



Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

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

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

Reel

9

Box

3

Folder

179

American Zionist Emergency Council, Jewish Agency, 1945-1946.

SECRET

Preparations already made for the International Congress.

Reichsleader Alfred Rosenberg received the order from the Führer to stage an anti-Jewish congress. The date for this congress was fixed for the 11.7.44 after a discussion, and after the corresponding preparations had been made.

The following preparations for the congress have been undertaken:

1.) In Germany,

2.) abroad.

1.) Preparations in Germany.

a) The financing of the congress has been taken on by the Reich Treasury of Chief, Schwarz. Further, after the Führer had decided on Cracow as the site of the congress, Reich Minister and General Governor Frank has taken over all the costs that arise within his General Government.

b) The site of meeting.

All negotiations concerning billeting, feeding and welfare of the guests, the lecture rooms etc. have been readily settled with the offices of the General governor. (Instead of Cracow, a place that is safe from air raids, for instance Zakopane, can be selected at any time.)

c) The programme of lectures has been discussed with the appropriate offices,

1. Foreign Office

2. Propaganda Ministry

3. Head Office for internal security

and has met with general approval. The Reich Foreign Minister as well as Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels have given their assent to the programme.

d) German speakers and lecturers have been visualized, amongst others three German Ministers. The promise of these three gentlemen to attend seems certain. Some lectures are already on hand.

The final preparations, those for the cultural extra items on the programme, have been taken in hand. (See the letter from Reichsleader Rosenberg to Reichsleader Bernann concerning the appearance of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, with Furtwaengler as conductor).

Even the formation of international organizations for investigating and combatting Jewry, which have been provided for in connection with the congress, have been brought about, and scientific presidents of the organizations have been earmarked. Some individual personalities have already been approached. Amongst others we already have the promise of Geheimrate Professor Dr. Eugen Fischer to be president of the European organization for the "racial-biological questions of Jewry".

1) The following have been entered as honorary members:

Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop

Reich Minister of the Interior and Reichsleader of the SS
Heinrich Himmler

Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels

Reich Minister and Governor Dr. Frank

2.) Preparations abroad

The Foreign Office has accepted the task of contacting the prominent European people, with the exception of a few of the occupied territories in Europe, with the exception of a few of the occupied territories in Europe, via its representatives abroad.

The German representatives abroad have received several official instructions, according to which they are

- a) to propose delegates to be invited,
- b) nominate lecturers,
- c) approach the representatives of governments with a view to their participating at the congress.

In the course of these instructions being carried out, the following have promised their participation, or membership of the congress-committee and membership of the honorary committee:

Italy: Minister for National Enlightenment Mezzasoma (honorary committee)

The former Minister of State Preziosi (congress-committee and congress lecturer)

France: Minister for Education Avel Bonnard (Honorary committee)

Secretary of State Paul Marion (congress-committee)

Hungary: Minister for the Interior von Jarossy (honorary committee and congress-lecturer)

Holland: The leader of the NSB, Mussert

Personally invited by Reichsleader Rosenberg during the latter's stay in Holland)

Arabia: The Grand Mufti of Jerusalem (honorary committee and congress-lecturer)

Iraq: Prime Minister Gailani (honorary committee)

Norway: At the present moment a representative of Reichsleader Rosenberg has arrived here, in order personally to convey an invitation to Prime Minister Quisling to attend the congress.

Contacts have also been established with countless other countries. For the time being the promises to attend of the prominent representatives are not yet at hand. On the other hand promises have been received from delegates from Sweden, Roumania, Slovakia and illegal delegates from Switzerland, Spain and Portugal. Further the office of Obergruppenfuhrer (General in the SS) Berger has undertaken to invite renowned leaders of the Germanic volunteers in the SS to take part in the congress. Amongst others, Britons and Americans are visualised in this connection, who are also willing to speak.

The occupied eastern territory is included via the Ministry for the East. A number of promises to attend have been received from renowned personalities in this territory. Lectures have already been received from foreign speakers, amongst others from the former Minister of State Preziosi.

3.) Reason for the importance of the Congress at the present time. The reports from outside Germany and the anti-German allied propaganda tries to make believe beyond all doubt that the whole war is being kindled by the other side more and more as a crusade, because the German nation plans to destroy the "Jewish People".

The Soviet Union: We refer to the pro-semitic Molotov-congress in Moscow.

U.S.A. We refer to permanent session of the Jewish Congress.

The last now beginning 6. 5. 1944.

England: We refer to the English failure to pay attention to their own White Paper regarding Palestine problem.

At the same time, we point out the slowly rising anti-Semitic feeling in the countries of our opponents. It seems necessary that the feeling caused by enemy propaganda that National Socialism is retreating on all fronts, be reputed by this great anti-Jewish Congress.

The invasion army is not fighting against the barbarian Germany of annihilation of Jews but it is fighting for world Jewry!

What kind of propaganda is being duly turned out on the German side?

To give up this plan or to postpone this International Congress to an indefinite date, after half of Europe has already been won for this plan would support or strengthen the propaganda conducted against us.

It must be borne in mind that not a German authority but an international assembly is responsible for the Congress and issues invitations to it.

The preparations for the Congress have so far progressed with the greatest possibilities of disguise.

An arrangement, which has been made on general lines, mentions only an international historic and scientific congress taking place in a Town in the East of the Reich.

Berlin, 15th June 1944.

/s/ Hans Hagemeyer,
Head of the Department.

SECRET

Preparations already made for the International Congress.

Reichsleader Alfred Rosenberg received the order from the Fuhrer to stage an anti-Jewish congress. The date for this congress was fixed for the 11.7.44 after a discussion, and after the corresponding preparations had been made.

The following preparations for the congress have been undertaken:

1.) In Germany,

2.) abroad.

1.) Preparations in Germany.

a) The financing of the congress has been taken on by the Reich Treasury of Chief, Schwarz. Further, after the Fuhrer had decided on Cracow as the site of the congress, Reich Minister and General Governor Frank has taken over all the costs that arise within his General Government.

b) The site of the meeting.

All negotiations concerning billeting, feeding and welfare of the guests, the lecture rooms etc. have been readily settled with the offices of the General governor. (Instead of Cracow, a place that is safe from air raids, for instance Zakopane, can be selected at any time.)

c) The programme of lectures has been discussed with the appropriate offices,

1. Foreign Office

2. Propaganda Ministry

3. Head Office for internal security

and has met with general approval. The Reich Foreign Minister as well as Reich Minister Dr. Goebbels have given their assent to the programme.

d) German speakers and lecturers have been visualised, amongst others three German Ministers. The promise of these three gentlemen to attend seems certain. Some lectures are already on hand.

The final preparations, those for the cultural extra items on the programme, have been taken in hand. (See the letter from Reichsleader Rosenberg to Reichsleader Bormann concerning the appearance of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, with Furtwaengler as conductor).

Even the formation of international organisations for investigating and combatting Jewry, which have been provided for in connection with the congress, have been brought about, and scientific presidents of the organisations have been earmarked. Some individual personalities have already been approached. Amongst others we already have the promise of Geheimrate Professor Dr. Eugen Fischer to be present of the European organisation for the "racial-biological questions of Jewry".

e) The following have been entered as honorary members:

Reich Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop

Reich Minister of the Interior and Reichsleader of the SS Heinrich Himmler

2

SEPTEMBER 1, 1945

W 3351 LONDON 310 31

NLT JEWISH AGENCY 342 MADISON AVENUE NEWYORKCITY
FOLLOWING CABLE SENT TODAY TO SILVER PLEASE
CIRCULATE ALL MEMBERS COMMITTEE OF EIGHT QUOTE
YOUR CABLE 28/8 RECEIVED CONSIDERED MEETING
EXECUTIVE UNDER WEIZMANN'S CHAIRMANSHIP TODAY STOP
YOUR OBJECTIONS SEEM DUE MISUNDERSTANDING ONE
DECISION DOES NOT IMPLY TRANSFERENCE ALL EMERGENCY
COUNCIL ACTIVITIES ~~EMERGENCY COUNCIL~~

W3351 JEW P2/50

IN WASHINGTON ~~TTT~~ AGENCY OFFICE THERE STOP ALL
ACTIVITIES EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTING BEHALF AMERICAN
ZIONISTS ONLY WILL AS HERETOFORE BE CONDUCTED BY
EMERGENCY COUNCIL STOP IF SPECIFIC ACTION BY
COUNCIL AS INTRODUCING RESOLUTION NECESSITATES
SPECIAL OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON THIS WOULD BE DONE
AS MADE CLEAR IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU

W 3351 JEW 3/50

HERE SAME APPLIES OTHER SIMILAR ACTIVITIES EMERGENCY
COUNCIL TWO UNDER NEW ARRANGEMENTS WHEREBY THREE
AMERICAN MEMBERS ADDED TO EXECUTIVE AND AMERICAN
COMMITTEE OF EIGHT IS TO CONDUCT POLITICAL WORK
BEHALF AGENCY IN WASHINGTON AND DIRECT ACTIVITIES

AGENCIES OFFICE THERE STILL LESS GROUND EXISTS FOR ANY
OBJECTIONS TO STRENGTHENING AGENCY OFFICE

W 3351 JEW P4/50

OR FOR ANY CONFLICT BETWEEN AGENCY ~~AS~~ ACTING BEHALF ENTIRE
MOVEMENT AND EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTING BEHALF AMERICAN ZIONISTS
STOP THREE DECISIONS TAKEN BY EXECUTIVE AS COMMUNICATED TO
YOU WERE PREVIOUSLY FULLY DISCUSSED WITH YOU AND OTHER
AMERICAN MEMBERS EXECUTIVE AND NO OBJECTIONS RAISED BY ANY
OF YOU STOP UNFORTUNATELY YOU COULD

W 3351 JEW P5/50

NOT ACCEDE OUR REQUEST ~~STAY~~ HERE FEW MORE DAYS AND WERE
NOT PRESENT FULL MEETING EXECUTIVE AT WHICH DECISIONS HAD
TO BE TAKEN BUT ALL OTHER AMERICAN MEMBERS EXECUTIVE WISE
LIPSKY GOLDMANN TOOK PART AND DECISIONS HAD THEIR FULL
SUPPORT FOUR YOUR PERSONAL DEMUR SUCH DECISIONS BEING
TAKEN WITHOUT CONSULTING

W 3351 Jew P6/50

YOU THEREFORE UNJUSTIFIED FIVE BELIEVE THAT ON FULLER
INFORMATION FROM AMERICAN MEMBERS WHO TOOK PART IN DECISION
WRONG IMPRESSION CREATED AT PLENUM EMERGENCY COUNCIL WILL
BE DISPELLED SIX AFTER FULLY CONSIDERING YOUR OBJECTIONS
EXECUTIVE MAINTAINS ITS DECISION AND APPEALS TO YOU AND ALL
OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS TO WORK IN HARMONY AT THIS CRUCIAL AND
MOST CRITICAL HOUR UNQUOTE

ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

FRANZ JOSEF KATZ

61 EAST 95TH STREET
NEW YORK 28, N.Y.
SEPTEMBER 4, 1945.

~~203~~ AJA
K 45-46

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
CLEVELAND, OHIO.

DEAR DR. SILVER:

IN ACCORDANCE WITH OUR CONVERSATION OF ~~SERX~~ AUGUST 31,
I AM REMINDING YOU HEREBY THAT YOU WANTED TO DROP A NOTE OF APPRECIATION
AND ACKNOWLEDGMENT TO

PROFESSOR ABRAHAM S. YAHUDA
162 BISHOP STREET
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

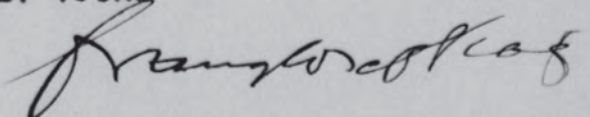
FOR THE VARIOUS SUGGESTIONS CONTAINED IN HIS LETTERS AND CABLES, ETC.

