the inter-country exchange of ideas and methods of operation.
- 5.. The radio stations have been most cooperative, and are anxious to serve. I believe that selected material such as the Seminary programs should be translated into Spanish and sent to these stations. They have a regular staff and this can be varied with talks by members of our committee on special occasions.

We have thus organized the major educational and propaganda media, the press, the radio, the school, the church, and the government.

INAUGURATION OF THE PPC:

The climax of all the work was the INAUGURATION DINNER of the COLOMBIAN PRO-PALESTINE COMMITTEE, Monday, Sept. 11, 1944. This event was truly a historic moment in Colombian history -- both for the Jewish and Christian world.

Because I was aware of the potential saboteurs -- I had consistently refused to give press interviews. However, I had allayed the ire of many reporters by promising them I would speak at a later date. And so two weeks before the dinner, when the work had been firmly established, and for the purpose of stimulating public interest in the dinner, we called a press conference and released the story. I was subsequently bombarded with interviews and besieged to write articles for several of the newspapers. I shall only say in passing, that despite a few misquotations, the press campaign was very good. The country was agog. WE HAD FORCED THE COUNTRY TO THINK ABOUT THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND THE RESPONSE WAS NOT FAVORABLE; I wish I had the time to relate some of the exciting and wonderful incidents that occurred.

I shall only say this: our cause was front-paged and editorialized in every important paper in the country. Refer alnum press clipping or shall I list names and dates of newspapers in which articles appeared? The highlight of them all was an article on Anti-Semitism written by the famed "Caliban" --

an erstwhile semi-Anti-Semite. This appeared the day before the dinner, - he brilliantly broke the major Anti-Semitic myths that were quite prevalent in the country. He spoke about the positive qualities of the Jews and pointed up the obligations of the Christian world to help destroy Anti-Semitism and to help the Jews in the establishment of their homeland. He wholeheartedly backed the Pro-Palestine Committee.

This article, plus the acceptance of the presidency of the Committee by the illustrious Maestro Sanin Cano, the acceptance of the Chairmanship of the dinner by the Mayor, the acceptance of the Secretary of the Interior to be the guest speaker -- made a day for the Colombian Jews that will never be forgotten.

The Chairman of the dinner was excellent, - the President of the Committee - who is known almost as much for his wit as his brilliance -- made a short terse speech on Anti-Semitism. And then came what is the greatest Zionist speech I ever heard or read from the lips of a Christian, the speech made by Dr. Alberto Lleras Camargo, the Secretary of the Interior. It is an historical speech which I recommend to be sent to all the other Latin American countries and be printed for use in this country as well.

And, my heart and mind filled with the inspiration of his words, -- I made the concluding speech of the evening.

Telegrams expressing gratitude and new hope for the future poured in from every Jewish community and from all members of the committee who could not attend. Even President Lopez gave me his blessings.

The conclusion of this evening marked the beginning of the Colombian Pro-Palestine Committee.

Having thus worked with each man, I have felt the pulse of the country I feel it is my responsibility to submit certain of my findings and recommendations. It is possible that some of these suggestions have already been put into action. I submit them to you with the sincere hope that whatever is found valid WILL BE PUT INTO IMMEDIATE ACTION.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

First I should like to deal with the creation of these Pro-Palestine Committees. If the various countries have capable Zionists whose personalities are acceptable to the Christian world then, by all means, we must use them. If not, then foreign Jewish representatives possessing the necessary mental and social qualities must do it. A Christian -- unless he is dedicated to our cause, cannot create a solid, lasting committee, for he does not have the specific educational background with which to meet the challenge of adverse arguments. The committee will collapse under the first negative encounter. IT TAKES A JEW TO TELL THE STORY AND HE MUST TELL IT PERSONALLY. ^{Questions} Questions which gnaw at the hearts of many would-be Jewish friends must be anticipated and answered -- if we are to gain their full enduring support.

I do not believe dependable committees can be created by mail. All such a committee can beget is a sympathy toward our cause, but we can never count on mobilizing public opinion,

or getting any effective political action through this medium. Then, there are so many inherent dangers in this procedure. The effectiveness of our work has been jeopardized by the acceptance into the committees of men of questionable character, as evidenced both in Colombia (Sarmiento and Aguirre Agudelo) and Venezuela, (anti-Zionist editor of newspaper).

Assignments of especially important tasks, such as the presentation of resolutions at conferences or the assignment of important missions cannot be done by mail. Such responsibility must be vested in the hands of those who are creating the committees or those Zionists who are acting as liaison officers. Failure to observe these warnings can be catastrophic to our work.

On the question of the objectives of the Pro-Palestine Committees, the mobilization of public opinion and the securing of political support of nations: It is my conviction that we shall never have a secured Jewish Commonwealth until we break some of the Anti-Semitism that prevails amongst the masses. Our work, especially with the political leadership will be so much easier with mass support.

The need for public enlightenment is so pressing and the dangers of the present status quo so ominous, we must take advantage of every possibility to change the situation. WE DO NOT HAVE TO CONTENT OURSELVES WITH JUST GETTING NAMES ON OUR COMMITTEES. WE MUST AND WE CAN PUT OUR NEWLY-WON FRIENDS TO WORK. The members of the Colombian Pro-Palestine Committee are capable and willing to shoulder the task of slowly educating the masses.

I have not permitted any but a few writers to write any articles because they are not as yet prepared. They know little about the Jewish people or their aspirations. Should they make any errors and be attacked by our opponents, our cause would suffer tremendous setbacks.

We must in order to create a Pro-Palestine Committee that will endure and upon which we can depend for unwavering political support at the International conferences, we shall have to back their emotional inclinations with information and reason. It is an illusion to believe that even such calibre men can withstand opposition to our cause unless they know the facts and can support only by putting the practical means for working at their disposition -- by feeding them with proper educational material.

While the Bulletin is a good beginning it is not sufficient to build a solid foundation of understanding of our problems and objectives. Because these men cannot give us too much time, we must select and send only such books and pamphlets, IN SPANISH, which touch the heart of the questions.

Since mailing is costly I recommend sending mail in bulk to the secretaries of committees for re-distribution.

We must arrange for a Spanish translation department which will concern itself with selection, translation and distribution of all important literature. In addition to equipping them with the necessary educational material it is our responsibility to direct them with clear and concrete programs for action. They will do the rest. As political and organization experts we can depend upon them to properly execute the plans.

RE-STIMULATION OF COMMITTEES:

There are several ways that this can be done. The least costly would be to take advantage of our delegates who pass through the various countries, PROVIDING THEY HAVE THE PERSONALITY THAT GOES WELL WITH A CHRISTIAN AUDIENCE. These delegates should especially be prepared to give conferences for these committees, particularly bringing them up to date on all the newest developments. Also presidents of these committees must be informed about these pending visits SUFFICIENTLY IN ADVANCE for most effective results.

For further stimulation, it is essential to inform leaders of committees well in advance of special occasions such as Balfour Day, Herzl's Birthday, etc., so that the men will have sufficient time to prepare for writing or speaking. Their pride will not permit us to write their speeches for them.

Recommend that member editors of newspapers ask their AP and UP representatives to keep them informed about momentous Jewish occurrences, such as Republic and Democratic parties adopting JCW in party plank APC activities - St. Louis, etc.

Whenever we want political reaction we shall have to inform them just as we do here with the American Palestine Committee.

Use the Bulletin of the Latin-American Department as a technical working base for Inter-Country News and Idea Exchange.

A Latin-American Conference will take place approximately in February. We should plan now just what we would like the countries on our committees to do and instruct our members accordingly. A special letter was sent to L.A. Dept. No. 9th making this recommendation re: Mexican Conference.

Special contact correspondence should be maintained with members who are on UNRRA indicating our needs and how they can be of specific aid. Presidents of Committees must be instructed to inform us when any committee members are selected for international conferences for the same purpose.

I heartily recommend we create a reception committee here in the United States for meeting and getting acquainted with visiting members. The Secretary of the Pro-Palestine Committee should inform us of their coming arrival. This has tremendous possibilities for furthering our work.

In conclusion, may I repeat the urgency of selecting and sending educational material to libraries and members, if not available at the present moment in Spanish then in English.

.....

C O N C L U S I O N S

In the creation of these Pro-Palestine committees we have laid the foundation for a better Jewish future. THEY SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED ALL OVER THE WORLD. If these committees are worth all the effort, time and money that it takes to create them, then we will have to make certain that they do not fall apart. Special leaders will have to be delegated to this task.

Neglect here in the United States must inevitably destroy whatever has been created. Our creative work will have been in vain.

We cannot do all the work at this end. The carefully chosen liaison officers of the various Zionist Federations will have to activate the ideas but -- the creation and supplying of material and directives for educational and political action must come from here.

(The Latin-American Department must be the generating force).

.....

BETH DIN OF AMERICA (TRIBUNAL OF AMERICAN RABBINATE)

Longacre 5-8900

1231 Avenue of the Americas

New York 19, N. Y.

P R E S S R E L E A S E

At a meeting held Thursday, November 1, 1945 at 1231 Avenue of the Americas, New York City, the Beth Din of America (Tribunal of American Rabbinate) excoriated the writings of Sholem Asch in the following declaration:

Praised be God who has preserved his people Israel thru countless generations of miraculous survival; and has implanted within us the spiritual strength to endure martyrdom rather than yield to idolatrous deviations and admixtures which have intermittently sought to lure or frighten our people away from the true path of our holy Torah.

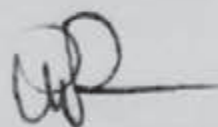
The would-be traducers of our religious integrity have appeared throughout the ages in various forms and guises. At times it was the implacable hostility and open oppression of the cruel foe, from the tyrannical Pharaohs to the fiendish Fuehrer. More often it was a subtler type of visitation from within, the self-deluded or deliberate dissenter who poses strange departures from the faith of our Forefathers.

Such a self-appointed emissary has lately appeared in the person of a scrivener named Sholem Asch. He is widely heralded in paid advertisements as a "Jewish" writer. In view of what he has written however we are constrained to regard him as a renegade from the fold of Judaism.

We, the Beth Din of America (Tribunal of American Rabbinate) do hereby declare the writings and epistles of Sholem Asch as heretical and un-Jewish. We furthermore caution our brethren of the Household of Israel to be wary of his apostacies and shun his literary effusions.

May peace and blessing attend all those who heed this declaration and remain steadfast and loyal to the spiritual heritage and historical continuity of our sorely-tried people.

Signed: BETH DIN OF AMERICA



Rabbi Doctor Max Felshin, President

November 4, 1945

Dr. Samuel J. Blumenfield
The College of Jewish Studies
220 So. State Street
Chicago 4, Ill.

My dear Dr. Blumenfield:

Thank you so much for your kind letter of October 29 which I read with keen interest. I am happy that you had occasion to visit the Congressmen and Senators. I shall keep in mind what you say about Senator Brooks and I shall have some of our friends acquaint him with the resolution which has been introduced. I am not so sure about Congressman Sabath who has at no time been really helpful. His call upon the President shortly after the latter's return from Potsdam and the statement which he issued after his interview with the President left us baffled both as to the purpose of this interview, as to the people who sent him, and the implications of his statement issued to the Press. I am inclined to believe that he is being used by the Rosenwald group or by the American Jewish Committee or by both. He should be made aware of the suspicion in which he is held by the Zionists. He occupies a very important position, as you well know, as chairman of the House Rules Committee.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ANS:BK

November 7, 1945

Mrs. Louis A. Bunim
1703 Avenue K
Brooklyn, N.Y.

My dear Mrs. Bunim:

Thank you for your kind letter and for the enclosure which I read with great interest. I am glad that you attended the Washington Conference. Generally speaking, I think it was very helpful.

The newly organized International Committee on Palestine will be an autonomous body and will work in close cooperation with the American Palestine Committee and also with the American branch of the Jewish Agency. As an international body it does not directly come within the sphere of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I would suggest that you contact Dr. Voss and Dr. LeSourd and talk over with them the ways in which you feel you can be helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

November 7, 1945

Dr. I. B. Berkson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Berkson:

In my Report to the Zionist Convention I should like to include a few paragraphs on the organization and expansion of Arab opposition to our work during the past year. I should like to give in brief outline the history of the Arab League, the conferences which it held within the last year and their resolutions with reference to Palestine, the offices which they have established here and in other countries etc. I should also like to call attention to the organized opposition to our work on the part of those missionary groups who have interests in the Near East, calling particular attention to the report of the Foreign Missions Conference of North America. I would appreciate it if you would send me this statement for inclusion in my report in the next few days as I should like to whip my Report into shape by the middle of next week.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

FRANCES P. BOLTON
22d DISTRICT OHIO

COMMITTEE ON
FOREIGN AFFAIRS

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

November 8, 1945

Mrs. J. O. Stein
11428 Cedar Road
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Mrs. Stein:

I received your letter on November 2nd. I think you are quite unaware of what Mr. Mundt and I, as two members of a subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, went out to the Near East for and what we did in Palestine. May I tell you a little of it?

Our mission was to meet and talk with the members of government and as many people of all different countries as could be arranged for us by our representatives in these countries. We took with us one of the Congressional recorders and when we reached Palestine we held hearings just as we do in Washington, taking down verbatim everything that was said by the three groups whom we heard -- Zionist Jews, Arabs and Christians. These notes have just been typed. I have not as yet had time to correct any possible spellings and so on, and have not had opportunity to go over them.

We also listened with great interest to the points of view expressed in every one of the Arabian countries, not just Saudi Arabia. All this material we have made available to the President, as well as to the members of our committee. The Palestine problem is one far too great to be solved hastily or by individuals.

You say that if one of my family had been hounded and persecuted and tortured and killed it would mean a great deal to me. That is indeed true -- but it does mean a very great deal to me when anyone is so treated -- and unfortunately there have been Jews and Christians as well subjected to such treatment during these last years.

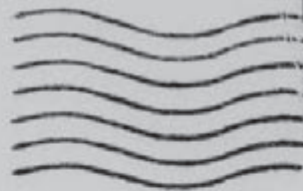
May I say this from my heart? Were I a Jew and my family needing a safe refuge at the moment, the last place I would take them would be to Palestine. There is little safety there under the tensions of today for those of Jewish blood. The ultimate decision regarding Palestine -- to be at all binding -- will have to be made by the United Nations.

Always with kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Frances P. Bolton

428 C
Bolton



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החברות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



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

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November 11, 1945

SPECIAL DELIVERY AIR MAIL

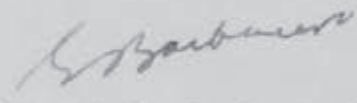
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I know you will be extremely gratified with the attached most wonderful statement I received from Majority Leader McCormack, on the occasion of our forthcoming ZOA Convention.

Splendid messages were also received from Governor Dewey, Congressman Martin and many others.

Sincerely yours,


Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:ep
encl.

P. S. I just got wires from both the New York Times and Herald Tribune that they are sending special correspondents to cover the convention in Atlantic City.

See McCormack

11-18-45

TELEGRAM

To: ALBEN W. BARKLEY

THE LIKELIHOOD OF AN ANNOUNCEMENT THIS AFTERNOON FROM MR. BEVIN THAT AN ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF ENQUIRY TO EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF THE DISPLACED JEWS OF EUROPE AND THE PALESTINE PROBLEM OUGHT NOT TO BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR DEFERRING ACTION ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION TOMORROW IN THE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE. IN THE FINAL XXXXX ANALYSIS THE INVESTIGATION WILL MERELY PROLONG THE SETTLEMENT FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD AND WITHOUT THE RESOLUTION THE SENTIMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CANNOT AND WILL NOT BE OFFICIALLY STRESSED ON THE SUBJECT. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

C
O
P
Y

UNITED STATES SENATE

Conference of the Majority

November 17, 1945

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

This will acknowledge and thank you for your letter of
November 15th.

I am so completely engrossed now in the Pearl Harbor
hearings that I have very little time for anything else,
but I will try to keep in touch with the matter before
the Committee on Foreign Relations.

With all good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

ALBEN W. BARKLEY (S)



Copied 11/19/45:MH

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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RABBI DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER ZOA=

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BEHALF BOARD DIRECTORS PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND KERENHAYESOD
CONGRATULATE YOU MOST HEARTILY ELECTION PRESIDENT ZIONIST
ORGANIZATION AMERICA THIS HISTORICAL PERIOD STOP SURE YOU WILL
LEAD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION AMERICA SAME DEVOTION AND SUCCESS AS
PREVIOUSLY UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL=

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LOUIS BROIDO
3389 STREET AND BROADWAY
NEW YORK 1, N. Y.

My dear Doctor Silver:

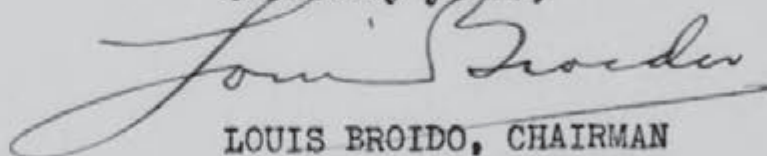
A number of us who know Robert Szold and all he has done for Palestine, and his activities as a civic and community leader, wish to show our appreciation by sponsoring a dinner in his honor on Thursday, December 6th, 1945. Won't you join our Committee?

Robert Szold's interest in Palestine dates back many years and encompasses every phase of activity. To our minds, however, a major contribution has been his work in helping to build up the economic absorptive capacity of Palestine. He worked hand-in-hand with Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Felix M. Warburg, Louis Marshall, and other founders of the Palestine Economic Corporation and has been active in its affairs for the full twenty years of its existence. Through this instrument, on the basis of American business methods and investment procedure along non-political and non-philanthropic lines, American Jewry has been enabled to play a role in the economic development of Palestine.

The occasion of the dinner marks his first anniversary as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Economic Corporation. And it marks the beginning of his first post-war year to guide the P.E.C. to new records of usefulness in building up the industrial and agricultural resources of Palestine. It is with this in mind that we ask you to become a member of the Sponsoring Committee.

Do let me know on the enclosed card that you will join us in this testimonial to Robert Szold.

Cordially yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Louis Broido", written in a cursive style.

LOUIS BROIDO, CHAIRMAN
SPONSORING COMMITTEE

MR. LOUIS BROIDO, *Chairman*
Business Men's Sponsoring Committee
P.E.C. Capital Expansion Program
143 E. 49th Street
New York 17, N. Y.

I am pleased to join the Sponsoring Committee honoring Robert Szold on his first anniversary as Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Palestine Economic Corporation.

Name

Firm

Address

MR. LOUIS BROIDO, *Chairman*

Business Men's Sponsoring Committee

P.E.C. Capital Expansion Program

143 E. 49TH STREET

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE EAST 105 ST AT ANSEL RD CLEVE=

WELCOME BACK. WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING FROM YOU REPORT OR STATEMENT ON YOUR PALESTINE VISIT AND ADOPTION OF CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION FOR PUBLICATION IN NEXT ISSUE OF NEWSREPORTER WHICH GOES TO PRESS WITHIN FEW DAYS. REGARDS= ERNEST E BARBARASH.

BQA303

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J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

12-18-45

WANT A REPLY?

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

The Hon. Owen Brewster
U. S. Senate
Washington, D.C.

JUST RETURNED FROM PALESTINE AND LEARNED WITH DEEP SATISFACTION OF THE FAVORABLE ACTION OF THE SENATE ON THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION. I WISH TO THANK YOU FOR THE GREAT ASSISTANCE WHICH YOU PERSONALLY RENDERED TO THIS CAUSE AND THE SYMPATHETIC UNDERSTANDING WHICH YOU MANIFESTED AT ALL TIMES. OUR PEOPLE ARE PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

December 19, 1945

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

My dear Mr. Barbarash:

While in Palestine I was asked to broadcast over the radio in Jerusalem and to bring a message from American Jewry to the Jewish people of Palestine. I broadcast on Thursday evening, December 6. I am enclosing herewith the text of the address which might be of interest to the readers of the New Palestine. My broadcast was, of course, in Hebrew.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

ההסתדרות הציונית של ארצות הברית

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

1720 - 16TH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

December 24, 1945

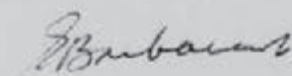
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Many thanks for your letter of December 19th with
enclosures.

The material is just what I needed for the forth-
coming issue of The New Palestine--News Reporter.

Very cordially yours,



Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:ep

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President

DR. HARRY FRIEDENWALD, Baltimore, Md.
Hon. Vice President

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ZALMON BERUL
5 4 8
Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y.

December 24, 1945.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Pres.
Zionist Organization of America
41 East 42nd Street,
New York City.

Copy to Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman
Executive Committee Am. Jewish Conference

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I have the honor to present to you my Yiddish Memorandum concerning the appointment of our own Jewish JURIDICAL Commission for reporting on our rights in law on Palestine, and on all violations of that right. The Report to be presented officially, and as a legal document, based on lawful provisions, to the United Nations Organization, and to the Government of the United States of America.

I think it would be the proper procedure that initiative be taken by our American Jewish Community, as the foremost and well organized body of our World Jewry, through the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress (which represents other Jewish Communities, as well) - to call upon the Zionist Organization, as the Jewish Agency, to take proper action to appoint such juridical Commission. The appointment of such Commission is imperative because faced with a systematic violation of the lawful rights of the Jewish People, based on the Palestine Mandate, there is nothing left to the Jewish People but the right of LEGAL DEFENSE, which is the right and duty of the Jewish Agency, functioning as a PUBLIC BODY according to Article 4 of the Palestine Mandate.

The subject as a whole is treated more fully in my letter to Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman Executive Committee of the AJC, of which a copy is enclosed herewith (with all inclosures). I just wish to add that such move will constitute our first peaceful, legal, and most firm exercise of our own national self-assertion as a People in the throes and birthpangs of the actual forming and framing of its nationhood.

This move is to be recognized in law as one of inevitability, since outwardly imposed upon the Jewish People by the March of events both military, and political, with no other way in Law to avert the calamity equal to that of the Extermination of European Jewry, which is to result from the systematic violation of, and the final attack on the Jewish right of Palestine under the Palestine Mandate as the Law of Nations.

It is all the more important, and obvious, because the Palestine problem is not one of a local dispute with the British anymore, but an International problem within the province of the United Nations Organizations, as openly stated by the British Foreign Secretary before the British Parliament November 14, 1945, touching upon the need of cooperation between the Colonial and the Foreign Secretaries.

This admitted international nature of the Jewish Problem connected with the Palestine Mandate, makes our formal participation in the transactions of the United Nations Organization demanded by law, and legally inevitable.

Respectfully yours,

Zalmon Berul
Zalmon Berul.

ס ע ס א ר א נ ד ו ם

1. צו דער אסעריקאנער אידישער
קאנפערענץ.

2. צו דעם אידישען וועלט-קאנגרעס

די באשטימונג

פון

א אידישער יורדישער קאסיטיע

WRHS

ווענען די אידישע רעכט אויף
ארץ ישראל

א ו ו

ווענען ענגלישען אומהעכט
אלס מאנדאטאר.



פון זלמן בערול

ניו יארק

20טן רעצעפטער, 1945

די ענגליש-אמעריקאנישע אויספארשונגס-קאסיסיע איז באזירט - קלאר און דיימליך -
אויפן פרינציפ גיט פון דערפילען - נאר פון פארשווערען דעם סאנדאם.

דאס איז דער זיען פון דער ענגלישער דיפלאמאטישע איבער דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג,
וועלכע ווערט איצט א שותף צו דריינגען דעם נאנצען ענין, פאלעסטינער סאנדאם צום אפ-
שלוס. וואריס גיט די פאלעסטינער פראבלעם שטעהט אלס שווער-פונקט פאר דער פאראייניג-
טער קאסיסיע, נאר די פראבלעם פון צעמעכערען, ווי עס וועט זיך נאר לאזען, די לעצטע
קריג פון דער "נאך-הימלער" פערזענע. און אויב עס וועלען נאך בלייבען, א פאר אידען
וואס מען וועט טוען אריינלאזען קייןארץ ישראל, איז עס, דאס לעצטע ביסעל אידען, און
פארוואס?

דאס, לעצטע ביסעל אידען דארף ארייננעלאזען ווערען גיט דערפאר וואס דאס איז
זייער רעכט לויטן סאנדאם, נאר צוליב דעם נויטפאל וואס מען טוט פארט פאר ווערען פון
דעם קאסאנעס נאכזיינענען פון דערנאכדעם אידען קאסאנעס
אין אייראפע. און דערמיט, איז דער נאנצער ענין ארץ ישראל ערליידיגט. אלע דערמיטלעכע
נעמען: "היימלאנד", "שטאט", "קאסאנעס" טוען אראפ פון דעם סאנעס-ארדנאנג, אלס

פולסטענדיג נעשליכטעט, און די פראגע איז נעשלאסען.

די הויפט-כונה פון דער ענגלישער פאליטיק איז צו שאפען דעם איינדרוק אין ביז
איצט האבען ענגלישע קאסיסיעס געהאט פאר זיך, סאנדאם-פראבלעם. איצט זענען זיינען
שוין פאר דער פאראייניגטער קאסיסיע אזעלכע פראבלעם מער גיט פארן, ווייל אלץ איז
שוין געלייזט און פארענדיגט דורך דעם, ווייטען פאפיר פון 1939. דער עצם פאקט וואס
די אמעריקאנער רעגירונג האט דערלויבט א פאראייניגטע קאסיסיע אן, סאנדאם-פראבלעם
דארף דינען אלס בעסטער באווייז - ווען דאס וועט נויטיג זיין - אז די אמעריקאנער רע-
גירונג איז פול-טענדיג סככים מיט דעם, ווייטען פאפיר.

שטייען סיר פאר דעם נעשעליכטען קריזיס. איצט ווייטען סיר שוין קלאר וואו סיר
האלטען אין חשבון, ארום-און-ארום. און, די צייט איז מייערע

עטוואס פונדאטענטאלעס פאדערט זיך אקעגען דער לעצטער אטאקע אויפן אידען פאלק.
אום אויסצומיינען נעפאר. אונזער עיקר דענקען און ענערגיע טוט איצט קאנצענטרירט ווערן
אויפן איינציגען יסוד: רעכט אונזער סאכס איז - דעם וואס וואו

עס וועט זיין אונזער גליק אויב סיר וועלען קריגען פון דער וועלט שטעפט אויב יא
טוען סיר זיין יורדיש צונענדיג. גרייט, ווען און וואו עס זאל גיט פארקומען.

און קודם-כל איז פאר אונז לעבענס-וויכטיג צו באזייטיגען אונזער אייגענע גרינג-
שעצונג פון דעם ענין, רעכט, חנם עס איז באוויסעט אז אין לעצטען סך-הכל איז עס רעכט
שטענדיג וואס באשטימט אלץ און אלעס.

דעם שונאים בייזווייליגע מאקטיקע איז פון אנהייב-אן ביסליכווייז, בחדרה, אבער
סיסטעמאטיש צו פארזייען, צו פארשטירען, און ענדליך אינגאנצען אפצושטעלן אונזערע
רעכט לויטן סאנדאם. די בעווייז-טרוטאן קאסיסיע איז אן אויסנעם-טרוטאן לעצטער קלאס.
וואס איז אונזער אייגענע, אזא שטאט פון אונזער איניציאטיווע, און גיט פון דער ענג-
לישער איניציאטיווע, און אונזער אייגענע איניציאטיווע ליגט בלויז אין דער ספעציעלע
רעכט, אין אונזער יורידישע פאזיציע לויט די פארשריפטען פון דעם סאנדאם.
דאס איז א מאקטיקע וואס רעכענט זיך ווינציג מיט די דיפלאמאטישע שטיק פון דער סאנדאם-
מען-סאכס, און וואס וועט איר גיט דערלויבען זיך ארויס צודרייען דורך קונציגע מאכט-
ציעס.

סיר האבען פאר זיך בלויז צוויי פונקטען:

1. אונזער רעכט, אונזער געשריבען פון 52 פעלקער

2. אונזער סאנדאטאָר, וועלכער האָט געטאָנען א שפּאַט פון דעם גאנצען סאנדאט.

אלץ וואָס דער סאנדאט האָט געפֿאָדערט פון אן אדמיניסטראציע אין ארץ ישראל, איז פשוט אויסצופירען זיינע פארשריפטען; שטיצען רעכט וואָס איז אין איינקלאנג מיט דעם סאנדאט, און אפּווענדען אומרעכט וואָס איז געציעלט געווען דעם סאנדעט. ע-גנלאנד, איר פאזיציע אלס סאנדאטאָר, איז אבער בעסער געפֿעלטן - צוליב אירע אייגענע צוועקען - צו דערלויבען דעם אָנהייב, און צו דולדען די ענטוויקעלונג אין לאנד א קאמף-אמסאמפּע-רע פונם אָנהייב-אָן געציעלט געווען דעם סאנדאט, מיט דוירעכטען כאָס און שפּרריט צווי-שען רעכט און אומרעכט. דארפֿען מיר איצט פון אַט דעם, רעכט-אומרעכט, כאָס אין ארץ ישראל, פאר די לעצטע 25 יאָר, ארויסשעפֿען די הויפט-סאָמענטען פון אפיציעלען יורדישען פאדייט פאר אונזערע רעכט אויף ארץ ישראל, און דאָס באַרױבען אונז פון די רעכט, און שאַפֿען א קורצען אַבער קלאַרען רעקארד פאר די וואָס וועלען דארפֿען אָנווענדען געזעץ צו ענטשײַדען די פראגע איבער דעם, פאלעסטינער סאנדאט.

דאָס איז די אויפגאבע פאר אן אייגענע גר - געזעצליך-באשטימטער יורדישער קאסיסיע.

און די פֿאַרשונג פון דער, קיצור-אימיגראציע, לויט די 4 פונקטען פון דער ענגליש-אמעריקאנער דעקלאַראציע, סענען מיר אינגאנצען איבערלאזען צו דער טרומאן-בעווין קאסיסיע, ווייל די גאנצע ארבעט איז חוזק, אריינגערעכענט אויך דאָס, צואיי-לען זיך מיט די 120 מענ, ווייל דאָס פאלקס-געוויסען האָט רעוואָלמירט, אז דער וויי-סער וועט שוין אליין פארענדיגען, און סען וועט שוין קיין קאסיסיע גיט דארפֿען איצט איז שוין אלצדונג רעכט. די קאסיסיע פועט פארטייט שט ווערען אינגאנצען אונז 15 ניגען פריילינג, און פון די קעמפ-קרעכט פאָדערט זיך נאָר פלויז אפיסילע סער געדולד דורך די ווייטער פרעסע און, ווייטער זאל זיך נאָר איין גאָס דערבארטען איבער די צע-בראכענע רעשטלאך פון אזא וועלט פון רשעות, סאכט-לוחט און ארזירות.

דער עיקר אויפגאבע פון אונזער אייגענער קאסיסיע איז אויפגעזאמלען דאָס גריי-סע. דאָס אפיציעל פאשריבענע, פובליקירט, צו גיט פובליקירט.

ערשטענס, וועגען אונזער געזעצליכער פאזיציע לויט דעם סאנדאט, און אלע דאָקומענטען אין שיכות צום סאנדאט. און

צווייטענס, וועגען דער אבזיכטליכער פארשוועכונג, און שטופענווייזער אנגליי-רונג פון דעם סאנדאט דורך דער ענגלישער רעגירונג.

אזא באריכט, געשטיצט אויף אפיציעלע סקורים, איז דאָס איינציגע געזעצליך-וויקזאמטע וואַפֿען אקענען דער סיממעטאמישער בריטישער אָפּענסיווע אויף א אידישער ארץ ישראל. איך איצטיגע מאקטיקע איז אינגאנצען צו אינגאָרירען דעם ענין, אידישע גאציא-נאלע היים, ווייל דאָס איז דאָך שוין א לייג-דערליידיגטע אויפגאבע פון דעם סאנדאט, ווי עס איז צו זעען פון דעם ווייטען פאפיר פון 1939. איצט איז באַזונדערס נויטיג אז דער סאנדאט זאל אויסקוקען ווי אן אויסגענוצט שטיקעל פאפיר, ווייל די סאנדאט "אָנ-טירעם באלד אריין מיט דעם, טראַסטישע קאָנסיל, איז נויטיג אז דער פאלעסטינער סאנדאט זאל גיט פארנעמען קיין באַזונדערן פלאץ אויף דער אנדערע פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער.

דער עיקר ענין איז די, סמראמעגישע פאזיציע! עס איז אינגאנצען געזונטער פא-ענגלאנד אז דערנאָכער ענין, אידישע ארץ ישראל זאל ארעפֿע פון דער סאפּע, און זיך אויפ-האַפֿען, פלאַנמערן פאר די פֿיס אין אזא וויכטיגען סאַמענט ווען די, סמראמעגישע פאזיציע וועט שטעקן אויפן טאנעם-אַרדנונג. מיט די פאלעסטינער אראפער איז א קנאפּע דאָנא: זיי זיינען דאָך גיט קיין צד אינם סאנדאט.