AS I MENTIONED TO YOU BEFORE, YAHUDA, AS THE RESULT OF
DISAPPOINTMENTS AND PROBABLY ALSO BECAUSE OF MISTAKES OF HIS OWN, NOW
ISHES A CERTAIN BITTERNESS. BE THIS AS IT MAY, HE IS A GOOD, ACTIVE AND
ALERT ZIONIST WHO IS TRYING TO CONTRIBUTE HIS SHARE. ~~HE~~ WHILE HE HAS
NOT BEEN FULLY WITH US ALL THE TIME, JUST AS HE HAS NOT BEEN FULLY WITH
OTHERS IN THE FIELD, HE HAS BEEN ON THE JOB RIGHT ALONG, SPENDING HIS
TIME, ENERGY AND RESOURCES AND, TO MY MIND, HE HAS NOT BEEN OFF BEAM
POLITICALLY DURING THE PERIOD OF MY ACQUAINTANCE WITH HIM. UNDER THE
CIRCUMSTANCES, I REALLY THINK IT WOULD BE A SERVICE TO THE CAUSE IF
YOU WOULD WRITE HIM IN A GENUINELY CORDIAL MANNER, POSSIBLY ALSO ALLUDING
TO THE POSSIBILITY OF GETTING TOGETHER WITH HIM EARLY IN THE FALL, PRO-
VIDED YOU WISH TO DO SO. I CERTAINLY KNOW THAT IT WOULD CHEER THE HEART
OF A LOYAL, CAPABLE AND DESIRABLE, IF DIFFICULT, OLD ZIONIST.

I AM PURSUING THE OTHER ANGLES DISCUSSED ON FRIDAY LAST.

WITH BEST HOLIDAY WISHES, I REMAIN,

CORDIALLY YOURS



FRANZ JOSEF KATZ.

FJK:SW
CC: HARRY SHAPIRO, N.Y.

P.S. AS AGREED UPON, I DROPPED YAHUDA A BRIEF
NOTE ADVISING HIM THAT YOU WOULD WRITE
HIM DIRECTLY AND HAD RECEIVED HIS COMMUNIC-
ATIONS.

C
O
P
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

Memorandum

Y TO: Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lipsky,
Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise

Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein,
Dr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin

FROM: Gottlieb Hammer

The following cable has just been received from London:

*K 4B LONDON 130 26 1113

LC JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY

EXECUTIVE AT MEETING TWENTY AUGUST ADOPTED FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS REGARDING
ARRANGEMENTS IN AMERICA ONE THERE SHOULD BE ONLY ONE OFFICE IN WASHINGTON
NAMELY OF EXECUTIVE STOP OFFICE OF EMERGENCY COMMITTEE SHOULD CONTINUE IN
NEW YORK TWO NAHUM GOLDMANN SHOULD CONTINUE BE RESPONSIBLE FOR WASHINGTON
OFFICE THREE INTERNAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR COMMITTEE OF EIGHT FOR EXAMPLE
ELECTION CHAIRMAN ETCETRA SHOULD BE DECIDED BY COMMITTEE ITSELF STOP IF
COMMITTEE WILL REFER ANY QUESTION FOR DECISION EXECUTIVE COMMA MATTER WILL
BE CONSIDERED BY THEM FOUR QUESTION OF INTRODUCTION RESOLUTION CONGRESS
SHOULD BE CONSIDERED BY COMMITTEE OF EIGHT STOP IN CASE UNANIMOUS DECISION
COMMITTEE CAN ACT BUT IF DIFFERENCES OPINION THEN DECISION WILL BE TAKEN
BY WHOLE EXECUTIVE STOP PLEASE INFORM ALL THOSE CONCERNED.

JOSEPH LINTON JEWISH AGENCY

copied 9/4/45:MH

CABLEGRAM

W 3352 LONDON 306/305 31

NLT DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK CITY

YOUR CABLE 28/8 RECEIVED CONSIDERED MEETING EXECUTIVE UNDER WEIZMANN'S CHAIRMANSHIP
TODAY STOP YOUR OBJECTIONS SEEM DUE MISUNDERSTANDINGS ONE DECISION DOES NOT IMPLY
TRANSFERENCE ALL EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTIVITIES IN WASHINGTON TO AGENCY OFFICE THERE
STOP ALL ACTIVITIES EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTING BEHALF AMERICAN ZIONISTS ONLY WILL AS
HERETOFORE BE CONDUCTED BY EMERGENCY COUNCIL STOP IF SPECIFIC ACTION BY COUNCIL AS
INTRODUCING RESOLUTION NECESSITATES SPECIAL OFFICIALS IN WASHINGTON THIS WOULD BE
DONE AS MADE CLEAR IN OUR DISCUSSIONS WITH YOU HERE SAME APPLIES OTHER SIMILAR
ACTIVITIES EMERGENCY COUNCIL TWO UNDER NEW ARRANGEMENT WHEREBY THREE AMERICAN
MEMBERS ADDED TO EXECUTIVE AND AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF EIGHT IS TO CONDUCT POLITICAL
WORK BEHALF AGENCY IN WASHINGTON AND DIRECT ACTIVITIES AGENCY'S OFFICE THERE STILL
LESS GROUND EXISTS FOR ANY OBJECTIONS TO STRENGTHENING AGENCY OFFICE OR FOR ANY
CONFLICT BETWEEN AGENCY ACTING BEHALF ENTIRE MOVEMENT AND EMERGENCY COUNCIL ACTING
BEHALF AMERICAN ZIONISTS STOP THREE DECISIONS TAKEN BY EXECUTIVE AS COMMUNICATED
TO YOU WERE PREVIOUSLY FULLY DISCUSSED WITH YOU AND OTHER AMERICAN MEMBERS EXECU-
TIVE AND NO OBJECTIONS RAISED BY ANY OF YOU STOP UNFORTUNATELY YOU COULD NOT ACCEDE
OUR REQUEST STAY HERE ~~THE~~ FEW MORE DAYS AND WERE NOT PRESENT FULL MEETING EXECUTIVE
AT WHICH DECISIONS HAD TO BE TAKEN BUT ALL OTHER AMERICAN MEMBERS EXECUTIVE WISE
LIPSKY GOLDMANN TOOK PART AND DECISIONS HAD THEIR FULL SUPPORT FOUR YOUR PERSONAL
DEMUR SUCH DECISIONS BEING TAKEN WITHOUT CONSULTING YOU THEREFORE UNJUSTIFIED
FIVE BELIEVE THAT ON FULLER INFORMATION FOR AMERICAN MEMBERS WHO TOOK PART IN
DECISION WRONG IMPRESSION CREATED AT PLENUM EMERGENCY COUNCIL WILL BE DISPELLED
SIX AFTER FULLY CONSIDERING YOUR OBJECTIONS EXECUTIVE MAINTAINS ITS DECISION AND
APPEALS TO YOU AND ALL OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS TO WORK IN HARMONY AT THIS CRUCIAL
AND MOST CRITICAL HOUR

ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

copied 9/4/45:MH

C

O

^{light}
~~LETTER~~ LETTER

(September 4, 1945)

P

EXECUTIVE
ZIONIBURO

Y LONDON (England)

YOUR CABLE 9/4 RECEIVED STOP MISUNDERSTANDING TO WHICH YOU REFER DUE TO YOUR
DECISION ORDERING EMERGENCY COUNCIL TO CLOSE ITS WASHINGTON OFFICE STOP
CUSTOMARY AND DAY BY DAY ACTIVITIES OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL IN BEHALF OF AMERICAN
ZIONISTS CANNOT BE CARRIED ON WITHOUT AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON NOR CAN THEY BE
CONDUCTED BY A NON-AMERICAN POLITICAL BODY SUCH AS AGENCY BUREAU STOP NO
OBJECTION HERE AT ANY TIME TO AGENCY OFFICE EXPANDING ITS WORK IN THOSE FIELDS
WHERE EMERGENCY COUNCIL DOES NOT AND CANNOT OPERATE AND WHERE AGENCY ACTION IN
BEHALF OF ENTIRE MOVEMENT IS NECESSARY STOP I MADE THAT CLEAR IN DISCUSSIONS
WITH BENGURION AND SHERTOK AND AT THE JOINT MEETING OF ZIONIST EXECUTIVE AND
AMERICAN DELEGATION IN LONDON PRESIDED OVER BY BENGURION STOP YOUR CABLE IS
NOT CLEAR ON THE ONE SUBJECT WHICH HAS DISTURBED US NAMELY THE CLOSING OF OUR
WASHINGTON OFFICE STOP THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL WOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER
IT HAS BEEN DECIDED THAT NAHUM GOLDMANN AS DIRECTOR OF AGENCY BUREAU WILL
RESIGN HIS OFFICE WITH WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS AND WILL MAKE HIS PERMANENT
RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON STOP PLEASE CABLE IN TIME FOR EMERGENCY COUNCIL MEETING
SEPTEMBER TENTH.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

copied 9/4/45;MH

Dictated to New York Office to be sent to London

September 5, 1945

to: ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

YOUR CABLE SEPTEMBER FOURTH RECEIVED STOP MISUNDERSTANDING TO WHICH YOU REFER DUE TO YOUR DECISION ORDERING EMERGENCY COUNCIL TO CLOSE ITS WASHINGTON OFFICE STOP CUSTOMARY AND DAY BY DAY ACTIVITIES OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL IN BEHALF OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS CANNOT BE CARRIED ON WITHOUT AN OFFICE IN WASHINGTON NOR CAN THEY BE CONDUCTED BY A NON AMERICAN POLITICAL BODY SUCH AS AGENCY BUREAU STOP NO OBJECTION HERE AT ANY TIME TO AGENCY OFFICE EXPANDING ITS WORK IN THOSE FIELDS WHERE EMERGENCY COUNCIL DOES NOT AND CANNOT OPERATE AND WHERE AGENCY ACTION IN BEHALF OF ENTIRE MOVEMENT IS NECESSARY STOP I MADE THAT CLEAR IN DISCUSSIONS WITH BENGURION AND SHERTOK AND AT THE JOINT MEETING OF ZIONIST EXECUTIVE AND AMERICAN DELEGATION IN LONDON PRESIDED OVER BY BENGURION STOP YOUR CABLE IS NOT CLEAR ON THE ONE SUBJECT WHICH HAS DISTURBED US NAMELY THE CLOSING OF OUR WASHINGTON OFFICE STOP THE EMERGENCY COUNCIL WOULD ALSO LIKE TO KNOW WHETHER IT HAS BEEN DECIDED THAT NAHUM GOLDMANN AS DIRECTOR OF AGENCY BUREAU WILL RESIGN HIS OFFICE WITH WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS AND WILL MAKE HIS PERMANENT RESIDENCE IN WASHINGTON STOP PLEASE CABLE IN TIME FOR EMERGENCY COUNCIL MEETING SEPTEMBER TENTH.

Abba Hillel Silver

Mackay Radio

STANDARD TIME INDICATED

RECEIVED AT

60 EAST 42ND ST.

TELEPHONE

MUTUAL 2-1183



RADIOGRAM

FOREIGN SERVICES
AT
STANDARD RATES

The following Message was received "VIA MACKAY RADIO," SEP 10 1945

DCC-4 NY

CAML1683SM

LONDON 1037 1/50

NLT RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AV NEW YORK CITY

YOURS 5/9 ONE WE REGRET YOUR ASCRIBING TO US QUOTE DECISION

ORDERING EMERGENCY COUNCIL TO CLOSE ITS WASHINGTON OFFICE

UNQUOTE WE WERE UNAWARE EVEN EXISTENCE SUCH OFFICE NOR DID WE

SUGGEST WORK BEHALF AMERICAN ZIONISM BE CONDUCTED BY

ANSWERED

SEP 10
AM 10 45 21

WRITE YOUR MESSAGE ON THE GREEN-TOP BLANK. FILE THROUGH POSTAL TELEGRAPH BY MESSENGER, TELEPHONE OR POSTAL TELEGRAPH PRINTER. BE SURE TO SPECIFY "VIA MACKAY RADIO". IF DESIRED, MESSAGES MAY BE TELEPHONED DIRECT TO MACKAY RADIO BY CALLING WHITEHALL 4-6780.

Mackay Radio

STANDARD TIME INDICATED

RECEIVED AT



RADIOGRAM

FOREIGN SERVICES

10 00 AT
STANDARD RATES

The following Message was received "VIA MACKAY RADIO,"

DCC-4 NY

CAML1683SM 2/53

NON AMERICANS STOP PLEASE CONSULT WISE LIPSKY GOLDMANN
WHO WERE PRESENT AT MEETING TOOK PART IN DECISION AND KNOW
EXA-CTLY WHAT WAS AND WHAT WAS NOT DECIDED TWO EXECUTIVE
DECIDED AND GOLDMANN AGREED THAT WHILE HE HEADS AGENCY
WASHINGTON OFFICE HE CANNOT CONDUCT CONGRESS BUSINESS NOR
APPEAR BEHALF CONGRESS VISAVIS OUTSIDE BODIES
EXECUTIVE

WRITE YOUR MESSAGE ON THE GREEN-TOP BLANK. FILE THROUGH POSTAL TELEGRAPH BY MESSENGER, TELEPHONE OR POSTAL TELEGRAPH PRINTER. BE SURE TO SPECIFY "VIA MACKAY RADIO". IF DESIRED, MESSAGES MAY BE TELEPHONED DIRECT TO MACKAY RADIO BY CALLING WHITEHALL 4-6780.