דארף אונזער אייגענער סיממעטאמיזירטער יורדישער באריכט דערווייזען דעם פא-ראט פון דער סאנדאטען-סאכט, מיט איר צעשטער-ארבעט וואָס האלט אָן עקסגוואַדיג אלע יא-רען, און וואָס איז געציעלט געווען די אידישע רעכט אויף ארץ ישראל אונטערן סאנדאט.

אז א דיינק די איבער 20 יאר פון אזא פלאנעטינער צעשמער-ארבעט, האבען ס'ר געשראגען
דעם פונקט-לחי' פארגען רעזולטאט פון דעם סאנדאט-צוועק: אנשטאט דעם פאראן-ס-נאשטיממען
צוועק צו דערנרייכען וויכטיגען פראגרעס פון אידישער פאליטישער געשטאלטונג אין לאנד,
האבען ס'ר פאר זיך דעם פראגרעס פארגעסן פון אפשטאמען גיט נאר די פאליטישע, נאר
אויך פשוט ציווילע רעכט פון דעם אידישען פאלק אויף זיין לאנד; און נאר רעכט זיינען
אפגעשטאפט געווארען, נאר אויך די סאטערעלע און נייכטיגע דערנרייכונגען פון דעם אר-
דישען פאלק אין ארץ ישראל, וואס זיינען מיט אזוי פיעל סי געשאפען געווארען אויפן
סך פון געזעצליך-גאראנטירטער נאציאנאלער אומגעהענגיקייט, הענגען שוין אויך אויפן
וואנשאט, און עס איז גיט זיכער אז דאס אלעס וועט נישט וועלען גרינגער, זאק-רויב פאר
די אראבישע באקעמפער פון אידישע רעכט אין לאנד; און גיט נאר דער נאציאנאלער אידישער
פארשטענד, נאר אויך דער אינדיווידועלער פארשטענד, און די פראציע פון איבער א האלבען
סיליאן אידען פון דער גאנצער וועלט, וועלכע האבען אנפארטרויעט זייער לעבען, זייער
ארבעט און זייער צוקונפט צו דער זיכערקייט און הייליגקייט פון אינטערנאציאנאלע פאסא-
כען און געזעצען, איז שוין איצט אין סכנה אדער בלויז פון פאליטישער, אדער אפילו אויך
פון פאקטישער קאנפליקטאציע. דאס ווענדט זיך בלויז אן דער סאלעראנז פאס דער ארא-
בישער סערהייט וועט וואוילגעפעלען ארויס צו ווייזען דער אידישער סינדערהייט.

אין סכום-סך-חכל סיינס די ענגלישע שפיעל סימן, ווייטען פאפיר גיט מער און גיט
ווייניגער ווי פארכאפען דאס גאנצע פארשטענד, - נייכטיגע, קולטורעלע און סאטערעלע, פון
דעם אידישען פאלק אין ארץ ישראל, וואס דארף געזעצליך דינען דעם אידישען פאליטישען
פארשטייט אין ארץ ישראל, און אין דער וועלט, און דאס אוועקנעמען אומפאסט און פאס-
נישט, אלס פיינט סתנה צו דער אראבישער באפעלקערונג, כדי זיי זאלען האבען א גרייטע
ציוויליזירטע חמרוקטור וואס וועט פארשטארקען דעם פאליטישען פארשטייט פון א סדר-שטעט
און די אידען וועלען אויך קרינען פאר זייער סי א פיינט סתנה, אפגאבעל-נייע, געט א
על אדמת-קודש, סיט דער אויסזיכט אין צייט צו באזיצען אן עקאנאמיע א-לא, גירענערנ,
אדער פשוטע רויב און רציחה על פי גוסס אראביע.

ס'ר האבען זיך צוגעוואוינט צו פאליאמיווען: פראפעסמען, אפיעלס, דעפאנאטראציעס,
און ס'ר שטעלען זיך צופרידען מיט א גוט ווארט, און אן הנבחה. אבער איצט איז געקומען
דער דונקעללאנד און ווען גיט די נייט עפאכע, אין וועלכער געזעצ וועט מוזען פארנעמען
דעם אויבען-אן - און מאכע נאר נישט - וועלט מאכע חס ושלום געווען זיכער און פינצטער.
אבער צום גליק איז שוין דער "ונא-סאטערעל" א וועלט-געזעצ, און ס'ען גרייט זיך שוין
צו דער ערשטער זיצונג פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער, איז איצט דארפן ס'ר זיך אויף אן
אסת אונטערנארמלען, און זיין גרייט צו דערווייזען, וואו ס'ען וועט דארפן, א ז אונזער
רעכט אויף אונזער לאנד איז איינען-פעסט לויטן פאלעסטינער סאנדאט און ס'ר קענען
דאס גפירוש דערווייזען, און קיין בייזווייליגע פאליטיק, און קיינע איינען-אינטערעסען
פון דער סעכטיגער ענגלאנד אויפן השבון פון דעם סאכמלאזען אידישען פאלק, וועלען גיט
האפען קיין האפט!

וואס ענגלאנד זאל גיט האבען געמוזט אין ווידערשפרוך צום סאנדאט, האט גיט קיין
האפט! ווארייט גיט ענגלאנד האט די דעה און די געזעצליכע סאכט איבער פאלעסטינע, נאר
די חז"פס-אלאטירטע פעלקער און זייערע פארבינדעטע פון דער ערשטער וועלט-סלחסת האבען
די דעה און די געזעצליכע סאכט, און דער סאנדאט איז אפיציעל דעפאנירט אין זייערע
סלוחת-ארכיווען, אלס אן אינטערנאציאנאלער געזעצליכער אפמאך, לויט דער פארשטענדונג פון
דער פעלקער-ליג פון דעם 24טן יולי, 1922.

די אידישע יורדישע קאמיטע דארף גריינגען דער וועלט א קלאר און שארף אויסגע-
טישען באריכט ווענען דעם גאנצען ארץ ישראל, רעכט-אומרעכט קאספלטעס נאך איידע-
דער 120טער טערטין איז אריבער, און די סרוסאן-געוויין קאסיטיע איז פארטיג
מיט איר ארבעט.

דאס אמעריקאנער אידענטום איז איצט די פארנעמסטע, אפערנט-קאספאקטע און לעפערע-
דענאמיווע אידישע געמיינדע, דעמאקראטיש פארשטאנען: דורך דעם וועלט-פאגראם אין

אלס א מייל פון דעם וועלט-אידענטיטעט, און דורך דער אסעריקאנער אידישער קאנפערענץ,
אלס די אסעריקאנער אידישע נעטינגדע. אין א צייט פון אזא נעטיכטליכען קריזיס אין
דעם לעבען פון דעם אידישען פאלק, איז דאס אסעריקאנער אידענטיטעט זיכער בארופען צו
דער אינציאטיבן אז די ציוניסטישע פירערשאפט זאל נעמען די נויטיגע שריט צו שאפען
די אידישע יורדישע קאמיטעי פאר דעם אויבען דערמאנטען צוועק. די ציוניסטישע שר-
נאניזאציע איז די גרונט-קערפערשאפט פון דער אידישער אנענטור, און לויט ארטיקל 4
פון דעם פאלעסטינער מאנדאט האט זי דעם דין פון אן „עפענמליכער קערפערשאפט“ אין
אלע אנגעלעגנהייטען וועלכע האבען א שייכות צו דער אידישער נאציאנאלער היים אין
ארץ ישראל.

די אידישע יורדישע קאמיטעי דארף נעשטאפען ווערען אזוי ניד ווי סענליך, און
איר אויפגאבע דארף האטן אין צוגרייטען א דאקומענטירטען באריכט, אויפן סך פון
אויסשליסליך אפיציעלע אספעקטן און דאקומענטען, וועלען די אידישע רעכט לויפן פאלעס-
טינער מאנדאט, און ווענען דעם ווי אזוי ענלאנד, אלס מאנדאטען מאכט, האט סיכרויכט
אירע רעכט און פליכטען לויפן מאנדאט כדי אונז צונעמען פון דעם אידישען פאלק זיי-
רעכט אויף ארץ ישראל.

עס איז העכסט נויכטיג פאסט צושטעלען די פאלגענדע פונקטען:

8. אז אין צוזעק איז ענלאנד באשטימט געווארען פון די בעלקער אלס א מאנדאטער
וואס האט די אויפגאבע צו פראטעקטירען די אונטערנעמונג פון די בעלקער למענה דעם
אידישען פאלק. דאס הייסט, אז ענלאנד, אלס א מאכט, איז א שוץ-מאכט נישט דער
אראב'ישער באפעלקערונג, וואס האט זיך נישט גענוימינט אין קיין שום סאטע, נאר פאר
די אידען וואס זיינען צעשפרייט איבער דער וועלט, און וואס וועלען זיך וועלען

אומקערען קיין ארץ ישראל אויסגריקליך פאר דעם ווירער-אויפבו (Reconstituting)
פון דער אידישער נאציאנאלער היים אין זייער היסטארישען לאנד.

9. אז אין פאקט האט ענלאנד אנגעווענדעט דעם געטרויען אין איר שוץ-מאכט און אויך

אלע אירע חתונות'ן לויטן סאנדאט פון נחמיה פון נחמיה אלס אידישע, נאך אלס
אראפישע שוץ-סאכט. תחילת כלוויז אין חתונות'ן מיט דער פיינליך-געשטימטער אראפישע
אפטייצע אין ארץ ישראל גופא, און נאכדעם אויך מיט די סושלים פון שנישע אראפישע
לענדער-כאפט די לעצטע האבען לחלוטין נישט קיין שום געזעצליכע שייכות צום פאלעסטינער
סאנדאט, מיט דער ווארשיינליכער אבזיכט אויסצוברייטערען די ספערע פון דער סאכט-
געגענט צום סאנדאט וואס באצוועקט דעם ווידער-אויפבויע פון דער אידישער ארץ יש-
ראל, און צו גיבען אים דער געגענט צום א פיקסירטן-לעגאלען כח.

ג. אז דער סאנדאט איז פון קיין געזעצגעבער'שער וועלט-געגענט צום פאלעסטינער
אפגעשאפט געווארען, און נישט געגערט געווארען. דער אויסגעזעצליכער ליאזע
וואס די ענגלישע רעגירונג האלט אין איין סטאטוס-קו אין אירע קאפיטאל, און
ווייטע פארען, און אנדערע אקטען, איז אבזיכטליך געציעלט געגען דעם נייט און
פונקטאט פונם סאנדאט, און דורך אינגאנצן אירע פליכטען אונטערן סאנדאט, און דורך
שמארקען די אראפישע הענט אקעגען דעם אידישען פאלק איז דער סאנדאט נישט אפגעשוואכט
געווארען אפילו אויף א האר.

ד. אז די אידישע שטעט'לעך און פרעזידענט'לעך אויפבויע-ארכעס האט געטוט אונז
אונטער כסדר'דיגער שטערונג אנטהאלטן הילף צו דער סאנדאט-סאכט. דער שטענדיכער רע-
זולטאט פון אזא ווילקירליכער פאליטיק פון דער סאנדאט-סאכט איז געווען, אז די פאר-
שריפטען פון דעם סאנדאט אין ארמיקעל 6 ווענען גינסטיגע קאנדיציעס פון אידישער אי-
סיגראציע, און קאמפאקטערען איינגעפירט (קלפוד העטעלטענט) אויף די פארשידענע
לענדער'לעך, וואס האבען געציעלט צו דעם סענליכט-העכסטען פארשטעלערען
דעם פראצעס פון באהעלקערען דאס לאנד מיט אידישע פאלקס-סאמען, איז דער פראצעס פאר-
לעגערט געווארען, אדער אינגאנצען פארהאלטען געווארען.

ה. אז אחוץ ווענען די סאכטעראנישע הייליגע פלעצער אין ארץ ישראל, געפינען זיך
נישט אינעם סאנדאט, און נישט אין קיינע אנדערע געזעצליכע אקטען פון א וועלט-געגענט-
בערישער קערפערשאפט, קיינע אויסנאמע-געזעצען, אדער רעגולאציעס, ווענען פארמיטלען
צווישען די פאלעסטינער אראבער און די אידישע אויסצונעמען פרעסנעזיעס פון די פאלעס-
טינער אראבער אקעגען דער גערעכטיגקייט פון דעם סאנדאט, מיטן צוועק פון סענליכער רע-
וויזיע פון דעם סאנדאט צו דער פעלקער-לייג נישט אונז-ווענדען קיינע סימלען פון גע-
זעצליכער סאכט אקעגען דער אראפישער באהעלקערונג, אפילו אין פאלען פון עפענטליכע אפא-

קעט און גוואלדמאכען אקענטען דעם לעבען פון דער פרידליכער זאמלעקערונג א זי טראג
אירע פליכטען אלס סאנדאטען-מאכע, האט די ענגלישע רעגירונג דערלויבט פערזענלעך
פון דערענדער אנארכיע אין לאנד, און ענדליך זיין דערלויבט אריינציהען אין קאספ
פרעסדע אראבישע לענדער, און דערמיט געבראכט צו דער אנפירענדער פרעס-היים אין
דער געשיכטע פון אינפערנאציאנאלע פאציפונגען, אז א פאלק ווי איראק, למשל, וואס
איז אליין דערהויבען געווארען צו פאליטישער אומגעזונדענדיקייט א דיינק דעם סאנדאט
פון דער פעלקער-ליג, און וועמענס סאנדאט איז צונעמעלע געווארען צו דער פעלקער-ליג
אינאיינעם מיט דעם פאלעסטינער סאנדאט, אין דעם מאנאט פון דעם 6טן דעצעמבער 1930
פארטאגט די הוצפה זו בענטשען דעם איראק סאנדאט, און צו שלמען, און פאכען מיט דער
שווערד, אקענטען דעם פאלעסטינער סאנדאט.

אומגעקערט
עס איז אמת אז ענגלאנד האט גלענצענד באווייזען ווי ווייט א סלוחה, וואס
בראווירט מיט מאכט, קען געהן אין סארען צו שפאט א געזעץ סאנדאט
פון אלע פעלקער. עס איז שווער נישט ווייניגער אמת אז איינס האט ענג-
לאנד נישט געקענט דערווייזען: אפצושטעלן דעם געזעץ פון די פעלקער און
אזוי לאנג ווי געזעץ עקזיסטירט נאך אין דער וועלט, א זי דער סאנדאט
אין פולער טראכט און פאדערט שטעט.

ינגלאנד האט געקענט פירען איר ספעציעל-אראבער פאליטיק: זיין געשעין
צו זייער גענוערשאפט צום סאנדאט, דערסומענדיג זיידערמיט צו גוואלד-
מאכען אקענטען דעם יסוד: לאזען דעם סאכמלאזען יסוד אויף הפקר, כאטש
געזעצליך אונטער ענגלאנד'ס זון און פארמידינגונג: ענגלאנד האט פלוצים
פון דער העלער הויט שטענדיג געשטעלט (לויטן סטייטמענט פון דעם
9טן נאוועמבער 1930) געקענט אננעמען א פאליטיק, אריינצוציהען דעם
נאנצע אראבערמאס אין דער ספעציעל פון גענוערשאפט צום סאנדאט, פלויז צו
האפען נאכדעם די מעגליכקייט ארויסצונעמען דעם ווייטען פאפולר פון
1930, דעם אומגעזעצליכען געזעץ, וואס ברעכט פון דעם סאנדאט, גיר-רס"ר
און ווייזט אז ס'לייגט דין ולייגט דין.

האט לויטן געזען פארנאמט פון ארטיקל 4. און לויט ארטיקל 6 פון דעם
סאנדאט האט ענגלאנד, לכל הפחות אלס סאנדאטער, נישט געמאכט דערלאזען
צו דער פאקט-שער אויסשלאכטונג פון דעם אייראפעאישען א ידענמוס, וואס
האט געדינט אלס פאקטישער רעזערוואויר פון אידישער סענטען-קראפט צו דער
דער פאררויסקליינג פון דעם סאנדאט, דאך האט זי רוח'ג צוגעקוקט ווי
די אידישע סיליאנען ווערען אומגעבראכט אין די נאצישע גאז-קאמערען.
און, אלס איינע פון די עלייט האט זי זיך נישט אנגענומען געשטעלט אקענטען
דעם גרעסטען באגריפען פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער צו דערלאזען די נאצי
סאלכאויזענס ברענען די אירען, נישט געקוקט אויף די ווארענ-ישען און
וועה-געטרייטען פון דעם גאר-וואס פארשטערבענע טראג-פראג פון קענטער
בורי, אין לאנדען הויז, אז נישט ווייניגער פון 10 מיליאנעס א ידעש
לעבענס ווערען שטענדיג אומגעבראכט דורך דעם שונא! פארקערט, די סאנדאט-
מאכע ענגלאנד האט דאס דענסאלע זיך דערלויבט צו דערלאזען פויזינער
אנטרינגען נאצי-קרנגות אומצוקומען אינאיינעם מיט די שיינען סאנדאט
און "פאפולר" אין די ים-כוואלס, און זיי נישט אריינלאזען אין זייער
אייגען לאנד, ווייל-... געזעץ-איז געזעץ! טעטע פערלייגט א וויי-
סער פאפולר איז געזעץ, און נישט דער סאנדאט פון די פעלקער לייגט דין,
ולייגט דין

ענגלאנד, די בראווע דעמאקראטישע באשיצערין פון אזא אומגערעכטאלען

וועלט-פאשלוס ווי די צוריק-אויסגעלונג פון דער אידישער נאציע צוויי-
טען פעלקער, אין אזא עהרענפארטער פאזיציע האט ענגלאנד זיך געקענט
דערלויבען צו דערווייזען וואס זי האט דערווייזען אקענט דעם סאכס-
לאזען אידישען יחוס און אלסנה.

און ס'ט דעם אלעם האט זי פארט דעם מאנדאט נישט געבראכט צו קבורח!
ער איז אינגאנצער געווארען, פארווארען געווארען, געפראכען גע-
ווארען, אבער נישט אפגעשאפט געווארען, אפילו נישט אויף א האר אפגע-
ווארען געווארען. דער מאנדאט איז איצט, ווי אלעמאל, אין זיין פולער
קראפט, און, אלץ א געזעץ פון די פעלקער פון דער וועלט סוף ער פארט
אויסגעפירט ווערען נאך אלע גרויסע אפגעטען וואס זיינען א ריכער איבער
דעם פאלק ישראל, און וואס עס האט זיך אויסגעלייגט אין פון די רשעים,
און אי פון די צדיקים, שמעחת דער פאלעסטינער מאנדאט נאכא אייגענעם
און נישט געפירט, און סאכס ס'ט פ'ט

1. ארויספירינגען אלע פאלען ווען דער מאנדאטער האט באנוצט סאכס, אבער נישט ווי
פארפליכט צו פאזיציען דעם מאנדאט אקענטען אראפ'שען אנדער, נאר אקענטען די אידען, וועלכע
דינען אלס ^{ג'ר} צום צוועק פאר דעם פאלעסטינער מאנדאט, און דאס זיכערקייט פון זייער לעבען
און שאפען איז געשטעלט געווארען אונטערן סוף פון דער ענגלישער סאכס.

2. ווייל עס איז שווער צו פאר'ייען דעם, ווייסען פאפיר" אלס געזעץ איז-ער די
די פאלעסטינער מעסי'ס:

1. עס איז נישט קיין רעגולערער ענגלישער געזעץ פון דעם ענגלישען פארלאמענט אלס
געזעצגעבער'ס סאכס, נאר אן אויסערנעוויינליכער ארטיגער סאכס-גראמטיק-
סער אקסעס איז אונטער אויבער-קאנטראל, און האט נישט קיין געזעצליכע קראפט
סיידען פריער אויסדריקליך דעפינירט דורך דעם קאנסטיל פון דער פעלקער-ליג (לוא)
פונקט 8 פון ארטיקל 2 פון דעם אפמאך פון דער פעלקער ליג.)
2. עס איז זעלטען צו טרעפן אין רעגירונגס-פראקטיק אזא 100 פראצענט-יג-סי-
פאמילע ווי דאס, ווייסע פאפיר" צייגט ארויס צו די אראבער, סיידען דאס איז א
רעזולטאט פון עכטער איבערצייכונג אינאיינעם דעם אקענטען אידישער אוסרעכט
אי דער פאמילע וואס דער, ווייסער פאפיר" ^{כאט} פארט אוסערנעמט וציאנעל, און איז
געפירט געווארען אין געזעצליכער קראפט איצט, נישט-ווארענדיג אויף דער נומער-
סונג פון הערערען קאנטראל, און נישט אפגעשטעלט געווארען אפילו נאכדעם ווען
ער איז אנולירט געווארען פון דער מאנדאטען-קאמיסיע, צייגט ^{אז} די ענגלישע רע-
גירונג איז אזוי טיף איבערצייגט אין איר גערעכטער שטעלונג צו דער רעכט
פון די אראבער איבער די אידען, אז זי האט זיך ענטשלאסען אויף אן אויסער-
געוויינליכען שריט אין געזעצגעבער'שער פראצעדור, אגא-עס-למען אן אוסערנעמט-
סוציאנעלען געזעץ אין קראפט איבער דער געזעצליכער וועג, און דאס וואלט
געווען אינגאנצען אוממעגליך סיידען דער מאנדאטער איז באוועגט פון אמת-אידע-
אליסטישע און אלטראאיסטישע סאמיווען? ^{אויף אס אסאך וועגן אסאך אסאך}
4. אז עס איז אויך שווער צו דערלאזען אז דאס זאל געווען זיין א, גויס-פאל-געזעץ
לכסל, ווי עס וואלט זיין די גויס צו בארוהינען דאס דערשיינענע געוויסען
פון דעם ענגלישען פאלק צוליב אידישע גרויסע אפמאכען אקענטען די אראבער אדער
אז דאס ענגלישע פאלק איז אזוי שאקירט געווארען פון אומדערטרעגליכע אידישער
באנעסונג אין ארץ ישראל, אז עס האט ס'מאכאל צעריסען ס'ט זיין היסטארישער
רעפוטאציע אלס, "ביבעל-פאלק", און איז גענצליך ארויסגען געפאלען אונטער דעם
איינגעלום פון דער אראבישער קולטור און ציוויליזאציע.

אבער אזוי ווי עס איז שווער צו געפ'נען אס די אלע און ענליכע סאמיווען א-וי-פון-רע-
סארד פון דער היסטארישער פארניינענדיג, זונט אנפאנג פון דעם מאנדאט, סוף סען אנג-
סטן אז די אסח'ע סאמיווען, וועלכע האבען געבראכט צום, ווייסען פאפיר" פון 1939, ^{זיכר}
גען אינגאנצען אויסער דער פראווינץ פון אידישע אדער אראבישע אינטעסעסען. און דעם אסח-
סאמיוו איז נישט שטארק ווייט צו זוכען. סאכס אין דעם זעלבען ווייסען פאפיר

פונקט 8 סוב-פאראנראף 7 פון פאראנראף 10, אינאיינעם ס'ט סוב-פאראנראף 1 אונטער
דעם זעלבען פאראנראף 10 פון דעם, ווייסען - פאפיר פון 1939, זיינען באזירט ווערען

דערצוקונפטיגער „סמראטענישער סימאציע“ וואס האט זיכער נאך סער ווי די באוואוסטע
אויס-איןמערסטען האבען געפאדערט ברייט-אראפישע דערנעמערונג אונטער אלע אומשטענ-
דען.

דער אויגען-דערמאנטער 8 סער פונקט פון ארטיקל 22 פון דעם פעלקער-לייג צעסאן,
נאראטירט אז קיינע נייע, פון דער לייג אין פאראויס-ניס-זאמטימטע, איינפירונגען מארען
פון דעם סאנדאטער אליין גיט ענטענומען ווערען און דער אויסדריקליכער דעפיניטיווער
זאמטימונג אין פאראויס ^{אלק} דער לייג'ס קאונסיל. צוזאמען מיט דרייסיגע אינמערטע אין
דער „סמראטענישער סימאציע“ אין פארבינדונג מיטן זאגלעכע סיינער סאנדאט, האט זיכער גע-
פאדערט אז אזא גיט פאראויס-זאמט-ימער פונקט זאל פריער אויסדריקליך דעפינירט ווערען ^{אלק}
דער לייג'ס קאונסיל. ^{פול} אבער אזא פונקט איז ביכולת ארויס צורופען שטייטע סעריסאריעלע
איינווענדונגען. האט די ווייטזיכטיגע ברייטשע דיפלאמאט זיך באזארגט-זאל אפילו
דיין אומגעזעצליך-טיט דער פרייגשאפט פון די אראבער (גיט בלויז די פאלעסטינער
אראבער) כדי צו באזייטיגען אראבישע שמערונג אין פאל פון צוקונפטיגע ווערטיקאצען
טיט דער פעלקער לייג ווענען דער „סמראטענישער סימאציע“ אין ארץ ישראל.
וואס זייך אידישער פרייגשאפט, איז זי לענין „סמראטענישער סימאציע“ כמעט
איןנאנצען אומוויכטיג, ווייל דער גאנצער אידישער פארמעג איז דאך בלויז דער זעלביגער
ארץ ישראל שטח.

אין פארבינדונג מיט אים דעם פארהאט וואס די ענגלישע רעגירונג איז אין איר
האזיציע אלס געזעצליך-פארמרויטע באשיצערין פון דעם טאכטלאזען און שוואכען אידישען
פאלק, דארף די אידישע יורדישע קאסיטיע פעסטשטעלען דעם גאנצען פארנעם פון דעם נאציא-
נאלען חורבן וואס איז דורכדעם-דירעקט און אוסדירעקט-זינט דעם „ווייסען מאפיר“ פון
פאסט, ארויף געבראכט געווארען אויף די טיילאנען פון דעם אייראפעאישען אידענטיט, אויך
פון אנדערע וועלט-טיילען: און די ליידען און יסורים, און פארלוסט אין פארשטענען פון
דעם טאג וואס דער „ווייסער מאפיר“ איז איינגעפירט געווארען אין קראפט, און ביז היינט-
טיגען טאג. אויך די גייסטיגע ליידען וועלכע זיינען געבראכט געווארען אויפן אידישען
פאלק דורך פראוואצירען און ארויפצווינגען סערא-אקטען אויף דעם סער עספייגליכען טייל
פון דער פארצווייפעלטער אידישער יונגענד פון ארץ ישראל, וועלכע איז דורכאויס בלויז
באר פרידליכער, פראדוקטיווער און שעפערישער בוי-ארבעט, און דאס איז דער גרוזליג-
סטער אנגריף פון דער סאנדאטען-סאכט אויף די פונדאמענטאלע פרינציפען פון דער איי-
דישער סאראל און עפיק אקטען רציחה און שפיכת-דם.

אזא רעקארד, באזירט אויף אפיציעלע קוואלען, דארף דינען אלס אויטענטישער דאקו-
מענט פאר א באשטימטען באשולדיגונגס-אקט אקענען זיין בריטישער מאיעסטעט, דעם סאנ-
דאמאר, אין א געזעצליכען שטופ אין דער געהערניגער צייט, און פון דער געהערניגער אוי-
טאריטאטיווער און געזעצליכער קערפערשאפט פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער.
ח. סיגנאציעלע אויסגאבע אין פארבינדונג מיט דער שאפונג, עקזיסטענץ און ארבעט
פון דער אידישער יורדישער קאסיטיע זאלען געדעקט ווערען דורך איין אייגנשאפטלי-
כע שטייער אויף אלע אידישע קהילות פון די פאראייניגטע שטאטען, לויטן פרינציפ פון דע-
צאל אידישע איינוואוינער. דער שטייער זאל באשטימט ווערען אויף איין פערסיין אומשטום
און גלייכצייטיג אומשטום אויפגעזאמלט ווערען דורך דעם אפמאכט פון דער אמעריקאנער
אידישער קאנפערענץ.

אנמערקונג: דער פאקט וואס די יונג צוגריימונג קאסיטיע באהאנדעלט שוין אויך
דעם "מאטמאטיש" ענין (צו וועלכען די מאגאזינען דארטען איינער גיין)
מאכט די נויטיגקייט פון דער אידישער יורדישער קאסיטיע דרינגענד
אין דער העכסטער סדרה.



II. אידישע קאמיסיע אפיציעל און געזעצליך

1.

א אידישע קאמיסיע וועלכע באצוועקט צו באשיצן דעם פאלעסטינער מאנדאט אקענען

דעם אנגריף פון דער מאנדאטען מאכט נופא, איז פולשטענדיג געזעצליך.

דאס אידישע פאלק איז גארעכטיגט צו שאפלירען אזא אוסאגעהענגיגע קאמיסיע לויט

די עקזיסטירענדע געזעצליכע אקטען און אפמאכען פון עפענטליכען באראקסער, און פון

אינמערנאציאנאלער זורדישער קראפט. אס די רעכט שטאמט פון דער שטאטליכער פונקציע

וואס דער פאלעסטינער מאנדאט האט צום ערשטען מאל אנערקענט, און בארעכט דער ציו-

ניסטישער ארגאניזאציע אלס עפענטליכע קערפערשאפט, רעפרעזענטירט דורך דער אידישער

אגענטור, פונקט ווי זיין בריטאנישע מאיעסטעט איז, לויטן מאנדאט, די גרונט-קערפערשאפט

פאר דער מאנדאטען-מאכט, רעפרעזענטירט דורך דער בריטישער רעגירונג.

לויט ארטיקל 4 פונם מאנדאט איז די רעכט און פליכט פון דער אידישער אגענטור

א רעגירונגס-פונקציע, צו רעפרעזענטירען דאס פאלק ישראל אלס צווייטע צד פון

דעם פאלעסטינער מאנדאט, דעם צד וועלכען דער מאנדאט האט באשטימט ארויסצוהייצען פון

זיין אונטערזאכטער לאגע אין גלות, צו א לאגע פון א ברייען פאלק צווישען פעלקער אין

זיין היסטארישער נאציאנאלער היים.

ארטיקל 4 פון דעם פאלעסטינער מאנדאט לייענט זיך ווי פאלגט:

א. פאסענדע אידישע אגענטור זאל אנערקענט ווערען אלס אן עפענטליכע קער-
פערשאפט פאר דעם צוועק פון ראטה און קאאפעראציע מיט דער פאלעסטינער
ארמיניסטראציע אין אזעלכע עקאנאמישע, סאציאלע און אנדערע אנגעלעגענהייטן,
וועלכע קענען האבען אן איינפלוס אויף דער עטאפלירונג פון דער אידישער
נאציאנאלער היים, און די אינמערקעטע פון דער אידישער באפעלקערונג אין
פאלעסטינע, און, איבער אין אנקלאונג מיטן קאנטראל פון דער ארמיניסטראציע-
ציע, צו העלפען, און אנטייל נעמען אין דער ענטוויקעלונג פונם לאנד.
די ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציע, אזוי לאנג ווי איר ארגאניזאציע און קאנ-
סטיטוציע איז אין דער סייגונג פון דער מאנדאטען מאכט געהעריג, זאל
אנערקענט ווערען אלס אזא אגענטור, די אגענטור, אין ראטה מיט דער רע-
גירונג פון זיין בריטאנישער מאיעסטעט זאל נעמען שריט צו פארזיכערען
די קאאפעראציע פון אלע אידען וועלכע זיינען וויליג צו העלפען אין דער
עטאפלירונג פון דער אידישער נאציאנאלער היים.

יורדיש איז נים נויטיג קיין ארגאניזירטע מאכט צו באשיצן אן עפענטליכע

רעכט. עפענטליכע רעכט איז אויטאמאטיש אונטערן שול פון דער הייליגקייט פון אינסע-

נאציאנאלען געזעץ. די אידישע אגענטור וואלט נים נעקענט אפערירען אלס עפענטליכע

קערפערשאפט, ווען נים די אויטאמאטישע רעכט אויף שול געגען יעדען אנגריף אויף אס

דער אינטערנאציאנאל און פייערליך בראקלאסירטער רעכט. לוז איז די גאטירליכע רעכט
געגען יעדען אנגרייף, און געגען יעדען אנפאל. לוז איז די גאראנטיע פון רעכט, דאס
געווער וואס ליגט אין דעם עם באגריף „רעכט“. בלויז ווען אונטער ע-ז איז רעכט, א-א
רעכט.

דער באגריף פון דער אידישער אנגענומען איז א סאמאליכער באגריף צו רעפרעזענטירען
דאס אידישע פאלק דורך דעם איבערגענינגע-בערייך פון זיין איצטיגער א-פאליטישער לאגע
אין דער וועלט צו זיין נייער לאגע פון גאראנטירטער פאליטיש-נאציאנאלער רעכט-גסטרוק-
ציע אין דער וועלט, באלעבענדיג צוריק זיין היסטאריש לאנד. די פונקציעס פון דער אי-
דישער אנגענומען ליגע ראטיא אין דער סטערע פון דער געגענער ארבעט וואס איז באשטימט
געווארען אינעם סאנדאט צו בריינגען די אידישע נאציאנאלע הייס צום פולשטענדיגען ציעל,
און צווייטענס, וואס איז דער טאטע עיקר, און ערשטער פרינציפ, אליין צו פונקציאנירען,
דאס הייסט צו זיין א אידישע אנגענומען, אן עפענטליכע קערפערשאפט, צו האבען ביכולת א-ג-
צוגיין מיט איר סאמעטינגייט, אויסגעשטערט, און אויסצופירען אלע אפליגאציעס וואס זיינען
אויף איר אקאמפלייט געווארען דורך דעם סאנדאט. און, די טאטע ערשטע און הויפט א-ג-
ליגאציע איז אנצו-ווענדען די גאראנטיעס פאר איר אייגענער עקזיסטענץ, אלס אזעלכע,
עסגעגען יעדען אנגרייף און סאנדאט, וועלכער פירט אומפארטייליך אויך צו דער ליסוויגא-
ציע פון דער אנגענומען נאציא.