September 18, 1945

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

CC: Emanuel Neumann
Harry Shapiro

FROM: Franz J. Katz

Re.: Mufti

On Friday evening, September 14th, Prof. Abraham S. Yahuda phoned me from New Haven to advise that he had received two communications from the Czechoslovaks with respect to the Mufti.

One was a letter from Jan Masaryk who stated that he had turned over the case to the Czechoslovak Embassy. I presume that this may be a reference to the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, though Yahuda did not mention that while I failed to inquire.

Secondly, Yahuda received a letter from the Czechoslovak Embassy, and I presume it is the one in Washington to the effect that the case had been turned over to the War Crimes Commission.

Yahuda was puzzled as to whether these communications indicated action taken, ~~an~~ existence of an interest in the case, or a mere run-around.

Since Czechoslovakia needs neither the British nor the French and since the case involves the Russians in no way, I presume that there is no reason why the Czechoslovaks should not come across.

Re.: Your Letter to Yahuda

Yahuda stated that he had received a brief letter from you which obviously had a soothing effect. He termed your note "brief and very polite." I am glad you wrote him.

Re.: Swedish Zionist Reaction to London Conference

I just received a lengthy letter from Docent Hugo Valentin (of Uppsala University) who, as you know, is Chairman of the Swedish Zionist Association. The letter was dated August 29th, and the following remarks are rather interesting (translation):

"...Characteristically enough, the American delegation dominated the Zionist Conference in London. Incidentally, the Swedish delegate was particularly impressed by Abba Hillel Silver."

Re.: Oesten Unden, Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs, and
Zionism

In his letter, Valentin also reported that he has been exposing Sweden's new (laborite) Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Zionist point of view, Unden being the former Chancellor of the University of Uppsala where Valentin is teaching history. (In this connection, Valentin recalls that Valentine Dønnevig, Norway's representative on the Council of the League of Nations, opposed the 1939 White Paper very effectively. Valentin says hopefully: "Possibly, Sweden may play a role in the future League of Nations.")

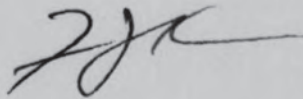
Re.: Under-Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Assistant Secretary
of State James Dunn and their attitude toward Zionism

Recently, at a party in the home of non-Jewish friends, I made the acquaintance of Mr. Max Danish, editor of "Justice," organ of the International Ladies Garments Workers Union.

In the course of a conversation, Danish disclosed having had private conversations with Messrs. Acheson and Dunn on the Jewish position, with Acheson allegedly being distinctly sympathetic toward Zionism, Dunn, not hostile to Jews, but not Zionistically inclined.

The remarks of Mr. Danish (a Jew) were made inadvertently, the latter being unaware of my inclinations and affiliation. I have made an appointment with the gentleman and shall report to you whatever information I shall obtain then.

The conversations referred to by Danish apparently took place several months ago.



OCTOBER 1, 1945

CAML1545HK

LONDON 61 28 NFT

NLT WISE SILVER LIPSKY GOLDMAN

JEWISH AGENCY 342 MADISON AVENUE NEWYORK CITY

CONFIDENTIAL EXECUTIVE HERE CONSIDERED WEIZMANN'S
RESIGNATION AS PROTEST AGAINST MAINTENANCE WHITEPAPER
STOP OPINIONS DIFFERED WHETHER SHOULD RESIGN NOW
VIEW POSSIBLY ACHIEVING DETERRENT EFFECT OR AFTER
ANNOUNCEMENT IN CASE ALL EFFORTS AVERT ~~HK~~ UNFAVOURABLE
DECISION UNAVAILING VIEW DEMONSTRATION PROTEST STOP
PLEASE CABLE YOUR VIEWS TAKING FULLY INTO ACCOUNT
EFFECT AMERICAN SCENE

EXECUTIVE

C
O
P
Y

The Nation Associates
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

October 5, 1945

Rabbi A.H. Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

You may wish to have a copy of the telegram
which has been dispatched today to Clement Attlee.

WRHS
Cordially Yours,

Freda Kirchwey

10/10/45
IK

O
P
Y
October 5, 1945

NLT
Prime Minister Clement Attlee
10 Downing Street
London, England

Progressive opinion in the United States warmly welcomed accession of Labor Government to power, looked to it to rectify the mistakes of predecessor governments, to point the way to the liberation of oppressed peoples, and to establish a basis for world security that was at once realistic, just and lasting.

The reported decision of your Government with respect to the rescue of European Jewry and their rehabilitation in Palestine is shattering to these hopes. The solution proposed is not only a repudiation of the reiterated pledges of the Labor Party, but it indicates an inexplicable callousness toward one of the most tragic problems created by Hitler and permitted by the inaction of the civilized world.

We appeal to you before Parliament convenes next week to reconsider your decision and to produce a human solution of the Jewish problem. This means the abrogation of the illegal White Paper, the immediate opening of the doors of Palestine to one hundred thousand European Jews, and the creation of the necessary machinery to implement, in its fullest sense, the establishment of the Jewish National Homeland as pledged by the Balfour Declaration and guaranteed by international mandate.

Such action by your Government will unquestionably have the support and collaboration of freedom-loving peoples and governments everywhere. It will, moreover, restore the confidence of democratic peoples in the power of a Labor Government to face and resolve with justice the human and political problems produced by the war, however complicated. If this problem, comparatively small, cannot be resolved by you in accord with justice and decency, what hope is there for the world of tomorrow. We appeal to you to act at once to fulfill

your pledged word.

Freda Kirchwey, Editor
The Nation

Louis Adamic
Roger Baldwin, Director, Civil Liberties Union
James B. Carey, Secretary, CIO
Carrie Chapman Catt
Norman Corwin
Bartley C. Crum
Jo Davidson
Representative Helen Gahagan Douglas
Dr. Frank P. Graham, President, University
of North Carolina

John Gunther
Gabriel Heatter
Stanley M. Isaacs
Lillian Hellman
Dr. Alvin Johnson
Robert W. Kenny, Attorney General of California
Judge Dorothy Kenyon
James Kerney, Jr.
Dr. Harry Laidler, Director, League for
Industrial Democracy

Max Lerner
John P. Lewis, Managing Editor, PM
Dr. Thomas Mann
Dr. Francis E. McMahon, University of Chicago
Edgar A. Mowrer
Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr
Culbert L. Olsen, Former Governor of California
James G. Patton, President, Farmers' Union
Judge Justine Wise Polier
Jacob S. Potofsky, Secretary-Treasurer,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
Waverly Root
Prof. Frederick L. Schuman, Williams College
Dr. Guy Emery Sipler, Editor, The Churchman
J. D. Stern, Publisher, Philadelphia Record
Raymond Swing
J. Raymond Walsh, Chairman, New York State
Committee, National Citizens' Political
Action Committee

10/10/45
IK

October 10, 1945

Miss Freda Kirchwey, Editor
The Nation
20 Vesey Street
New York 7, N.Y.

My dear Miss Kirchwey:

May I tell you what a great service you rendered to our people and to a noble human cause by the cable which you sent to Prime Minister Attlee with which such an imposing group of noted American liberals was joined. We are profoundly grateful. I hope that your appeal will reach the minds and hearts of all the liberal forces in Great Britain. Our movement has always found its strongest allies and supporters among men and women of social idealism and deep humanity. Our pioneers in Palestine have sought to express in the new life which they were building for themselves and for our people in Israel's ancient homeland the ideals of justice, freedom and democracy for which our world is so desperately groping today.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. Your editorial on Palestine in The Nation was splendid.

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 _____

Via RCA

W3591 LONDON 24 12 =

NLT WISE SILVER ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 MADISON AVENUE NEWYORKCITY =

CONSIDER IMPERATIVE YOU APPROACH HILLELS FRIENDS

VIEW SECURING DECLARED FAVOURABLE ATTITUDE

PARTNERSHIP IDEA =

EXECUTIVE

copy to

date

sent

RECEIVED

NOTED BY

REFER TO

DATE

DATE

OCT 15

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.

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

1201

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

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

WA153 40 SER=WUX WASHINGTON DC 21 1112A

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE=

EAST 105 ST AT ANSEL ROAD CLEVE=

YOU GO TO PALESTINE WITH THE GOOD WISHES OF A UNITED PEOPLE
WHO SUPPORT YOU FULLY AND WILL STAND BY YOU COMPLETELY. TO
THIS I ADD MY PERSONAL GOOD WISHES FOR A PLEASANT TRIP
RETURNING TO US WITH RENEWED VIGOR=

E I KAUFMANN. I

DUPLICATE TELEPHONED TELEGRAM
NOV 21 AM 11 20

Ya 0150

No.	Is
21 11 20	11 20
At	11 20
11 20	11 20

mailed

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

RABBI BARUCH KORFF

Mayflower Hotel - Washington, D. C.

December 17, 1945

FOR IMMEDIATE NEWS RELEASE

Rabbi Baruch Korff of New York made known here today the contents of a letter of resignation sent to Mr. Peter H. Bergson, Chairman of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. The text of the letter follows:

"I find it exceedingly painful to reaffirm my resignation as Adviser to the Hebrew Committee given to you orally a month ago.

"The reason for this step should be especially obvious to you in view of the intimate discussions which you and I had in recent months about ideology and tactics, and which resulted in widening the breach between us.

"I joined you during the most critical period of your activities in this country when American Jewry denounced you and the Yishuv repudiated you. For one and a half years I divorced myself from a considerable portion of my rabbinical practice and at considerable sacrifice devoted practically all my time to you, first, as the Director of Rescue Activities of the Emergency Committee to save the Jewish people of Europe, and later as Adviser to the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.

"You know how much devotion I gave to the organizations headed by you as long as I could reconcile this with my own conscience, and to what extent the success of these organizations is due to my efforts. You also know to what lengths I went in upholding you personally in your struggle.

"You had my full confidence until I found that by following you I became involved in an adventure of grave consequences to my people: an adventure of elastic and acrobatic design remotely related to the cause which is so close to my heart - the cause of resurrecting a free Jewish Nation with Palestine as its national territory.

"I withstood every intimidation and coercion as long as you did not deviate from these basic principles. But lately I have come to the conclusion that you deviated from them and that, lost in the maze of maneuverings, you are lending aid to the enemies of Zion and are seriously impairing the chances of Jewish freedom.

"I still believe that innerly you aspire to a Jewish (or Hebrew - the nomenclature does not matter, as you very well know) State. But in fact you are endangering this very goal and are strengthening the hands of the American Council for Judaism, whose sole link with Jewry is circumcision.

"Since I was publicly identified with you, I consider it my duty to make public the conclusions which I reached and that fact of my resignation."

RABBI BARUCH KORFF

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

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

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

1-2-46

WANT A REPLY?

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

Eliizer Kaplan
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
New York, N.Y.

I BELIEVE THAT NO TIME SHOULD BE LOST IN SENDING FRANK PETEGORSKY AND POSSIBLY AKZIN TO LONDON. AMONG OTHER THINGS THEY WOULD HELP TO PREPARE THE GROUND ALONG WITH OUR OTHER PEOPLE IN LONDON FOR THE COMMISSION HEARINGS. SUGGEST THAT YOU MEET AND TALK WITH THE THREE PEOPLE. KINDEST REGARDS.

SILVER

EDMUND I. KAUFMANN

702 H STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

P. O. Box 1832
Hollywood, Florida
January 10, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillil Silver
Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

During the time you were in Palestine I called on Emanuel Newman at his home for the purpose of discussing matters with him that you and I had already discussed while we were together in Washington.

(1) Oscar Cox is to receive \$5,000 a year as a retainer.

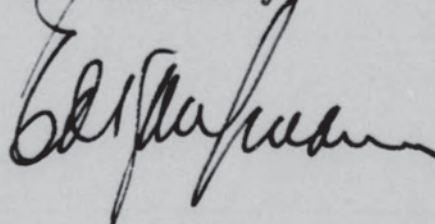
(2) H.B.S. is to receive, and I think he will accept, \$2,000 a month for his services, and this arrangement to be discontinued at any time by him or ourselves.

Both men, in my opinion, are needed now and especially in view of the committee recently appointed. Newman, with his experience in Washington, should have the help of Cox and on the overall picture H.B.S. is important especially as he is for a dominion and it is quite possible that Bernie B. and Mr. Byrnes are of the same opinion.