די פארענדונגען פון דעם סאנדאט, אן די גאראנטיעס פון דעם סאנדאט צו וועלכע די
אידישע אנגענומען האט א שייכות, געפינען זיך אין דעם ארטיקל 2 פון דעם סאנדאט וואס
לייגעט זיך ווי פאלגט:

„די סאנדאטען-מאכט זאל זיין פאראנטווארטליך פאר אוועקשטעלען דאס לאנד
אונטער אזעלכע פאליטישע, אדמיניסטראטיווע און עקאנאמישע סאנדיציעס,
וועלכע וועלען פארזיכערען די עקאדעמירונג פון דער אידישער נאציאנאלער
הייט אויפן סטך פון דער איינלייטונג, און די ענטוויקעלונג פון יעלסט-
רעניטערטע אינסטיטוציעס, ווי אויך צו פארזיכערען די ציווילע און
רעליגיעזע רעכט פון אלע פאלעסטינער אייגנזאמיגער אן אונטערשייד פון
ראטע און רעליגיע.

די דערמאנטע „איינלייטונג“ לויטעט צווישען אנדערעס:

„היות די הויפט פארבינדעטע מאכטען האבען זיך געאייגנט אז דער סאנדאט
זאל זיין פאראנטווארטליך פאר דער דורכפירונג פון דער דעקלאראציע וואס
איז אנפאנגען געמאכט געווארען דעם 2טן נאוועמבער 1948 פון דער רעגירע-
רונג פון זיין בריטאנישער סאיעסטעט, און אנגענומען געווארען ביי די
דערמאנטע מאכטען כדי צו עקאדעמירען אין פאלעסטינע א נאציאנאלע הייס
פארן אידישען פאלק, א.א.וו., א.א.וו.

היות עס איז דערציי געגעבן געווארען אנערקענונג צו דער היסטארישער
פארבינדונג פונם אידישען פאלק מיט פאלעסטינע, און צו דעם גרונדלעגן
פאר דער ווידער-אויפגעבונג פון זייער נאציאנאלער חיים אין יענעם
לאנד.

היות די הויפטאכטען פון די פארבינדעטע האבען אויסדערנוויילט זיין
זריטאנישע סאיעסמעט אלס סאנדאטאר פאר פאלעסטינע.

היות זיין זריטאנישע סאיעסמעט האט אנגענומען דעם סאנדאט איבער פא -
לעסטינע, און אונטערגענומען אים אויס צו פירען אין נאמען פון דער
פעלקער-ליג אין אנקלאנג מיט די פעלגענדע סאכגעבעלן.

העכאיינע דערמאנען ארטיקל 22 (פארטראף 8) איז באווארענט אז די
שמועס פון אויסטארישעם, סאנדאטאל אדער ארטינאציאנע, וואס דארף אויסגע-
איינע ווערען פון דעם סאנדאטאר, ווען אין פאראויס גיט באשטימט
דורך די ליג מיטגלידער, זאל אויסדריקליך דעפינירט ווערען דורך דעם
קאונסיל פון דער פעלקער-ליג.

(ארטיקל 22, פארטראף 8 לויטעם: דאסעלבע פון אויסטארישעם
סאנדאטאל אדער ארטינאציאנע אויסגעאיינע צו ווערען פון דעם
סאנדאטאר-אויס גיט אין פאראויס באשטימט דורך די מיטגלידער
פון דער ליג, זאל אויסדריקליך דעפינירט ווערען דורך דעם
קאונסיל אין יעדען פאל באזונדער.)

קלאר און דייטליך!

און די ערשטע דאפעלטע אפליינאציע פון דער אידישער אנגעמור, אלס עמעסליכע קער-
פערשאפט, סיי צום אידישען פאלק, און סיי צו דער פעלקער-ליג, איז צו שטיין אויף דער
וואך פון אים דער נאראנטיע, אז קיין ערשט וואס אין דעם סאנדאט פאראויס גיט באשטימט
געווארען, זאל גיט דערמעגליכט ווערען ביז עס וועט פריער אויסדריקליך דעפינירט ווערען
דורך דעם קאונסיל, אין יעדען פאל באזונדער.

2

דער „ווייטער פאפיר“ פון 1909 מיט אלע זיינע פלו-סינע פאלגען פאר דעם 1 אנגען
שיקזאל פון דעם אייראפעאישען אידענטיט, אריינגערעכענט די איצטיגע „בעוויזן-פאליטיק“
איז גיט נאר אין פאראויס גיט דעפינירט געווארען אין דעם פאלעסטינער סאנדאט, און
גיט נאר קיינסטאל גיט דעפינירט געווארען אין פאראויס פון דעם קאונסיל פון דער פעל-
קער-ליג, נאר ער איז בפירוש אפגעווארפען געווארען פון דער סאנדאטען-קאס יסיע, וועל-
כע איז די ערשטע אינסטאנציע פון סאנדאטאל. אין די אויסגעגעבענע איז דער „ווייטער פאפיר“
א מענאמענאלע ערשיינונג און דעם געביט פון רעגירונג. דורכפירט מיט דער איינציגער
אויסארישעם פון דער ענגלישער סאכט-ווען די ענגלישע סאכט איז דערצו גיט בארעכטיגט
אין געזעץ-איז עס א זעלטענער אקט פון רעגירען אויסשליסליך דורך סאכט, סאכענדיג
דעם נאנצען פרינציפ פון געזעץ צו שאנד און צו שפאם

עס איז קלער פאר יעדען בר-דעה - איד, גיט איד - אז לינג קען עס אזוי גיט אנגיין
סאיד נאך גיט טאקע אינגאנצען „לייט דין ולייט דין“ אין דער וועלט. עס איז איצט
פונקט לחיפך: דער איצטיגער געשיכטליכער מאמענט איז באראקסער'סטיש פאר דער וועלט
געבורט-ווייזן פון סאראלישער און עמישער דערוואונג. עס איז גיט שווער צו גלויבן
אז „רציחה בון סאכט“ וועט נאך אינגיכען קריגען איר ריכטיגע אפשאצונג, און באלוי-
נונג. די וועלט איז איצט באזארגט גיט נאך איבער דער סאכט בון א „גרויס-אכט“ נאך
איבער דעם גאנצען ענין „סאכט“ גופא! די סאכט בון דער אמאסישער עגערניע א לייג איז
שוין אין דער „געמערליכער סכנה“ אוועק געשטעלט ווערען אויסערן געזעצן נאכא, אז נאך
אלעמען סוף געזעצן רעגירען איבער סאכט, און גיט פארקערט.

איז אויב געזעצן, איז אפשר פאראן א זכות אויף דער ענגלישער רעגירונג, א ז
אפער איז די גיט דעם באלעסטיגער סאנדאט בימער אריינגעפאלען. בלא-יודעים: אזוי האט
זיך אונטערגענומען דורכצופירען אן אויסגעלייכען און אויספראקטישען באשלוס בון די פעל-
קער, וועגען וועלכען זיי האט גיט געהאט די נויטיגע אהנונג: אז די דעטאלען בון דעם
סאנדאט זיינען אויסגעארבעט געווארען שרייב וואו אין די טיפטישען בון דער פעלקער-
לייג קאנצעליאריעס, און מ'האט אלץ דערלייגנט גרייט דער פריטישער רעגירונג, יון זי
האט קיין אנדער פרייה גיט געהאט ווי בלויז אנצוגעסען.

קומען שפער די אפיציעלע דאקומענטען און זאגען עדות אז דער גאנצער סאנדאט, בון
אלס ביי חיו, אריינגערעכענט אויך ארטיקל 4 וועגען דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע
אלס אירישע אנעמור, וועלכע האט שוין א קנאפע סכסות אין די אויגען בון דעם אויסערן
סיניסער געווייזן איז אויסגעארבעט געווארען גיט בון קיין אנדער קערפערשאפט ווו די
פריטישע רעגירונג גופא, און צוגעשטעלט געווארען צו דער פעלקער-לייג פאר נומדיסונג.
האט איז באשטעטיגט אין א פרייוו בון לערד באלפור צו דער פעלקער-לייג, דאמירט דעם
G און דעצעמבער, 1920, אין וועלכען עס ווערט געזאגט צווישען אנדערעס:

„אין אנקלאנג מיט די אינסטרוקציעס וואס איך האב געקראגען פון סיין
רעגירונג, האב איך די עהרע דערמיט איבערצוגיבען קאפייעס בון די
טעקסטען בון די סאנדאטען פאר סעמאפאמאטיע און באלעסטיגע ווי זיי
זיינען פאראם געווארען ביי דער רעגירונג בון זיין סאיעסטעס, און
צו ערדוכען אז איר וועט אזוי גוט זיין און זיי פארלייגען פאר דעם
קאונסיל בון דער פעלקער-לייג... די רעגירונג בון זיין סאיעסטעס
וואנט צו האפען אז די עקזאמענירונג בון די דאקומענטען וועט צו פרי-
דעגסטעלען דעם קאונסיל, אז זיי קאונסיל וועט זיין גלייבן אראפגעל.
פון דעם אפמאך, און אז דער קאונסיל וועט זיין גלייבן אראפגעל.
און אין דעם סאנדאט פארפאסט בון דער רעגירונג בון זיין סאיעסטעס, איז די ציו-“

ניסטישע ארגאניזאציע, אלס אידישע אנענסור, נאכמיטש געווארען אלס די יורדישע פער-
זאן פאר דעם צווייטען צד אין דעם סאנדאט, און אלס אן עפענטליכע קערפערשאפט, וואס
סיינס אז די באשיצונג פון דעם סאנדאט אנקעגען דעם צווייטען צד פון גמ סאנדאט ליגט
אין די הענט פון דער אידישער אנענסור.

אלע פאררעדונגען פון דעם סאנדאט - אין כלל, און אין פרט - זענען אוועקגעשטעלט
געווארען אונטער דער אדמיניסטראטיווער פאראנטווארטליכקייט פון דער סאנדאטען-סאכס.
אבער נישט די אידישע אנענסור! אזוי לאנג ווי די ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציע פונקציאנירט
אויף די זעלבע פרינציפען ווי ווען דער סאנדאט איז ארויס געגעבען געווארען, איז די
אידישע אנענסור אינגאנצען אומאפהענגיג פון דער סאנדאטען סאכס, און זי שעפט איר
אויסאריטעט פון דעם סאנדאט גופא, פונקט ווי די סאנדאטען-סאכס זעלבסט. דע-רום איז
די אידישע ^{אגאט'ר} סאטליכע קערפערשאפט, און דער פונדאטענטאלער שטאטליכער אינסטרוקט
וואס קען קיינסמאל נישט ארונטערפאלען אונטער קיינע פון די בריטישע סאכסנאציעס, און
פארלעצונגען פון דעם סאנדאט, נאר פארקערט, זי איז די גרויסע גאראנטיע, די גרויסע
לעגעיטימע גאראנטיע פאר דער אינסענאריטעט פון דעם סאנדאט גופא! אז עס איז פאראן א
פערסאנענטע עפענטליכע קערפערשאפט וועלכע האט דאס רעכט, און די פליכט אין גע-זען,
צו היטען דעם סאנדאט פון אנגריפען, און אנצונעמען אלע געזעצליכע פונ-סיטלען אקעגען
דער סאנדאטען-סאכס גופא אין פאל פון אפגענומען פון איר געזעצליכען קורס.
און אפגענומען זיינען געווען גענוג פונם ערשטען ווייטען פאפיר זיין לעצ-
טען, ווייטען פאפיר פון 1939, און אלע סאל סער, און ~~אגאט'ר~~ סער, איז די שטאטליכע
פונקציע פון דער אידישער אנענסור געשניטען געווארען, רעדוצירט געווארען, פארשטעלערט
געווארען, זיז זי איז אין 1939 אינגאנצען בארויבט געווארען פון אירע רעכט, פון
פון אירע אפלינאציעס אונטערן סאנדאט, צו העלפען אלס אן עפענטליכע קערפערשאפט אין
דעם אויפבויע פון ארץ ישראל אלס דאס אידישע לאנד.

און דער לעצטער אנגריף פון דעם אויסערן סיניסטער געוויין ~~אגאט'ר~~ אויף דער ציוני-
סטישער ארגאניזאציע איז שוין א פארשטעט אויך סכסל צו זיין, ווי ס'נישט איז, אויך די
אוידישע אנענסור, אינאיינעם מיט דעם גאנצען ארטיקל 4 פון דעם סאנדאט, נאכדעם ווי ער
איז זיכער אז מיט דעם ארטיקל 2 פון דעם סאנדאט איז שוין פארענדיגט געווארען
נאך אין 1939 דורך דעם, ווייטען פאפיר, און וואס ס'זיין די איבעריגע 2 ארטיקלען
פון דעם סאנדאטען ארען זיי וויגציג דער ענגלישער דיפלאמאטיע. דער עיקר איז ~~סער~~

פאר אן ווערען פון דעם "2" טיטן "4", דאס הייסט: פון דער אידישער ארץ ישראל,
און פון דער אידישער אנגעטור

דער ענגלישער אויסערן סיניסער בעווייזן האט כלל נים אינזיגען^{ק"ל} אידישע רעכט.
זיין נאנטער צווייג צום אידישען קאמפלעקט איז באזירט אויפן "געזעץ" פון אידישער
רעכטלעזיגקייט. באגרייפט ער קאמפליך אז דאס היינט זיין לעצטען אנגריף אויף דער אי-
דישער אנגעטור האט ער פאר דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע סטאטאס פאקטענא די טירען פון
געזעץ, און געגעבען דעם ריכטיגען שטויס ענדליך אפצו ווענדען איר ~~פאליטישע~~ פאליטישע יוריד-
שע קראפט וואס זי פארמאגט אלס עקספליצירטע קעמערשאפט לויטן סאנדאט: ער האט געגעבען
דעם אידישען פאלק דעם ערשטען און מעכטיגען שטויס צו געלען דעם ערשטען שטאטליכען
שריט אין דעם קאמפף פארן אידישען לאנד, וואס איז אנטארטייליך, און וואס איז, אין
לעצטען סך-הכל דער קאמפף פון געזעץ איבער ווילקיר און ~~פאפולערע~~ פארמאט א קאמפף
וואס פאדערט ארויסצודריינגען דאס נאנטע צעמטל זינד וואס ענגלאנד איז באגרינגען
אקעגען דעם סאנדאט, און דעם אידישען פאלק, אין אן אויספירליכען און אפיציעלען
פארייבט פון אן אייגענער יורדישער קאסיטיע צו די פאראייניגטע פעלקער, און צו דער
אמעריקאנער רעגירונג. א פארייבט איבער די ערנסטע פראבלעמען פון דעם אידישען פאלק
און ארץ^א און נים די געקיינסטע פראבלעמען פון דער שטאטלעך-גייטער קאסיטיע^א און
אלע פריערדיגע, וואס איז געשאפען געווארען נים מער ווי אויף פארבלענדען די ארבעטן,
כדי מען זאל פארנעמען אין די ערנסטערע פראגען וואס עס לוינט זיך נים פאר ענגלאנד
אז מען זאל זיי גערעכטען. און סאכער וועלען אין די "1939" מען פון "אייילעניס" אר-ט-
קאכען נאך, א עטליכע אירען" אין דער סלחא טיטן, גענעראל ווינסטער, קע-ט מען נים
העלפען, ווארים ענגלאנד האט א געדעק, און זי טוט אים היטען, און דאס איז דער ווי-
סער פאפיר" פון 1939. זי קען אויף איר אייגענעם, געזעץ" נים עובר זיין!

דער רעפארט פון אונזער אייגענער יורדישער קאסיטיע וועט זיכער טיט זיך פארשטע-
לען דעם ערשטען פאזיטיוו-דעמאליכען שריט פון דעם וועלט-אידענפיקאציע אין א פרידליכען
אפט, וואס וויקעלט זיך ארויס אויף א פאפולערן נאטירליכען אומן פון דעם נייגן פון די
געשטענדיגען, און זייער מענדעטן אפצושטעקען דעם אידישען געזעצליכען סטאטוס פונדע-
צו ארץ ישראל. דאס איז נים נאך אן אקט פון אונזער באנוצען זיין טיט אונזערע געזעצלי-
כע רעכט אויף א שטאטליכען אופן, ווען אונזערע לעבענס-אינטערעסען פאדערן עס, עס
וועט אויך זיין דער ערשטער פרידליכער און געזעצליכער אקט פון אסתי'ער אידיש-פאליטי-
שער און שטאטליכער זעלבסט-באשטימונג.

III. די נויט אין אפיציעלער אנקלאגע

עס האט גענומען 25 יאר, און אזוי פיל זיך איזדיקעווען איבער דעם אידישען פאלק, גענוג זאל קומען צו שטעלן אויב מיר קענען נישט געוויינען אפילו געיעצליך. וואס פאר א שאנסען האבען מיר דען נאך אין דער וועלט?

דער כאראקטעריסטישער שטריך פון דער גאנצער אקטיוויטעט פון דער סאנדאמען מאכט פון טאטע אנטאנא איז נישט דער נאטירליכער גייסט פון גוטען ווילען צו א-יר גע-געזעצליכען שוואלינג - דעם אידישען פאלק - נאך דער גייסט פון אומנאטירליכען גוטען ווילען צו די אראבישע אטאקעס אויף איר שוואלינג, און א פייווילינגע פאציפונג פון דער ענגלישער רעגירונג צום אידישען פאלק.

ווען די ענגלישע רעגירונג וואלט פון אנהייב-אן געווען אנטעסען א נאך-אלע שטעלונג צו איר דאפעלמער פליכט אונטערן סאנדאד - צום אידישען פאלק, און צו דער בעל-סער-ליג, וואלט דער גאנצער אידישער שיקזאל אין דער צווייטער וועלט מלחמה געווען אן אנדערער. האמלער וואלט דאן גיט געווען געהאט די סעגליכקייט אומאבריינגען 5,500,000 אידען פון אייראפע, - לויט ווי עס איז שוין אפיציעל געשטעטיגט דורך דעם גירענבערג פראצעס, - ווייל דאס אידישע פאלק וואלט שוין צו יענער צייט לינג געקענט געווען האבען זיין אייגענעם שטעט, און וואלט מיט זיין אייגענער סאכט געווען געקעמפט פארן לעבען פון דעם אייראפעאישען אידענטום. אויב איראק האט געקענט דערווייזען צו ווערען זעלבסט-

שטענדיג איינס-און-צוויי, האבען דאס אידען גיכער געקענט דערווייזען. דער אידישער רעקארד איז דער געסטער באווייז! און זאל דאס ענגלאנד וויסען: די אומדירעקטע פולד פאר די אומגעפראכטע 5,700,000 אייראפעאישע אידען שטייען גאנץ ערנסט אויבן חשבון פון דער ענגלישער אנגריף-פאליטיק אויפן פאלעסטינער סאנדאט.

און אויב דאס איז נאך נישט גענוג, פארנעמט זיך איצט די בראווע ענגלאנד צו דערלאנגען דעם לעצטען קלאפ דעם אידישען פאלק, און זי רעכענט זיך מיט גארניט, און די שטופע פון סענשליכע יסורים זיינען ביי איר גארניט אין פארגלייך מיט אויל און אנדערע וויכטיגע אינטערעסען פון דער גריסישער אימפעריע.

אם דער גרויסצוגיגער ווילקיר קען אפגעשטעלט ווערען נאך דורך שטעט, נאך געזעץ

קען, און נאך געזעץ וועט אומקערען רעכט צו דעם וואס רעכט פאלאנגט, און פארמורטיי-לען די גרויסע פריטישע אימפעריע פאר אלע אירע נומע סע-ליט, די אראבישע ליג אריינגע-רעכענט.

גלאט זיך אויסשפעה'ן אין בלייבען גערעכט פארן דעה-הקהל, איז עס איינע די
די צייט, עס איז איצט "בין-חזמנים" אינם לעבען פון פעלקער, און אין באשטימטן דעם
לעבען פון פעלקער, און חלילה אז מיר זאלען בלייבען אין דרויסען - ווי מיר זיינען
שוין געבליבען נישט ליינג צוריק- און נאך מיט ליידיגע הענט, און נישט האבען שוואר-
אויף-ווייט צו באשעפטיגען אלעס וואס וועט זיין נויטיג צו דערווייזען אונזער דעם
און ענגלאנד'ס אוסרעכט.

און די צייט איז קורץ! א פארזאמלונג פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער ווערט שוין
צוגעגרייט אויף יאנואר 1948.

עס איז נישט איבער'ן דווער צו באגרייפען אז די נאנצע ענגלישע דיאלעקטטיש לונג
ארץ ישראל סייגט: ריכטיגע צוגריימונג צום טיש פון די פאראייניגטע פעלקער. אין
איר סחיל דארף ארץ ישראל אפילו נישט האבען קיין באזונדער באגריימונג אלס אפגעטיילט
פון דעם מיטעל-מזרח פראבלעם, וואס איז א סטראטעגישע פראבלעם, און אויב עס בלאנעט
זיך פאר די פיס אז "אלטער סאנדאט" פון דער קאמעינארע ^A, איז וואס שייך צו די אי-
דע; איז דער סאנדאט שוין דערפילט געווארען, און וואס שייך צום לאג אלס נאנצע, מיט
דער צוריק-געשטאנענער באפעלקערונג, דארף זי אריינגענומען ווערען אונטער איר "סראס-
טיטיש" אויף אנדערע יסודות, און נישט ווי דער סאנדאט פון קאמעינארע ^A. קוים אנער בליי-
בען די אידען אין זייער רעכט אונטערן סאנדאט, - איז בימער: ארץ ישראל ס'זי גענומען
ווערען אלס א לענד פאר זיך זעלבסט, וואס איז שוין ליינג רייף פאר זעלבסט שטענדיג-
קייט, און דער סאנדאט וואלט שוין לאנג צוריק געקענט מערטיג'רע ווערען - וואס וועט
קומט אזיכען ווי מען מען דאס דערלאזען אז די אידען זאלען שטען אויף דעם שייך-וועג
פון דער גרויסער בריטישער אימפעריע אז מען זאל דארפן האבען אידישע צושטיוונג צו
געוויסע שרים פון סטראטעגישע אונטערנעמונגען.

דערום איז די אידישע יורדישע קאטיכע איצט א שטאפליכער אימפעראטיוו. ווארים
קוים ⁸⁶¹¹ די נאנצע אינציאטיווע איבער געלאזט ווערען צום ענגלישען אויטלאנדס-סיניסטער
געוויין, און מיר וועלען אליין גרינגעזאען געזען, וועט ארץ ישראל ווערען א בריטישע
קאלאניע אין באקט, אפילו ווען מען וועט ריפלאטאטיש דעם סאנדאט ווי ס'נישט איז איינ-
סטענען אינם "בראטטיש" די איינציגע עצה, איז צו בריינגען וואו מען דארף דעם גאנ-
צען רעקארד, און אזוי סימטעסאטיש, און אזא "מועס הסחויק את הסרו-בא", מיט אלע פאר-
לעצונגען, ברוכען און אפשאמונגען פון די אידישע רעכט אונטערן סאנדאט, אז עס זאל

ווערען קלאר און בולט פאר יעדען איינעם פארוואס אלע אפיציעלע אקטען, סטאטוטען, ווייטע באפירען, אדמיניסטראטיווע פארארדנונגען אין א טשך פון בלויז א פאר צענדליג יאר פון סאנדאטארישער פארוואלטונג אין ארץ ישראל מיטן צוועק צו שאפען א אידישע נאציאנאלע היים לויט די פארשריפטען פון דעם סאנדאט, איז דער סאנדאט געבראכט גע- ווארען צו זיין פאלשטענדיגען הייפן:

אנשטאט פאלייגען פארן אידישען פאלק די פארזיכערונג פון א פאליטישען סטא- טוס, און פאר דער אראבישער באפעלקערונג פארזיכערען דעם ציווילען און רע-ליגיעזען סטאטוס, איז דורכן „ווייטען באפיר“ פון 1939 ענדליך געשאפען געווארען א פאליטישער סטאטוס, און פאר דעם ישוב דער באקאנטער פאנדאט-סטאטוס לויטן אראבישען נא-סח.

דורך דער נאנצער לענג פון גלות ביז ס'ר האפען דערנרייכט דעם היסטארישען שיידונג פון דעם סאנדאט, דעם 24טן יולי, 1922, זיינען ס'ר געווען אינגאנצען רעכטלאז. אונזער איין-און-איינציגער סיטעל אקטען רשעות איז געליגען בלויז אין דעם אפיעל צו יושר און גערעכטיגקייט.

נאכן 24טן יולי, דער מאנ ווען די פעלקער האבען פאר אונז געהאטעט דעם פאלעסטינער סאנדאט, איז די אוסדערמרגליכע טשא פון ענדלאזער רעכטלאזיקייט פון אונז אראפגעפאלען, און ס'ר זיינען צוריק אנערקענט געווארען אלס א רעכטפול פאלק. זונט יענעם מאנ אין דער וועלט-געשיכטע ליגט שוין אונזער סיטעל אקטען רשעות נישט בלויז אין אפיעל צו יושר און גערעכטיגקייט, נאר אויך, און דער עיקר און אונזער גע- זעצליכער קראפט צו מאַכען דעכטן

זיינען ס'ר נישט זיכער אין אונזער רעכט און זיינען דען אויך אונזערע שונאים נישט זיכער אין אונזער רעכט ווען זיי וואלטען נישט זיין זיכער אין אונזער רעכט, וואלט פון אונזער ישוב שוין ליינג קיין זכר נישט געבליבען

אבער דער גרויסער צער איז וואס ס'ר -אזוי ליינג, ליינג רעכטלאז- זיינען נאך אליין נישט אינגאנצען רעכט-פאוואוסטזיג. ס'ר שטייען נאך מיט איין פוס אין דער אלטער רגילות רק צו זוכען יושר, נישט רעכט, -געפינען ס'ר גארניט ווייל- --- ווייל די וועלט האט איבערגעלאזט יושר און גערעכטיגקייט צו רעליגיע, און, פון אפגעזאגט יוצא וועגען, אפקומען איינמאל א יאר מיט „על חטא“, און אפשר דאס אויך נישט.

אדער דעכט איז - א מ ו ז

יושר, גערעכטיגקייט בעט מען. ר ע כ ט סאנט מען!!!

און סאנען רעכט סיינען צו זיין באוואוסטענס לויט דער פארשונג, א ניט בארשפילט

מען

און וועלען סיר נאר סאנען אונזער רעכט ווי מען דארף, וועלען סיר אויך אביסל

סער יושר געווינען.

לס / זשעס

ילטן בערזל

נא וואס.
מא 20 סט צוזאם 21
1945.



Copy

ZALMON BERUL
5 4 8
Riverside Dr.
New York, N.Y.

December 24, 1945.

Mr. Louis Lipsky, Chairman Ex. Com.
American Jewish Conference,
321 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

COPIES TO:

Dr. Nahum Goldman, Pres. World Jewish Congress.
Dr. A. Hillel Silver, Pres. Zionist Organization
of America.

Dear Mr. Lipsky:

I started taking my notes on this paper in the Yiddish, and have so continued. However, because time is so very precious, I decided to submit it to you in the original, as my eyes have been so strained during the extensive research, that I am for some time unable to take to its rewriting into English.

Three years of experience in the field, since the Allied Declaration of December 17, 1942, concerning the Nazi extermination of the Jews of Europe, have given me the impression that outside intellectual attempts to help in the cause of dealing with our woes, are not entirely welcome. Such attempts are rather taken as kind of nuisance, or interference with the normal cause of those who are called upon to do the practical work. I met some exceptions, nevertheless. One with you, and another one with Dr. Julian Morgenstern of the Union Theological Seminary. I would not think to give up my efforts anyway, since my concern is not in the field of any politics, but of principles of fundamental policy. I mean to say: principles of policy based on logical and moral considerations primarily, and on political considerations only secondarily.

Something of shocking importance for American Jewry has taken place at the Conference of the United Jewish Appeal in Atlantic City, December 16, 1945. Mr. Joseph Rosenzft, the Bergen-Belzen delegate, openly accused World Jewry, and likened its crime to the crime of Nazism. Everyone here must have felt accused of conscious neglect of the 6,000,000 Jewish lives of extinct European Jewry.

Confronted with this accusation, I dare say that if the members of the Rescue Committee of the American Jewish Conference, September 3, 1943, would have paid a little more human attention to the report of its Chairman, Mr. L. Fabricant, based on my First Memorandum, and demanding DEFENSE of the trapped f i r s t, and SAVING these who escaped n e x t, Mr. Rosenzft may have never had cause to so bitterly accuse World Jewry, not even to ever attend any such Conference of the United Jewish Appeal. For if the American Jewish Conference would have then accepted the principle of military defense, European Jewry would have been DEFENDED. It was a MILITARY and not a c i v i l i a n problem. European Jewry could have been defended! Even if the United Nations, with over a million of Jewish soldiery in their armies, would have refused to fight that special front of Extermination, WE would have stopped that extermination OURSELVES,

taking the military defense of our People into our own hands. In conditions of World War II, we could have done it! At least in the initiative of National Self-Defense, the United Nations could not help rendering all required assistance and cooperation, if we were to show a determination of a People.

This was a matter of principle. Any political considerations had to be disregarded in the face of a more vital fundamental policy. And, exactly this was the subject of my First Memorandum, then submitted to the top Religious Leadership of all three denominations.

I refuse to share the prevalent criticism of our leadership. I maintain that, as personalities, our leaders are, generally, at least not a bit inferior to any of another People, great or small. However, a fundamental evil lies at the base of our woes: deprived as we are of the "state principle of leadership", which makes decisions obligatory, we, nevertheless, fail to see how inevitable the search for some other binding principle, which would make decisions, at least on Life and Death, authoritative and obligatory for all within the Jewish fold. Yes, we have a Leadership, but devoid of the "Leadership Principle" even in matters of Life and Death for the Nation! A Lessing Rosenwald, a Rabbi Elmer Davis of another Nation would in war conditions hardly escape trial for treason, while in our midst they are a "Council for Judaism!"

In those dark days I perceived that the vestiges of our religious foundations - faint as they might be - are still of the true nature of a "Leading Principle", at least in matters concerning Jewish Destiny, the whole of Jewry. Any potential traitor would have to surrender to decisions on critical matters of survival of the Jewish People, when taken formally on the basis of positive and written Judaic Law. If according to Judaic Law, American Jewry - under the diasporic conditions of its own - was under obligation to defend with its life our European Tribe, every member of American Jewry had to abide in the law, if a lawful decision were taken by an authoritative Rabbinical Assembly.

It is significant that only one religious leader, Dr. Julian Morgenstern of the Union Theological Seminary, paid attention to my Memorandum (I attach a copy of his letter), only to come out a few days later with his well known furious attack upon Jewish Nationalism. Also Rabbi Locketine paid peculiar attention, by returning the whole pack "without comment".

That memorandum was far from a "doctrinal affair". I enclose a copy of a "Confidential Page" attached to that memorandum. On that page you will find the contents of a letter to me by Bruce Bliven, Editor of the NEW REPUBLIC, of July 13, 1943. It throws a little light on that famous Special Section of the New Republic of August 30, 1943, under Title: "THE JEWS OF EUROPE HOW TO HELP THEM", issued in time for the benefit of the American Jewish Conference. This Special Section was the outcome of my long and bitter struggle with that publication. I hoped that this progressive American Weekly - "a Journal of Opinion" - will not object to presenting an o p i n i o n on the crying need for the MILITARY DEFENSE of doomed European Jewry. To any even non-progressive mind, the Refugee-Swing policy, aside from being utterly unrealistic in the complex war conditions, appeared almost meaningless, compared with the mostrosity of the catastrophe.

Refusing to publish my first series, and all subsequent articles on the subject, Mr. Bliven suggested to let me have expressed my views in a letter to the Editor. I hoped that even such inferior medium might well

serve to influence the forthcoming Madison Square Garden Demonstration, scheduled for March 1st, 1943. I presented the letter to the Editor February 25, and it appeared April 19th, nearly 2 months later.

The Madison Square Garden Demonstration, March 1, 1943 accepted the policy of "least resistance" - "saving refugees" - and so did the American Jewish Conference, September 3, 1943, six months later, when not less than two more millions have been added to the first million Jews fallen in the one-sided war of extermination. Mr. Bliven's Special Section of the N.Y. Republic for the "benefit" of the American Jewish Conference, is surely to be credited with the success of its influence. It made a tremendous impression, and was the talk of the Jewish Press. The Bliven "line of attack" - the phrase used in his letter to me - was: "The Jews of Europe How to H E L P them? Whereas my "line of attack" was "How to D E F E N D them?"