I trust that you are in good health.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Yours cordially,



C O P Y

JERUSALEM

NLT JEWAGENCY SILVER NEW YORK 1/21/46

CABLING KAPLAN CONCERNING PLACE TIME CONGRESS STOP
LOOKING FORWARD YOUR HELPFUL COOPERATION AND ACTION
THIS URGENT MATTER REGARDS

ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

JA

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

January 22, 1946

MEMORANDUM

To: **Members of the Committee of Eight - Dr. Silver**
FROM: **Eliezer Kaplan**

**Enclosed is a copy of the cable which I received from
Schmorak from Jerusalem.**

Enclosure

C O P Y

JANUARY 15, 1946

FA324 GBW557 ZB JERUSALEM 62 13 1830

NLT KAPLAN JEWAGENCY NEWYORK

YOURS 31ST DECEMBER BOYCOTT POSITION NOT YET QUITE CLEAR
STOP GOVERNMENTS NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES APPARENTLY DECIDED
TO CARRY OUT THIS ACTION STOP SO FAR NO EMBARGO WAS INTRODUCED
BUT IMPORT LICENSES REFUSED STOP CLEARCUT POLICY EACH COUNTRY
NOT YET KNOWN STOP GENERAL OUTLOOK NOT ENCOURAGING ESPECIALLY
IF PASSIVE STANDBY OUR GOVERNMENT WILL PREVAIL STOP ANSWER
OTHER QUESTIONS FOLLOWS NEXT

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES

SCHMORAK

Charge to the account of Emanuel Neumann 521 Fifth Ave., NY Rm. 1908

\$ _____

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
ORDINARY	
URGENT RATE	
DEFERRED	
NIGHT LETTER	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	
Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the cablegram will be transmitted at full rates.	

WESTERN UNION CABLEGRAM

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

Jan. 24, 1946

19

NLT CABLE SENT VIA RCA

JEWISH AGENCY
JERUSALEM PALESTINETO OBTAIN OUR FAST AND ACCURATE SERVICE
PLEASE INSERT "Via W.U. Cables" BELOW.AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES
→ Via

EARNESTLY URGE YOU CONSIDER AGAIN INVITE ABRAHAM TULIN VISIT PALESTINE
AS ONE OF YOUR LEGAL ADVISERS AND CONSULTANTS AND TO HELP PREPARE
CASE STOP THIS HIGHLY ADVISABLE IN OPINION OF MANY OF US ~~ESSENT~~ ~~XXXXX~~
ESSENTIAL YOU CABLE DEFINITE DECISION POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE WITHIN
FEW DAYS STOP EMANUEL NEUMANN DEFINITELY PLANNING PROCEED PALESTINE
END FEBRUARY

ABBA HALLEL SILVER

הסוכנות היהודית בשביל ארץ ישראל

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE.

TELEPHONE: MUSEUM 3817 (4 LINES).

TELEGRAMS: "ZIONIBURO, LONDON."

CODES: BENTLEY'S AND MOSSE'S.

77, GREAT RUSSELL STREET.

LONDON, W.C.1.

25th January, 1946.

In reply please address the Secretary:

and quote the following Reference No.:

Dear Dr. Silver,

I have been here now five days, and have had an opportunity of going through the material to be submitted by the pro-Zionist bodies here, and of meeting a number of members of the Joint Committee, and finally, to-day, of listening to the first day's evidence.

Dealing with the last point first, the questions put by members of the Committee are becoming somewhat stereotyped in character, and are inevitably familiar to anyone who has listened to the presentation in America. Judge Hutcheson, for example, in his cross-examination this afternoon of Leonard Montefiore (who appeared for the Jewish Colonisation Association) sought again to bring out the idea that the Zionist claim for Jewish immigration to Palestine was directed primarily towards a political objective, the establishment of a Jewish State - an objective with which he apparently does not sympathise. Thus, he suggested that as an inhabitant of Texas, of Scotch and other parentage, he saw no reason for the establishment of a Scotch State in Texas! In this connection I attach an extract from a speech of Colonel Wedgwood's in the White Paper Debate, with which at some stage we hope to confront the Judge. Montefiore, although certainly no Zionist, was fair in his statement and in his replies to questions; he emphasised the desire of the majority of displaced persons on the Continent to go to Palestine in preference to any other country. He was cross-examined at some length on the work of the ICA, and in answer to the question as to whether they would be able to settle more Jews in lands other than Palestine if they were given larger financial means, he replied that he doubted whether in present circumstances it would be possible to settle many /more

(Turn over.)

more, even if they had forty million pounds instead of a million at their disposal.

Singleton tried to elicit from him the answer that, if conditions in Palestine were unsettled and if possibilities of settlement were made available in other countries, many of these Jews would be ready to give up the idea of going to Palestine. Montefiore's reply was that these displaced persons did not view the situation from a detached standpoint, but were, as he put it, in an "exalted" state of mind. It was not, perhaps, the answer that we would have given, but at any rate I think it served the same purpose, of making clear that, even in the given circumstances, Palestine would remain the first choice.

Brodetsky, on Behalf of the Board of Deputies, dealt among other matters with the idea of Anglo-Jewry as a link between the British Government and World Jewry on the Palestine issue. He referred to Britain's sympathy and support for the Jews during the last 200 years, and to the corresponding disappointment produced by the whittling down, and final abrogation, of the Mandate. As indicative of the support of Anglo-Jewry for the Zionist programme, he dealt with the resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority of the Board in favour of that position. He was cross-examined at some length, and did fairly well, though he tended to hedge on some points, such as the question of the transition period, and whether the aim of a Jewish State necessarily involved a Jewish majority, in a manner which was not very satisfactory to some of the committee members. However, Harvey told me afterwards that in his view he had made a very excellent and intelligent witness.

The question of the J.N.F. clause was again raised at some length; also that of discrimination against
/Arab

Turn over

Arab labour, and of the possibilities, in view of the evidence of Notestein, of the ultimate maintenance of a Jewish majority. In regard to this, Brodetsky suggested that he was a mathematician and not prepared to go in for prophecy, though he was also asked, and agreed, to provide figures for the density of population (asked for by Manningham-Buller) in the event of nearly a million Jews being introduced into Palestine in the next ten years.

On the whole, I have the impression - and x this is borne out by conversations I have had both with Harvey and Francis - that the majority of the members, including in all probability Crossman, are taking an anti-Zionist point of view, and that only three - the same three of whom you knew in the States - remain friendly.

So far as the question of an interim recommendation for immediate action in regard to the situation in the Camps is concerned, in all probability a strong effort to obtain such a recommendation will be made, but only after the Committee has visited Palestine - the feeling being, even on the part of our friends, that not till then will they be in a position to say that they have sufficient knowledge of the facts to make such a recommendation.

In the course of his examination, Brodetsky was asked about partition, but rejected this as a possibility. On the other hand, I believe that one at least of our friends on the body is thinking in those terms, and would like to get something on the record so as to be able to pursue the matter further in Committee.

The hearings resume on Monday, when Sir Simon Marks (after immense behind the scenes activities) will give evidence on behalf of the EZF (instead of, as originally proposed, Janner). Entre nous, he is in a state of complete panic at the moment, and is retiring, with much material and lots of advice, for a week-end of study and meditation.

Gerold turned up safely with the rest of the bunch on the Queen Mary, and we have of course been working in the closest co-operation. He will have sent to New York a report on what he learnt en route - matters which were subsequently confirmed in conversations in which I later took part after their arrival.

It has been agreed that I should, if possible, go to Frankfurt, Prague and Vienna, and I am making arrangements to leave next week-end, provided the necessary facilities are given. One of the members of the
/Committee

Committee in particular expressed gratification that I might be on hand in case of need.

Ben-Gurion was in London for a day or two before the arrival of the Committee here, but has now gone on to Paris en route for Germany.

Warm regards,

Ben-Gurion

Extract from Col. Wedgwood's speech in the Debate on the White Paper in the House of Commons, 22 May, 1939:

....."Many hon. Members will have had cables from the United States. I have had over a dozen, four of them from Texas - from Galveston, Houston, San Antonio, and Dallas. It will be remembered that 100 years ago the Americans in Texas were faced with almost the same position as that with which the Jews are faced in Palestine to-day. They were then under Mexican rule; the Mexican Government stopped immigration and attempted to disarm the Americans; the Americans were not "taking any", and in three years Texas, the lone star State, was one of the States of America - free for all time. That is an illustration, because it is as well that we should realise the past history of America, as well as our own history."

February 4, 1946

Dr. Nahum Goldmann
The Jewish Agency for Palestine
41 E. 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Goldmann:

I am wondering what we are doing to win friends for ourselves among the governments of South and Central America in preparation for the final decisions which are to be made at UNO on Palestine. Are any delegations being sent to those countries? If so, who? It seems to me that some outstanding Zionists, preferably Spanish speaking, if such can be had, should at once visit those countries. It might be desirable to send to some of those governments some prominent American non-Jew, a man of prestige and impressive personality.

The time is now. In another few months, we will be too late.

With all good wishes, I remain

Cordially yours,

AHS:BK

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

2210 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
ADAMS 5411

February 6, 1946.

Dr. Aba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver,

I feel obliged to call your attention to the statement which the Emergency Council issued about the return of Jamal Hussein.

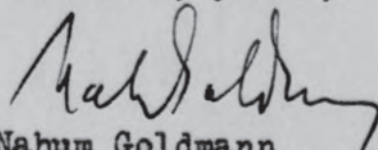
On the first page there appears the following: "Britain's reason for re-importing Jamal el-Husseini, Amin Tamini and other agents, etc. etc..". On Page 3, "Why Britain has re-imported Jamal el-Husseini, Amin Tamini, etc. etc..". Whoever printed this statement should have known that Amin Tamini died three years ago in a British detention camp in Rhodesia.

On Page 2 the statement says: "With the exception of the ex-Mufti himself, his nephew, Jamal, etc. etc..", whereas Jamal is not the nephew of the ex-Mufti but his cousin. Four lines further down on Page 2 the statement says: "until he (Jamal) was arrested by the British in Iraq and placed in detention in Rhodesia". As a matter of fact he escaped from Iraq and was arrested in Iran. Later on on page 2 Jamal el-Husseini is described as the general secretary of the Arab Higher Committee which he never was. He was only a member of this committee. In the last paragraph of Page 2 the statement says that Jamal el-Husseini was exiled from Palestine in 1937 whereas he escaped from Palestine to Syria and was not exiled.

You will agree with me, I am sure, that such inexactitudes do not lend authority to our statements and protests. We have Eliahu Epstein with us in the office of the Agency who has come to this country because of his great knowledge of Arab affairs. Was it too difficult for those in the Emergency Council who drafted the statement to consult him in order to avoid such errors, which do not give us prestige in the eyes of those in the State Department and elsewhere who know something about Arab affairs? May I suggest that you instruct the office to consult Mr. Epstein whenever matters relating to Arab affairs are dealt with in public or in official statements. Needless to say he is only too willing to assist the staff of the Emergency Council with his expert knowledge of Arab affairs.

With best regards,

Very sincerely yours,


Nahum Goldmann

NG/rc

February 8, 1946

Dr. Nahum Goldmann
The Jewish Agency for Palestine
2210 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 8, D.C.

My dear Dr. Goldmann:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of February 6 enclosing comments on the statement issued by the Emergency Council on Jamal Husseini. I had received a similar letter from Mr. Eliahu Epstein who enumerates the corrections repeated in your letter. I regret that these mistakes occurred. I have requested our office hereafter to check with Mr. Epstein on any official releases involving Arabs.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

New York Office: SUITE 1205, 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y., MUrray Hill 2-8803

Washington Office
1720 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W.
Michigan 4480

February 8, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

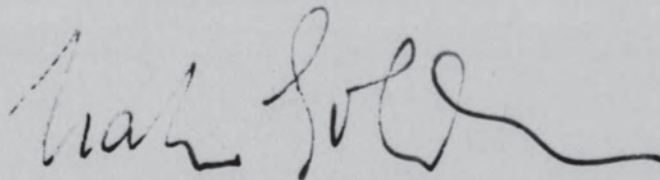
My dear Dr. Silver:

I received your letter of February 4. I agree with you that we will have to send people to Central and South America in preparation for the UNO meeting in September. Some time during the summer would be the best time for these delegates to go in order to get definite promises from the various governments to the effect that they will support us at the UNO meeting. I suggest that we should discuss these matters during the next meeting of the Committee of Eight. We should then decide whom to send.

As you know, the Christian Committee intends to send Dr. Gustavo Guiterrez, Chairman of the Cuban Pro-Palestina Committee, a prominent Cuban personality. It may perhaps be advisable to send a prominent American but it is not so easy to find a person who speaks Spanish and is ready to go.

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely yours,



Nahum Goldmann

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

New York Office: SUITE 1205, 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y., MUrray Hill 2-8803

Washington Office
1720 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W.
Michigan 4480

March 4, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thanks for your letters of February 25 and 28.

As regards the reply to Mr. McDonald, I fully agree with you. Naturally, I did not write to him because letters addressed from me to him in Jerusalem might be read by the British. I will see McDonald in Switzerland, perhaps even before that in Palestine. I decided to go to Palestine in order to be around when the Commission is there. McDonald telephoned to David Niles and suggested to him that I should proceed to Palestine. From there I will go to Switzerland to be there when the Commission will work in Switzerland. Both Crum and McDonald urged me to be present in Switzerland when I saw them in London.

For these reasons, I will probably not be in New York on March 19th. However, we shall call a meeting of the Committee of Eight for that day and and we shall arrange it for the morning, to suit you.

Should I leave for Palestine this week, I will certainly telephone with you before leaving. As yet, I am not sure about my transportation, it is rather difficult at the moment.

I am enclosing copy of a letter which the Executive in London sent to the Foreign Office with reference to the Mufti. After our last meeting, I urged the Executive - by cable - to write such a letter. Linton urged me to take action here but I

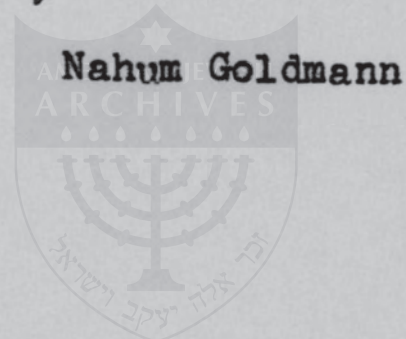
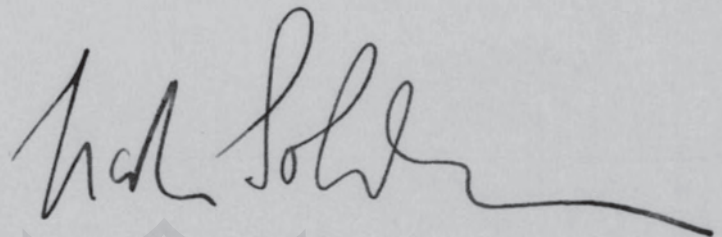
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 4, 1946

understand that the Emergency Council has already approached the State Department and was turned down. Still, the London letter may be a basis for the renewal of such action although I am very doubtful about the result.

With cordial greetings,

Sincerely yours,



הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

ADAMS 5411

2210 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE

WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

March 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

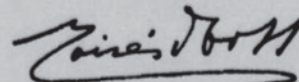
Dear Doctor Silver:

I am pleased to enclose herewith the Spanish translation of your speech at the recent convention of the American Jewish Conference, held in Cleveland, which this Department has published in its "Suplemento Especial" and distributed throughout all the Latin American countries.

I wish to take this opportunity to convey to you my heartiest congratulations for the clarity of thought, soundness of judgement and powerful eloquence of your speech, through which your brilliant personality has once more rendered a valued service to the sacred cause of the Jewish people.

With my sincere Zionist greetings, I am

Cordially yours,



Moisés A. Toff, Director
Latin American Department

T:m

Enc.

DEPARTAMENTO LATINOAMERICANO
AGENCIA JUDIA PARA PALESTINA
2210 MASSACHUSETTS AVE. N.W.
WASHINGTON D.C.

marzo 21 de 1946

* SUPLEMENTO LITERARIO *

"VIVIREMOS AL FIN COMO HOMBRES LIBRES EN NUESTRO PROPIO SUELO"

Por el Dr. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

(Conferencia dictada en la reciente Convención
de la "American Jewish Conference", en Cleve-
land)

Cuando nos reunimos la última vez en Pittsburgh, hace poco más de un año, aún no había terminado la Guerra Mundial. El curso evolutivo del mundo en el nuevo orden mundial que habría de surgir después de la guerra no era aún discernible. Nos sentíamos con derecho a alentar grandes esperanzas y probabilidades para la humanidad, para nuestro pueblo y para la Palestina Judía.

Conocíamos el aterrador desastre que sufrió nuestro pueblo durante la guerra, pero no poseíamos aún la evidencia de que dos tercios de la comunidad judía de Europa había sido destruida, y que las grandes reservas de nuestra fuerza física y espiritual en el Este de Europa habían sido arruinadas por siempre. Algunos tenían esperanzas de que una meticulosa investigación mostraría, después de la guerra que nuestros temores habían exagerado el grado de la calamidad, pero infortunadamente, los hechos, una vez constatados excedieron a nuestros peores temores.

PROMESAS DE CHURCHILL* ROOSEVELT

Creímos entonces que con el fin de la guerra, rápida y decisiva acción sería promovida por las potencias victoriosas para salvar los remanentes de nuestro quebrantado pueblo y apartar los obstáculos para el rescate y la salvación que según ellos alegaron habían sido insalvables a causa de las exigencias de guerra. El Primer Ministro de Gran Bretaña aseguró a nuestros líderes que tan pronto se ganara la guerra, repararía los daños del Libro Blanco que él aborrecía e instrumentaría los derechos del pueblo judío en su Hogar Nacional porque, acaso no había sido él siempre un sionista?

El fallecido presidente Roosevelt anunció en marzo de 1944 que "el gobierno americano nunca dió su aprobación al Libro Blanco de 1939" y en octubre de 1944 prometió su apoyo al "establecimiento de Palestina como libre y democrático Commonwealth Judío". Se nos alentó a esperar denodadas y generosas acciones de los estadistas aliados que al fin removerían todos los campos minados y alambradas políticas, que impidieron nuestra marcha hacia la realizaciones de nuestras aspiraciones nacionales y el rescate de los sobrevivientes de nuestro más grande desastre nacional. Fuimos, sin embargo, cruelmente engañados. No hubo denuedo, visión, generosidad - ni siquiera hubo simple honradez - en la actitud de los gobiernos comprometidos.

EL COMITE NO ES IMPARCIAL

El Comité Anglo-Americano de Investigación, de inspiración británica, ha terminado ya sus audiencias en Washington, Londres y en el continente europeo. Aquellos que siguieron sus audiencias y observaron la reacción de los miembros del Comité, son generalmente de opinión que los miembros británicos seguirán, casi todos, la línea del Colonial Office, la línea de Bevin, y que sólo unos pocos miembros americanos se desviarán notablemente de ella. Un responsable corresponsal del New York Herald Tribune informó a su periódico que "la arrogancia, influencia, superioridad y absoluta incorrección fueron infortunadamente el sello de las audiencias...." El presidente del grupo americano del Comité, refirióse a la reciente Resolución sobre Palestina adoptada casi por unanimidad por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos y a las plataformas sobre Palestina de los partidos Democrático y Republicano como a "todas esas fruslerías" que él estaba resuelto a ignorar.

Ante un Comité así ideado, así inspirado y así constituido, fueron los judíos del mundo invitados a presentar su caso, cuyo punto principal fuera ya prejuizado. Los representantes judíos están presentando evidencias ya bien conocidas o al alcance de todos. El Comité aparenta ser un consejo investigador objetivo, imparcial y sin instrucciones previas, aunque su fachada de objetividad muestra frecuentemente lamentables grietas. El Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores británico, y nuestro propio Departamento de Estado aparentan aguardar con celosa expectación los hallazgos de este Comité sabiendo muy bien que no habrá grandes sorpresas en el paquete cuando este sea entregado. Y si llegara haber algunas inesperadas sorpresas ellos, claro está, no están en forma alguna atados a seguirlas.

1500 AL MES....

Mientras tanto, un crudo invierno está dando cuenta de nuestros refugiados en los campamentos de Europa Central. Miles de ellos están degenerando física y espiritualmente mientras las puertas de Palestina permanecen cerradas para todos, menos 1500 al mes; Palestina se encuentra bajo nuevas ordenanzas de defensa que constituyen un régimen de terror. Cualquier lugar puede ser considerado como "prisión legal" para acomodar a los muchos que están siendo arrestados. Hombres están siendo deportados del país sin juicio previo. El elemental derecho humano según la ley de ser considerado inocente hasta tanto se pruebe la culpabilidad, ya no existe.

...DE LAS CALLES DE LA MUERTE

Los actos ilegales del gobierno mandatario están llevando a los judíos de Palestina a infortunados actos de violenta resistencia. Ellos no pueden sentarse ociosamente y ver sus derechos nacionales pisoteados y a sus hermanos excluidos de su Hogar Nacional. Un fatigado pueblo vino a Palestina en busca de descanso. Vinieron de los caminos del sufrimiento y las calles de la muerte, de las ciudades del horror y las tierras del odio. Ellos buscaron anhelantemente un refugio de paz y tranquilidad. Cuando llegaron fueron a su trabajo quietamente, con ahínco, con manos incansables, construyendo, plantando, limpiando las ruinas de los siglos y haciendo brotar cosas donde nada había crecido antes. Ahora este pueblo hambriento de paz y sus hijos vienen siendo empujados, por las injustas actitudes de un gobierno infiel a su confianza, a actos de desesperación en una desigual y catastrófica contienda. Este rodeo forzado por caminos desacostumbrados para un pueblo tradicionalmente cumplidor de la ley y amante de la paz y el haber embebido de rencor los corazones de su juventud, no es sino uno de los muchos males perpetrados contra nuestro pueblo.

LA PIEDAD INGLESA

Y mientras la tensión aumenta en Palestina, Jamal el Husseini, el realizador del pogrom de 1936, es autorizado a regresar. Los refugiados en Belsen y Dachau deben esperar. Pero Jamal el Husseini no podía esperar. El gobierno británico se sintió movido a la misericordia al ver a este famoso instigador de desórdenes anti-judíos e instrumento nazi languidecer en el exilio. Hizo rápidamente posible su retorno a Palestina. El está ahora dirigiendo la organización de los árabes palestinos contra los judíos. Al parecer, el regreso del Muftí será el próximo paso. Así es como el gobierno mandatario planea la paz para Palestina.

POSICION DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS

Con nuestro propio gobierno nos ha ido poco mejor. Cuando comparecía ante vosotros durante la última conferencia en Pittsburgh, en enero de 1945 os leí la Resolución pro Palestina que acababa de ser tomada por el Comité de Asuntos Extranjeros de la Cámara. Esperábamos una pronta aprobación de la Resolución pro Palestina en el Congreso. Pero la Resolución fué echada a pique por insistencia del presidente. Por razones que le eran mejor conocidas, no quiso que el Congreso de los Estados Unidos se declarara en favor de la misma idea del Commonwealth Judío que él había respaldado públicamente. Su posterior encuentro con Ibn Saud, después de Yalta, en febrero de 1945, y su conversación con él acerca de Palestina es asunto registrado en la historia. Una historia confusa e inquietante para nosotros.

GOLPE DE TIMON

Con ello fué anunciada una nueva política, desde entonces aceptada como la línea oficial por nuestro Departamento de Estado. Ninguna decisión será tomada con referencia a Palestina sin consultar a los árabes. Ni siquiera se especifica qué árabes, los árabes de Palestina, o todos los árabes del mundo. Y nada se hará que pudiera resultar hostil al pueblo árabe. Tampoco se especifica quien determinará si un arreglo político propuesto para Palestina resultara ser hostil a los árabes. De paso recordemos que no hay nada en la Declaración Balfour o en el Mandato para Palestina que demande la consulta con los árabes en cuanto a la implantación de los derechos nacionales judíos en Palestina.

Me temo que también el presidente Truman, a pesar de sus sinceras intenciones de ayudar, ha demostrado infortunadamente lo contrario. Hizo una muy loable petición a Attlee por 100,000 certificados y, con ello, involuntariamente redujo la solución política por la que el pueblo judío estaba presionando, a una cuestión de ayuda a los refugiados. Pero aun con esta propia petición estuvo poco fuerte y aceptó el artificio dilatorio de un Comité de Investigación.