"We would publish your article (the last one 'A March on Washington') immediately - he wrote - were we not all convinced that another line of attack is better than yours".

The balance sheet has now been presented at the Nuremberg trial by Justice Jackson. 5, 700,000 exterminated, and none, or almost none saved. After those long resolutions of the Rescue Committee, a short slogan was to be adopted in the Press: "To Save Those Who Can Still be Saved".

None of the Jewish wars of history compare with this unprecedented war of extermination. Not even the cruel war of Sancherib against the Ten Tribes of Israel, or that of Nebuchadnezzar, who destroyed the Jewish Kingdom, and led the people away into Babylonian exile.

Biologically and geographically, the Ten Tribes of Israel are still alive, nationally transformed, whether into Indians, Japanese, or, - as the British movement of the 19th Century fancied - Anglo-Israel. The direct descendants of the 10 Tribes still live, and they continue to populate the Earth. For those wars, cruel as they have been, were military affairs against the People and its Land, while the Hitler War of Extermination was a military affair against the People and its life!

Just because in this sub-human war we had no battle-fields of the traditional pattern, politicians of all sorts, big, and small, could well disregard it, and, for greater convenience, introduce what was well known as the "hush-hush policy". Instead of revolting, we surrendered to it, and "Rescue" talk was to serve as the shock-absorber.

A half year of strenuous efforts, including my vain effort to obtain more cooperation from Dr. S. Margoshes, Columnist of THE DAY, - beyond publishing a Column on the subject (enclosed herewith) - resulted in nothing. The Jewish Press carried blood-congealing headlines on its front pages, and peaceful stuff of "business as usual" on the inside pages, the Big Issue of the time being only ~~over~~ the controversy over Palestine a "Commonwealth" with all the inside, and outside politics attached to it, presumably that it may lead to the opening of the doors of the Land for immediate saving operations.

The ardent Zionist that I feel I am revolted within me against all this when the Jewish mass, required to populate Palestine, is being permitted to be slaughtered, without the slightest interference, at the rate of 10, 000 a day. I was pleased that I am not bound by any "Party discipline", except that of a "disciplined Jew", to struggle voluntarily for the cause of Jewish survival.

I felt it much more vital to be right with a small minority, or even ALONE, if need be with yourself, than to be wrong even with the most overwhelming majority.

This is how the First Memorandum (49 typewritten pages, single space) was ready early in September 1943, and rendered to the attention of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Rabbi Louis Finkelstein, Rabbi Samuel Belkin, and other Heads of Jewish Theological Academies, as well as to the Presidents of Rabbinical Organizations for the year 1943. The net results had to persuade me of the futility of giving to it all my time, and energy, as well as the means required in connection with it, in my limited position. Yet there was no retreat.

More luck, however, was with my Second Memorandum on the particular problem of saving Hungarian Jewry, presented to the Constituent Organizations of the American Jewish Conference, early July 1944, thanks to your prompt attention, as seen by your letter to me of July 13, 1944, after which decisive action followed. If it is true that afterwards thanks to the Madison Square Park Demonstration, staged by the American Jewish Conference in the end of that month, some Jewish transports have been halted on their way to the gas-chambers, I can only be thankful to Providence, that from my isolated corner, I could somehow share in it. (as stated in Mr. Kennen's letter to me a little time after the affair).

I indulged in all this sad history as preliminary to the object of my present paper- because it, likewise, touches on fundamental principle, requiring now, just as it did before, a realistic policy. A decisive policy on taking the line of REAL DEFENSE against the line of the most CRUEL ATTACK.

The curtain of the First Act of our great Tragedy had not yet come down, when it is lifted already over the Second Act.

The First Act: Hitler attacks the Jewish Sector which served as the primary reservoir for the reconstituting of the Jewish Homeland.

The Second Act: Bevin attacks the Jewish Homeland itself, to close it for any Jewish Sector, the world over.

The first Jewish battle was lost. But we must not lose this last one. Under no circumstances!

WE MUST FIGHT OUR OWN WEAKNESSES TO FIGHT!!!

This is our first imperative!

Whatever our course on issues of secondary importance, our PRIMARY front, the front of OUR RIGHT IN LAW, must be defended with all the power, vigor and determination which legal Acts, Declarations, and International Agreements do give into our hands. The moment is to be taken as critical and decisive, therefore the obligation to the People and our posterity is enormous. Only our legal readiness to demonstrate before the authoritative body both our exact standing in law and all British infractions, will lead us to final victory.

It is our good fortune that American Congress has now come to our defense. It is a mighty sweep to clear the background. We must, however, be careful and not overestimate its instrumental value in the course of the factual objectives definitely framed by the Bevin-Truman 4 points of Inquiry for the Joint Commission of Inquiry. This great action of American Congress shall rather stimulate our decision to bring into quick realization the suggested LEGAL RECORD by the official Report of our own Juridical Commission. A report on all the legal aspects of the whole problem will give our friends INSIDE-if we still be OUTSIDE-the indispensable tools for our legal defense against British diplomacy, which, as pointed out by Senator Wagner, is calculated to substitute a decision of a dozen of total strangers in the whole matter to all Acts and Declarations of the Nations, U.S.A. included, which have the strength and sanctity of International Law.

It would be proper to quote one paragraph from the Editorial on the English Page of The DAY, Sunday, December 23, 1945, concerning the Congress Resolution: *It reads:*

"Nevertheless it would be foolhardy for the friends of Zion, Christians and Jews, to assume that the battle has ended with the passage of the Resolution and Bevin's explanation. On the contrary, the fight has just begun. Resistance on the part of the State Department, the oil and missionary interests is likely to be harder and tougher. The same goes for similar imperialistic interests in Great Britain. From the performance of the sugar daddy and leader of the American Council for Judaism, it is also clear that the Waters of Zion among the Jews will continue to pursue their destructive aims even more stubbornly than they have done heretofore."

Above all will England never surrender her Imperial fancies on our account, until told by a higher Authority than herself, and in whose hands is the power of enforcement of Law, that after the defeat of a "Deutschland Ueber Alles", the world cannot permit a "British Empire Ueber Alles", no matter how Democratic, or even Socialistic."

This higher authority is now being instituted. The Trusteeship Council which has to deal with the League Mandates will soon be in function. WE MUST BE READY!

This is the subject of my present Memorandum, which I think proper to submit to the American Jewish Conference and the World Congress representing best the American Jewish Community, which is entitled to initiative in the matter in behalf of the Jewish People. A copy is presented also to the Zionist organization of America.

I recognize the importance of having it done in the English language. But, if it is of any merit at all, it should merit a translation, by some one of the staffs well versed in both languages. When done, I shall appreciate the chance of seeing the draft translation for possible corrections, to render it as in full harmony with the original.

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

Zalmon Berul.

The Jews in Europe

SIR: At your suggestion, I am summarizing herewith the argument contained in a very much longer statement on the extermination of the Jewish people in Europe, for which you were unable to make room in its entirety.

First. I subjected to examination the new phenomenon which presents itself as National Extermination. *And not only in point of fact*, as already operating in the peculiar one-sided war between the Nazis and Jews, but as a definite threat to life in general, and to all temporarily or permanently helpless peoples in particular. I claim that if this demoniac military novelty is left unchecked, it may be applied to all those European peoples who are now politically and militarily as helpless as the Jews.

Second. I insist that only thanks to anti-Semitism as a protective cover has the very idea of National Extermination, and the perfection of its mechanics in application, been able to make headway without any check and disturbance, to the extent that months of operation and millions of extinguished lives were needed to draw the attention of the outside world. And even now nothing effective is being done which might at least interfere with this devilish, cold-blooded extermination. This new combination of sub-military techniques has already taken 2,000,000 lives and no counter-action has followed, either to hamper its operation or to hinder its perfection. Yet we know that it took only one action to discover and counter-act the U-boat. So also with the parachutist: counter-action followed. The 2,000,000 lives are Jewish lives.

Third. I show that this could happen only because the Jewish people is not only defenseless, but also because it is completely helpless. Even under the threat of national annihilation the world continues to keep the Jewish people in its state of helplessness. One would expect that just because of this helplessness the world would recognize its international obligation, as well as its moral duty, to rush to the Jews' rescue, but this

is not the case either. Is there really nothing left for the Jewish people but to go down in protest, prayer and fasting? Yes, there is a solution. If a people *wants to live*, if a people *must live*, it must be a power itself. Even if not powerful enough to defend itself against its superior enemy, it should be in a position to determine THE QUESTION OF ITS DEFENSE AND DESTINY. The right of self-defense is the most sacred human right. It is the supreme right of the individual and the nation.

Fourth. To leave out a number of factual and theoretical observations, and just to mention the supreme obligation of the democratic nations to cause an immediate change of status of the five million European Jews from that of national disgrace as helpless sheep in the slaughter-house, to the status of national honor as "prisoners of war" (to have at least that right of life in international law!) for whom their brethren fight on the battlefield—I call on my fellow men, Jew and Gentile alike, to stop and think. To think matters over, and over. For in this time of subhuman and inhuman treatment the silenced voice of European Jewry is the sonorous voice of Jewish destiny itself, roaring and demanding the liberation of the Jewish nation. For it is a choice now between liberation or allowing the nation to be exterminated and wiped off the surface of the earth! For if not now, when then? If the climax of this crisis is not sufficient stimulus to both Jew and Gentile to revise the national status of the Jew to that of a legal nation among all other nations of the world, what else can spur us, and when else would it be done? Shall the Jewish problem remain a misfortune for the Jewish people and for the world forever and ever?

Fifth. I insist that *Israel must fight as a nation now*. To that end a Jewish War Council and a Jewish Government in Exile must be formed at once to declare war against Nazi Germany and to begin a worldwide Jewish mobilization for the immediate opening of the Anti-Extermination front as outlined in detail in my thesis. Should exiles of 2,000 years' duration not be honored by international justice at least as exiles of two years' duration, once the People's will was never to surrender its land, nor its National Integrity?

I have little space left, but an alarming story in a recent issue of The New York Post, headlined "Nazi Frenzy Threatens to Murder 5,000,000 Jews by End of Year," forces me to scream to American Jewish leadership: "ACTION!" Action on the part of American Jewry itself! Against the *superhuman* blitz tactics, the Russian "scorched earth" and the self-abandon of the London and Stalingrad epic-type were the necessary action; so also something similar is necessary against the Nazi *subhuman* military tactics, if they are to be met. American Jewry *must* meet the challenge, and Jewish leadership must turn its face resolutely toward American Jewry first.

A call must be given to American Jewry to be prepared on short notice to leave homes, shops, stores, offices, factories, schools and colleges, to stop all studies, all activities, all business and all life. The entire people shall rise and take to the road, without regard to conditions, and where there is no choice, walk afoot to Washington as safely as one can. From Florida in the South; from New England in the North; from the Middle West regions and from the whole East Coast, Jewish humanity shall cover the surface of the earth, all roads and highways and byways, to converge on Washington, the Capital of the World, and from there the cry of the Jew shall reach the four corners of the world:

We are a Living Nation and we want to live!

Give us arms and munitions and we shall open our Anti-Extermination Front.

We must fight to the death for the lives of our trapped European brethren!

New York City

ZAL

The printed column is
attached to the paper
presented to the Am.
Jewish Conference.
Another copy is on-
obtainable

Monsignor Ryan

SIR: The letter of Leo H. Lehmann [April 5] concerning Mgr. John A. Ryan is so flagrantly unjust in its implications that it hardly requires a serious answer.

Over forty years of intense work in the field of sociology and economics, forty years in which Monsignor Ryan has gained an international reputation for clarity of vision, forcefulness of reasoning, and earnest devotion to the cause of justice and human dignity—these forty years and more render him immune from the petty attacks of small men.

In his work on "The State and the Church" Monsignor Ryan discussed the wholly hypothetical situation of a country which becomes almost entirely Catholic. It has no relevance to any foreseeable actual situation. For that matter, a Catholic country like Eire today offers sounder protection to Protestant groups than a non-Catholic region like Ulster offers to its Catholic minority.

The Brooklyn Tablet has a political side and a religious side. Monsignor Ryan would no more be found endorsing the former than he would think of questioning the strict orthodoxy of the latter.

Notre Dame, Ind.

FRANCIS E. MCMAHON

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Commendation for David Ginsburg of the OPA (T. R. B.'s report of March 22) comes from John O. Levinson of Chicago, Illinois. "The report on the smearing of David Ginsburg," writes Mr. Levinson, "was a more than adequate stricture on the most cowardly bit of congressional exhibitionism I have yet witnessed. Both socially and as the occupant of a lowly rung on the OPA ladder, I've known Dave Ginsburg well, though not intimately, for about two years. A brilliant and constructive lawyer possessed of real social vision, cultured, articulate, poised, genuinely modest, and withal and above all a 'right guy,' he combines in himself not only, as he put it, many political handicaps, but also and more important still, all the attributes which spell leadership of the best kind. With two possible exceptions he is, in my opinion, head and shoulders above any man of our generation in Washington today. Few will be found who know him who would not gladly have their sons, or for that matter themselves, under Dave Ginsburg in or out of the army."

Szymon St. Deptula, of the University of Wisconsin, writes from Milwaukee to complain sharply of The New Republic's treatment of the Russian-Polish boundary dispute. Mr. Deptula thinks that the Soviet Union intends to annex half of Poland and says that this is "territory that never belonged to her except under the partitions. . . . This sort of unilateral action at the expense of Russia's weaker neighbors is imperialism of the rankest sort. . . . The majority of the people of eastern Poland are Catholics, not Communists or atheists; their absorption by Soviet Russia would mean in addition to deprivation of freedom of speech and the introduction of government by fear . . . also the deprivation of freedom of religion. . . . Isn't all this talk of 'strategic frontiers' more or less obsolete in this day of air power and two-ton block-busters? If we are all going to reshape the post-war world according to a live-and-let-live political philosophy, Russia then need not fear her weaker neighbors whom she is so intent on absorbing and communizing under one pretext or another any more than her neighbors would have to live in constant dread of invasion and attack within by the Communist fifth column represented by her party members wherever the Comintern has its agents. . . . This is a sad commentary on the post-war ambitions of our ally who is still looking for more countries to conquer under the pretext of making more 'strategic frontiers' for herself."

e behind him and Miss Roberts at least a varied year of stage; but neither of them has any of the stale, ham-cism that would spoil that amiable impression of sly, simplicity that makes the pioneers of Broadway, at t, feel so pleasantly at home. The enunciation, in a w that calls especially for the words to be heard, of the singers in "Oklahoma" is remarkably clear.

Miss Betty Garde as Aunt Eller, Mr. Joseph Buloff as Persian peddler, Mr. Lee Dixon as a single-minded boy lover, and Mr. Howard da Silva as the dark-ded, jealous hired hand, all gave good performances. The most interesting performance technically perhaps was of Miss Celeste Holm as the lovelorn, muddle-headed impressionable Ado Annie Carnes. This is Miss Holm's musical role, and if you have seen her in other parts, y of them very different from this, you are impressed by this young actress' attempt to do something so sadly led on our stage, which is to widen her range of char-ers, in the pursuit of which highly creditable and intelli-variety she includes a genuine study and use of e-up. Miss Holm is pretty enough in face and figure ompete with the rest of them, playing nothing but her-and so it is all the more to her credit that she chooses wise. Her weakest spot at present is in her diction; me words especially like those with the letters or in middle, as in *sorry*, her accent is fairly discouraging. encouraging, however, that we should even notice she er face, make-up, intentions or accent, as compared with y young players on Broadway, where among the nu-us "finds" it is impossible to remember which is which. nd while this friendly-technical mood is on, let me est to Mr. Drake and Miss Roberts and Mr. Mamou-or whoever directed the songs in "Oklahoma," that winning enterprise deserves better of them than that

SAY, Monday, May 24, 1943

NEWS and VIEWS

The March on Washington.
A Fervent Plea for Action
Have We the Inner Strength?
An Exchange of Letters.

By Dr. S. Margoshes

I.

Dear Mr. Margoshes:

It is the second time that your suggestion "Perhaps a march on Washington" is cautiously mentioned in your column. But there is now more reason for acquiring momentum than for further delay, particularly in the light of the grave warning of the Archbishop of Canterbury that we continue to bleed at the rate of 10,000 lives a day. And still more particularly after the Nazi Ghetto battle in Warsaw, April 18, and the subsequent information about the total liquidation of that Ghetto.

Well, it is high time for introspection and real "Heshbon-Ha'nefesh". We cannot expect any one nation of the world to take up and fight our own battle unless we get into line first. We, and no one else are confronted with this War of Extermination with all its grave consequences, if we leave our European sector to its own fate to the very end.

Under the circumstances the force of our righteous cause is our only armament, and the dynamo of this armament is the RIGHT WORD; the word which reveals the cause pointedly and clearly. We have a MILITARY FRONT OF OUR OWN TO BATTLE; an Anti-Extermination Front, and we must face it, and let the leaders of the world know that we are ready to take up the combat with all our might and main and with all our determination for the sake of our NATIONAL SURVIVAL. Not only is it our sacred right and duty to fight for the lives of the sons and daughters of Israel, but also to avenge the Two Million innocent victims

of the Nazi cold-blooded murder. Thus we would show the world our Folk-will in National Resolution. I've written this before but I repeat.

I have little space left, but an alarming story in a recent issue of the New York Post, headlined "Nazi Frenzy threatens 5,000,000 Jews by End of Year" forces me to scream to American Jewish Leadership: "ACTION!" Action on the part of American Jewry itself. Against the super-human blitz tactics, the Russian "scorched-earth" and the self-abandon of the London and Stalingrad epic-type were the necessary action; so also something similar is necessary against the Nazi sub-human military tactics, if they are to be met. American Jewry must meet the challenge, and Jewish leadership must turn its face resolutely toward American Jewry first.

A call must be given to American Jewry to be prepared on short notice to leave homes, shops, stores, offices, factories, schools and colleges, to stop all studies, all activities, all business, all life. The entire people shall rise and take to the road, without regard to conditions, and where there is no choice, walk afoot to Washington, as safely as one can. From Florida in the South; from New-England in the North; from the Middle West regions and from the whole East Coast, Jewish humanity shall cover the surface of the earth, all roads and highways, to converge on Washington, the Capital of the World, and from there the cry of the Jew shall reach the four corners of the world:

We are a living Nation and
we want to live.
Give us arms and munitions
and we shall open our
Anti-Extermination front.
We must fight to the death
for the lives of our trapped
European Brethren!

Zalmon Berul.

II.

Dear Mr. Berul:

I agree with you of course as to the need of extraordinary measures to arouse American public opinion as to the necessity of the type of action that will rescue millions of Jews throughout Hitler Europe from imminent death. I also concur with you in your estimate of the "March on Washington" idea as a sort of catalytic agent that will agitate and crystallize American public opinion in a certain direction. I am not at all sure, however, that we in America have the inner strength as well as the unrest that is required to propel such a movement, giving it the greatness that it must have in order to succeed. Since the Bermuda Conference, I have heard a great deal of wailing

concerning the failure of the American and British conscience, but I have yet to hear a single constructive suggestion, other than that of the March on Washington, -which by the way, no responsible organization has as yet seriously considered-, which would be calculated to further arouse American and British public conscience. The fact is that we are now wallowing in the slough of despondency and defeatism and I am very much afraid that some time has to elapse before we can quite snap out of it. As far as I am concerned, I have said it time and time again that unless we want to throw up the sponge altogether, our best is to shout and shout again until we are heard. The March on Washington is in my opinion one way of being heard. Should it ever be arranged, you will find me among the marchers.

Sincerely yours,

S. Margoshes.



THE HEBREW UNION COLLEGE

Cincinnati, Ohio

Office of the President

October 11, 1943.

Mr. Zalmon Berul
548 Riverside Drive,
New York 27, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I have your memorandum on the Nazi-Jewish War, and also your supplementary communication. I have hastily glanced over both and note, in a general way, the procedure which you are suggesting.

I must say to you frankly that my initial response to your communication is not favorable. However, I shall give to your communication far more careful consideration than I have been able to do up to the present moment, and as the obvious sincerity and passion of your appeal certainly merits. Should I then have anything further to communicate to you, I will write to you again.

With every assurance of esteem, I am

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Julian Morgenstern.

JM/c

A FEW CONFIDENTIAL LINES

It is the irony of fate that I, an ardent advocate of peace should be thrown off the track by the inhuman force of the Nazi military attack upon the Jewish People, to take to the road of military action.

When the United Nations declared "punishment of the criminals" (and, -nothing else as the anti-climax), leaving the whole of European Jewry to its own fate, I felt that an unspeakable injustice had been done to the Jewish People. It happened at the end of 1942, when I was devoting all my time, and all my energy to my thesis: "The Problem of Winning the Peace". I stopped it, as my interest in it faded with every hour. I felt that I cannot proceed even for one day on the question of winning the peace for happy humans, which is a maximum of moral obligation, until the problem of winning the defense for the innocent, non-combatant millions of European Jewry is solved, which is the minimum of moral obligation.

Between January 6-15, 1943, I submitted a series of 3 essays on the subject to the New Republic, in which I endeavored to reveal rather than conceal the military nature of the case. The work was rejected, but subsequently the Editor suggested to permit the matter as a "Letter to the Editor". It appeared April 19.

I persisted. One more essay "Time and Reason Suspended--for the Jew" was turned down, after which a member of the New Republic staff met me personally, and then, upon his suggestion my essay "The March on Washington" was submitted. The same results. Returning the script, the Editor says in his letter of July 13, 1943:

"I am heartily sorry to tell you that we have decided not to print your manuscript. We are publishing something by someone else on the same subject which we think will do the cause of the Jews more benefit than your article would do.

"Let me say that we all appreciate and sympathize deeply with the spiritual agony you are experiencing in view of the massacre of millions of people in Europe, certainly one of the greatest tragedies of all history. We would publish your article immediately, were we not all convinced that another line of attack is better than yours".

I quote the letter because it throws an intimate light upon the origin of the New Republic's "Special Section" of August 30 on Jewish Extermination, timed to be issued before the opening of the American Jewish Conference, and which has obviously exerted some influence upon its rescue policy. The "line of attack" chosen by the "Special Issue" is other than mine, to be sure. It was the same line of attack which has given up the entire Jewish population WITHIN Hitler's trap as DOOMED, a defeatist policy because of the lack of ingenious and courageous lines of thought on both sides: on the part of the United Nations, because it concerns Jews only, and on the part of the Jews themselves, because a People in Exile, physically and spiritually subjugated, and lacking strength and courage to speak out the crucial truth aloud, even if it is to be paid for with life, -someone else's life. Thus the New Republic, if it has really exerted an influence upon the resolutions of the Rescue Committee of the American Jewish Conference, rendered a negative service in the grave situation, as it helped the generally lukewarm approach of the defeatist members of the Rescue Committee to rest upon an authoritative opinion of one of the progressive organs of America.

Although my Memorandum was prepared for the Religious Jewish Leadership,

I considered it imperative to submit a copy to the Chairman of the Rescue Committee of the American Jewish Conference (also to Mr. Monsky and to Mr. Frish). Mr. Louis Fabricant, Chairman of the Rescue Committee, advised me before and after the session of the Rescue Committee, that in spite of the lack of support of by 10 delegates according to the rule, he decided to report the Memorandum to the Committee, "because -as he said- of its scholarly nature as to fact and principle", and he appointed Mr. Leo Wolfson, a member of the Rescue Committee, to submit a report to the Committee. (Mr. Wolfson, in turn, had a detailed talk with me on the subject on the eve of the session of the Rescue Committee.) At the meeting, according to Mr. Fabricant, there were a number of delegates in favor of a detailed discussion of the Memorandum.

In my memorandum I refrained from the accepted trend of bemoaning the tragic fact, with the repetition of appeal where appeals are obviously irrelevant. Confronted with the fact of cold-blooded extermination on one hand, and cold-blooded neutrality on the other hand, I decided that any sentimental and emotional factors must be ruled out, and, instead, the power of "cold logic" is to be invited to help answer the vital question of "Why"? Why is it happening that which is allowed to happen, with the Jewish People already bereaved of about 1/3 of its strength to date? I sincerely hope that whatever your opinion, you will recognize the utter timeliness and validity of the "WHY?" in order to be able to find an answer in the proper "THEREFORE". Only thus we may perhaps become instrumental in the still possible saving not only ~~thousands~~ of the Refugees, but of the doomed remnant of our European Jewry. A remnant which, as such, acquires greater import and value, as it grows smaller and scarcer.

At present copies of this memorandum are being presented only to seven Heads of our Rabbinate and Houses of Jewish Learning. A few more will be sent out as soon as completed. Whether or not the reverend Leaders of our Synagogue and Learning will agree in all or particular details, there is little doubt that the primary point (That in the absence of any DEFENSE, -SELF-Defense is inevitable) will, I hope find recognition, as the well known Hebrew adage has it: "Ha'Kothuv omer dorsheni (*הכתוב אומר דורשני*): Events demand, nay, they scream for a decisive clarification. Because even while I write these lines the slaughter continues in formidable proportions. And it is unthinkable to permit their fall under the ax to the very last man.

Upon receipt of response to my plea, I will endeavor to the best of my ability to bring together the heads of our American Jewish Religious Leadership to the Religious Conclave whose urgency we have not known since the destruction of the second Beth-Hamikdash.

With greetings of Rescue, and New Year wishes to be a Year of Life for ALL ISRAEL, I am,

Respectfully yours,

(Signed)

Zalmon Berul

An earstwhile sufferer of the Ukrainian Post-War massacres, and Founder of the First Federation of the Ukrainian Jews Of America.

*(attached to the first
Memorandum mailed
early September 1943)*

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LAVY BAKSTANSKY



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HUGH B. MITCHELL, WASH. HOMER FERGUSON, MICH.
FRANK P. BRIGGS, MO.

RUDOLPH HALLEY, CHIEF COUNSEL

United States Senate

SPECIAL COMMITTEE INVESTIGATING
THE NATIONAL DEFENSE PROGRAM

December 26, 1945

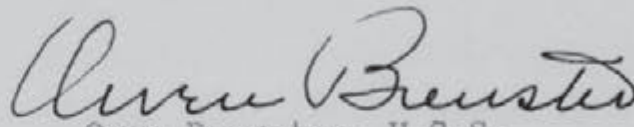
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street at Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I share your gratification of the action of the Senate on the Palestine Resolution and look forward to seeing you soon to hear an account of developments overseas.

If you have any printed copies of your report or discussions of the situation I should be glad to see it.

Cordially yours


Owen Brewster, U.S.S.

OB:dr

January 11, 1946

Dear Mr. Shapiro,

In accordance with our recent conversation, I am writing to you to confirm formally my decision to sever my connection with the American Zionist Emergency Council as Director of the Research Department. My resignation should be as of February 1st.

I suggest that Dr. Benjamin Shwadran be formally invited to become the administrative head of the Research Department and that the staff of the Department be informed to that effect.

As I indicated to you, I shall be glad to serve in a voluntary capacity as chairman of the Department for some time to come in order to maintain continuity in direction of the work.

Yours sincerely,

I. B. Berkson

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

Copy to Dr. Silver ✓
Dr. Wise

ibb:mg

Metropolitan Bureau - Z.O.A.
41 E. 42nd Street - N.Y.

M E M O R A N D U M

To : Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
From : Ernest E. Barbarash
Subject: Letter to Mr. Fleisher

Date: January 14, 1946

If the attached meets with your approval, please have your secretary mail it by special delivery, to Mr. Fleisher. The letter has been written upon the urgent request of Temple Beth El of Birmingham, Alabama, and as you will note from the attached wire which I received from our Regional Director, Mr. Freedman, the greeting is O. K.

encls.
eeb:rk

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

January 14, 1946

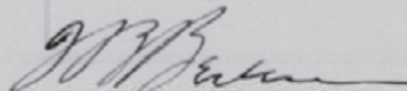
Dear Dr. Silver,

I am sending you herewith the Esco Foundation Palestine Study, in four parts.

In accordance with the arrangements made with Esco, this document is to be considered absolutely confidential and is being transmitted to you for your personal use only. Technically it is given to you as a "loan." Will you be good enough to acknowledge receipt for our records?

Kind regards.

Yours sincerely,


I. B. Berkson

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

ibb:mg

R C A

GBW3575 THXA822 JERUSALEM 20 24 1430

NLT BERNSTEIN 41 E/42 NEWYORK

YOURS 14/1 CONFIRMING INFORMATION RE FIFTY TOURIST VISAS GRANTED
TO UNIVERSITY WRITING FULLY

ALIYAH JEVAGENCY

C
O
P
Y

WRHS



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

January 15, 1946

Dean J. Silver

I feel that the decision to support the Ben-Horin proposal is a big mistake. Quite apart from the "moral" issue, the more I think of it, the more it seems to me that the consequences are questionable. There really wasn't enough time yesterday for a thorough discussion, and perhaps a 'public' discussion is not the thing. Before taking action, may I suggest you have an informal informal exchange of views with a few friends. I'd like to participate and have another chance to explain my views.

With best regards, Sincerely,
I. B. Berkson

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

January 16, 1946

I. B. Berkson

Re: Letter of Judge Levinthal to Dr. Silver of
January 10, 1946 concerning Esco manuscript

I did not know that this matter would be taken up at the meeting of the Executive. I made some comments at the time. I understand that the whole matter has been tabled, but I should want to record my views on the various points.

1. As I stated at the meeting on Monday, I think that the draft certificate prepared by Judge Levinthal to the effect that we do not claim "ownership of the manuscript" is adequate in the light of the letter of January 7th addressed by him to Mrs. Frank Cohen. However, in view of the difficulties that have arisen, I do not think this certificate should be signed by us excepting if there is an equally explicit recognition on the part of Esco of our right or interest, whatever you may call it, to use the manuscript in the future, as in the past, in connection with our work.

2. In any statement drawn up, it should be made absolutely clear that by "internal use" we mean not only the officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council as such, but officers of the affiliated organizations, of the Jewish Agency, of the Christian Council on Palestine and any other groups, whether in our own premises at 342 Madison Avenue, or in other premises. We have been using the Esco manuscript in this fashion in the past, and in proposing that we continue in this way before publication, I am suggesting simply following the established precedent.

3. I also have come to agree with Judge Levinthal that there is no harm in signing the letter of indemnification, but I want to make it clear that I regard it as uncalled for and unnecessary. Judge Levinthal writes that he is "informed" that there are some minor references, trivial in themselves, which may have unfortunate implications." Only one such statement - with reference to Sir Harold MacMichael - has been brought to my attention by Judge Levinthal and this has already been eliminated, despite the fact that I believe that the item referred to could have no unfortunate implications. The manuscript has been in the hands of the Esco committee for six months and there has been plenty of time for them to read it; I think that asking us to sign a letter of indemnification on such a flimsy basis is quite unwarranted.

4. I think that Esco should be asked to give an immediate answer on the question of publication. This matter has been under discussion for a period of over two years. It is more than a year and a half since I submitted the bulk of the manuscript, a far larger part than is usually requested by any publisher before decision on publication takes place. Judge Levinthal agreed with me months ago that Esco should make a decision with reference to publication. As a matter of fact, he wrote to them on December 3rd to this effect: "I am of the opinion that

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

- 2 -

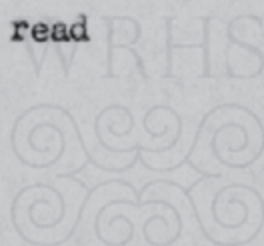
January 16, 1946

there should be no further delay in reaching a decision." But I note that the matter is to be further delayed and that the best Esco can offer is that "we should hear definitely in the near future." Past experience leads me not to be very hopeful.

5. It is in the light of this that I think we should make it very clear, in the most explicit terms, that pending the publication of the manuscript we expect to use it at our discretion for internal purposes in the sense indicated above.

Dictated but not read

ibb:mg



January 20, 1946

Dr. I. B. Berkson
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

My dear Dr. Berkson:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me the Esco Foundation Palestine Study. I appreciate that you are sending it to me as a loan, and that it is to be considered absolutely confidential.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

MEMORANDUM

January 30, 1946

To: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

From: Dr. S. Bernstein

Attached please find copy of a cable which we have received from the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem, dated January 24th, and also copy of our cable to them, contents of which are self-explanatory.

In the meantime, Mr. Wilson of the British Passport Control Office in New York showed me the cable instructions which he received from the Palestine Government wherein the G.I. candidates are not classified as tourists at all. In fact Mr. Wilson objected to the word "tourists" being applied to this group. The Government cable states: "To be granted to fifty ex-servicemen for a temporary stay for a period of 2 - 3 years".

This creates quite a new situation as far as the Palestine Bureau is concerned. While we have to be somewhat reluctant in recommending through the British Passport Control Office tourist applications, we can quite safely go ahead and ~~xxx~~ submit cases of students for the University who are permitted to stay in Palestine for three years or perhaps longer.

I therefore will make arrangements with the Examiners Committee, headed by Professors Dushkin, Kaplan and Baron, that the matter of accepting and admitting students to the University be handled through the American Friends of the Heb. Un. Committee, while all the necessary arrangements for passports and visas shall be handled by the Palestine Bureau.