INFLUENCIA DE BEVIN

El presidente Truman ayudó a redactar la plataforma de Palestina que fué adoptada por el Partido Democrático en Chicago en 1944: "Favorecemos la apertura de Palestina a la ilimitada inmigración y colonización judías, y que de tal política resulte el establecimiento allí de un libre y democrático Commonwealth Judío". El aprobó la Resolución Wagner-Taft antes de que fuera nuevamente presentada el pasado noviembre. Pero él, también, cambió pronto su opinión y se opuso a la acción del Congreso y el 5 de diciembre anunció que aun cuando continuaba apoyando la inmigración judía en Palestina, había cambiado de opinión acerca del Estado Judío. La razón oculta del cambio parece ser cierta errónea concepción que el presidente ha llegado

a formarse de que el Estado Judío significa un Estado racial o una unión de la Iglesia y el Estado. Bevin y presumiblemente otros británicos interesados han estado propalando continuamente este embuste y, claro está, también algunos judíos aquí y en Gran Bretaña.

UAN RECLAMACION

En octubre nos sentimos obligados a presentar al Secretario de Estado Byrnes un memorandum en el que hicimos, entre otras, las siguientes observaciones:

"Debemos recordar que, hasta donde tenemos conocimiento, el gobierno no promovió efectiva acción para proteger los intereses del Hogar Nacional Judío, cuando fuera promulgado el Libro Blanco británico de 1939, o para rectificar esa injusticia en los años transcurridos. El gobierno no intervino enérgicamente ni aun cuando la apertura de las puertas de Palestina se convirtió en urgente necesidad humanitaria debido al asesinato en masa de los judíos de Europa. Más aun, parece que nuestro gobierno omitió advertir a sus representantes en ultramar, particularmente en el Mediano Oriente, que estaba definitivamente comprometido en la política del Hogar Nacional Judío e instruirlos para que actuaran en conformidad con esta política. El Departamento de Estado, en diversas ocasiones, designó para posiciones de importancia en el Mediano Oriente a personas reconocidas como opuestas a esta política, y ha tenido que confiar, a su vez, en los informes y consejos emanados de ellos. En dos ocasiones la rama Ejecutiva ejerció su influencia para impedir la adopción por el Congreso de una resolución reafirmatoria de la tradicional política americana en este asunto. Sobre todo, nuestro gobierno ha dejado de utilizar las fluidas condiciones políticas creadas por la guerra y el proceso de reorientación y reorganización política en marcha en el Cercano Oriente, para el propósito de asegurar el status del Hogar Nacional Judío en la contextura de su política en el Cercano Oriente.

RESOLUCION VIGOROSA

Pero si bien recibimos pequeño apoyo de la rama Ejecutiva de nuestro gobierno, fuimos alentados en cambio por las numerosas muestras de comprensión y buena voluntad de parte de los miembros del Congreso y de parte del pueblo norteamericano. En noviembre, la Resolución pro Palestina fue finalmente votada favorablemente por una abrumadora mayoría de ambas Cámaras del Congreso, a pesar de la expresa oposición del presidente y del Secretario de Estado, quien compareció personalmente ante el Comité de Relaciones Exteriores del Senado para oponerse a ella. Es una buena y vigorosa resolución, aunque no tan buena y vigorosa como la resolución original Wagner-Taft, que pudo haber pasado el año anterior si los líderes sionistas hubieran comprendido entonces que en la prosecución de un ideal tan difícil como el nuestro, es a veces sensato y necesario ir contra los deseos de un Presidente o de un Departamento de Estado y desafiar y oponerse a una administración que deja de cumplir sus públicas promesas.

APOYO DE LA DEMOCRACIA AMERICANA

La Resolución pro Palestina que fue finalmente adoptada refleja el verdadero sentimiento de los representantes elegidos por el pueblo norteamericano. No fue precipitadamente adoptada. Estuvo ante el Congreso cerca de dos años. Prolongadas sesiones y debates públicos fueron sostenidos a propósito de la Resolución. No fue lanzada antes de una elección. Está cristalizado en esta Resolución el estimado y sesudo juicio de la democrática América. La Resolución no tiene el

carácter de ley. No es un acto legislativo obligatorio. Pero es inequívocamente una poderosa enunciación de la opinión del más grande cuerpo legislativo sobre la tierra, y por ello no podrá ser considerada a la ligera o echada a un lado ya sea por el presidente de los Estados Unidos, por el Departamento de Estado, o por el Comité de Investigación.

La situación política está volviéndose aún más complicada para nosotros por la creciente rivalidad entre Gran Bretaña y la Unión Soviética, que ha venido ahora a extenderse también al Mediano Oriente. A través de aislados y aún inconclusos incidentes, podría inferirse que la Unión Soviética al igual que Gran Bretaña, puede también estar interesada en ganarse al mundo árabe ofreciéndole nuestros legítimos derechos nacionales en Palestina como parte del pago por tal alineación. Confiamos que esto no es así.

JUEGOS IMPERIALISTAS

No tenemos disputas con la Unión Soviética. No tenemos y no podemos tomar posición en los conflictos imperialistas. No deseamos que se haga de nosotros el juguete de fuerzas políticas. No deseamos ser triturados entre las mandíbulas superior e inferior. Nuestra causa es una causa moral. Apelamos por la simpatía y el apoyo de todos los gobiernos y pueblos que pueden ser atraídos a ayudar a un antiguo pueblo merecedor al restablecimiento de su vida nacional en su hogar histórico, después de siglos de trágico error y apatrismo. ¿Por qué debe permitirse que un claro y honrado propósito, sancionado por las naciones del mundo después de la primera guerra mundial, y ahora en pleno proceso de realización, sea embrollado en los tortuosos pliegues de manieobras imperiales en competencia?

NI GRAN BRETAGNA NI RUSIA DEBEN Oponerse

Gran Bretaña no necesita para sobrevivir como gran potencia la reducción y el constreñimiento, o la total extinción, del Hogar Nacional Judío que ella, primera entre todas y sobre todas las otras, ayudó a traerlo a la vida. Su posición en el Mediano Oriente no está en peligro por la presencia de un Estado Judío en esa pequeña ranura de 10,000 millas cuadradas en ese vasto mundo árabe. Tampoco necesita ese sacrificio la Unión Soviética, fuerte y victoriosa, cubriendo como cubre la sexta parte del globo. ¿Por qué debe, nuevamente, hacerse un caño de escape del pueblo judío?

LOS ARABES EN LA UNO

Los pueblos árabes están por recibir todos su libertad e independencia, y nadie se las regatea, aunque pocos de ellos murieron por la libertad y ninguno de ellos pereció en las cámaras letales. Todos ellos han sido bienvenidos en la Organización de las Naciones Unidas. Hasta Transjordania será admitida, aunque su status como Estado independiente según el Mandato para Palestina está muy lejos de ser claro.

EL ETERNO ! NO!

Pero no es así con el pueblo judío! No, con el pueblo judío cuyos hijos lucharon en todos los frentes de batalla del mundo por la causa de la libertad y cuyas bajas de guerra excedieron con mucho a las de Gran Bretaña y los Estados Unidos conjuntamente. El pueblo judío, aunque reconocido como Nación y teniendo garantizado un Hogar Nacional, no debe ser incluido entre las Naciones Unidas. No debe

tener voz en la Asamblea de las naciones, y debe permanecer por siempre contento de ser alimentado con las migajas que caen de las mesas de los otros pueblos.

NUEVO MUNICH

Amigos: Estamos en medio de una lucha larga, histórica que, por su misma naturaleza, ha tenido y continuará teniendo sus victorias y desazones. Las victorias no serán decisivas, tampoco lo serán los desazones hasta la determinación final, cuya hora nadie conoce. Actualmente, nuestro movimiento en espera de los resultados del Comité de Investigación, está obligado a marcar el tiempo. La presente constelación política no es muy favorable para nosotros. Pero las estrellas en su curso se mueven rápidamente y no hay inamovilidad en ninguna constelación. En realidad no hay estabilidad para ninguna política miope que, como Munich, parece ser práctica y expeditiva en el momento, pero que se torna estúpida y desastrosa, debido a que ignora los imperativos morales y la más grande perspectiva mundial.

LA RENUNCIA DE HOWARTH

Lealmente expresadas fueron las palabras del valiente servidor civil británico, Herbert Howarth, quien renunció hace pocos meses a su puesto en el gobierno de Palestina, como protesta contra el fracaso del gobierno laborista en el cumplimiento de sus promesas al pueblo judío y contra el carácter anti-judío de la administración de Palestina. El declaró: "Imaginar que las relaciones con el mundo árabe o con Rusia pueden ser más expeditas sacrificando a la Nación Judía, y al poder judío de rescatar la tierra, es fantástica auto-decepción. El mundo está esperando a alguien que actúe con relación a un criterio de justicia. América y Gran Bretaña deberían decidir hacerlo con respecto a Palestina; y su osadía podría llegar a ser a la larga expeditiva así como justa."

DE TRUMAN A ATTLEE

Nuestra fuerza y nuestra esperanza descansan no sólo en la justicia fundamental de nuestra causa sino también en la compulsión de una realidad ineludible. Eso es cierto con respecto al problema de los refugiados judíos, por los cuales intercedió el presidente Truman al escribir al Primer Ministro Attlee: "Sé que Ud. está de acuerdo en la proposición de que la paz futura en Europa depende en gran medida de que encontremos una justa solución a los problemas que confrontan los grupos de pueblos, anteriormente perseguidos. Ninguna petición es más meritoria que la de los grupos que por tantos años han sabido de persecución y esclavitud." Y es igualmente cierto con respecto al endurecido problema de la carencia de Hogar Nacional del pueblo judío. Esto alimenta el antisemitismo en todas partes y el antisemitismo es la arma provocadora de guerra en manos de partidos políticos y gobiernos reaccionarios o sedientos de poder.

EL PUEBLO AMERICANO ES PRO SIONISTA

Nuestra fuerza y nuestra esperanza descansan en la buena voluntad y simpatía de los pueblos democráticos del mundo, aun cuando sus gobiernos por un momento persiguen políticas en contradicción con sus verdaderos deseos. Escrutamientos científicos de la opinión pública norteamericana han mostrado cuán amplia es la simpatía por nuestra causa entre el pueblo americano. Esta favorable opinión popular debe ser activada y enfocada sobre nuestro gobierno. Tengo la certeza de que la opinión pública de Gran Bretaña, donde por generaciones ha existido, religiosamente basada, una profunda simpatía por el sionismo, puede también ser despertada a dar más

expresión a sus sentimientos. Así también puede hacerse con la buena voluntad entre los otros pueblos, cuyos gobiernos tendrán voz en la Organización de las Naciones Unidas donde finalmente se tomarán las mayores decisiones con respecto a Palestina.

EL MOMENTO ES PROPICIO

Nuestra fuerza estriba en el descubrimiento de nuestra propia fuerza y en convertirla en la representación más fuerte posible mediante la unificación más fuerte posible de nuestras fuerzas para con nuestro gobierno, para demandar el cumplimiento de la Resolución adoptada por el Congreso de los Estados Unidos que indudablemente expresó la opinión de la abrumadora mayoría del pueblo americano. "El momento es propicio", declaró el informe que acompañaba la Resolución del Senado "para cumplir las promesas dadas al pueblo judío". Muy cierto, el momento es propicio. Y ya hace mucho que venció el término.

VIVAMOS ALERTA!

Los judíos de los Estados Unidos deben estar en guardia contra la aceptación de sustitutos o regalos de apaciguamiento de la Administración en lugar de este gran servicio histórico que puede y debe prestar a nuestro pueblo. El designar a un judío para este o aquel importante puesto en el gobierno o hacer gestos baratos de buena voluntad en nuestra dirección es de poco valor para nosotros. No están ni en proporción ni en forma alguna relacionados con su solución.

EL SIONISMO SE DIFUNDE

Nuestra fuerza radica en la comprensión rápidamente desarrollada entre nuestro propio pueblo de lo inevitable de la solución sionista, que no es sino otro nombre para la milenaria solución Mesiánica del problema judío. Aquí nuevamente el escrutamiento ha demostrado como el sionismo ha ganado los corazones y las mentes de los judíos de América.

LLEGARÁ EL DIA PARA LOS ANTISIONISTAS

Un pequeño grupo opositor ha persistido en proseguir una acre campaña antisionista, a veces irresponsable, que tanta reminiscencia tiene con la infructuosa propaganda de los germanos acerca de la persuasión mosaica en la Alemania pre-Hilterista. Su propaganda está envuelta en la bandera americana y es ampliamente vendida de casa en casa, especialmente entre los "judíos de alta clase" - Dios salve la marca! Pero no para beneficio. Los judíos libres de América no aceptarán tan serviciales e insolventes filosofías y modos de vida de los judíos asimilacionistas del Occidente de Europa que fueron totalmente rechazadas y descartadas a pesar de sus intentos, frecuentemente lindando con lo patológico, de una completa y total "integración". "Llegará un día", advirtió el Dr. Max Nordau en Berlín, en 1898, "en que el sionismo será necesitado por vosotros, vosotros orgullosos alemanes como lo es por aquellos "despreciables" judíos del Oriente de Europa." Y qué día de ira, sangre y terror fué aquel cuando llegó!....