I am also getting in touch with the Committee of the Haifa Technicum to the same effect. Mr. Wilson desires that the recommendations to the British Passport Control Office go through the Palestine Bureau. No other documents and red tape will be required. Our recommendation stating that the candidate has been accepted by the University will suffice and "we will take your word for it." S.B.

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Dr. Silver
LONDON FEBRUARY 3, 1946

NLT ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN 300 CENTRAL PARK WEST NEWYORK

WOULD FIRST ASSURE YOU THAT NONE OF YOUR FUNDS OR OF
HADASSAH INTENDED FOR MISSION OF KUBOVITZKY AND SEGAL BUT HAVE
BEEN USED EXCLUSIVELY FOR REVIVAL GENERAL ZIONIST ACTIVITIES
EUROPE AND HANGAR HATZIONI PALESTINE STOP SECONDLY WE OURSELVES
NOW ENGAGED IN CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDS FOR GENERAL ZIONISM AND ARE
USING KUBOVITZKY AND SEGAL MOST EXTENSIVELY STOP BUT BOTH MOST
ANXIOUS CONSULT OUR FRIENDS CANADA AND AMERICA IN REGARD TO
TERRIBLE FLIGHT OUR COMRADES IN EUROPE AND OUR SETTLEMENTS
PALESTINE AND SO FAR NEITHER CANADA OR SOUTH AFRICA HAVE SENT
ANY MONEY YOUR COLLEAGUES AND YOU STRESSED AT OUR WORLD
CONFERENCE IMPERATIVE NECESSITY GENERAL ZIONISM BECOME CLOSELY
ORGANIZED AND SUPPORT ITS COMRADES PALESTINE AND PREPARE FOR
NEXT CONGRESS STOP DO YOU THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT POUNDS
THREETHOUSAND IS ADEQUATE CONTRIBUTION FROM AMERICAN JEWRY
JUSTIFYING ALL OUR HOPES AND PROVIDING BASIS FOR VIRILE GENERAL
ZIONISM NEXT CONGRESS AND PALESTINE APART FROM FINANCE OTHER
VITAL QUESTIONS DESERVING CONSULTATION ARISING OUT OF PRESENT
POLITICAL CRISIS AND CONGRESS CAMPAIGN STOP BOTH KUBOVITZKY
AND SEGAL OFFERED TRAVEL MEET YOU AT THEIR OWN EXPENSE AND DO
YOU THEREFORE BELIEVE WE ARE MORALLY ENTITLED PREVENT THEM
FROM CONSULTING THEIR COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS AMERICA CANADA
PLEASE CONSULT NAHUM GOLDMANN TO WHOM WE SPOKE AND WIRE US
YOUR ADVICE AS WE ARE DETERMINED NOT TO ACT CONTRARY YOUR
WISHES KINDEST REGARDS BEST WISHES

LAVY BAKSTANSKY

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 1946

My dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you very much for the letter which you and Dr. Stephen S. Wise have jointly sent me on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, under date of January 31, 1946, with regard to the future status of Trans-Jordan. I can assure you that it has been most helpful to the officials of the Department who have this important subject under study.



Sincerely yours,

James F. Byrnes (s)

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

copied 2/19/46:MH

Copy for L. H. S. Silver

R C A

MARCH 4, 1946

NLT

EMANUEL NEUMANN
CARE JEVAGENCY
JERUSALEM (PALESTINE)

WE ARE CONFIDENT YOU IMPRESS AGENCY WITH OUR DESPERATE SITUATION
REGARDING CERTIFICATES FOR AMERICANS STOP WE SIMPLY UNABLE
CARRY ON BUSINESS PALESTINE BUREAU DUE CONSTANT PRESSURE AND
AGGRESSIVE ATTITUDE APPLICANTS STOP IMPERATIVE WE RECEIVE WITHOUT
DELAY AT LEAST TWENTYFIVE CERTIFICATES FOR MOST PRESSING CASES
STOP WILL TRY RESTRAIN OTHERS FOR TWO MONTHS STOP TWOHUNDRED
REAL CAPITALISTS PREPARED LEAVE FOR PALESTINE ANY DAY REGARDS

BERNSTEIN

BRITISH EMBASSY,

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

March 5th, 1946

Dear Rabbi Silver,

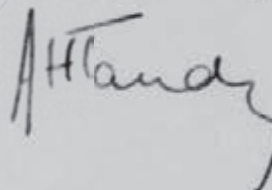
The High Commissioner for

Palestine has asked that this Embassy forward

the attached letter, addressed to you by

detainees in Eritrea.

Yours very truly,



A.H. Tandy

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

BERNARD M. BARUCH
597 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

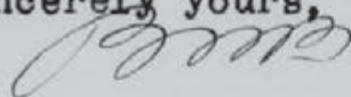
March 7, 1946.

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

My dear Dr. Silver:

I want you to know that I
have in mind the subject matter of your
letter of February 12th, but I have not
asked Mr. Churchill to see anybody yet.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely of Bernard M. Baruch, written in dark ink.

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

1946 MAR 10 AM 11 (53)

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H62 INTL DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM=CD TELAVIA RCA

LC RABBI SILVER=

23 MAR 8 1430

THE TEMPLE CLEVE=



BRITH HAZIONIM HAKLALYM REQUEST INTERVENTION AMERICAN
ZIONISM TO HAVE ZIONIST CONGRESS POSTPONED AND CONVENED
IN AMERICA=

BERNSTEIN.

DR 1090

BRITH.

C O P Y

March 12, 1946

EB
translate
into French

American Palestine Comm.
41 E. 42 St.
New York City.

Dear Sir:

Kindly let me know about your work which very much interests me. We lived in Palestine several years, studying archaeology, the countries and the people.

Were in Jerusalem during the long season of Arab riots.

The Mufti entertained us one afternoon and said "you could be a real help to our cause if you could see it in the true light." I asked him what would give him the greatest happiness, and quickly he replied, "If I could kill every Jew on Allah's earth in twenty-four hours, I would be supremely happy." We heard the propaganda over cheap radios, against the Jews.

We had thousands of colored slides made in Jerusalem so that people could see how the Jews were turning the bogs and malaria places in beautiful places again.

So your work interests me.

Sincerely

Barbara Bowen

Our home was New York City. Just now we are helping here, but hope to return to Jerusalem.

Charge to the account of _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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WESTERN UNION

1206-

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

D.L.

3-12-46

BERNARD BARUCH
MT. VERNON, N.Y.
Long Island

Ph. Washington



THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND NOTE. JUDGING BY REPORTS IN THE PRESS THE STAY OF OUR FRIEND IN THIS COUNTRY IS LIMITED AND I WOULD BE DEEPLY GRATEFUL TO YOU IF MY MEETING WITH HIM COULD COME TO PASS. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

WANT A REPLY?

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

Bernstein

Temple B'rith Kodesh

117 GIBBS STREET
Rochester 5, N. Y.

THE RABBI'S STUDY

March 14, 1946

Dear Abba:

The World Alliance for International Friendship through the Churches is now engaged in a campaign to raise some fifty thousand dollars for its work. Dr. Henry Atkinson is General Secretary and Carl Voss is Extension Secretary of the World Alliance. You are, of course, familiar with the magnificent job they have done in mobilizing and organizing Christian opinion for our cause in Palestine.

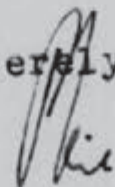
Because of my own close contact with both of them, I am perhaps in the best possible position to say that they have rendered an outstanding and self-sacrificing service. It has been truly self-sacrificing in that their vigorous, forthright Zionist activities have alienated some of their leadership and financial supporters both among Christians and Jews.

It has occurred to me that we should find a way to help the World Alliance in the realization of its objectives. I have discussed this with Meyer Weisgal and he is sympathetic and ready to help. I am, therefore, addressing this letter to you and sending a copy to him with the thought that you might discuss it with him in New York on Tuesday. I would like to be present, but I am flying to London on Monday. I know that you will be sympathetic and encouraging toward this undertaking.

If, for any reason, you should wish to get in touch with me about this or anything in connection with my visit to England, I will be in New York on Saturday and Sunday and can be reached at 239 Central Park West, Trafalgar 7-1206.

With kind personal regards and all good wishes,
I am

sincerely,



DRAFT OF TELEGRAM

Honorable James F. Byrnes
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

March 18, 1946

The American Zionist Emergency Council sent today the following cable to the co-Chairmen of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine - Quote American press reports that the stenographic transcripts of your session in Jerusalem on Tuesday, March 12th, were edited to exclude those portions of the testimony of Auni Bey Abdul Hadi and Jamal el Hussein which admitted the wartime association of Amin el Hussein, the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem, with Hitler and Mussolini. Clifton Daniel, in a dispatch to the New York Times of March 16th, reports that two British members of your Committee tried to justify this omission from the transcript on the ground that "the Mufti's activities were irrelevant to the inquiry." This in itself confirms the fact that such an intentional deletion from the text of the testimony has taken place. We vigorously protest against such irregular procedure, amounting to suppression of evidence. This ~~would~~ undermine all faith in the correctness and impartiality of your inquiry. We furthermore find in this incident additional proof of the intrigue aimed at exonerating Amin el Hussein, a war criminal whose active association with the Axis was depicted even by members of your Committee Unquote. In submitting to you our above cable, we wish to add that when the United States Government consented to American participation in the Palestine Inquiry we had every reason to expect a fair procedure. American co-responsibility for the inquiry was a guarantee against the Committee's lending itself to the intrigues of the British Colonial Office. We must now regretfully state that the fact itself of the above deletion from testimony as well as the subject of the deletion will greatly compromise the Committee in the eyes of

American public opinion. On this occasion, we also wish to recall to you our memorandum on the question of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem and again request your cooperation to ensure his punishment as a war criminal.



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

C
O
P
Y

March 22, 1946

In reply refer to
Le

My dear Dr. Wise:

Reference is made to the Department's letter of December 29, 1945 informing you that a copy of a memorandum prepared by the American Zionist Emergency Council concerning the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, had been sent to the United States Commissioner on the United States War Crimes Commission in London.

The Department has now been advised by the Commissioner that no charges against the former Mufti of Jerusalem have been filed by any government with the United Nations War Crimes Commission. It is the usual practice of that Commission to consider for listing as war criminals only those accused against whom the so called "National Offices" of member governments have filed charges with it.

It is the practice of this Government to file charges with the United Nations War Crimes Commission only in cases where there is evidence establishing the commission of crimes against American nationals.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES (signed)

Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York

copied 3/25/46:MH

MEMORANDUM

Jews everywhere have been perturbed by reports from abroad indicating efforts by the Arab League to bring about the exoneration from his crimes of the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Amin el Husseini, and even his eventual re-instatement in a position of power and influence in Palestine or elsewhere in the Middle East. In view of the fact that this man has been the chief instigator of all the anti-Jewish pogroms and disturbances in Palestine for a period of twenty years, these efforts have aroused the utmost concern. This memorandum seeks accordingly:

(a) To summarize the facts regarding the Mufti's activities prior to as well as during the war, the latter of which definitely qualify him as a war criminal.

(b) To ask the intervention of our government in the matter.

THE PRE-WAR RECORD OF AMIN EL HUSSEINI

Amin el Husseini who had been a Turkish artillery officer in World War I first emerged on the Palestine scene as the organizer of the anti-Jewish pogrom in Jerusalem, in 1920. His responsibility for the riots was established by a British Court of Justice, which sentenced him to ten years imprisonment. Having escaped from Palestine to avoid imprisonment, he returned there after an amnesty was granted to him. Soon afterwards, by a peculiar twist of colonial policy, this pogromist was appointed Mufti of Jerusalem and later also Chairman of the Supreme Moslem Council. It is noteworthy that Amin el Husseini was never elected to any office. As was authoritatively explained in a letter to the New York Times by Professor A. S. Yahuda, reproduced below, the rise of Amin el Husseini, first within the Islamic hierarchy and subsequently in political power, was entirely due to the machinations of the British Administration in Palestine, which elevated him originally against the express desires of the Arabs themselves.

The British might have acted in this matter in the belief that by endowing him with a position of respect and responsibility they would make of him a loyal collaborator. In this, they were badly disappointed. The Mufti of Jerusalem became the supreme leader of all the fascist and pro-Axis forces in the Middle East. Following the pattern adopted later by Hitler in Europe, Amin el Husseini directed his first attacks against the Jews, while he prepared himself for the future onslaught on Britain and British influence in the Middle East.

Not only was the Mufti the organizer of the anti-Jewish pogroms and outbreaks in Palestine in 1920, 1929, 1933 and 1936-1939, but in order to establish his domination over the entire Arab population of Palestine, he employed intimidation and murder against his political opponents among the Arabs. The following list comprises the names of some of the Arab political and spiritual leaders murdered by the Mufti's gangsters up to 1939 as set out in an Arabic document, published in Cairo on January 2, 1939. The document charges the Mufti with direct responsibility for all these murders:

Sheik Ali al Khatib - Imam of the Sakhra Mosque;
Sheik Said al Khatib - Preacher of the Aksa Mosque;
Sheik Abd ar-Rahman al Khatib - Instructor in Arabic and religion at the Rashidiya school;

Sheik Mahmud Ansari - Supervisor of the Haram (the Mosque area) in Jerusalem;
Sheik Abd al Hafiz Humuri - a Hebron religious authority;
Farid Hamdallah - Tulkarm leader;
Abd as Salam Barquawi - a Jenin dignitary;
Hadj Ali Harzun - Deputy Mayor, Lydda;
Sheik Said Hunaydi - an aged man, killed during prayer at the Mosque of Lydda;
Sheik Ali Abu Salm - Head of the village of Batilly, who together with four members of his family - Abd, Hasha, Jamal and Rushdi - were murdered on the night of a religious festival;
Mustafa Yusuf al-Khatib - of Dyr Nazzam;
Ali Hadj Muhammad - Chief of the village of Allar;
Muhamad and Ahmad Irshid - Two brothers from Jenin;
Hasan Sidki Dajani - Jerusalem leader and noted lawyer;
Khalil Taha - Well-known Haifa leader;
Taufiq Hyas - a relative of Khalil Taha;
Ibrahim Bey Kahil - Hebron leader and treasurer of the fund for the orphans;
Nasir ad Din - Mayor of Hebron;
Sheik Ibrahim Abd ar-Razik - Head of the village of Bet Rima;
Ahmud Abd ar-Razik - The brother of the above;
Ahmad Abd ar-Rahman - Head of the village of Imaten;
Nimr Sab' - Mayor of Qilqiliya;
Ibrahim Badr - Chieftain of Dayr ash-Shaykh, assassinated with wife, three children and valet;
Mohammed Marqua - Dignitary of Hebron.

We do not detail the names of the hundreds of Jews, some of them American citizens, killed in the various riots instigated and conducted by the Mufti. We reproduce, however, the above list of Arab victims to show the ruthless terrorism employed by the Mufti against opponents among his own people.

THE WAR RECORD OF THE EX-MUFTI

As long as the Jews of Palestine and the Arab opponents of the Jerusalem Mufti bore the brunt of his attacks and intrigues, the British administration in Palestine allowed him to remain in office, paying him the salary of Chairman of the Supreme Moslem Council. Not before the end of 1937, when the Mufti openly aligned himself with Fascist and Nazi agents, did the Palestine authorities take measures against the Arab Higher Committee, headed by the Mufti, arresting its members and exiling them to the Seychelles. However, the Mufti himself once again escaped.

First, he went to neighboring Syria, where he actively plotted against the British openly collaborating with Axis agents. Then, he proceeded to Iraq, where, together with Rashid Ali Beg Gailani he engineered the pro-Axis coup, in 1941, which was intended to deliver to Hitler Iraq with its oil fields and bases. The following extensive quotation is taken from the report of an impartial observer, C. L. Sulzberger, who in his article "German Preparations in the Middle East" in Foreign Affairs, July, 1942, describes the Mufti's share in the pro-Axis revolt in Iraq:

"...When the present war broke out in the autumn of 1939 the Mufti fled from Syria to Iraq and was acclaimed as an Arab hero; he was feted by everyone from the Prime Minister down. Parties were given for him as demonstrations of Arab nationalist feeling, and during such fetes anti-British propaganda was spread... Although the Mufti had promised Nuri es-Said Pasha, then as now Prime Minister, that he would refrain from political activity during his stay in Iraq, he calmly

ignored this pledge; and the Iraqi Government did nothing noticeable about it. The British Minister, since replaced, watched the situation develop.

"The Mufti established headquarters with, among other, the following key officials: Jamal al-Husseini, chief of staff; Sheik Musa beg al-'Alami, Islamic religious adviser and critic on occidental (British) affairs; Salim Abdur Rahman, press officer and head publicist; and a foreign relations committee responsible for propaganda and intrigue. The Mufti controlled disbursements and receipt of funds to keep this organization functioning. He was voted 18,000 Iraqi dinars by the Iraqi Parliament and was paid 1,000 Iraqi dinars monthly by the Iraqi secret service from its hidden funds. Under a check-off system he was paid two percent of the salary of every Iraqi government official, including the military and the police. He was paid special sums by the Palestine Defense Society, the Red Crescent and public collections supposedly for other purposes. He is believed to have been paid 60,000 Iraqi dinars by the Germans and 40,000 Iraqi dinars by the Italians. He received gifts from Egypt and from King Abdul Aziz Ibn Saud. A year ago the British Secret Service was in a position to state categorically that the Mufti had accepted a subsidy of 10,000 pounds sterling from the Italian Minister in Baghdad and had agreed to start another revolt in Palestine if and when supplied with 20,000 pounds gold monthly.

"...The Mufti also gained for his cause the support of divers Arab nationalist organizations. Some of these were already receiving German funds, which after the beginning of the Polish campaign reached Iraq through the diplomatic pouches of the Italian Legation.

"...Until the Gailani coup and rebellion of the spring of 1941 the Mufti was a frequent guest of honor at important functions and the feeling grew among all categories of Arabs, even many who were not in agreement with the Mufti's aims, that England, in the throes of war, might be willing to buy Arab friendship by striking a bargain with Islam over the Palestinian question. Several Iraqi politicians hoped to gain prestige by negotiating such a bargain; and even Prime Minister Nuri permitted the press to carry on ardent Arab nationalist (and, to a lesser degree anti-British) propaganda. Because there were few valid grounds for discontent in Iraq itself, popular feeling against Britain was actively and deliberately worked up over the Palestine issue.

"...As the Wehrmacht continued to win impressive victories the belief grew in Iraq (cultivated, of course, by Axis friends) that Britain would lose the war... In January 1940, Rashid Ali al-Gailani took over the Prime Ministry...The Mufti, acting partially behind the scenes and partially as a representative of Axis desires, played a major role in making the arrangements."

When the British succeeded in breaking the revolt in Iraq -- incidentally, with the very valuable help of Palestinian Jewish volunteers -- the ex-Mufti together with Gailani escaped to Iran, and from there found their way to Italy and Germany. The arrival of the Mufti in Italy was lauded by the Bari Radio in a special broadcast to the Moslem world, in October, 1941, which said:

"Moslems, with the arrival in Italy of the Mufti of Jerusalem, God has wanted to give us another sign of his benevolence for the cause of the Arab nations. This is a good omen for the struggle that all Arabs, headed by the Grand Mufti have engaged in against Anglo-Jewish domination and exploitation. With the help of God the victory of the Arabs is certain and Italy is glad to be able to collaborate in the realization of the national aspirations of the Arabic world."

Amin el Husseini then became the official adviser on Arab-Moslem affairs of both Hitler and Mussolini. He issued appeals to the Arabs and Moslems to join the Axis in its war on the democracies. He organized an "Arab Free Legion" in the Wehrmacht. He went to the Balkans, where he mobilized the Mohammedans of Bosnia in Yugoslavia into special Moslem Mountain Divisions, forming part of the S.S. Here, once again, Husseini employed terror against those who refused to join the Wehrmacht and wage war against the Yugoslav partisans. On his instigation and under his management tens of Yugoslavs were killed in cold blood.

Thus far the German wartime archives have yielded one official document concerning the relationship between Hitler and the Mufti. However, it is a very illuminating document: an exchange of cables between the Mufti and the Fuehrer on the occasion of Field Marshall Rommel's victories in North Africa. The exchange of telegrams was found in Germany filed under the heading, "Volume 13, Letters and Telegrams From Foreign Heads of State." Amin el Husseini's telegram to Hitler dated July 4, 1942, reads:

"Allow me, Fuehrer, to express to you the sincere joy of the Arabian people and my best wishes on the occasion of the Axis victory in North Africa. These successes were crowned by the solemn declarations of the German and Italian Governments, in which the sovereignty and independence of Egypt were recognized and assured. These wise policies of the Axis powers, which guided the German-Italian armies from victory to victory, will produce a very good echo not only in Egypt but also in all the other Arab lands and in the entire Orient, for they offer the best proof of the noble aims of the Axis governments and assure the other Arab lands of their liberty and independence. The Arab people will further continue to fight on your side against the common enemy up to ultimate victory."

Hitler's message of thanks was transmitted to Amin el Husseini by German Staatsminister Dr. Meissner, and reads as follows: "The Fuehrer ordered me to transmit to Your Eminence his heartiest thanks for your friendly congratulations of which the Fuehrer took notice with satisfaction."

THE EX-MUFTI'S STATUS AFTER THE DEFEAT OF THE AXIS

In light of this war record of Amin el Husseini, there was little doubt that after the war ended in a victory of the Democracies, he would be included among the leading war criminals to be punished by the Allies. However, for mysterious reasons his name does not appear on the list of war criminals. Indeed, in an official communication of the Australian Government, Department of External Affairs, dated October 12, 1945, it is stated that: "The Chief Research Officer of the United Nations War Crimes Commission has advised that the ex-Grand Mufti would probably not come within the category of war criminals with which the Commission is concerned."

In the same communication we read as follows: "...The Yugoslav Representative on the Commission advises that al-Husseini has been placed on the Yugoslav Government's list of war criminals, but that no further action is contemplated until the outcome of the current inter-Governmental communications, regarding the possible political implications of the ex-Grand Mufti's arrest, is known."

Here we have the first official confirmation of the fact that the crimes of the ex-Mufti have been made the subject of behind-the-scenes political negotiations. Influences are at work to have Amin el Husseini whitewashed and eventually returned

to the Middle East there once again to become the main instrument of anti-Jewish intrigues and activities. There are many more indications to this effect. *The* close collaborators of the Mufti in the past, members of the former Arab Committee, were freed from the Seychelles and returned to Palestine. Musa el Alami, one of the Mufti's trusted lieutenants and also a close relative of his, was made spokesman of Palestine's Arabs and their official representative in the Arab League. The Palestine Government treats him as a persona grata, facilitating his frequent trips to the neighboring lands and his negotiations with the various Arab potentates. Rashid Ali Beg Gailani was allowed to escape to Mecca, where he was offered sanctuary by King Ibn Saud, despite the death sentence passed on him in absentia in Iraq. Only a few days ago, the news reached this country that Jamal Husseini was released from detention in Southern Rhodesia. Next to the Mufti, his nephew Jamal Husseini, who was the President of the Mufti's Party and Secretary General of the Arab Higher Committee, was undoubtedly the chief troublemaker in Palestine. He, too, fled from Palestine in 1937 to Syria and to Iraq taking an active part in all the pro-Axis activities of the ex-Mufti. It was in Iraq that Jamal Husseini was captured by the British and exiled to Southern Rhodesia. Now, his release has been ordered.

In the House of Commons in London, the representatives of the Government give evasive answers to all questions regarding the Mufti. Here is one sample of questions and answers in Parliament on October 24, 1945:

"Captain Gammans asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he has any information as to the whereabouts of the ex-Mufti of Jerusalem; and if the ex-Mufti is to be treated as a traitor or a war criminal.

"Squadron-Leader Segal asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies what investigations he is making to ascertain the present whereabouts of the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem; and whether His Majesty's Government still has any intention of bringing him to trial as a war criminal.

"Mr. George Hall: The Mufti of Jerusalem is in the hands of the French authorities. As regards the second part of the Question, I have no statement to make at present.

"Captain Gammans: Would the Right Hon. Gentleman say how he got into the hands of the French authorities and where he came from?

"Mr. Hall: No, Sir; not without notice.

"Miss Rathbone: In view of the fact that these activities are mostly carried on in Palestine, could not representations be made to the French to give up the ex-Mufti, so that he could be tried as a war criminal?

"Mr. Hall: That is a question which should be put to my Right Hon. Friend, the Foreign Secretary."

Moreover, it seems that the British Colonial Office started paving the way for the future rehabilitation of the ex-Mufti long before V-E Day. The Secretary of State for the Colonies in the Churchill Cabinet, Mr. Oliver Stanley, stated in the House of Commons on December 1, 1943, that Amin el Husseini was "technically still the Mufti of Jerusalem." As this argument may be used in the coming days, we wish to draw your attention to the above mentioned letter of Prof. A. S. Yahuda, which appeared in the New York Times of January 2, 1944, a copy of which is attached to this memorandum. Prof. Yahuda, an outstanding authority on Islam, discloses in his letter important facts regarding the Mufti's past career and authoritatively analyzes the status of the Mufti as a Divine. His observations on the subject are worthy of attention.

It seems that at the present moment, while the Yugoslav accusation against the Mufti may still be pending, Amin el Husseini lives in a villa in France, where he is treated with the utmost consideration. According to reliable reports, he is not only supplied with every comfort, but the French government even facilitates his correspondence with various Arab chieftains and politicians in the Middle East. The Arab League and other Arab associations, who, immediately after the end of the war didn't dare to bring up the question of the Mufti because of his obvious involvement with the Axis, now openly demand his return to power. A seat was left for him on the recently reconstituted Arab Higher Command in Palestine. According to another report a delegation from Palestine and Egypt left for France, in order to negotiate secretly either the official release of the ex-Mufti or his escape to the Middle East with the acquiescence of the French authorities.

CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult reasonably to explain the attitude of the various parties responsible for the extraordinary indulgence shown Amin el Husseini without analyzing the motives of the governments concerned. The British Government, having apparently learned nothing from past lessons and resolved as it is to support the Pan-Arabic groups in the Middle East, seems to be taking the lead in refusing to indict the former Mufti either as a traitor or as a war criminal. Moreover, it is using its influence also to prevent other governments from so indicting him, and appears to be preparing the ground to enable Amin el Husseini once again to play an active political part. The French Government, deeply resentful as it is of Great Britain's part in the Syrian-Lebanese affair, regards the ex-Mufti as a possible anti-British tool in the future and is, therefore, also for its part treating him with kid gloves. The Yugoslav Government which would in principle like to see the Mufti justly punished is aware of the attitude of the French, and especially of the British, and would not like further to complicate its already uneasy relations with the Western powers, over a question which, from a purely Yugoslav point of view, is of relatively minor importance. The Jewish people, on the other hand, not being a member of the United Nations Organization, is in no position directly to indict the ex-Mufti as a war criminal. It must depend on the good will of some state which is a member of the United Nations Organization.

We respectfully submit that in these circumstances it would be appropriate for the United States, which today harbors about forty percent of all the Jews of the world, to take the initiative to indict as a war criminal this man who has been a major supporter of the Axis and who is directly involved in the murder of millions of Jews of Europe. To this end we urge that the Department of State issue instructions to the American representatives on the War Crimes Commission that they take steps to bring about the indictment of the ex-Mufti as a war criminal.

We desire in conclusion to add the following: In the case of practically all of the Axis criminals an end has, as far as we know, been put to their ability to cause additional damage in the future and their punishment now appears mainly a matter of just retribution for past crimes. But the ex-Mufti, should he escape punishment and remain a free and ostensibly respectable person, will undoubtedly be in a position to stir up further trouble and to cause more massacres of Jews. It is earnestly hoped that our Government will realize the serious moral responsibility, which in common with other governments, it would share for the loss of human lives and for the other grave consequences which would result from a policy of allowing the Mufti to go unpunished for his past crimes and free to commit new ones. It is urged that the Government of the United States will take its stand accordingly, at the same time drawing the attention of the British and French Governments to responsibilities which they would incur in the eyes of the world and of history should they continue to shield Amin el Husseini.

A letter in THE NEW YORK TIMES of January 2, 1944.

MUFTI HELD DISTURBER

- - - - -

BRITISH STAND ON HADJ AMIN CALLED OF DOUBTFUL LEGALITY

- - - - -

To the Editor of The New York Times:

From the official Hansard reports of December 1, just received, I gather that the Colonial Secretary, Oliver Stanley, made a statement in Parliament, in reply to a question of the Conservative Member Samuel Hammersley, to the effect that the present Mufti of Jerusalem, Hadj Amin al-Husseini, is "technically still Mufti" (of Jerusalem), because "no legal machinery exists for the formal deposition of the holder" of that office.

As I was in Palestine lecturing to the Arabs early in 1921 just at the time when preparations were being made for the election of a Mufti, I was in constant close touch with many prominent Arab leaders. I am therefore in a position to disclose the circumstances under which he was elected and to prove the illegality of his election.

I think that it is in the interest of both the British and the American peoples to be enlightened about this matter, because the Mufti is responsible for all the pogroms and trouble in Palestine since he got his position; he was the chief instigator of the rebellion against Great Britain during the last three years before the present war; he plotted the Nazi coup together with al-Galaini in Iraq; and since his escape to Berlin he was, and still is, conducting Nazi propaganda to all Moslem countries.

Although the Colonial Secretary observed to the House that the importance of the technicality is reduced by the fact that the British Government has no intention of allowing the Mufti to return to Palestine, the stand which the Colonial Secretary has taken in the matter may encourage the supporters of the Mufti to claim the right to recall him to his post after the war. As a matter of fact, some of his supporters in Egypt and Iraq are already paving the way for his rehabilitation in the event that he succeeds in escaping from his Nazi masters, who cannot be of use to him any more.

As at the time when Hadj Amin was elected to the post of Mufti the Turkish law was still in force in Palestine, his election had to be carried through in accordance with that law, which provides that the following groups should be invited by the Government Administration and called upon to elect a Mufti:

1. The scholars (Ulama) who are actually engaged in educational work in schools.
2. The readers of prayers (Imams) and the preachers (Hatibs) of the largest mosques of the town.
3. The Mohammedan members of the Municipal Council (Baladiyah) and of the Administrative Council of the local Government (Idarah).

They have to appear before the Administrative Council of the Government and be instructed to nominate for the post of a Mufti three candidates "who deserve the trust and confidence of the public, and who are able to give a right answer to the questions brought before them."

The votes are to be handed over in a sealed official statement to the Wali (Provincial Governor), who in his turn has to submit the result of the election, together with a report on the persons of the candidates, in an official document (Mazbatah) to the Sheikh El-Islam, that is, the spiritual head of the Moslem communities of the Turkish Empire, whose seat was in Istanbul. It is with him that the final decision rests. All these provisions were necessary because of the great authority vested in the Mufti, who is supreme legal adviser in questions of religious canon law, and his opinion is sought by judges, courts and private individuals in difficult questions.

When the post of Mufti became vacant in Jerusalem through the death of Kamil al-Husseini, a brother of the present Mufti, in March, 1921, a widespread propaganda was launched by the Husseini family and the followers of Kazim Pasha, the leader of the opponents of the mandate, in favor of Hadj Amin, who only a short time before was released by the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, from a ten-year sentence of imprisonment for his subversive activities against the Palestine Government and his active participation in the pogrom of 1920 in Jerusalem.

But the groups entitled to vote refused to include him in the list of candidates because they denied him the qualifications prescribed by the regulations; especially because, as a student of the famous Azhar College in Cairo, he failed to pass his examination, and hence was far from being regarded as an appropriate candidate in the sense of the law. It was only on the insistence of a few officials of the British administration that Hadj Amin was added to the list.

According to my information from a reliable and well-informed source, the result of the voting was as follows:

Sheikh Husam al-Din Jarallah, a member of the Religious Court, received eighteen votes. Sheikh Khalil al-Khaldi, then the acting President of the Religious Court (Mahkama), and one of the most prominent Mohammedan scholars in the Moslem world, received seventeen votes. Sheikh Musa al-Budeiri, the supervisor of the Omar mosque, twelve votes. Hadj Amin el-Husseini, the present Mufti, nine votes. Sheikh Suud al-Uri, the Kadi (Judge) of Jerusalem, three votes. Sheikh Amin al-Uri, a member of the Religious Court, two votes.

As the last three candidates, including the present Mufti, got the lowest votes, they should have been dropped from the list and only the three first submitted as legal candidates for a final decision to the Governor of Jerusalem, who in this case, replaced the Turkish Provincial Governor.

Sir Ronald Storrs, then Governor of Jerusalem, not only admitted Hadj Amin as a candidate against the law but even confirmed him as Mufti, in spite of the protests of the first three candidates and the majority of the electors and in spite of his record as a dangerous political agitator and pogromist.

But there was another irregularity in Sir Ronald's confirmation of Hadj Amin. As has been stated, it rested with the Sheikh el-Islam to decide who of the three legally proposed candidates was to be confirmed as Mufti. Now as Palestine was no longer under the jurisdiction of the Turkish Sheikh el-Islam in Istanbul, and on

the other hand Palestine had no Sheikh el-Islam of its own, Sir Ronald appropriated to himself, without any legal foundation, the function of a Sheikh el-Islam.