AQUELLOS QUE LA CONSTRUYERON.....

Nuestra fuerza y esperanza descansan en lo que hemos construido en Palestina. Allí ha nacido una nación, consciente de su fuerza, desbordante de coraje, energía creadora, bien enraizada dentro de la tierra y extendiendo anchamente sus ramas. En una generación una tierra inculta, desgastada, desierta y empobrecida

marzo 21 de 1946

Suplemento Literario Pag. 8
"Viviremos al Fin....."

fué restaurada rápidamente a la vida, curada y vuelta próspera, para sorpresa de todos y envidia de algunos. Aquellos que la construyeron para su pueblo están determinados a defenderla para su pueblo. "Ellos no plantarán y otros comerán". "Ellos no construirán y otros la habitarán". Contra el granito de su valor y obstinación toda oposición será lanzada en vano.

Hace 50 años, Herzl, en su pequeño libro que conmovió nuestro mundo, escribió estas proféticas palabras:

"Los judíos que lo quieran tendrán su Estado

"Viviremos al fin como hombres libres en nuestro propio suelo, y moriremos apaciblemente en nuestros hogares.

"El mundo se libera con nuestra libertad, se enriquece con nuestra riqueza, se engrandece con nuestra grandeza.

"Y lo que intentemos allí para lograr nuestro propio bienestar, redundará poderosa y beneficiosamente para bien de la humanidad."



The Jewish Agency for Palestine

2210 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
ADAMS 5411

May 7, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Co-Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Silver:

On at least two occasions recently, reports have been made to the American Zionist Emergency Council on plans for financing economic development in Palestine. These reports have been made by individuals not connected with the Jewish Agency, but the Agency's approval of their plans has, in a degree, been implied or imputed.

These reports by individuals not responsible to the Agency may cause misunderstanding. I wish, therefore, to inform you that the Agency's economic officers, both in Washington and Jerusalem, have merely considered the plans outlined to you--together with a variety of others.

As you are aware, authoritative sponsorship of such financing plans falls within the competence of the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency or the Agency Executive as a whole. Insofar as arrangements in this country are involved, Mr. Oscar Gass, as Economic Adviser in our Washington Office, is authorized to undertake exploratory action on behalf of the Treasurer of the Jewish Agency. Mr. Gass has kept Mr. Kaplan informed of various proposals, but he has not yet requested approval of any. Mr. Gass has just yesterday received cabled instructions from Jerusalem authorizing him to carry these matters further.

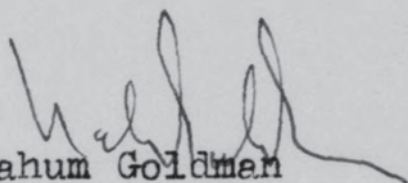
I can foresee a stage in the progress of these financing plans when their realization, insofar as American collaboration is concerned, may well require the

-2-

vigorous support of the Zionist Emergency Council. If so, either I or Mr. Gass will bring these matters to your attention or we will specifically authorize some other member of the Jewish Agency staff to do so. Other persons are not authorized to express the views of the Agency's economic officers on these delicate and technical matters.

I am sending an identical letter on this matter to Dr. Wise.

Cordially yours,


Nahum Goldman



הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

The Jewish Agency for Palestine

2210 Massachusetts Ave., N. W.
WASHINGTON 8, D. C.
ADAMS 5411

June 14, 1946

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

We have been greatly heartened by your assurances that you are persevering in the determination to obtain the immediate admission of 100,000 European Jews into Palestine. We are also profoundly appreciative of the interest your Administration is taking in the technical and financial problems involved in the immigration and settlement of these Jews.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine has long taken a very purposive interest in all the technical and financial questions connected with large-scale Jewish immigration. A planning committee of the Jewish Agency has worked methodically on these matters for two years. The Agency's technicians are prepared to consult and cooperate with any governmental or international authority that may participate in the transfer or resettlement work.

Pursuant to its responsibilities under the Mandate, the Agency long ago established the machinery for selection, reception, and settlement of immigrants. The reception of 100,000 Jewish immigrants in a very short time does not present the Agency with a new problem; 65,000 Jewish immigrants were received in Palestine in the single year 1935, when our economic base was much smaller than today.

The Agency's experts estimate that, out of these 100,000 immigrants, perhaps as many as 50,000 or 55,000 will be of an age and condition to be available for gainful employment. It will be the Agency's policy also to include among the first 100,000 immigrants about 25,000 orphaned children.

Of the 50,000 to 55,000 gainful workers, the Jewish Agency plans to absorb about 10,000 into agriculture. About 23,000 will be employed in manufacturing and construction, and about 17,000 to 22,000 in all other occupations.

Fortunately Palestine has an expanding economy into which to absorb these new workers. They will take their places rapidly in a going concern. From 1939 to 1945 the output of Jewish mixed farming rose by 85 percent. Industrial production doubled. Labor is needed urgently especially in agriculture and construction.

Nevertheless, some temporary public assistance will be necessary. We estimate the cost of the public assistance that will be required by these 100,000 immigrants in 1946 at between \$35 million and \$45 million. This cost is made up as follows:

1. The cost of transporting 100,000 persons from Europe to Palestine (and of caring for them on the way) will be about \$8 million to \$10 million. We deeply appreciate your announcement that the U. S. Government is prepared to accept responsibility for this requirement.
2. Transitional maintenance, medical care, rehabilitation and training expenditures for the immigrants in Palestine will require about \$15 million to \$20 million.
3. Immediate requirements of clothing and minimum household utensils and furniture will be about \$12 million to \$15 million.

We request international financial assistance during 1946 to meet these three categories of Jewish relief and rehabilitation requirements. A very large part of comparable expenditures is now being borne by the U. S. Army in occupied Europe and by UNRRA in other countries. We request similar assistance for these 100,000 Jewish immigrants in Palestine.

By including 25,000 orphaned children among the 100,000 initial immigrants, the Jewish community is assuming a far greater financial burden than that involved in the three items indicated above as appropriate claimants for international assistance during 1946. On the assumption that the average child will require five years of care after 1946, the financial burden for these 25,000 children will come to \$60 million. Moreover we intend, in our longer-term continuing immigration program, to accept responsibility for a much larger number of children. To our minds, simple equity

requires that the financial burden for care of these orphaned children be met out of German reparations: their orphaned condition results directly from German aggression and from the German policy of extermination. That we shall, however, care for our Jewish children, no matter what settlement we receive in the matter of reparation, need, we trust, hardly be added.

Among productive investments that will be required in order permanently to absorb the 100,000 immigrants into the existing economy, the most urgent is housing. Housing them even in a very congested manner will cost at least \$40 million. To build this housing, it will be necessary to import 21 million board feet of lumber, 3 million board feet of plywood, 3,500 metric tons of pipe and 1,300 metric tons of corrugated sheets. These quantities are negligible in the perspective of total United States supplies, but they cannot be procured without governmental assistance.

Many other productive investments will be required to assure the 100,000 immigrants a modern standard of living. About \$10 million will be spent immediately on their farm equipment and perhaps \$25 million before they are fully equipped. Perhaps \$20 or \$25 million will be invested as soon as possible on the first installment of a large irrigation scheme. Industry will expand its investment by \$25 million to \$30 million. Nonresidential construction (in public services, private services, trade and transport) will need ultimately an investment of \$20 million to \$30 million.

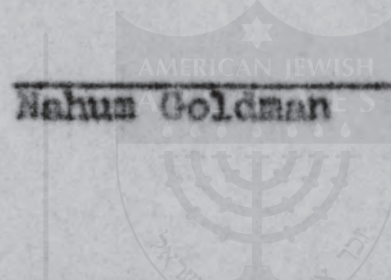
The Jewish Agency has given much thought to the problem of the sources of capital for Palestinian economic development--to meet the needs of a large-scale Jewish immigration, as well as the needs of our Arab neighbors in Palestine. The total amounts required during the next decade are large. Part of the capital will come from new saving in Palestine, part from the over \$500 million of sterling balances Palestine holds in London, from the inflow of private investment capital, from world Jewish contributions, from reparations, and from public lending institutions. In the field of public lending, we look immediately to the Export-Import Bank of Washington and later to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Our plans, therefore, envisage four types of international assistance. First, a financial contribution to our relief and rehabilitation needs in 1946. Second,

priority assistance in obtaining necessary materials and equipment. Third, reparations, to the amount of a small fraction of our just claim. Fourth, access for sound development projects to the public lending institutions of the United States and other countries.

We are confident, Mr. President, that you will give these requests your sympathetic consideration. But we wish to assure you that, while international assistance can immensely lighten our burden, and while we feel in common justice entitled to it, Jewish immigration into Palestine is not conditional on such assistance. The Jews of Palestine and their brethren in other countries will not fail to care for their own, even if the rest of the world should neglect and forget them.

Respectfully yours,



Nahum Goldman

Louis Lipsky

Abba Hillel Silver

Stephen S. Wise

(American members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency For Palestine)

Palestine and Bevin

BY FRED KIRCHWEY

Cairo, June 15

I HAVE seen no report of the American reaction to the Palestine remarks made by Bevin at Bournemouth, but read here in the context of events in the Levant, in Egypt, and in Palestine itself, they seemed most ominous. For a Foreign Minister to say that "the agitation in the United States . . . for 100,000 Jews to be put into Palestine is because they do not want too many of them in New York" is to offer an unjust and untrue simplification of a complex problem; it is hard to believe that Bevin would have ventured it if he were not casting about for an alibi to cover his own failure to meet the issue. Also when he says, "If you have to raise the Arabs' life to the standard of the Jews, you cannot do it if you take away their land," he is distorting both the recommendations of the Inquiry Committee and the intentions of the Jews. But more significant and disturbing was Bevin's assertion that "if we put 100,000 Jews in Palestine tomorrow I would have to put another division of troops there," coupled with the demand for the Jews and Arabs to lay down their arms. Reading this, one realizes how little Bevin has learned from the inquiry, indeed from the long record of British colonial policy: he still believes that order is a prerequisite to policy, an idea easily converted into the theory that order is a substitute for policy. This mistake was responsible for the Black and Tan terror in Ireland, for the Amritsar massacre, and for a dozen other bloody events easy to recall. If persisted in, it will have the same ugly results in Palestine.

For almost five weeks I have been watching developments and talking to informed people—Jews, Christians, Moslems—in Palestine, Lebanon, and Egypt, and I am sure that if real trouble starts it will not be because 100,000 Jews are brought to Palestine but because of the stalling and hedging of the British government, its painful reluctance to apply any clear-cut policy, and the behavior of many of its agents, military and civilian, who do everything but openly invite an Arab revolt. As days pass without a decision on Palestine, the Moslem world becomes more and more convinced that blackmail pays and that the Western powers can be frightened into sacrificing the Jews just as they have already abandoned the Christians in Lebanon. One country the Arabs are uneasy about is the United States. They believe that if 100,000 Jews come to Palestine it will be because Truman insists they come. They know that an uncompromising stand in Washington, backed by solid promises of material help, would go far to offset the Arab threats and the warnings of Bevin's advisers out here.

If our government takes such a stand, it will alter in a most salutary way the balance of forces in the eastern Mediterranean. But I wonder whether we can be counted on to do it. We are not accustomed to following an independent line, and we depend heavily on the British for the defense of our interests. Nor are we immune to Arab propaganda. Today at Payne Field, a huge airport outside of Cairo which our government has just sold to

Egypt, I encountered several American oil men on their way home from Arabia. They agreed that Ibn Saud was an old fox and had scared Standard Oil to death by threatening to destroy installations in the oil fields and to end concessions if we did not quit supporting the Jews. "Would he do it?" I asked. They didn't know but thought he figured he wouldn't have to; he counted on threats to turn the trick. "He could wreck the whole works in three hours," one of them said. "But then of course he wouldn't get the money." Concessions are the lifeblood of Oriental absolutism, and Ibn Saud is perhaps more fox than fanatic.