It is obvious that to satisfy the prescription of the law in the election of the Mufti, either new regulations should be decreed by the Mandatory Power, or a Sheikh el-Islam should be created for Palestine.

As to the stand the electors have taken with regard to this question, it was intended to substitute, after the choice of one of the three legitimate candidates would be made by the Governor, the vote of the Sheikh el-Islam by a consensus (ijma) of all the legitimate electing bodies, a measure which is permissible in an emergency in Moslem law. But in view of the illegality of the Governor's procedure, such a measure became futile.

Now the position is quite clear. The Government can by no means maintain the legality of Sir Ronald's choice, and hence Hadj Amin had never the right to function as a Mufti. Should, however, the Government support Sir Ronald in his decision in spite of having disregarded the law, then Hadj Amin can only be regarded as an official appointed by the Government to act as a Mufti, and consequently can, and in view of his treacherous behavior must, be dismissed from this function as from any other function which might have been bestowed upon him by the Government.

As to the Colonial Secretary's statement that "there is no legal machinery" by which the holder of a religious office may be deposed, it may be said that Hadj Amin was repeatedly and publicly accused by Moslem authorities under his jurisdiction of having embezzled funds of Moslem holy properties (Wakf). The Mandatory Government has all the evidence in hand, and can, even must, depose him, as according to Moslem religious law any functionary who commits such an offense must be dismissed forthwith and punished for his acts. As the Mufti can derive his rights to his post only from the confirmation or appointment by the Governor, the Palestine Government is responsible for his function, and it is its duty to dismiss him.

It results from all that has been said that the Mufti can by no means, and from no point of view, be upheld in his post actually or technically. The fact that the majority of the electors was against him provides for the Government the best basis for deposing him.

A. S. Yahuda,
New School for Social Research
New York, December 30, 1943.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
Washington

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March 22, 1946

In reply refer to
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My dear Dr. Wise:

Reference is made to the Department's letter of December 29, 1945 informing you that a copy of a memorandum prepared by the American Zionist Emergency Council concerning the former Mufti of Jerusalem, Haj Amin el-Husseini, had been sent to the United States Commissioner on the United States War Crimes Commission in London.

The Department has now been advised by the Commissioner that no charges against the former Mufti of Jerusalem have been filed by any government with the United Nations War Crimes Commission. It is the usual practice of that Commission to consider for listing as war criminals only those accused against whom the so called "National Offices" of member governments have filed charges with it.

It is the practice of this Government to file charges with the United Nations War Crimes Commission only in cases where there is evidence establishing the commission of crimes against American nationals.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F. BYRNES (signed)

Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York

copied 3/25/46:MH

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BRITISH EMBASSY

Washington, 8, D.C.

Ref: 21/ /46

March 25th, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise,

Lord Halifax has asked me to acknowledge your telegram of the 21st March, which has also been sent to the co-chairmen of the Anglo-American Committee of Enquiry.

A copy of this telegram has been sent to the Foreign Office in accordance with your request.

Very truly yours,

A. H. TANDY (signed)

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and
Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

copied 3/27/46:MH

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DEPT. OF STATE
Washington

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April 11, 1946

My dear Rabbi Silver:

Thank you very much for the telegram which you and Dr. Stephen S. Wise have jointly sent me on behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, under date of April 2, 1946, with regard to the status of Transjordan.

I can assure you that your views have been brought to the attention of appropriate officials in the Department. Your courtesy in making your views available is appreciated, and the Department will be glad to receive any further views you may care to submit on this subject.

Sincerely yours,

JAMES F BYRNES (signed)

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York.

copied 4/12/46:MH

CONFERENCE WITH BRITH SHOLOM OFFICERS

May 2, 1946

The meeting was held in the conference room of the Zionist Emergency Council office at 3:45 in the afternoon. Those present representing the Brith Sholom were Grand Master Alex F. Stanton, Grand Secretary Louis L. Gilgor and the National Chairman of Zionist Affairs Mr. Simons. Representing the Z. O. A., Judge Leventhal, Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Marks and Mr. Leonard.

There was a general discussion about the desirability of Brith Sholom joining the Z. O. A. collectively. Some of the difficulties were mentioned by the representatives of the Brith Sholom. First, that the matter would have to be submitted to the lodges for a poll, and their educational work would be carried on by the B. S. Second, the representatives of the B. S. said that they must have a concrete proposition with relation to the financial responsibility in joining the Z. O. A.

It was suggested by Rabbi Miller and Judge Leventhal that \$3.00 per year, per member would be carried by the executive committee of the Z. O. A. That sum seemed agreeable to the B. S. representatives. It would cover the shekel and the New Palestine but much of the servicing would be done by the Brith Sholom. This would enable the Z. O. A. to carry the membership for only \$3.00 per annum.

The whole proposition would be placed before the next convention of the Brith Sholom. It would then be presented to the lodge after being adopted by the convention.

Meanwhile, the representatives of Brith Sholom were willing to cooperate in the Shekel Campaign, by sending shekel books to all their lodges. Arrangements were made immediately to mail shekel books and literature to the Philadelphia office by Brith Sholom, by special delivery, so that there would be no delay in sending them out to the lodges.

A suggestion was made that a prominent speaker from the Z. O. A. should address the Brith Sholom to help this matter along. Since Dr. Silver cannot accept this date on account of the Central Conference of American Rabbis', and Dr. Neumann is otherwise engaged at that time, another speaker will have to be found.

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1220

SYMBOLS

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DR ABBA HILLE SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

IN VIEW OF CRITICAL SITUATION CREATED BY REFUSAL OF EGYPTIAN CONSULATES TO GRANT EGYPTIAN TRANSIT VISAS TO AMERICAN CITIZENS HOLDING PASSPORTS VISAD FOR PALESTINE I APPEAL TO EMERGENCY COUNCIL TO MAKE EVERY EFFORT WITH THE WAR SHIPPING ADMINISTRATION WASHINGTON DC TO THE EFFECT THAT SS VULCANIA SAILING MAY 11TH FOR ALEXANDRIA EXTEND HER TRIP TO HAIFA OTHERWISE OVER 150 AMERICAN CITIZENS WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SAIL MANY OF WHOM HAVE GIVEN UP HOMES AND BUSINESSES DESIROUS TO STAY IN PALESTINE A YEAR OR TWO IN ORDER TO JOIN THEIR CHILDREN THERE. OTHERS INVOLVING QUITE A NUMBER OF WAR VETERANS ADMITTED TO THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY AFTER LIQUIDATING THEIR HOMES AND PERSONAL BUSINESSES HERE. INVOLVED ARE ALSO ABOUT 30 CITIZENS ANXIOUS TO VISIT THEIR AGED AND AILING PARENTS I AM CONFIDENT THAT WAR SHIPPING ADMINISTRATION WHICH RENDERED US GREAT SERVICES AND WAS EXCEEDINGLY HELPFUL TO PALESTINE TRAVELERS DURING THE WAR YEARS WILL IF FOR HUMANTARIAN REASONS ALONE COOPERATE AT THIS TIME AND MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR THE VULVANIA TO SAIL FOR HAIFA IMMEDIATE ACTION IMPERATIVE=

DR SIMON BERNSTEIN DIRECTOR PALESTINE BUREAU

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APPRECIATE BOA744 IN ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

May 6, 1946

Mr. Edward I. Baker
The Monroe Company, Inc.
10703 Quebec Avenue
Cleveland 6, Ohio

My dear Mr. Baker:

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

I am very happy that you have been doing the fine work which you report. I have requested Dr. Falkman to forward application blanks to the members whose names you sent along with your letter. I am also passing on to our Membership Committee your suggestion to contact every B'nai B'rith Lodge and to distribute application blanks and literature among them.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

TEXT OF ADDRESS OF SUMNER WELLES
MARYLAND CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND

MAY 14, 1946

I am grateful for the privilege of addressing the Maryland Christian Conference on Palestine tonight.

I accepted the honor of the Chairmanship of the Maryland Chapter of the American Christian Palestine Committee some months ago. I accepted this designation because of my belief that every effort should be made impartially and objectively to lay before the people of the United States the basic issues involved in the great problem of Palestine.

For this problem has given rise to one of the most dangerous and controversial questions which the world now confronts. Far more than that, in this problem of Palestine we are challenged by the fundamental issues of right, of justice and of freedom. And our hope of a peaceful world order depends upon the willingness and the ability of the Governments of the United Nations now to decide the questions with which they are faced in accordance with these standards of right, justice and freedom.

We meet together tonight at a time of grave perplexity. The publication of the final recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee on Palestine has created a crisis, the gravity of which could hardly be exaggerated. To all those who, like myself, believe that Palestine must become not only the promised National Jewish Homeland, but also an independent

Commonwealth into which the entrance of the Jewish people who wish to make that holy land their permanent home must never be restricted, save insofar as economic limitations may require, the Report of the Committee represents inevitably a matter for deep disappointment and for even deeper concern.

This, however, is not the moment for recrimination and inflammatory utterances. Nor is it a time for resignation and supine discouragement. It is, on the contrary, a time for renewed faith, for measured judgment, and for constructive action.

I am one of those who are convinced that in this tragically darkening world of the present moment the safety of the United States, and our chance of constructing that kind of a free world order for which we Americans have fought, depend to a very considerable extent upon the willingness and the capacity of the English-speaking democracies to strengthen that cooperative relationship which was forged in the fires of war. I do not hold with those who insist that all that we have in common with the other English-speaking peoples are our language and traditions. I believe that we also possess a common heritage which is more highly to be prized than any other. That is the heritage of our common conviction that the individual is not born to serve the state, but that the state is created to promote the welfare of the individual. It is the heritage of our common passionate faith in the sanctity of human freedom.

And it is the abiding conviction of all of the peoples of the English-speaking democracies that the world order which today they seek must be founded upon those same prin-

ciples of liberty which they have so firmly established in their individual forms of government.

But that belief which I and others hold need not blind us, nor does it blind us, to the tragic chapter of history which is represented by the manner in which successive British Governments have dealt with the problem of Palestine during the past thirty years.

The Balfour Declaration of 1917 was a courageous act of enlightened statesmanship. No subsequent attempts to distort or to limit the terms of that Declaration can change the fact, as the testimony of the statesmen responsible for its proclamation has made clear, that that Declaration gave official assurance that the British Government would establish in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people and facilitate the successful achievement of that objective with all that therein was implied.

There has been no sorrier manifestation in recent British history than the Palestine White Paper of 1939. As Mr. Winston Churchill then said, that action constituted "an act of repudiation, a plain breach of a solemn obligation." To use his words, "an engagement into which Great Britain had entered before the world was set aside for reasons of administrative convenience."

And I regret to say that during the years of the war and even during recent months I cannot find that British policy with regard to Palestine has been any more courageous, any more enlightened, or any more in keeping with the solemn engagements into which Great Britain originally entered in 1917 than it was

at the time of the issuance of the White Paper of 1939.

Whatever the legal quibbles which are advanced in extenuation may be, and however much we here in the United States believe in the great principle that dependent people should be granted their full autonomy or independence as soon as they are able to accept those responsibilities, I cannot regard the recent decision of the British Government to proclaim the independence of Transjordan as other than a breach of the spirit as well as of the letter of the obligations which were assumed when it obtained the Palestine Mandate. We need not minimize the pressing difficulties and the grave dangers with which Great Britain is today confronted. But I do not believe that the step so taken will lighten those difficulties.

Wells

Begin The appointment of the Anglo-American Committee could scarcely have been expected to result in any practical or constructive accomplishment. Commission after commission had already been appointed in the past by British Governments to investigate the situation in Palestine and to recommend policy with regard thereto. There was no far-sighted member of the Executive or Legislative branches of the Government of the United States who had studied the problem of Palestine -- and as we all know members of our Congress have gone to Palestine for that purpose -- who had not already reached a conclusion as to the nature of the solution which should be sought. Under such conditions what could the appointment of this new commission really accomplish other than to make it possible to postpone decisions? And those were months, as

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we so sadly know, when the pitiful survivors of the Nazi massacres, uprooted from their homes in every part of Europe, were still being compelled to live in intolerable conditions, in concentration camps, with no hope left to them except the possibility that they might be permitted to emigrate to Palestine, or to some other distant shores, and thus procure safety and the chance to make a fresh start in life.

There was not the slightest doubt on the part either of the Government of the United States or of the British Government when the Committee was appointed of what conditions in Europe really were. We already knew in horrible detail of the millions of persons of the Jewish faith who had been exterminated by Hitlerism. We knew the number who had survived. We knew that the poisons engendered by Nazism had made it impossible for an overwhelming majority of these survivors to return to the homes of their origin. We knew that the only possible solution for their plight, under present world conditions, lay in their chance to leave Europe for new places of security and of hope.

We all know what the Committee has now recommended. Has it in reality advanced the basic solution of the great problem which the world confronts? Has it in reality done more than call attention once again to the suffering of the refugees in Europe? Has it in reality done anything other than to confuse public opinion with regard to the real issues involved in the determination of the future of Palestine?

I knew many of the American members of the Anglo-American

Committee. I know that they are men of the highest character, of truly liberal convictions, who are incapable of framing or of signing a report in which they themselves do not believe. I do not question either their motives or their judgment. What I do question is the wisdom of our own Government in asking them at this time to assume these responsibilities.

Stop

And after this tragic loss of time, now that the Report of the Committee has been rendered, there is taking place precisely that phenomenon which could so readily have been anticipated when the Committee was appointed.

The Government of the United States publicly approves that portion of the Report which recommends that 100,000 certificates be authorized immediately for the admission into Palestine of Jewish refugees. It refuses to make any comment upon those portions of the Report which contain what in my judgment are those tragically mistaken recommendations with regard to the future status of Palestine. In other words, the Government of the United States in May, 1946, reiterates its recommendation of August, 1945, that 100,000 Jews from among the survivors of the Jewish people of Europe be permitted to enter Palestine.

The British Government officially states that it must obtain American assistance both in armed force as well as in money if this provision of the Committee's recommendation is to be carried out. In consequence of the rest of the Report, it has however obtained moral support for the position which it has recently taken with regard to its authority to continue to

restrict immigration into Palestine, and with regard to the future status of Palestine.

While it is true that the Committee includes in its report certain recommendations which are desirable and encouraging, notably those which have to do with the problem of land tenure, can anyone maintain that, insofar as the basic questions are involved, we are not back precisely where we were eight months ago?

As a result of the Committee's Report, new and immediate dangers have also arisen. The Report has resulted in a serious outburst of chauvinism throughout the Arab and the Moslem world. Fortunately, this outburst has been met, except in a few extremist quarters, with restraint and true wisdom on the part of the leaders of Zionism, and of those who support the ideal of a true National Home for the Jews.

The Report has also given rise to a danger of another character. That is the danger which has already made itself evident in many sectors of our own public opinion here in the United States. It is due to the belief of many well-intentioned people that, if a report of this character is assailed by the two parties to the controversy with which it undertakes to deal, such a report must on the whole be sound and wise. We cannot permit public opinion to crystallize its thinking in such a way.

Except for those reasons of domestic politics and of time-serving expediency with which, unfortunately, we are familiar, there was no justification for the appointment

of the Committee. Nor is there any justification for assuming the validity of its recommendations.

There was never any justification for believing that a Committee representing only two powers could undertake to reach final and definite conclusions as to a rightful solution for the problem.

Many months ago I made this public statement of my own conviction as to the most practicable method of finding a solution. I said:

"The Commonwealth will only come into being when the United Nations Organization decides, as it must, that the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is essential to world peace and to world stability. Unless the International Trusteeship Council to be set up by the United Nations Organization is charged with the obligation of carrying out such a decision, a Commonwealth of Palestine will continue to be an ideal and not a reality. Only the United Nations Organization itself, representing the concerted determination of the free peoples of the world, will possess the necessary authority to achieve a final solution of the Palestine problem.

"The British Government should, under Article 77 of the United Nations Charter, transfer its mandate over Palestine to the International Trusteeship Council as soon as the Council is established.

"From the moment the Council assumes jurisdiction, the United Nations Organization should make available

whatever armed force may be required to give assurance of security to all inhabitants of Palestine.

"The Council should thereupon summon representative Jewish and Arab leaders for consultation as to the most desirable solution.

"Should it prove impossible for the International Trusteeship Council, after full consultation with both Jewish and Arab leaders, to obtain their agreement to whatever solution it considers most equitable and desirable, the United Nations Organization should nevertheless decree that its decision be carried out. Once this step has been taken, the International Trusteeship Council should set up a broadly representative provisional government in Palestine and entrust it with all necessary authority until such time as free elections can be held and an independent and democratic government can commence to function.

"As soon as the Council is entrusted with a trusteeship over Palestine, unrestricted immigration should be permitted. Immigration should thereafter be interrupted only if the International Trusteeship Council or the future Government of Palestine decides that such restriction is temporarily required for economic reasons."

Due in great part to the postponement by the British Government of the submission of its League of Nations Mandates to the new International Trusteeship Council, that Council cannot be established in legal form until after the meeting

of the United Nations Assembly next September. For that reason, because of the acute danger which has now arisen, the Security Council of the United Nations should at once take cognizance of the situation existing in Palestine, as provided by the terms of the United Nations Charter. It should thereafter take such action as may be required so that the peace of Palestine can be safeguarded while refugees from Europe are being admitted, and until such time as the Trusteeship Council can assume its full responsibility.

It will, of course, be said that the Security Council has as yet no armed force at its disposal. It will also be said that the British Government continues to be the sole recognized authority in Palestine, unless and until it enters into an agreement with the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations by which it relinquishes that authority in whole or in part. But these objections constitute obstacles only if the interested powers are determined to have recourse to technicalities in order further to delay measures which in our judgement here tonight are so urgently necessary. I can well understand the reluctance of our Congress to agree that American military forces be utilized merely to assist the British Government as Major Attlee has suggested. But I cannot believe that that reluctance would persist if our Government were called upon by the Security Council of the United Nations to assist in an endeavor which is obligatory if world peace is to be maintained.

In our thinking upon the problem of Palestine, some of us here in the United States are too apt to be guided by the

beliefs and concepts which are inbred in us because of our fortune in being citizens of the United States. We remember that from the earliest days of our independence men and women of the Jewish faith have been fellow-citizens. We remember that among them many have been outstanding because of the great contribution which they have made to the building and to the growth of this country. We remember that these fellow-citizens of ours are as much a part of the fabric of American life as any other American citizens. We know that our whole manner of being is founded upon a civilization which makes no distinction between individuals because of their race or creed. We know that, if we ever depart from that principle, the free institutions of which we are so justly proud will disintegrate.

For these reasons it is difficult for many of us to believe, now that Nazism has been overthrown, and now that the United Nations are pledged by their Charter to bring about a universal observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, that there can exist any reason why the Jewish sufferers in Europe should not freely and willingly return to their former homes.

Yet, repugnant as they are, American public opinion must be compelled to recognize the following facts. That hideous race prejudice, fostered by Hitlerism, has not yet been eradicated from Europe. Tragically enough, it is not only in Germany where it is still extant. It is also to be found in acute form

in many of the other countries of Europe. Even at this moment in some of the countries of Eastern Europe it is threatening to bring about a new exodus. The United Nations must, and I believe will, eventually bring about the final extirpation of this poisonous relic of Hitler's barbarity. But in the meantime it is too much to ask of these pitiful survivors in the camps of Europe that they be forced not only to return to places which mark the scenes of deepest tragedy, whence their loved ones have gone to a hideous death, where their homes have been destroyed and their possessions stolen, but there they also will find no welcome and no real opportunity to live without discrimination and with assurance of security.

The Report of the Committee fixes the number of Jewish survivors whose emigration from Europe should be facilitated at half a million. From all of the information in my possession I believe this figure should be set at a far greater amount. One of the great mysteries of the post-war planning of the United Nations lies in the fact that when, by the vision and foresight of President Roosevelt, all of the necessary machinery was installed as far back as 1938 by means of the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees, not one single constructive plan has so far been carried out in order that this great human problem might now be in process of solution. Yet there are many countries in the world, with vast unpopulated territories and great undeveloped natural resources, where the majority of the men and women now anxious to leave Europe could find a safe home, and where they could contribute greatly to the

development of those countries.

But it is precisely because no such plans have been adopted that the refuge which Palestine affords becomes more and more indispensable. The free peoples of the United Nations must accept their joint responsibility for those conditions which have made it possible for a world to exist in which there can be refugees.

We here in the United States have an inescapable moral obligation to contribute to the solution. We have, I think, an equally inescapable moral obligation to lend the full support of our Government within the United Nations for the furtherance of that kind of a solution which will mean that those men and women of the Jewish faith throughout the world who wish to make Palestine their permanent home shall be afforded the opportunity of doing so freely. This Government must at the same time press for the establishment of a free and democratic Commonwealth of Palestine which will afford security and equal rights to all of its citizens, whatever their faith and whatever their race may be.

If the United Nations assumes its just responsibility, establishes a Trusteeship over Palestine, and permits the immigration into that country of those who desire to settle there, Palestine in all probability will in the future possess a majority of citizens of the Jewish faith. I believe that that is its rightful destiny. In that event, I have no fear that the holy places which are sacred to Christians, to Jews, and to Moslems alike will not always be open to all believers.

Nor have I any reason to doubt that those who for so many long centuries have suffered persecution and discrimination will not wish to give an example to the world by bestowing equal rights without discrimination upon all citizens of Palestine, of whatever race or creed.

Nor do I fear that the kind of nationalism which is represented by the passionate desire of many millions of Jews in many parts of the world that the land of their forefathers once more become a national home for the Jews can ever permanently prejudice international understanding. Nationalism of the kind which is evidenced by a belief in the superiority of any people, and in the right of that people to dominate and to control other peoples, is the kind of nationalism which makes for war. But the longing of a great people for the reconstruction of their ancient home, so that within it their homeless and suffering brethren can find shelter and a new life is not a kind of nationalism whose fulfillment can do other, when the immediate clouds of the present are dispelled, than further the eventual reign of peace.

I have long believed that the economic federation of the countries of the Near East would advance peace and stability in that distraught region. I have long believed that the eventual inclusion of an independent Palestine in such a federation would make for the prosperity of the entire area, would do much to raise living standards in all of the Near Eastern world, and would greatly help to assuage that bitter feeling of antagonism which now darkens the relations between

the Arabs and the Jews. But I have been equally convinced that objective cannot be achieved if the attempt continues to prevent the Jewish people from immigrating into Palestine, and thus artificially and unjustly to perpetuate a Jewish minority in Palestine.

In the annals of our modern civilization no greater wrong has been perpetrated than the attempt of powerful nations to proscribe the Jewish people. We here in the United States must help to find the means of solving the immediate problem now presented. It must be solved in such a way that in the years to come, in the place of the Palestine which today is rent with contention, with disorder, and with misery, we shall see a Palestine which will be a model and an example for the civilized community of nations.

If our Government pursues a policy which will help to bring that to pass, we Americans will have reason to be proud of the part which we shall have played. For what is here at stake is truly the establishment of liberty. It is the grant of liberty to hundreds of thousands of people who have never known its blessings, and whose forefathers in Europe have not known them throughout the centuries which have passed. We Americans can never afford to deny our own heritage by failing to recognize that the growth of liberty throughout the world will redound to the benefit of all humanity. We must not resign ourselves to the disenchantment which grows in the spirit of man when men come to believe that liberty does not matter very much. For I think this war has taught us the stern lesson that the Almighty will deal good or ill fortune to nations in the measure in which they themselves are disposed to sacrifice what may be required of them in the cause of liberty.

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WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

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A. N. WILLIAMS, CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

JOSEPH L. EGAN, PRESIDENT

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THANKS YOURS TENTH RESOLUTIONS REUNION ADOPTED BY
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Y OF MEMORANDUM

TO: Dr. Emanuel Neumann

FROM: Dr. S. Bernstein

June 14, 1946

Dr. A.H. Silver

You will be interested to know that on the S.S. Marine Shark, which left on June 8th for Haifa, almost 200 people, all of whom have secured visas through us, sailed. Attached you will find copy of a cable dispatched by me to the Agency containing the names of the Olim, not mentioning the children.

The cable will cost us about \$30.00 but I have to do this at the strong request of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem to cable them, at least 10 days before the arrival of the boat, the names of all passengers. They publish the names in the press and announce it several times on the radio. They do this at the request of the Government in order that the relatives and friends should prepare food and lodging for them. The securing of lodging and food is a recent requirement stipulated by the Government for each Oleh.

Believe it or not, during the last three months or so, over 500 people left for Palestine from here through our intermediary.

I expect to have for the Marine Shark sailing for Haifa on July 13th -- I hope there won't be a strike in the meantime -- at least 200 Olim, 100 of whom are already registered with us.

The majority of these Olim are returning residents and I have to say in all fairness to the Government that we have no reason to complain about their handling of this category. The British Passport Control Office in New York is extremely helpful with regard to businessmen's visas, granting them visas without referring the cases to the Government in Jerusalem. In fact it reached so far that Mr. Williams tells me in such cases "I will take your word for it."

As a matter of fact, Mr. Williams, who is the head of the British Passport Control Office, suggested to me several times that he is prepared to submit to the Government applications for certificates -- not tourist visas -- for capitalists. When I told him we have hundreds of applicants in this category, he wanted me to submit to him a list of 25 good cases. He expressed the belief that the Government might be inclined to grant such certificates provided these people will take their capital to Palestine. But frankly speaking, up till now I hesitated to do it. I have a strong suspicion that they are interested in taking away the authority over the certificates from the Jewish Agency and to deal directly with the applicants. I spoke about it to Moshe Shapiro who tried to give me an evasive answer.

However, I cannot help but state, with a feeling of bitterness, that among many hundreds of visas we obtained there were only 30 cases of new certificates -- for chalutzim -- which we received from the Jewish Agency. All the other Olim and tourists received their visas through the British Passport Control Office and the Government.

(continued)

MEMORANDUM (continued)

To: Dr. Emanuel Neumann

June 17, 1946

From: Dr. S. Bernstein

I think the Jewish Agency should give us more consideration with regard to certificates, of which they now really have none. I spoke to Moshe Shapiro about it and gave him a piece of my mind.

On Wednesday, June 19th at 3:00 P. M., we are having a meeting of the Palestine Bureau with Moshe Shapiro and there he will hear some more from me.

SB/rta

P. S. I wonder whether I should publicize the departure of this group of Olim? Wouldn't it be some sort of an anti-climax in the press to our cry that the doors of Palestine are closed?

COPY

EVENING BOSTON TRAVELER

THE BOSTON HERALD

BOSTON 12

FRANK W. BUXTON
Editor

June 14, 1946

Dear Arthur:

Thank you for the note of June 11. I am a little dismayed by the speech of Ernest Bevin, and in my fury, I am wondering whether it may be the first of a series of incidents which will lead to his undoing, even though I am familiar with the English doctrine and practice of the Cabinet's collective responsibility. He seems to me to have been guilty of bad faith. I am wondering whether the beguiling Sir John got to him. I am also wondering what the response of his brother-committeemen in England will be. The land recommendation, by the way, was put forward first by Paul Wilson of the English staff, and was debated fully and vigorously. The final text in the Report came almost completely from the pen of Manningham-Buller. Bevin's discussion of the land question and of immigration was so superficial that I cannot believe he has studied the matters seriously. His statements seem to me to have been grossly ill-advised and to be mainly incorrect.

I haven't had any reply to the letter I wrote in regard to Brother W. The absence of a response makes me wonder whether my interference was resented. I think that I spoke to you about W. and that you know what contempt I have for him and his partner.

Judge Hutcheson is sending me the printed text of his speech on Palestine to the members of the Houston Bar Association. I'll see that you get a copy.

Crum told me on the telephone that the Madison Square Garden meeting went along beautifully. What an attractive fellow he is, and how well he expresses himself!

Sincerely,

/s/ Frank

Arthur Lourie, Esq.,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York, 17, N.Y.

UNITED STATES DELEGATION
to the
UNITED NATIONS

HOLD FOR RELEASE

HOLD FOR RELEASE

CAUTION: The following address by the Honorable Bernard Mr. Baruch, United States Representative to the Atomic Energy Commission of the United Nations, to be delivered at the opening session of the Atomic Energy Commission, Friday, June 14, MUST BE HELD IN CONFIDENCE until delivery has begun.

NOTE: No portion, synopsis or intimation is to be published or given out in any way until that time. The same terms of release apply to press and radio.

EXTREME CARE MUST BE EXERCISED TO PREVENT PREMATURE PUBLICATION.

MY FELLOW MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION, and
MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE WORLD:-

We are here to make a choice between the quick and the dead.

That is our business.

Behind the black portent of the new atomic age lies a hope which, seized upon with faith, can work our salvation. If we fail, then we have damned every man to be the slave of Fear. Let us not deceive ourselves: We must elect World Peace or World Destruction.

Science has torn from nature a secret so vast in its potentialities that our minds cower from the terror it creates. Yet terror is not enough to inhibit the use of the atomic bomb. The terror created by weapons has never stopped man from employing them. For each new weapon a defense has been produced, in time. But now we face a condition in which adequate defense does not exist.

Science, which gave us this dread power, shows that it can be made a giant help to humanity, but science does not show us how to prevent its baleful use. So we have been appointed to obviate that peril by finding a meeting of the minds and the hearts of our peoples. Only in the will of mankind lies the answer.

It is to express this will and make it effective that we have been assembled. We must provide the mechanism to assure that atomic energy is used for peaceful purposes and preclude its use in war. To that end, we must provide immediate, swift and sure punishment of those who violate the agreements that are reached by the nations. Penalization is essential if peace is to be more than a feverish interlude between wars. And, too, the United Nations can prescribe individual responsibility and punishment on the principles applied at Nuremberg by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, France and the United States - a formula certain to benefit the world's future.

In this crisis, we represent not only our governments but, in a larger way, we represent the peoples of the world. We must remember that the peoples do not belong to the governments but that the governments belong to the peoples. We must answer their demands; we must answer the world's longing for peace and security.

In that desire the United States shares ardently and hopefully. The search of Science for the absolute weapon has reached fruition in this country. But she stands ready to proscribe and destroy this instrument - to lift its use from death to life - if the world will join in a pact to that end.

In our success lies the promise of a new life, freed from the heart-stopping fears that now beset the world. The beginning of victory for the great ideals for which millions have bled and died lies in building a workable plan. Now we approach fulfillment of the aspirations of mankind. At the end of the road lies the fairer, better, surer life we crave and mean to have.

Only by a lasting peace are liberties and democracies strengthened and deepened. War is their enemy. And it will not do to believe that any of us can escape war's devastation. Victor, vanquished and neutrals alike are affected physically, economically and morally.

Against the degradation of war we can erect a safeguard. That is the guerdon for which we reach. Within the scope of the formula we outline here, there will be found, to those who seek it, the essential elements of our purpose. Others will see only emptiness. Each of us carries his own mirror in which is reflected hope - or determined desperation - courage or cowardice.

There is a famine throughout the world today. It starves men's bodies. But there is a greater famine - the hunger of men's spirit. That starvation can be cured by the conquest of fear, and the substitution of hope, from which springs faith - faith in each other; faith that we want to work together toward salvation; and determination that those who threaten the peace and safety shall be punished.

The peoples of these democracies gathered here have a particular concern with our answer, for their peoples hate war. They will have a heavy exaction to make of those who fail to provide an escape. They are not afraid of an internationalism that protects; they are unwilling to be fobbed off by mouthings about narrow sovereignty, which is today's phrase for yesterday's isolation.

The basis of a sound foreign policy, in this new age, for all the nations here gathered, is that: anything that happens, no matter where or how, which menaces the peace of the world, or the economic stability, concerns each and all of us.

That roughly, may be said to be the central theme of the United Nations. It is with that thought we begin consideration of the most important subject that can engage mankind - life itself.

Let there be no quibbling about the duty and the responsibility of this group and of the governments we represent. I was moved, in the afternoon of my life, to add my effort to gain the world's quest, by the broad mandate under which we were created. The resolution of the General Assembly, passed January 24, 1946, in London reads:

"Section V. Terms of Reference of the Commission

"The Commission shall proceed with the utmost dispatch and inquire into all phases of the problem, and make such recommendations from time to time with respect to them as it finds possible. In particular the Commission shall make specific proposals:

"A. For extending between all nations the exchange of basic scientific information for peaceful ends;

"B. For control of atomic energy to the extent necessary to insure its use only for peaceful purposes;

"C. For the elimination from national armaments of atomic weapons and of all other major weapons adaptable to mass destruction;

"D. For effective safeguards by way of inspection and other means to protect complying States against the hazards of violations and evasions.

"The work of the Commission should proceed by separate stages, the successful completion of each of which will develop the necessary confidence of the world before the next stage is undertaken."

Our mandate rests, in the text and in spirit, upon the outcome of the Conference in Moscow of Messrs. Molotov of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Bevin of the United Kingdom, and Brynes of the United States, of America. The three foreign ministers, on December 27, 1945, proposed the establishment of this body.