I have been much disappointed by the recent words of another Britisher, R. H. S. Crossman, a good writer and a member of the Inquiry Committee who is supposed to have been working hard—with indifferent success, one must conclude—to convert Messrs. Attlee and Bevin to the report. In Palestine Crossman was generally regarded as the ablest member of the committee. This being the case, I wonder why he should have taken particular pains, in a talk the other day at the London School of Economics, to ridicule the American role in relation to Palestine. When he rejected the idea of British-American condominium—proposed by nobody so far as I know—by saying that "it is difficult enough to run the country under the Colonial Office, but it would be quite impossible under a Tammany regime," I could not help recalling somewhat cynically the massive rolls of barbed wire I saw festooning every British official building in Palestine, and the iron censorship, and the political prisoners, also behind barbed wire. Against this backdrop Tammany seemed by contrast quite like the benevolent society it was originally supposed to be. But what I found more gratuitous and politically rather questionable was Crossman's remark, greeted with "laughter," that "poor Truman was neatly caught when he demanded the entry of 100,000 and was asked by Bevin to send American commissioners," and his further ironic comment on the anxiety of Americans, including the American Jews, to deflect Jewish immigration toward Palestine.

I do not intend to dispute these points; I want only to suggest that Bevin's speech indicates the political use to which such remarks are bound to be put. Assuming that Crossman was honest in his desire to win Cabinet approval for the report, his chances were hardly improved by a deliberate attempt to discredit American influence. If Truman was tricked by Bevin, it would seem good strategy in a political fight to welcome the support of Washington rather than undermine it, especially since the most encouraging note in Bevin's discussion of Jewish immigration to Palestine was the suggestion that Britain and the United States should together consider implementation of the report.

But the Foreign Minister's statements at Bournemouth demand examination on their merits. Is it true that the

arrival of 100,000 Jewish D. P.'s would necessitate another division of British troops? To a recent visitor in Palestine the assertion sounds like convention oratory. I do not know how many divisions are already there or, indeed, whether the entire British and American armies combined could prevent guerrilla attacks by armed and bitter citizens. The German army could not do it in France. But I know that Palestine is an occupied country from end to end. The Jews and Arabs alike live under military rule while civilian officials take shelter behind sandbags and armed guards. In Barclay's Bank in Jerusalem a Tommy armed with a machine-gun is prominently posted on the balcony overlooking the main room. Press censorship is complete. No explanation need be given for suspensions or prohibitions. The following item, printed while I was in Jerusalem, shows how it is done:

Haifa, Saturday. The editor of the local afternoon paper, *Zohorayim*, was informed that "the High Commissioner in Council, being of the opinion that matter appearing in said paper is likely to endanger the public peace," has ordered its suspension for a fortnight.

Arrests are frequently made under similar emergency decrees.

Though I had read about the concentration of military and police forces in Palestine, I had no idea until I went there how overpowering it had become. Convoys of British tanks and trucks move along the roads holding up civilian traffic. The public barracks, located at strategic points only a few miles apart, are really forts, concrete structures formidable in size and solidity, and everywhere one sees contingents of the Transjordan Frontier Force, Arab troops originally recruited for the purpose the name implies, policing towns and highways; nothing could be better calculated to provoke Jewish resentment.

But if Bevin really needs that extra division, one might remind him that he is pledged to the withdrawal of the whole naval and military establishment now stationed here in Egypt. The size of these forces is not public property, but the British-owned *Egyptian Gazette* today gives 50,000 as "near the mark"—surely a conservative figure. When negotiations with Egypt are happily ended, Bevin will have two or three extra divisions to send to Palestine, which Britain obviously intends to make its chief stronghold in the Middle East. In the light of these facts I think we need not take too seriously Bevin's military worries.

The real question is the one asked at the beginning: can the British government achieve order in Palestine by continuing to pile up force, while encouraging the Arabs to resist even the recommendations of its own Committee of Inquiry? If a peaceful Palestine is what Bevin wants, it is hard to explain the behavior, for example, of Glubb Pasha—a man who seems to have been clipped, name and all, right out of Kipling. Glubb Pasha is the British brigadier commanding the Arab Legion in Transjordan and is besides Deputy Inspector General of Police for Palestine. In a recent interview Glubb announced flatly that if the committee report is implemented, "British will be at war with the Arab League." "I doubt," said the Pasha, "whether the British forces available are adequate to enforce the committee's recommendations. . . . Palestine would become the scene of murder, sabotage, severed communications, and convoy attacks. In Arab countries outside of Palestine dis-

turbances would take the form of pogroms, attacks on British subjects and premises, and sabotage of Anglo-American oil concerns." Glubb Pasha concluded by calling for twelve to fifteen divisions to handle the situation.

This sort of "warning" is, of course, an open invitation to Arab extremists to launch a holy war. As the *Palestine Post* put it, his statement was "an incitement to mass pillage and murder . . . and to war against his own country."

Glubb's is only a flamboyant example of a point of view which largely dominates the British ruling group in Palestine. Little as Arab leaders like British control, it is none the less heavily weighted on their side. Today this is more than ever true, since the bitter events in Europe and the restrictions of the White Paper have combined to drive the Jews to acts of resistance which are entirely alien to their tradition. Terrorism is still regarded with profound disapproval by official Jewish opinion, but the effort to build and equip a strong defense force and to smuggle refugees through the immigration barriers is universally applauded. A Zionist would no more oppose illegal immigration or Haganah than a patriotic Frenchman would have opposed the F. F. I. during the Nazi occupation. Terrorist acts will increase as long as the present state of suspense continues. And the tactics used by jittery police officials and the military have the effect of creating sympathy for the terrorists—still only a handful—and weakening the authority of responsible leaders.

I could multiply the instances of bias against Jews displayed by British officials. One which came to a climax while I was in Jerusalem will serve as an illustration. On May 1 a government communiqué reported that a kitbag packed with explosives had been found over the magazine of H. M. S. *Chevron* in Haifa harbor, with detonators fitted, and that "thirteen Palestinian naval ratings" had been arrested, explosives being found on several of them. The story was dressed up with colorful details: one of the arrested men was described as "a well-known terrorist" and the ship as having been engaged in intercepting illegal immigrants. In London the *Daily Telegraph* headed the story "Attempt to Blow up Destroyer" and converted the thirteen Palestinians into thirteen Jewish ratings. It appeared on the day the inquiry recommendations were published. By the time I reached Palestine the accused had faced court-martial and one Jewish sailor had been found guilty of illegal possession of explosives. What was interesting was the collapse of the story put out by the Palestine Information Office. The detonators were not fitted; the position of the kitbag was found to have been accidental; the "Palestinian ratings" were Cypriot, Arab, Armenian, and Jewish; the "several" with explosives became one; no attempt to blow up the warship was found. The offender is in prison. But the P. I. O. official who doctored the story is presumably still carrying on as usual. Such tactics, applied day after day and in every relationship, insure the continuance of tension and bitterness in Palestine and make nonsense of Bevin's demand that the Jews and Arabs disarm.

[In her next article, based on interviews with Arab and Jewish leaders in Palestine, Miss Kirchwey will deal with the possibility of Arab revolt and the views of Arab leaders, particularly their attitude toward the United States.]

Tentative draft.

Franklin

The Jewish Agency as political representative
of stateless Jews.

The Jewish Agency's legal position has not been, as far as I know, the subject of special study. ~~Otherwise~~ It would otherwise be inexplicable that the Agency has never tried to attain that position in politics and International Law which it is entitled to claim.

The Palestine Mandate has a very clear and definite terminology, as I have shown ("Justice for my People", Engl. ed. p.99; American ed. p. 98). It distinguishes between the Mandatory Power (or, on the highest level, His Britannic Majesty ((preamble)) or His Britannic Majesty's Government ((Art.4)) and the subordinate Administration of Palestine. Accordingly, the Jewish Agency, too, has functions on two e n t i r e l y d i f f e r e n t levels. On the lower level, it has the task of "advising^{and}/co-operating with the Administration of Palestine" (Art. 4 para.1) and to "assist and take part in the development of the country"(Art.4), co-operate with regard to settlement (Art.6) and to construct or operate public works (Art.11). In so far the Agency has only ^a ~~the~~ subordinate task as it depends entirely on the Palestine Administration.

But it has, at the same time, a quite different task. "It shall take steps in consultation with his Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in

the establishment of the Jewish National Home" (Art. 4 para.2). This extremely important provision has not been fully understood.

It ~~is~~ has not been said that the Agency may or will take steps; it s h a l l take steps. This is a clear imposition of a duty, of a mandate. The Agency is o b l i g e d to act. But this obligation, the only instance of this kind in the whole Mandate, is not one of the usual duties imposed on a person or corporate body. It is an international obligation, imposed upon the Agency by the Principal Allied Powers with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations. In so far (and o n l y in so far) the Mandate has placed the Jewish Agency on the same level with the British Government. This has a far reaching consequence. The Jewish Agency does, in this respect, n o t depend on the British Government; on the contrary, the Agency is holding, in so far, a mandate from the Principal Allied Powers and the Council of the League of Nations, and this mandate must be carried out and cannot be revoked or restricted by the action of any Government; only the Principal Allied Powers, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations (and after its liquidation by its successor, the Trusteeship Committee) could possibly revoke it, subject, in my opinion, to the consent of the Jewish people.

It is true that the Jewish Agency is not completely free in the execution of the mandate. It has to act i n c o n s u l t a t i o n with the British Government. But "in consultation" does not mean "with the consent" of the British Government. "In consultation" is a

technical term. Independent Government are sometimes bound by treaty to act in consultation with each other; that means that both Governments are mutually obliged to communicate with each other and to hear the other's view; but it does not mean that they are obliged to act only on mutual consent or to accept the other's view. The Jewish Agency is obliged, as far as Art. 4 para. 2 is concerned, to communicate with the British Government and ask for their opinion. But it is not obliged to act accordingly. In the execution of the international mandate given to the Agency it has the position of an equal, not of a subordinate, of the British Government. ^{This} ~~They~~ may sound strange; but the clear and simple text of the Palestine Mandate does not admit any other construction. And it is, at the same time, the logical consequence of the fact that the Principal Allied Powers have laid upon the Agency an obligation which it could not properly fulfil if the British Government were in a position to counteract this international mandate ^{are}

More important still ~~is~~ the implications of the mandate itself. The Jewish Agency is obliged to s e c u r e the co-operation of ~~these~~ those Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The willingness to assist can be expressed in many ways and at many places; but as the establishment of the National Home involves the building-up of the land in the literal sense, the most efficient assistance is given by those who, by working in Palestine itself, are building-up the country. Thus, the most important Jewish contribution is immigration, and the Jewish Agency has the

international obligation to secure it. I am quite aware that this argument is new; but the unfortunate fact that the writers, myself included, have overlooked it up to now does not diminish its weight.

The Jewish Agency has to s e c u r e immigration (and every other form of Jewish co-operation). To that end the Agency has in the first instance the duty to secure emigration and to remove all possible obstacles to it. It has not only to approach the Governments concerned and secure exit permits etc. It has to see to it that prospective immigrants are in that state of physical and psychical health that they are able to withstand the strain of the journey and the still greater strain of acclimatization. As far as the Jews concerned are citizens of particular States the Agency has the international obligation to negotiate with the respective Governments. Though the opinion of lawyers and Governments seems to be agreed that the Jewish Agency can act only through the British Government, this is, in my opinion, irreconcilable with the clear text of Art. 4 para. 2 of the Mandate which places the Agency on the same level with the British Government. For the purposes of this study, however, the question is irrelevant. For we are concerned here only with those Jews who are not or are no longer citizens of any State, or who refuse the protection of those States to which they formally belong.

The co-operation of these Jews cannot be secured by negotiations with any Government. Between these Jews, the helpless inmates of camps and similar institutions, and the Jewish Agency there is no

intermediary who could possibly lay claim to the allegiance of the Jews. Nor is there any one who could possibly have a right to object to the fulfilment of the mandate given to the Agency by the Principal Allied Powers and the League of Nations. The Jewish Agency can ~~xxxxxx~~ and has to secure the co-operation of these Jews ~~xxxxx~~ in the only possible way, viz. by directly contacting ~~them~~ and, if necessary, protecting them. No one has the right to interfere since no one has any claim to those people while on the other hand the Jewish Agency has not only the right but an international duty to secure their co-operation in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It is true that this obligation depends on the willingness of the Jews to co-operate. But apart from the fact that tens of thousands of them have already expressed such willingness, the Agency must be given every possible facility to ascertain the attitude of every single Jew (a fact which one day may become very important with regard to Russia). If a Jew has expressed his willingness the international obligation of the Agency is extended to him, and the Agency has to protect him in so far as it is necessary to s e c u r e his co-operation. As in Europe the state of war has ceased to exist, no military considerations can overrule the fulfilment of this duty, and the State or authority which tries to interfere commits a clear breach of international law. The Jewish Agency is the only international body which has rights and duties with respect to those Jews.