Their action was animated by a preceding conference in Washington, on November 15, 1945, when the President of the United States, associated with Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and Mr. MacKenzie King, Prime Minister of Canada, stated that international control of the whole field of atomic energy was immediately essential. They proposed

the formation of this body. In examining that source, the Agreed Declaration, it will be found that the fathers of the concept recognized the final means of world salvation - the abolition of war. Solemnly they wrote:

"We are aware that the only complete protection for the civilized world from the destructive use of scientific knowledge lies in the prevention of war. No system of safeguards that can be devised will of itself provide an effective guarantee against production of atomic weapons by a nation bent on aggression. Nor can we ignore the possibility of the development of other weapons, or of new methods of warfare, which may constitute as great a threat to civilization as the military use of atomic energy."

Through the historical approach I have outlined, we find ourselves here to test if man can produce, through his will and faith, the miracle of peace, just as he has, through science and skill, the miracle of the atom.

The United States proposes the creation of an International Atomic Development Authority, to which should be entrusted all phases of the development and use of atomic energy, starting with the raw material and including:

1. Managerial control or ownership of all atomic energy activities potentially dangerous to world security.
2. Power to control, inspect, and license all other atomic activities.
3. The duty of fostering the beneficial uses of atomic energy.
4. Research and development responsibilities of an affirmative character intended to put the Authority in the forefront of atomic knowledge and thus to enable it to comprehend, and therefore to detect, misuse of atomic energy. To be effective, the Authority must itself be the world's leader in the field of atomic knowledge and development and thus supplement its legal authority with the great power inherent in possession of leadership in knowledge.

I offer this as a basis for beginning our discussion.

But, I think, the peoples we serve would not believe - and without faith nothing counts - that a treaty, merely outlawing possession or use of the atomic bomb constitutes effective fulfillment of the instructions to this Commission. Previous failures have been recorded in trying the method of simple renunciation, unsupported by effective guarantees of security and armament limitation. No one would have faith in that approach alone.

Now, if ever, is the time to act for the common good. Public opinion supports a world movement toward security. If I read the signs aright, the peoples want a program not composed merely of pious thoughts but of enforceable sanctions - an international law with teeth in it.

We of this nation, desirous of helping to bring peace to the world and realizing the heavy obligations upon us, arising from our possession of the means of producing the bomb and from the fact that it is part of our armament, are prepared to make our full contribution toward effective control of atomic energy.

When an adequate system for control of atomic energy, including the renunciation of the bomb as a weapon, has been agreed upon and put into effective operation and condign punishments set up for violations of the rules of control which are to be stigmatized as international crimes, we propose that:

1. Manufacture of atomic bombs shall stop,
2. Existing bombs shall be disposed of pursuant to the terms of the treaty, and

3. The Authority shall be in possession of full information as to the know-how for the production of atomic energy.

Let me repeat, so as to avoid misunderstanding: my country is ready to make its full contribution toward the end we seek, subject of course, to our constitutional processes, and to an adequate system of control becoming fully effective, as we finally work it out.

Now as to violations: in the agreement, penalties of as serious a nature as the nations may wish and as immediate and certain in their execution as possible, should be fixed for:

1. Illegal possession or use of an atomic bomb;
2. Illegal possession, or separation, of atomic material suitable for use in an atomic bomb;
3. Seizure of any plant or other property belonging to or licensed by the Authority;
4. Wilful interference with the activities of the Authority;
5. Creation or operation of dangerous projects in a manner contrary to, or in the absence of, a license granted by the international control body.

It would be a deception, to which I am unwilling to lend myself, were I not to say to you and to our peoples, that the matter of punishment lies at the very heart of our present security system. It might as well be admitted, here and now, that the subject goes straight to the veto power contained in the Charter of the United Nations so far as it relates to the field of atomic energy. The Charter permits penalization only by concurrence of each of the five great powers - Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom, China, France and the United States.

I want to make very plain that I am concerned here with the veto power only as it affects this particular problem. There must be no veto to protect those who violate their solemn agreements not to develop or use atomic energy for destructive purposes.

The bomb does not wait upon debate. To delay may be to die. The time between violation and preventive action or punishment would be all too short for extended discussion as to the course to be followed.

As matters now stand several years may be necessary for another country to produce a bomb, de novo. However, once the basic information is generally known, and the Authority has established producing plants for peaceful purposes in the several countries, an illegal seizure of such a plant might permit a malevolent nation to produce a bomb in twelve months, and if preceded by secret preparation and necessary facilities perhaps even in a much shorter time. The time required - the advance warning given of the possible use of a bomb - can only be generally estimated but obviously will depend upon many factors, including the success with which the Authority has been able to introduce elements of safety in the design of its plants and the degree to which illegal and secret preparation for the military use of atomic energy will have been eliminated. Presumably no nation would think of starting a war with only one bomb.

This shows how imperative speed is in detecting and penalizing violations.

The process of prevention and penalization - a problem of profound statecraft-is, as I read it, implicit in the Moscow statement, signed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and the United Kingdom a few months ago.

But before a country is ready to relinquish any winning weapons, it must have more than words to reassure it. It must have a guarantee of safety, not only

against the offenders in the atomic area, but against the illegal users of other weapons - bacteriological, biological, gas - perhaps - why not? - against war itself.

In the elimination of war lies our solution, for only then will nations cease to compete with one another in the production and use of dread "Secret" weapons which are evaluated solely by their capacity to kill. This devilish program takes us back not merely to the Dark Ages, but from cosmos to chaos. If we succeed in finding a suitable way to control atomic weapons, it is reasonable to hope that we may also preclude the use of other weapons adaptable to mass destruction. When a man learns to say "A" he can, if he chooses, learn the rest of the alphabet, too.

Let this be anchored in our minds:

Peace is never long preserved by weight of metal or by an armament race. Peace can be made tranquil and secure only by understanding and agreement fortified by sanctions. We must embrace international cooperation or international disintegration.

Science has taught us how to put the atom to work. But to make it work for good instead of for evil lies in the domain dealing with the principles of human duty. We are now facing a problem more of ethics than of physics.

The solution will require apparent sacrifice in pride and in position, but better pain as the price of peace than death as the price of war.

I now submit the following measures as representing the fundamental features of a plan which would give effect to certain of the conclusions which I have epitomized.

1. General - The Authority should set up a thorough plan for control of the field of atomic energy, through various forms of ownership, dominion, licenses, operation, inspection, research and management by competent personnel. After this is provided for, there should be as little interference as may be with the economic plans and the present private, corporate and state relationships in the several countries involved.

2. Raw Materials - The Authority should have as one of its earliest purposes to obtain and maintain complete and accurate information on world supplies of uranium and thorium and to bring them under its dominion. The precise pattern of control for various types of deposits of such materials will have to depend upon the geological, mining, refining, and economic facts involved in different situations.

The Authority should conduct continuous surveys so that it will have the most complete knowledge of the world geology of uranium and thorium. Only after all current information on world sources of uranium and thorium is known to us all can equitable plans be made for their production, refining and distribution.

3. Primary Production Plants - The Authority should exercise complete managerial control of the production of fissionable materials. This means that it should control and operate all plants producing fissionable materials in dangerous quantities and must own and control the product of these plants.

4. Atomic Explosives - The Authority should be given sole and exclusive right to conduct research in the field of atomic explosives. Research activities in the field of atomic explosives are essential in order that the Authority may keep in the forefront of knowledge in the field of atomic energy and fulfill the objective of preventing illicit manufacture of bombs. Only by maintaining its position as the best informed agency will the Authority be able to determine the line between intrinsically dangerous and and non-dangerous activities.

5. Strategic Distribution of Activities and Materials - The activities entrusted exclusively to the Authority because they are intrinsically dangerous to security should be distributed throughout the world. Similarly, stockpiles of raw materials and fissionable materials should not be centralized.

6. Non-Dangerous Activities - A function of the Authority should be promotion of the peacetime benefits of atomic energy.

Atomic research (except in explosives), the use of research reactors, the production of radioactive tracers by means non-dangerous reactors, the use of such tracers, and to some extent the production of power should be open to nations and their citizens under reasonable licensing arrangements from the Authority. Denatured materials, whose use we know also requires suitable safeguards, should be furnished for such purposes by the Authority under lease or other arrangement. Denaturing seems to have been over-estimated by the public as a safety measure.

7. Definition of Dangerous and Non-Dangerous Activities - Although a reasonable dividing line can be drawn between dangerous and non-dangerous activities, it is not hard and fast. Provision should, therefore, be made to assure constant re-examination of the questions, and to permit revision of the dividing line as changing conditions and new discoveries may require.



8. Operations of Dangerous Activities - Any plant dealing with uranium or thorium after it once reaches the potential of dangerous use must be not only subject to the most rigorous and competent inspection by the Authority, but its actual operation shall be under the management, supervision and control of the Authority.

9. Inspection - By assigning intrinsically dangerous activities exclusively to the Authority, the difficulties of inspection are reduced. If the Authority is the only agency which may lawfully conduct dangerous activities, then visible operation by others than the Authority will constitute an unambiguous danger signal. Inspection will also occur in connection with the licensing functions of the Authority.

10. Freedom of Access - Adequate ingress and egress for all qualified representatives of the Authority must be assured. Many of the inspection activities of the Authority should grow out of, and be incidental to, its other functions. Important measures of inspection will be associated with the tight control of raw materials, for this is a keystone of the plan. The continuing activities of prospecting, survey and research in relation to raw materials will be designed not only to serve the affirmative development functions of the Authority, but also to assure that no surreptitious operations are conducted in the raw materials field by nations or their citizens.

11. Personnel - The personnel of the Authority should be recruited on a basis of proven competence but also so far as possible on an international basis.

12. Progress by Stages - A primary step in the creation of the system of control is the setting forth, in comprehensive terms of the functions, responsibilities, powers and limitations of the Authority. Once a Charter for the Authority has been adopted, the Authority and the system of control for which it will be responsible will require time to become fully organized and effective. The plan of control will, therefore, have to come into effect in successive stages. These should be specifically fixed in the Charter or means should be otherwise set forth in the Charter for transitions from one stage to another, as contemplated in the resolution of the United Nations Assembly which created this Commission.

13. Disclosures - In the deliberations of the United Nations Commission on Atomic Energy, the United States is prepared to make available the information essential to a reasonable understanding of the proposals which it advocates. Further disclosures must be dependent, in the interests of all, upon the effective ratification of the treaty. When the Authority is actually created, the United States will join the other nations in making available the further information essential to that organization for the performance of its functions. As the successive stages of international control are reached, the United States will be prepared to yield, to the extent required by each stage, national control of activities in this field to the Authority.

14. International Control - There will be questions about the extent of control to be allowed to national bodies, when the Authority is established. Purely national authorities for control and development of atomic energy should to the extent necessary for the effective operation of the Authority be subordinate to it. This is neither an endorsement nor a disapproval of the creation of national authorities. The Commission should evolve a clear demarcation of the scope of duties and responsibilities of such national authorities.

And now I end. I have submitted an outline for present discussion. Our consideration will be broadened by the criticism of the United States proposals and by the plans of the other nations, which, it is to be hoped, will be submitted at their early convenience. I and my associates of the United States Delegation will make available to

each member of this body books and pamphlets, including the Acheson-Lilienthal report, recently made by the United States Department of State, and the McMahon Committee Monograph No. 1 entitled "Essential Information on Atomic Energy" relating to the McMahon Bill recently passed by the United States Senate, which may prove of value in assessing the situation.

All of us are consecrated to making an end of gloom and hopelessness. It will not be an easy job. The way is long and thorny, but supremely worth traveling. All of us want to stand erect, with our faces to the sun, instead of being forced to burrow into the earth, like rats.

The pattern of salvation must be worked out by all for all.

The light at the end of the tunnel is dim, but our path seems to grow brighter as we actually begin our journey. We cannot yet light the way to the end. However, we hope the suggestions of my government will be illuminating.

Let us keep in mind the exhortation of Abraham Lincoln, whose words, uttered at a moment of shattering national peril, form a complete text for our deliberation. I quote, paraphrasing slightly:

"We cannot escape history. We of this meeting will be remembered in spite of ourselves. No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we are passing will light us down in honor or dishonor to the latest generation.

"We say we are for Peace. The world will not forget that we say this. We know how to save Peace. The world knows that we do. We, even we here, hold the power and have the responsibility.

"We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth. The way is plain, peaceful, generous; just - a way which, if followed, the world will forever applaud."

My thanks for your attention.

June 18, 1946

Mr. Bernard Baruch
Port Washington
Long Island, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Baruch:

I read your epoch-making address before the United Nations Atomic Energy Commission. May I join all men of peace and good will in expressing to you my deep sense of gratitude and indebtedness for your statesmanlike and far-visioned proposals which hold the promise of peace for mankind. If the nations will follow America's leadership as outlined in your proposals, a new and blessed age will dawn for a sorely tried world.

I send you my warmest personal greetings.

Most cordially,

AHS:BK

COPY

ZIONIST COUNCIL OF ESSEX COUNTY
207 Market Street
Newark 2, N.J.

June 19, 1946

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York City

My dear Rabbi:

I think that we can start with some basic assumptions and try to come to some conclusions based upon them:

1. We will agree, I believe, that the Zionist position has deteriorated rapidly during the last year.
2. That the British policy is now manifest -- to wit -- the complete liquidation of the Zionist program, including the Jewish Agency, the Haganah, to convert it, at most, and this only under pressure, into a minimum refugee movement.
3. That all methods employed in the past have failed.
4. That it is unfair to ask the Yishuv to bear the brunt of the warfare.
5. That we are now witnessing a reign of terror in which Jews are being killed for no other reasons than that they are Jews, patriotically defending their own land.
6. That we must either go forward or backward.

Analyzing these findings of fact a little more closely, the most dangerous situation is to be found in Point 2. I don't think that anyone imagines that Bevin actually believes or wants to restrict Jewish immigration into Palestine totally, but one must realize, and realize clearly, that what he is aiming for is that the British consent to the admission of even 100,000 Jews must be accompanied by a decision of the United States and the other powers not to press for a Jewish homeland and to help in liquidating those phases of Jewish life in Palestine that have the appearance of the makings of a Jewish state.

Point 6 is really the one that calls for the greatest display of courage, vision and statesmanship. Either our leaders should abandon the idea of a Jewish state and thus spare thousands and thousands of Jewish lives that must necessarily be sacrificed if we are to press towards our goal, and concentrate merely on the rescue work and immigration problems of the Jews, or we must be prepared to take a further step.

June 19, 1946

The writer has long, openly and on many occasions predicted just what is now taking place. I claim no prophetic vision, but to me, and to many like myself, the future was crystal-clear. I repeat again what I have stated openly -- we shall have to fight.

No people ever won its independence except by fighting, and unfortunately, the Jews must do the same. We Jews of America dare not permit the Yishuv to do the fighting alone. After mature and careful consideration, and after weighing the consequences most carefully, I urge that there shall be declared a state of war existing between Great Britain and the Jewish peoples of the world, that a total boycott be called against every phase of British economy, that a volunteer group of at least 100,000 Jews be called into being, whose motto shall be "1,000 British lives for one Jewish life", and that this group form the American Haganah, to sabotage and to destroy, and in every way ruin the economy of Great Britain. Plans for such a group can be worked out in detail, and the writer is prepared to furnish a detailed blue-print of its program and its activities.

These are strange words coming from one who was brought up in the spirit of the Torah and the ideals of our peace-preaching and shalom loving sages, but the fate of the Jews is at stake -- not only those Jews of Europe but of America, too, and to save ourselves no steps can be too bold.

If we are to die, let us die as free men, fighting for our homeland and the altar of our God.

Sincerely yours

(signature)

Nathan H. Brodsky

NHB:MF

AMERICAN PALESTINE INSTITUTE, INC.
165 Broadway - New York 6, N.Y.

June 20th, 1946

Blumberg

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

Dear Rabbi Silver: Re: "Palestine: Problem and Promise"

As you know, five thousand copies were printed as the first edition. The sales in this country have been dis-heartening. The demand abroad, particularly in Palestine and in England, has been very good. When I was in London recently, Mr. Shertok and Mr. Zaslani told me that a Palestine bookseller had oversold his pre-publication list of one thousand copies at £2 per copy. I sent about six hundred copies to England for distribution by my friends to key people there. Because of the exchange situation it was necessary for me to make a gift of those copies which went to England.

In addition, I have made gifts of several hundred copies in this country. Of the first edition, therefore, perhaps not over one thousand copies have been sold to the American public. We sent a brochure describing the book to some 21,000 people whose names were furnished us by A.Z.E.C., but the publisher tells me that the results did not warrant that expense.

The poor sale in this country is not due to any lack of enterprise on the part of the publisher because, as you will have noticed, the book was well distributed to reviewers and received very good reviews. What appeared to be lacking is the interest and push on the part of those who ought to be interested in the widespread distribution of the report.

Notwithstanding this expense, I think that it is necessary to take a long-term view. It was suggested by Dr. Eli Ginzberg, with whom I discussed the matter in London, and by others, that copies of the report ought to be placed in public libraries throughout the country; in college university libraries; and in the hands of churchmen, publishers, editors, radio commentators and legislators. I hope that you will accept this view and will undertake to assume the responsibility for publishing the second edition of say ten to fifteen thousand copies to be sold or to be distributed gratis in accordance with a well thought out plan.

I cannot, however, undertake either the financial burden or the work which will be involved in the distribution of the second edition. I don't possess the facilities for the job of distribution nor am I prepared to accept the financial burden

which may be involved as I am still dealing with the problem of making up the deficit which resulted from the \$126,000. expenditure for the investigation and publication of the first edition.

May I therefore suggest this plan: Let the Emergency Council, or any other organization you may select for the purpose, undertake to publish ten or fifteen thousand copies which will be yours to deal with as you choose and which will cost you only the amount of the printing and bookbinding which, I am advised, comes to about \$1.50 per copy. That is far less than the cost of publishing the first edition because the expense incurred for type-setting, making plates, etc., will not have to be incurred again and there will be an expenditure only for the cost of the paper, printing, and binding. When the second edition is printed, a reasonable number of copies should be turned over at cost to the Public Affairs Press in order that they may have some books available in years to come when they anticipate a small but steady demand for the book.

To implement this plan it will be necessary for the organization undertaking the responsibility for distribution of the second edition to deposit the cost of the printing and binding.

I know that you are beset with many problems and difficulties at the moment. However, the publisher advises me that we must decide, within the course of the next week or two, whether a second edition will be printed. May I suggest, therefore, that you let me have your views at the earliest possible time?

I am sending an identical letter to Rabbi Wise.

Yours sincerely,

M. H. Blinken

MHB:N

June 23rd

My dear Dr. Silver -
Thank you so much
for your heartening letter.

I shall try - It is a long hard & stormy
path but worthwhile to travel.

Sincerely
Arnold M. Branch

Abba Hillel Silver
Cleveland
Ohio



THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A REPORT OF ACTIVITIES

1940 — 1946

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

A REPORT OF ACTIVITIES



1940 — 1946



MISSING PAGE (S)



Jewry and entitled to speak on its behalf, since World War I. The Conference was deeply concerned with the urgent problems of rescue and relief, but it saw them in their historic perspective, and devoted itself to the temporary as well as to the permanent solutions without sacrificing one to the other. The Resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority at the conclusion of the Conference, in effect registered the collective will of the Jews of America in support of the Biltmore Program. From that time on there could be no question that the Jews of America, as a group, were enthusiastically behind the Jewish Commonwealth program.

MASS DEMONSTRATIONS

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add 4
At different times the Zionist Emergency Council has been responsible for the holding (alone or with other bodies) of a number of great public meetings. The first of these demonstrations was that at Madison Square Garden, New York City, in July, 1941, in connection with the desperate plight of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. A similar gathering which drew a huge audience was held on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, while another noteworthy mass rally, attended by some 60,000 people, took place in Lewisohn Stadium, New York, in April, 1945. Even this gathering was dwarfed, however, by a later open-air demonstration in Madison Square Park to protest British policy in Palestine, at which those present totalled more than 200,000. Such meetings in New York were generally followed or supplemented by other great gatherings in leading cities throughout the country. Further details on these and other demonstrations are included later in this report.

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

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Associated with the American Zionist Emergency Council in its efforts to present the Palestine issues before the public are two leading non-Jewish groups: the American Palestine Committee, founded in April, 1941 under the Chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner, and the Christian Council on Palestine headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. The American Palestine Committee is composed of leading Americans distinguished in many walks of public life, who desire, through its medium, to signify their interest in and goodwill toward the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The membership of the Committee now exceeds 15,000, including 17 State Governors, 61 Senators, 150 Congressmen, as well as many others well known in the nation's civic and religious life.

The Christian Council on Palestine comprises a membership of 2,400 leading clergymen, representing all Christian denominations, and has taken an active part both in informing clerical groups and enlisting their support for the Jewish National Home.

In May, 1946, the two bodies merged as the American Christian

type

Palestine Committee. In addition to Senator Wagner and Dr. Atkinson as Founders and Honorary Chairmen, there were appointed as Co-Chairmen, Senator Owen Brewster, Senator James M. Mead and the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss was appointed as Chairman of the Executive Council while Dean Howard M. LeSourd continued as Director of the joint organization.

The members of these bodies have been kept informed, by the circulation of memoranda and other material, of developments in the Palestine situation, and they have on various occasions taken action in support of the Zionist position. The American Palestine Committee has held a series of impressive annual dinners in Washington, attended by many distinguished Americans, as well as by the representatives of various foreign governments. Of special interest, too, have been the well-attended all-day discussion meetings associated with the more recent of these functions. In addition, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine have sponsored a number of outstanding regional conferences on Palestine in several of the larger American cities, notably in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Houston and Philadelphia. These were addressed by prominent speakers and were attended by many tens of thousands of persons. Reference may also be made to the successful inception, during the last two years, in conferences held at Princeton and Ocean City, of annual seminars for speakers and others specially interested in a deeper study of the problems involved.

type
Speaker short

An important action initiated under the auspices of the American Palestine Committee as one of its earlier activities was the issuance of a Declaration signed by more than two-thirds of the Senate and approximately two hundred members of the House of Representatives, reiterating support of the Jewish National Home. The Declaration, entitled "The Common Purpose of Civilized Mankind," was published in many tens of thousands of copies and received wide distribution. It constituted a valuable pointer to Congressional opinion in connection with the introduction at a later date of the Palestine Resolution in the United States Congress.

**Congressmen,
State Legislatures,
Governors
Pledge Support**

type

Added

Again in 1944-1945, A "Letter to the President," urging action in behalf of Jewish settlement in Palestine and its establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth, was circulated among members of Congress and was signed by 55 Senators and 261 Representatives.

The growing public interest in the Palestine issue was further given expression by the passage of Resolutions by State Legislatures throughout the country in support of the Jewish National Home and of the reestablishment of the Jewish Commonwealth. No less than forty-one

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Units by Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz, former Chief Chaplain of the British Eighth Army; and a jubilee edition of Herzl's "Jewish State." In addition, the Council has been actively concerned with the promotion of Ernst Frankenstein's "Justice for My People" (Dial Press), Professor Carl Friedrich's "American Policy Toward Palestine" (Public Affairs Press), Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's now renowned volume "Palestine, Land of Promise" (Harper's), and "To Whom Palestine?" by Frank Gervasi (Appleton Century).

The Council publishes, further, a monthly bulletin of information and opinion called "Palestine," which is widely distributed among government, academic and journalistic circles. The Council was also responsible for the publication in 1945 of an important volume, "America and Palestine," which gives the history of America's deep and continuous interest in the Jewish National Home over a period of many years. The book includes all important documents bearing on the subject and records the opinions of over 400 members of the Congress of the United States at the time—77% of the entire body—in favor of Zionist aspirations.

RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

A Research Department of the Emergency Council was established in 1943 headed by Dr. I. B. Berkson, who directed its activities until 1946. This department proved an important adjunct to the work of the Council. It has had the use on loan of the valuable collection of the Esco Foundation, and has itself built up an extensive collection of documentary material relating to Palestine. The Research Department publishes a monthly review of developments with regard to Palestine, entitled "Palestine Affairs," which has been enthusiastically received in academic and other circles. The Zionist Archives and Library have also proved an invaluable supplementary source of reference and research.

PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

The most important step taken by the American Zionist Emergency Council on the political front was the introduction of the Palestine Resolution in both Houses of Congress. In 1944, the effective date of the White Paper guillotine on Jewish immigration into Palestine was approaching. Not only was it timely that the Congress of the United States should again, after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century, place itself unequivocally on record in favor of Zionist aspirations, but the very discussion of our problem in this great forum of public opinion was in itself a political event. The Resolution served as a target, further, on which the Council could effectively concentrate its propaganda. It was a step taken only after long and critical deliberation and after a systematic canvass of Congressional opinion, both through the Local Emergency Committees and through the Washington Bureau, had been

made. The introduction of the Resolution in the House of Representatives was preceded by warm statements of endorsement on the part of the leaders of both of the great political parties. Similarly, the introduction of the Resolution in the Senate, under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner and Taft, was preceded by strong supporting statements by both the majority and minority leaders of that body. Hearings took place before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for four days in the month of February, 1944. The Zionist position was presented with great distinction by the Zionist leaders, including Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mr. Herman Shulman, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mr. David Wertheim, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. James G. Heller, and others not directly associated with the Zionist organizations. The officially published reports of the Hearings, indeed, contain one of the most complete, well-documented and convincing statements of the Zionist case in existence. Magnificent support came from the Local Committees. From centers, large and small, throughout the country, hundreds of thousands of letters, postcards and telegrams poured in upon the Members of the Senate and the House. Congressmen were unanimous in stating that they had seldom seen such a remarkable expression of public interest in a piece of legislation.

**"Conspiracy
of Silence"
Broken**

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to page →
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as p. 15 "A"

~~One immediate result of all this was that the "conspiracy of silence" on the Palestine issue, which seemed to have developed in Washington, was effectively broken. Less than a year previously, there had even been the danger that an official demand might be issued, backed up by the authority of the chiefs of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, calling for a cessation for the time being of all discussion of the Palestine question. This proposal had been shelved only after the most strenuous efforts on the part of the then leaders of the Council. Now, Palestine was definitely placed on the agenda of public opinion as one of the vital issues of the hour, and the justice of the case for a Jewish Palestine was brought home to the American people as never before.~~

Unfortunately, at a critical moment in the consideration of the Resolution by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the War Department brought about a postponement of action on military grounds. It was nevertheless apparent to the National Administration that Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the Resolution and that a large section of American public opinion was deeply concerned over the deferment of action on the measure. In response to this tremendous public pressure, the President, on March 9, 1944, issued what was the first clearcut expression of sympathy with Zionist aims to come from a leader of any of the great powers since the beginning of the war. The President

**REPUBLICAN
AND
DEMOCRATIC
PARTY
PLATFORMS**

^{and his}
authorized Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, Co-Chairmen of the Council, to issue in his name a public statement to the effect that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939 . . . and that when future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home." The President's statement was the more significant coming as it did immediately following a series of protests to Washington from various Arab states expressing concern with the American attitude on the Palestine issue.

While Congressional action on the Palestine Resolution was for the time being deferred, the Council did not suspend its activities. In the summer of 1944 both the Republican and Democratic parties held their national conventions—prior to the national elections—and the Council therefore shifted its political front from Washington to Chicago, where these conventions were taking place.

In June, 1944, the Republican Party adopted a forthright plank on Palestine pledging unequivocal support to the full Zionist program. This was followed in July, 1944, by the Palestine plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which put the party of the National Administration on record as follows:

"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."

These planks represented an act unprecedented in American political history and served dramatically to give notice that the American people were overwhelmingly in sympathy with the aims of the Zionist movement.

Subsequently, on October 15, 1944, in his historic message to the Zionist Organization of America, the late President Roosevelt gave his support to the plank in the Democratic platform and stated:

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. 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 re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

This position was reaffirmed by the President on March 16, 1945—very shortly before his death. Five weeks later, on April 20, 1945, President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement to the effect that he intended to carry out President Roosevelt's policy, with which he was fully familiar.

**REINTRODUCTION
OF THE
RESOLUTION:
RESIGNATION OF
DR. SILVER**

Begin
Later that month
In October 1944, the military objection to the passage of the Congressional Resolution was withdrawn. *having been withdrawn*
which had been
In the light of the planks adopted by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, as well as of the statement of October 15 of President Roosevelt, it was decided that an effort should be made to reopen the matter of the Congressional Resolution which had lain dormant since the previous March. Before taking action in the matter, however, clearance for the Resolution was sought from President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Stettinius; but, instead of the expected concurrence of the Administration, vigorous opposition on the part of the President and Mr. Stettinius was encountered. Late in November the Taft-Wagner Resolution, as it was called, came up for action again in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where it was considered at three successive meetings. The State Department and the President, however, remained obdurate in their position that the passage of the Resolution was inopportune. The matter came up for a vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on December 11, 1944. On this occasion Mr. Stettinius made the last in a series of personal appearances before the Committee, and, in the name of the National Administration, argued against its passage. Such pressure from the Executive branch of the American Government made it impossible to pass the Resolution, and it was finally tabled by a bare majority in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A violent controversy had developed within the Council when the Administration's opposition to action on the Resolution was encountered. Some members of the Council thought it inadvisable to proceed with the matter and assured leaders of the Government that they would not press for the Palestine Resolution against the wishes of the Administration. Dr. Silver, supported by other members of the Council, took a different view of the situation. *He* felt that every effort should be made to induce the Administration to withdraw its opposition to the Resolution, which opposition was diametrically opposed to the stand taken publicly by President Roosevelt and his party.

Unfortunately, the proponents of these two *different* views also adopted conflicting procedures in Washington. Thus, while Dr. Silver sought to carry out the Council's decision to seek the removal of Administration opposition, other Zionist leaders informed official Washington that they were not pressing for the Resolution. Following the tabling of the Palestine Resolution, the far-reaching controversy within the Council culminated in the resignation of Dr. Silver from his position as Co-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

In the reorganization which followed, Dr. Wise was elected Chairman, and Dr. Hayim Greenberg became Chairman of the Executive

Committee, with the late Mr. Herman Shulman as Chairman of a small Administrative Committee.

The ~~aforementioned~~ controversy was not confined to the Zionist leadership, but also agitated the Zionist rank and file throughout the country. In the months that followed, the issues were debated throughout America and it became clear that the view represented by Dr. Silver —that favoring a program of militant political action to move the National Administration to follow a line in keeping with its own public pledges—was victorious in the arena of public opinion. The demand for a closing of Zionist ranks and for the recall of Dr. Silver to active leadership became ever more insistent, and finally, in July, 1945, there was a further reorganization. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise became Joint Chairmen of the Council and Dr. Silver was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee. me

PASSAGE OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS

The Resolution was subsequently reintroduced into Congress in somewhat revised form, and this time, after a further brief hearing in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where the Zionist position was effectively stated by Mr. Emanuel Neumann, and after a full debate on the floor of the Senate, was at length passed by overwhelming votes on December 17, 1945, in the Senate and on December 19, 1945, in the House. The Joint Resolution concluded as follows:

"... Therefore be it RESOLVED by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

The passage of the Palestine Resolution by the Legislative branch of the United States Government ~~was~~ confirmed as an expression of American policy all of the aforementioned public statements in support of Zionism. The Resolution also served notice on the British Government, as well as on the American National Administration, that the American people, speaking through Congress, continue to regard the international pledge of a Jewish National Home as morally and legally binding, and will seek its fulfillment.

**ATTITUDE
OF THE
ADMINISTRATION**

Begin

Despite these striking expressions of official support for the Zionist position, it ~~would be idle to ignore the fact that~~ the Executive branch of the Government of the United States has ~~not in the past been~~ vigilant to secure that this sentiment of the American people and Congress should be reflected in action. ~~Too often there has been~~ ^{There was always} an unfortunate contradiction between American official pronouncements favoring the Jewish National Home and concrete action towards their fulfillment.

Thus the declaration of the President of March 1944, that the United States had never approved the White Paper and that full justice would be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, was not in fact followed by any official representations to the British Government. Indeed, as if to indicate that it was not to be inferred from this declaration that the American Government was embarking on a new policy towards Palestine, a telegram was sent by the State Department, with the approval of the President, to the heads of the Arab countries, renewing assurances previously given that no decision on Palestine would be reached without full consultation between both Arabs and Jews. Similarly, President Roosevelt's admirable statement to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America of October 15, 1944, was not followed up by any action. On the contrary, as already indicated, when the Palestine Resolution was revived following the withdrawal of the objections of the War Department, strong opposition was encountered from the President and Secretary of State Stettinius. ^{TP} The matter was brought into the open in connection with the publication by Secretary of State Byrnes, in October, 1945, of the exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud. In dealing with this correspondence, the Emergency Council issued a widely publicized statement in which it was pointed out that, despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist promises and pronouncements on the part of the American Government, the policy they expressed had not been translated into action and that, on the contrary, by numerous acts and omissions on the part of the Administration the Arab leaders had been emboldened to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause. The statement of the Emergency Council, which was issued in the form of a letter to the Secretary of State, went on to review the situation in the light of the Ibn Saud correspondence and concluded by pointing out that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which had not lifted a finger in their own defense during the war should not be allowed to deflect the United States Government from a just course of action which had received overwhelming endorsement on the part of the American people.

It seems clear that not until late in August, 1945 did the United States Government take any action or make any representations to the

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*Memorandum which it
submitted to the State
Department on the occasion
of a meeting which Dr.
Wick and I had with
Secretary James F. Byrnes
on October 23, 1945*

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*Byrnes
Memorandum*

British Government, either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed. In that month President Truman sent his now-famous letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates be granted for the immigration of Jews into Palestine. The first real step forward was thus taken in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation and of putting an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate.

THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AT SAN FRANCISCO

Representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council played a very active part, in collaboration with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in seeking to protect the rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April and May, 1945. The Zionist representatives kept in close touch with developments in the Trusteeship and other relevant committees, and by establishing and maintaining contact with members of the key delegations, as well as by the circulation of specially prepared memoranda and other appropriate material, they kept the Conference delegates fully informed on the Zionist point of view. These efforts were successful, to the extent that a special safeguarding clause was eventually introduced into Article 80 of the Trusteeship Chapter of the Charter of the new International Organization, whose specific purpose it is to preserve existing Jewish rights under the Palestine Mandate. This does not, of course, provide an answer to the fundamental question regarding the political future of the Jewish National Home. Any decision on that question was outside the scope of the San Francisco Conference which was concerned with general principles and not with individual territories. At the same time the inclusion of the safeguarding clause was important, since without it the special rights and position of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine might well have been prejudiced by the statement of general principles laid down in the Trusteeship Chapter in respect to dependent territories as a whole.

Separate sheet

ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY

In August and September, 1945, it became evident that the Labor Government was about to repudiate the promises to which, as a party out of office, it had committed itself over many years in connection with the Jewish National Home. On September 23, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise issued a statement declaring that the Jewish people would resist to the bitter end the reported British decision to continue the White Paper policy. In order to give voice to the indignation of American Jewry at this betrayal of pledges, a demonstration was held at short notice at Madison Square Garden on September 30th, which was filled with a capacity audience of 22,000 together with a gathering outside of 45,000

and

Separate sheet

more. Mass demonstrations were also held in approximately 30 other large centers throughout the country and in some cities the British Consulate was picketed. A month later a huge open-air demonstration (referred to earlier in this report) drew a crowd of 200,000 people to Madison Square Park.

**"Another
Time-Consuming
Investigation"**

At about this time reports appeared in the press to the effect that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was to be set up to investigate the position of the Jews of Europe, as well as the situation in Palestine. On October 30, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, as Joint Chairmen of the Council, submitted a statement to the President from which, in the light of subsequent events, it is of interest to quote the following:

"Within the last seven years, three major intergovernmental Conferences and Committees, in addition to our own War Refugee Board appointed in 1944 and already dissolved, have sought to deal with the question of Jewish refugees and of Jewish immigration . . . Each of these efforts ended in dismal failure, stemming from the central assumption that the doors of Palestine, unlawfully barred to Jewish immigration by the British Government under the terms of its White Paper of 1939, must remain barred. . . ."

"We beg of you not to countenance further commissions and inquiries at a continued cost in human life and human misery, which can only ascertain facts already well known."

"What is urgently needed, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements. No inquiry can be acceptable which does not base itself on the internationally recognized right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine. For such an International Commission to set out upon its quest without reference to these basic legal and political considerations, is to embark upon a sea, without chart or compass, without a point of departure or a port of destination . . . It is evident that commissions are no substitute for action clearly indicated."

A further statement was issued by the Council on November 14, 1945, in response to the announcement of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry and Mr. Bevin's accompanying remarks.

The Inquiry Committee opened its hearings in Washington in January, 1946. Dr. Silver was of the opinion that the Committee was a palpable delaying device and an excuse for inaction, and he therefore

urged that the movement should ignore the Committee and should not appear before it. However, in line with the decision taken by the World Zionist Executive to cooperate with the Committee, a full presentation of the Zionist case was made by representatives of the Emergency Council at the Committee's sessions in Washington. In addition to oral evidence by leaders of the Zionist movement in this country, printed briefs, including an excellent compendium of the relevant documents together with a brief running commentary, were submitted on different aspects of the problems with which the Committee of Inquiry was concerned.

In order to keep in touch with the work of the Committee of Inquiry as that body proceeded on its investigation in Europe and in the Near East, arrangements were made for representatives of the Emergency Council to attend the hearings of the Committee throughout its travels in an unofficial capacity, and to keep the Council informed of developments as they arose.

**Committee of
Inquiry's Report:
America's Reaction**

The Committee of Inquiry issued its Report at the end of April, 1946. Shortly before the publication of the Report, the leaders of the Emergency Council were apprised of its contents and it became clear immediately that while the Report had certain positive aspects—in particular a recommendation for the immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 Jews from the displaced persons' camps and the virtual abrogation of the White Paper—its long-term recommendations were not such as could commend themselves to the Zionist movement. In consequence of representations which were at once made in Washington, the President, in releasing the text of the Report, issued a statement which drew an important distinction between the immediate and the long-term recommendations. That statement formed the basis of further Zionist action in the United States until the new situation that was created by the adoption of the Resolution by the World Executive in August, 1946, expressing readiness to negotiate on the basis of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. Thus on May 18, 1946, a telegram was sent by the Joint Chairmen of the Council to the Acting Secretary of State in connection with the new consultations which had now been proposed, urging that it be made immediately clear that the proposed consultations did not involve the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry for the immigration forthwith of 100,000 Jews. The telegram expressed astonishment and dismay that despite the admittedly urgent need for action to relieve the tragic plight of the survivors of Nazi terror; despite the lapse, further, of more than eight months from the President's initial request to the Prime Minister for their entry into Palestine; and finally despite the unanimous recommendation in this connection of the

Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, it appeared that instead of immediate action to transfer the 100,000 to Palestine, the whole matter would be further delayed and confused under cover of the alleged need for consultation.

The same criticism was expressed in response to a written communication subsequently received from the Department of State (May 20) inviting the comments or suggestions of the Council with regard to the various matters discussed in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The Report, it was pointed out, in its recommendation for the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine, while confirming the request of the President, had merely reaffirmed the findings of Mr. Earl Harrison and of numerous other official investigators. It had in this respect added nothing to facts well known at the time of its appointment. In the circumstances, further consultations and comments appeared meaningless except to produce delay where immediate action was called for and to confuse where the issue had long been altogether clear.

Morrison Plan: American Reaction

On June 11, 1946, the President appointed a Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems. The Committee consisted of the Secretaries of State, of War and of Treasury, and its stated purpose was to assist the President in the "early consideration of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry," in view of the urgency of the solution of various problems relating to the Jews in Europe and in Palestine. Thereafter, American technical experts were sent to London to work out with the British the logistics in connection with the transfer of the 100,000. And, finally, the Cabinet Committee dispatched its three deputy members, led by Mr. Henry F. Grady, to meet with a corresponding British group for the purpose of implementing the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The product of these discussions, however, was the Grady-Morrison report, which represented a radical departure from the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The Grady-Morrison proposal for a scheme of provincial "autonomy" in Palestine, in which the Jewish people would be restricted to an area of some 1,400 square miles, and in respect of which Jewish immigration would still be subject to the over-riding decision of the mandatory power, evoked the strongest reaction on the part of the Zionists of America. Immediate and energetic action was undertaken in Washington and under pressure of an aroused and indignant American public opinion, the President was dissuaded from giving American support to the scheme.

E' 2 In expressing American Jewry's vigorous demand for immediate

action to admit the Jewish survivors of Europe into Palestine, the Council received magnificent cooperation from the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. Almost 5,000 veterans of World Wars One and Two converged on Washington on July 14, 1946 in a protest march against British policy in Palestine. The veterans' parade in Washington and their meetings with President Truman, Under-Secretary of State Acheson and Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, were widely reported in the press, in newsreels and over the radio. This demonstration contributed greatly towards the mobilization of American public opinion in support of Zionist demands.

THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A few months prior to the recent elections of November 5, the Emergency Council launched a nationwide program of action to demonstrate American Jewry's deep dissatisfaction over the National Administration's record on Palestine. A special committee—the Zionist Actions Committee—was formed, with Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt as chairman, Louis Segal as treasurer and Rabbi Max Kirshblum as secretary, to conduct a program of mass education with regard to the National Administration's failure to act in accordance with its pledges on Palestine. It was clear that in voicing the demand that the American Government immediately fulfill its commitments regarding Palestine, the Emergency Council was supported by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

The results of this campaign were reflected in the steps which the Administration took during the month of October, 1946. On October 4, President Truman issued a statement in which he declared that "substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and . . . should begin at once." The President said further that due to widespread American opposition to the Morrison plan he could not give his support to it. Referring to the Jewish Agency's proposal for "the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine," President Truman expressed his belief that "a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States," and went on to say:

"I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good will. To such a solution our Government could give its support."

American Zionism's reaction to this declaration was contained in the Emergency Council's statement of October 9. That statement declared:

**"Public Expressions
Do Not Suffice"**

"... we most earnestly and respectfully urge the President to make full use of the influence and authority of his high office to the end that effective action be taken without delay in fulfillment of the spirit of his statement. Nothing can satisfy the public conscience save the early movement of displaced and homeless Jews into Palestine, the prompt cessation of British assaults on Jewish refugees and a halt to the brutal repression practiced in Palestine. This alone can be accepted as an earnest of a new and constructive policy resolutely to be pursued with all the vigor which the critical situation demands . . .

"Unhappily, past experience, the bitter disappointments and disillusionments which have followed upon earlier pronouncements have ripened into the conviction that public expressions, however sincere and well-meaning, do not suffice. It has become evident that the tragedy of a whole people exposed to bestial persecution, mass slaughter and continuing homelessness cannot and will not be remedied unless our Government exert sustained and vigorous effort to secure swift and favorable action to the end that heartening promises shall be realized in deeds."

On October 25, Secretary of State Byrnes was moved to make public a statement denying that the State Department was not giving full support to the Palestine policy stated by the President. In a letter to Dr. Wise, Mr. Byrnes declared that "the statement made by the President on October 4th with regard to Palestine and to Jewish immigration into Palestine is, of course, an expression of the policy of this Government. With this policy I am in hearty accord."

However, American Zionism's demands for concrete action by the American Government continued unabated — and on October 28 President Truman issued the text of his letter to King Ibn Saud, in which he declared: "It is only natural . . . that this government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

The President furthermore rejected Ibn Saud's accusations against the Jews, declaring that he is "convinced that responsible Jewish leaders do not contemplate a policy of aggression against the Arab countries adjacent to Palestine." He rejected also Ibn Saud's charge that the President's statement of October 4 was inconsistent with the position he had taken earlier.

Thus, for the first time, the unwarranted interference of King Ibn Saud in the Palestine situation was dealt with in a forthright manner by the President of the United States.

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AFTER THE ELECTIONS

On November 5 the Republican Party was victorious at the polls. Republicans now control both Houses of the Congress of the United States and will hereafter occupy an important role in determining American foreign policy. The Republican Party's record of support for Zionism has been consistent, and its present leaders include some of the most vigorous champions of the Zionist cause in the world today. It is hoped that their warm statements of the past will now be followed by efforts to bring about action by the American Government in support of the Jewish people's just demands.

CONCLUSION

The unbelievably tragic events of the past decade have placed upon American Zionists a fateful responsibility for the future of the Jewish people and of Palestine. There can be no doubt that the Jews of America as a whole are deeply conscious of the historic role which they have been called upon to play. In the decisions that are to be taken affecting Palestine, the influence of the American Government and of American public opinion may well be decisive.

The American Zionist Emergency Council has sought to channelize and make effective not only the mass sentiment of American Jewry for Palestine, but also the great fund of sympathy for the development of the Jewish National Home which exists amongst large circles of the American people as a whole. It will be the purpose of the Council to continue so to inform and educate American public opinion that the latter will lend to the aim of the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth the weight of its great moral and political authority.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Executive Director, Harry L. Shapiro

DEPARTMENT HEADS

Director of Information	Harold P. Manson
Director of Special Events	Abe Tuvim
Political Secretary	Arthur Lourie
Director of Washington Bureau.....	Dr. Benjamin Akzin
Legislative Consultant	Leo R. Sack
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And who was the author of the King-Crane report? Sir Ronald Storrs, hardly a friend of Zionism, states in his *Memoirs*: "Few that had the privilege of meeting Dr. King and of knowing the surviving Commissioner (Crane), will be disposed to doubt that though the hands that signed their report were the hands of King and Crane, the voice was the voice of Crane." And who was Charles R. Crane, to whom Antonius affectionately dedicates his book, as "aptly nicknamed

Harun Al-Rashid"; who, until his recent death, supplied funds for pro-Arab propaganda? Ambassador Dodd, in his *Diary*, tells something of his character when he describes him as "enthusiastic about the Hitler regime in Germany," and adds, "Jews are anathema to him and he hopes to see them put in their place. His advice to me was of course: 'Let Hitler have his way.'"

These are types of Jews we have to operate with on the American scene! . . .

The Battle Remains to Be Won

WE have made some significant progress during this past year. We have a right to a measure of congratulations on the work which has been done, and on the contribution which American Zionists have made to the progress of our movement. We have put our movement on the plane where it belongs, and where it will stay as a great international movement, deserving of the most earnest concern of the great powers of the earth. But it would be a mistake to assume, or to proceed on the assumption, that because of this progress, we can now rest on our oars; that decisions have already been made in the highest circles, that they are favorable decisions, that the battle days of our movement are over, or nearly over, and that we can safely demobilize soon and pass from the political struggle to purely economic considerations affecting Palestine.

This would be a colossal blunder for us to make. Our battle days are far from over. Our battle is far from won. We must bear in mind this simple fact: that actually no authoritative new policy has as yet been announced, nor is it known to any one of us. Our enemies are still busily at work in London, Cairo, Jerusalem, and Washington. We must remember, too, that final political decisions go through many stages and pass through many hands, and are frequently reversed at the last minute, before they are finally made public.

What is indicated for us for the coming days, is this:

We must continue to insist, to advocate and to urge Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth; no other formula, no other solution; no clever compromise! This is our demand. Is it just? Then insist on it!

When we speak of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth we mean exactly what we say: The whole of Palestine, not a part of it nor a fraction of it.

There must be no relaxation of our political effort, no slowing up of our tempo, no partial demobilization,

until complete victory is attained.

We must build upon the broad and secure base of public sentiment, the approval of public opinion which in the final analysis determines the attitude and action of governments in democratic society.

With all my supreme admiration for the great personalities who are our friends, and for the significance of great personalities in the world crisis today, with my full admiration and full realization of these two facts, I still say, unto you, what the psalmist said long ago: "~~Al tivtechu bi-nedivim~~" — "Put not your trust in princes. . . ."

Put not the future of our movement in the sole keeping of individuals, however friendly, however great; appeal to the masses of the people of the world; talk to the whole of America; make friends everywhere; carry on an active educational propaganda in your circle, within the sphere of your influence, among your own friends. That will be reflected in the higher political circles. That will guide them. That will sustain them when they come to make important decisions which may involve America's participation in the ultimate solution of the Palestine problem.

And finally I should like to appeal for a measure of confidence and trust, and also a measure of discipline in our movement. A measure of trust and confidence in those who have assumed the great responsibility of doing that which you direct them to do, and a measure of discipline in our ranks. This is an emergency period, and an emergency period calls for discipline, for co-ordination, sometimes for the subordination of self and individual judgment to the collective judgment of the group which has the collective responsibility for the work. A measure of confidence, trust, discipline, and also a large measure of faith in our future. We shall win through these bloody years to triumph and to victory.

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Senator Owen Brewster
United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator Brewster:

Your magnificent message was read at the great rally at Madison Square Garden last Wednesday, and was most enthusiastically received. May I thank you for it and for the valued help and encouragement which you have given our cause at this critical time.

I trust that you are well, and I hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you in the near future.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

Honorable James F. Byrnes
Secretary of State
Department of State
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

1. Since our last representations concerning Trans-Jordan were submitted to the State Department on January 31, 1946, a ^{friendship and} "Treaty of Alliance" has been entered into between the United Kingdom and the Amir of Trans-Jordan, ^{east of the Jordan} pursuant to which that part of the mandated territory of Palestine is recognized by the Mandatory Power as "a fully independent State" and His Highness the Amir as the sovereign thereof (Article 1). All the obligations and responsibilities devolving on the Mandatory in respect of that territory under the Palestine Mandate and all other international instruments which are "not legally terminated" are declared by this Treaty to "devolve on His Highness the Amir of Trans-Jordan alone" (Articles 3, 8 and 11). Article 12 of this Treaty makes it plain that this devolution of the obligations and responsibilities of the Mandatory to "His Highness the Amir...alone" is made notwithstanding the provisions of the Mandate and the Anglo-American Palestine Convention of December 3, 1924.

2. Thus the United Kingdom, which is not the sovereign but only the Mandatory over Palestine, entrusted by the League of Nations and the United States with rights and responsibilities in regard to the administration of the country, both east and west of the Jordan, pursuant to the Mandate, has unilaterally thrown off and in effect renounced its obligations under both the Mandate and the Anglo-American Convention with respect to that part of Palestine lying east of the Jordan and has ceded that part of Palestine to the Government of a new sovereign State of its own creation without the consent of the other Principal Allied and Associated powers of the First World War, including the United States, or of the League of Nations.

3. Moreover, while in form purporting to establish Palestine east of the Jordan as a "fully independent State," the Treaty in fact attempts to transform it from a mandated territory, for the administration of which in accordance with the terms of the Mandate for Palestine the United Kingdom is responsible to the League of Nations and the United States, into a British military base and protectorate. The "independence" of the new State is to be merely nominal. Thus, the United Kingdom is granted the right to station and maintain armed forces in Trans-Jordan; the facilities necessary for their accommodation and maintenance and the storage of their ammunition and supplies being provided by the Amir. A like obligation is imposed upon the Amir to "grant facilities at all times for the movement and training" of British armed forces, and "for the transportation of the supplies of fuel, ordnance, ammunition and other materials required by these forces, by air, road, railway, waterway and pipeline and through the ports of Trans-Jordan." British forces are given the further right "to use their own systems of signal communication, including wireless." There is to be identity in training and methods of the armed forces of the signatories. British officers will be furnished the Amir's troops, native officers will receive military and aeronautical instruction from the British, and armaments for Trans-Jordan troops will be supplied by the British. The Amir will be afforded financial assistance by the United Kingdom to meet the costs of his army. The expenditure of such funds is to be subject to British supervision. Furthermore, the British Government is accorded immunity from taxation. Any civil experts or officials needed by the Amir will also be furnished by the United Kingdom. Finally, the Treaty establishes "a close alliance" between the contracting parties with "full and frank consultation

between them in all matters of foreign policy which may affect their common interests." Each party undertakes that neither will "adopt in foreign countries an attitude which is inconsistent with the alliance or might create difficulties for the other party thereto."

4. By this agreement, Trans-Jordan is transformed from a mandated territory into a British protectorate. It is an "independent State" in name only. In reality, it is a military outpost, a mere satellite or puppet of the British Empire. The trappings of a mutual assistance pact do not alter this fundamental fact. How much military aid can be rendered by this impoverished and undeveloped area whose total population does not exceed 350,000? What degree of independence can exist in a territory in which foreign troops may be stationed under the conditions provided for by this treaty and in which the native army is subsidized by foreign funds?

5. It is thus apparent that as regards the part of Palestine which lies east of the Jordan, the United Kingdom has, on the one hand, unilaterally divested itself of all obligations and responsibilities under the Mandate and the Anglo-American Convention, which it has ^{"denied"} ~~ceded~~ to the "independent State" of Trans-Jordan, while, on the other hand, practically annexing the territory as a part of the British Empire.

6. It is submitted that this action by the United Kingdom is unauthorized and illegal as in violation of (a) the established and conceded rights of the United States in respect of the territory in question as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the First World War, (b) the Palestine Mandate as a whole and of Article 5 thereof in particular, and (c) Articles 1 and 7 of the Anglo-American Palestine Convention of December 3, 1924.

7. The United States has consistently maintained, and both the United Kingdom and the League of Nations have expressly conceded, that the consent of the United States was indispensable for any valid determination concerning the disposition of the territories which were detached from the Turkish Empire following the First World War, including Palestine both east and west of the Jordan. It is for this reason that the "consent" of the United States to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty "pursuant to the mandate" was finally acknowledged to be necessary and was sought by the United Kingdom, and was thereupon given by the United States, in and by the Convention of December 3, 1924;¹ which Convention recites (as the reason for the necessity of this consent) that

"The United States of America, by participating in the war against Germany, contributed to her defeat and the defeat of her Allies, and to the renunciation of the rights and titles of her Allies in the territory transferred by them....."

8. Moreover, the "consent" which the United States then gave was limited by the terms of Article I of the Convention "to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above." It did not extend to any future abrogation, modification or annulment of the terms of the Mandate or, by the same inescapable reasoning, to any future cession of any part of the territory covered by the Mandate to the Government of any other Power and the unilateral transfer by the Mandatory of its obligations and responsibilities under the Mandate to such Power; -- not to speak of a merely nominal State such as the United Kingdom has now set up for that purpose. This is clear beyond peradventure of a doubt from the correspondence leading up

¹ Department of State; Mandate for Palestine, Washington, 1931.

to the Anglo-American Convention, particularly the note of the Government of the United States to the British Government dated April 30, 1924, the British Government's answer of July 17, 1924, and the American Government's reply of September 2, 1924. The American note of April 30, 1924, reads in part as follows (emphasis supplied):

"My Government's attention has been called to a note of the Secretary General of the League of Nations dated September 23, 1922 (C667 M396, 1922 V. I.), relating to Article 25 of the Palestine mandate, which indicated that the Council of the League of Nations had approved a memorandum submitted by the British representative outlining the provisions of the mandate for Palestine which are not to be applicable to the territory known as Trans-Jordan, as therein defined. In this memorandum it is stated that His Majesty's Government accept full responsibility as mandatory for Trans-Jordan, and that such provision as may be made for the administration of that territory in accordance with Article 25 of the mandate shall be in no way inconsistent with those provisions of the mandate which are not by the resolution declared inapplicable.

"Upon the conclusion of the convention between the United States and Great Britain with respect to Palestine, it is my Government's understanding that the convention will be applicable to such territory as may be under British mandate to the East, as well as to the West of the River Jordan, and that, in view of the provisions of Article 7 as proposed, no further change will be made with respect to the conditions of the British administration of the territory known as Trans-Jordan without the previous assent of my Government. I am instructed to inquire whether the British Government is in accord with this view."¹

Apparently misinterpreting the phrase "conditions of the British Administration," the British Government replied on July 17, 1924, as follows:

"3. As regards the penultimate paragraph of your note, His Majesty's Government agree that the present convention shall be applicable to such territory as may be under British mandate to the East as well as to the West of the River Jordan. They regret, however, that they can not concur in the interpretation put by the United States Government on Article 7 of the draft convention as regards changes in the administration of Trans-Jordania, as it is essential that they be allowed latitude to make changes in the administration of that territory

¹ Department of State, op. cit., p. 87, Kellogg to MacDonald, April 30, 1924.

in such manner as may appear necessary, provided that such action does not conflict with the terms of the mandate."

By note of September 2, 1924, Ambassador Kellogg replied that it had not been the intention of his Government to suggest the necessity of consultation in matters relating to minor administrative changes in Trans-Jordania.

"...It is my Government's view, as briefly set forth in my communication of April 30, last, that it would be entirely consistent with the general policy which is followed by states enjoying mandatory administration over territories relinquished by the Central powers as a result of the late war to consult with this Government as well as with the states represented on the Council of the League of Nations in connection with any general changes in the form of the mandatory administration of Trans-Jordania.

"4. My Government had, however, noted the statement contained in your communication that the Palestine convention shall be applicable to territory under British mandate to the East as well as to the West of the River Jordan and the further statement that the changes which may be made in the administration of the territory will not be of a character to conflict with the terms of the mandate. My Government is not therefore disposed to delay the conclusion of the Palestine convention for the purpose of entering into a further discussion of the questions relating to Trans-Jordania, since the essential points in which my Government is interested, appear to be safeguarded by the assurances already given, which are understood also to embody the undertaking that the changes which may be made in the administration of the territory will not be of such a character as to conflict with the terms of the convention."¹

9. Some eight years after the foregoing exchange of notes, in 1932, the Government of the United States took precisely the same position and asserted the same rights with regard to the proposed termination of the Mandate over Iraq and the establishment or recognition of Iraq as an independent state. The Government of the United States then asserted that

"Since the termination of a regime in a mandated territory necessarily involves the "disposition" of that territory and

¹Ibid., p 93, Kellogg to MacDonald, September 2, 1924.

affects the interests of the American Nationals therein, the right of the United States to be consulted with respect to the conditions under which the territory is subsequently to be administered is on precisely the same basis as its right to be consulted with regard to the establishment of a mandatory regime."

This assertion of right was made notwithstanding that the United States had in the case of Iraq expressly waived its right to consultation with respect to the actual termination of the Mandate. When the British government demurred to the position of the United States upon that ground, the United States again reasserted its right in these words, in an aide-memoire of July 8, 1932 (emphasis supplied):

"...while the American Government concedes that by the terms of the Tripartite Convention it waived its right to consultation with respect to the actual termination of the mandate, it considers that the right was retained to be consulted with respect to the conditions under which Iraq is to be administered upon such termination. This Government is therefore of the opinion that in addition to the most-favored-nation treatment, which, by virtue of the provisions of the Tripartite Convention of January 9, 1930 it will enjoy in Iraq upon the termination of the special relation, it is also entitled to a voice in the determination of the conditions upon which that most-favored-nation treatment is to be used.

"Accordingly the American Government desires to make a full reservation of its position in this matter and, with a view to avoiding any possible misconception which may arise in the future, to make clear that its action in refraining from insisting upon a fulfillment of its rights in the case of Iraq is not to be construed as an abandonment of the principle established in 1921 that the approval of the United States is essential to the validity of any determination which may be reached regarding mandated territories."¹

10. Under the position thus taken and maintained by the United States in the case of Iraq, the United Kingdom has no legal right now to establish Trans-

¹Department of State, Press Releases, Nov. 5, 1932, pp. 300-306. Because of the wish of the United States that its position in the matter should be made clear to the members of the League, the British Foreign Office, by letter of October 11, 1932, transmitted to the Secretary General of the League copies of the correspondence paraphrased above; Official Journal of the League of Nations, 1933, pp. 152-154.

Jordan unilaterally as an "independent sovereign State." Moreover, the express undertakings and obligations of the United Kingdom to the United States under the Anglo-American Convention of December 3, 1924, prohibit the United Kingdom from so doing. For the Palestine Mandate, which covers the entirety of Palestine, both east and west of the Jordan, as fully shown above, is an integral part of the Anglo-American Convention; and Article 5 of the Mandate provides as follows:

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power."

It is clear that the purpose of this article was to place on His Britannic Majesty responsibility for maintaining inviolable the territorial integrity of the area. Yet the Mandatory is now doing or proposes to do precisely that which this Article expressly forbids by ceding that part of the territory of Palestine lying east of the Jordan to, and placing the same under the control of the newly created "independent state of Trans-Jordan." The fact that this independent state is newly created and was not in existence at the time of the conclusion of the Anglo-American Convention can surely make no difference in this regard.

ant 11. Nor is violation of the Mandate and the Anglo-American Convention averted by the ostensible devolution of the obligations and responsibilities of His Britannic Majesty to the Amir of the new independent State, which is attempted to be made by Article 8 of the Treaty between the United Kingdom and the Amir. For how can "the Amir alone" carry out provisions of the Mandate which specifically devolve responsibility on the Mandatory, when such provisions,

as for example Article 5, ^{ml}violated ab initio by the excision of Trans-Jordan from the body of Palestine, the termination of its mandatory status, and its establishment as an independent sovereign State?

12. The Charter of the United Nations in no way justifies this action of the United Kingdom. On the contrary, Article 80 (paragraph 1) of the Charter expressly provides that

"Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79 and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties."

The rights thus expressly conserved by the Charter certainly include the rights of the United States in respect of Trans-Jordan, both as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the First World War and as a party to the Anglo-American Convention of December 3, 1924. Such rights also certainly include the rights of the Jewish People under the Mandate. All these rights are violated by the action of the United Kingdom in setting up Trans-Jordan as an independent State.

13. Nothing that has occurred in the proceedings of the General Assembly of the United Nations can in any way be construed as a consent either by the League of Nations or by the Government of the United States to the present action of the United Kingdom with respect to Trans-Jordan. The British Foreign Minister stated to the General Assembly on January 17, 1946, that it was the intention of his Government "to take steps in the near future for establishing this territory as a sovereign independent State and for recognizing

its status as such." The General Assembly, on February 9, 1946, adopted a resolution welcoming the declaration of the British Foreign Secretary. Thus what was approved was a proposed course of action which would in due course be formalised and call for negotiation and ratification. This generalised and informal resolution could certainly not be deemed to constitute a waiver of the special rights of either the League of Nations or the United States in the premises and surely cannot be construed as a consent by the United States to the abrogation of its Treaty of December 3, 1924, with the United Kingdom concerning Palestine.

14. It has been suggested that the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance merely confirms earlier arrangements between the Mandatory and the native regime in Trans-Jordan which received international sanction in the past and in which the United States, by signing the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, acquiesced. In particular it is suggested that by those arrangements Trans-Jordan was "exempted" from all the clauses of the Palestine Mandate dealing with the Holy Places and the Jewish National Home. The facts are, however, as follows:

Article 25 of the Mandate empowered the Mandatory with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations to "postpone or withhold application" of such provisions of this Mandate as he may consider inapplicable to "the existing local conditions" in the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine. The Council of the League, with the acquiescence of the United States, accordingly withheld application in that territory (i.e., Trans-Jordan) of the provisions of the Palestine Mandate having to do with the Jewish National Home. But the power thus conferred

by Article 25 was a power not permanently to exclude but temporarily "to suspend or withhold" the application of some of the provisions of the Mandate from one part of historic Palestine. That the postponement was intended merely to be temporary is evident from the wording of Article 25 and, in particular, from the French text which speaks of "de retarder ou suspendre." Certainly no power was granted to withhold application of the entire Mandate or to abrogate the Mandate in respect of the territory east of the Jordan which, as shown above, is an integral part of Palestine and has always so been regarded.

15. The question involved in this discussion relates not merely to the maintenance or observance of treaty and legal rights, which in itself is a matter of high importance in international relations, but to matters of very grave substance in the premises as well. The policy of the United States with regard to Palestine was expressed in the concurrent Resolution of the Congress of the United States of December 19, 1945, as follows:

"That Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

This Resolution did no more than reaffirm the policy of this country as enunciated by every president since President Wilson, by the Palestine planks in the platforms of both the great American political parties in 1944, by the statements and expressions of the Governors and Legislatures of the vast majority of the States of the Union, and by numberless expressions of the leaders of American thought throughout the land.

In reliance on this policy and under the express protection of the provisions of the Palestine Mandate, to which the Government of the United States gave its consent by treaty in unquestionable pursuance of that policy, many American Nationals have invested tens of millions of dollars in Palestine, besides contributing other tens of millions of dollars as gifts, for the purpose of helping establish Palestine as the Jewish National Home, and are now ready and eager to invest and contribute many more millions of dollars for that purpose.

16. It is indisputable, as shown above, that the Mandate as a whole, aside from the specifically excepted clauses, always has applied to Trans-Jordan just as much as it did to the other part of Palestine lying west of the Jordan. This constituted a great protection to the growing Jewish National Home and the interests and investments of American Nationals in Palestine, ~~both east and west of the Jordan~~; and both the Jewish National Home and these American Nationals had a right to and undoubtedly did rely upon such continuing protection. Now, however, this protection is to be denied them. It surely needs no extensive argument to show that this denial will gravely prejudice them, their property and their rights; for it plainly makes all the difference in the world to the Jewish National Home and all American Nationals and their interests in Palestine whether Trans-Jordan is controlled and governed by England "pursuant to the Mandate," with full accountability to the United States under the Anglo-American Convention, or whether it is governed and controlled by a possibly hostile independent sovereign, for whose acts England will have no accountability to anyone. All that need be cited in this regard is the pending and much discussed proposal for the creation of a Jordan Valley Authority to fructify the whole of

Palestine and increase its economic absorptive capacity. This project, if carried through, will affect and benefit the entire population of Palestine and all investments heretofore made or to be made in that country, including American investments. But an independent Trans-Jordan, opposed to the Jewish National Home and to any major scheme of regional development, may be able to block this project; since its consent may be necessary for the use of the waters of the Jordan.

17. We submit that the Treaty between the United Kingdom and the Amir of Trans-Jordan and action taken pursuant thereto are in violation of the rights of the United States in respect of the territory involved, and contrary to international law, and constitute a plain breach of the Mandate and of the Anglo-American Convention of December 3, 1924. We earnestly submit, therefore, that the Government of the United States should now take all steps necessary to prevent the effectuation of this Treaty and hold the United Kingdom to its obligations under the Mandate and the Anglo-American Convention; that the United States should refuse recognition to the "new State" and oppose its admission into the United Nations, and that the United States should insist that the disposition of Trans-Jordan shall await and be made a part of the ultimate disposition of the whole of Palestine.

Respectfully yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

Joint Chairmen, American
Zionist Emergency Council