

Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Folder Reel Box 3 182

American Zionist Emergency Council, "L", 1945-1946.

Long Island Bromst Region

WRHS ARCHIVE

Tannenbaum, abraham

COPY OF HANDWRITTEN LETTER

JUDGES' CHAMBERS
Court of Common Pleas No.6
City Hall
Philadelphia

July 8, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have sent copies of your letter to Mr. Lipsky and to Judge Rothenberg. As I told Mr. Shapiro over the telephone, our Committee planned to meet with you on your arrival in New York. You also are no doubt aware that Emanuel Neumann discussed the various questions at issue with both Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Lipsky before our Committee met with the representatives of the other three constituent organizations. We also had before us Neumann's letter of the 2nd.

Please communicate with Mr. Lipsky when you come to New York. I am sure he will clarify many of the questions you raise in your letter. I shall be able to come to New York on Wednesday and shall await word from Mr. Lipsky.

Sincerely yours,

Louis E. Levinthal

SHAPIRO DID THIS (7/9) AND ARRANGED
APPOUNTMENT AT COMMODORE HOTEL
FOR MR. LIPSKY AT RIOUPM (7/10).

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Harry Shapiro From: Emanuel Neumann

Thanks for reading to me over the phone Judge Levinthal's reply to Dr. Silver's letter of July 5th. In answer apparently to Dr. Silver's criticism of the fact that the text of the new formulation was withheld from us and that we were not invited to participate in the meeting of July 3rd, Judge Levinthal refers to conversations and discussions that I had with Judge Rothenberg and Mr. Lipsky.

I would therefore like to have the facts stated accurately as a matter of record. I did meet with Judge Rothenberg on Sunday morning, July 1st, on my initiative. Our conversation was of rather limited duration. We did not have any formulation of peace proposals before us and therefore talked in general terms rather than about specific details. I do recall, however, that we spoke about the proposed Steering Committee and the objection that we had to its being conceived of as a continuation of the Administrative Committee under a new name. Judge Rothenberg heartily agreed that it was undesirable to have another committee more or less autonomous or partly independent of the Executive Committee. He said that at the time of the reorganization last winter, he was the only member who voted against the creation of an Administrative Committee on the ground that it would tend to supplent the Executive Committee, or at least reduce its importance.

However worthwhile the discussion which I had with Judge Rothenberg, I do not see how it could possibly be regarded as making it unnecessary to have a representative of our group present at the meeting representing all four organizations on Tuesday afternoon, July 3fd. The same holds true with regard to my conversation with Mr. Lipsky, which was no more than a brief telephone conversation on Tuesday morning. Mr. Lipsky did have before him my letter to Judge Levinthal objecting to having Mr. Shulman named as sole vice-chairman of the Executive Committee. We also discussed briefly the matter of the Steering Committee. Personally I did not regard that conversation as very satisfactory and wanted to meet Mr. Lipsky at lunch the same day but he couldn't make it because he was due to meet at snoon with the other members of the Peace Committee; so I reluctantly had to leave it at that. So far as I can recall, neither Judge Rothenberg on Sunday morning nor Judge Levinthal when he called me late Sunday afternoon nor Mr. Lipsky on Tuesday morning ever referred to the question of relationship with the Jewish Agency representatives which, as I see, occupies a full page in the peace proposals submitted on Tuesday afternoon.

It is still not clear to me why (a) we were not shown the draft proposals of July 3rd; (b) why we were excluded from participation in that meeting.

48, Kewferry Road, Northwood, Middlesex, 10th July 1945.

The Jewish Agency, Political Department, W.C.1.

Dear Mr. Locker,

In our conversation of the 4th inst. you asked me for a statement on my contention that the Agency had failed to make proper use of legal arguments.

Before doing so I want to stress again one point on which, in my opinion, there should be no controversy. I do not doubt for a moment that British policy, like that of any other power, is determined by interests and not by considerations of justice and morality. But it is equally true that the so-called democratic countries, for very selfish reasons, are stressing the need for maintaining International Law, and do not like to be exposed as law-breakers themselves. It is possible, of course, to answer legal arguments with other legal arguments; but that precisely is the task of the really competent lawyer to support his plea with so strong arguments that there is no serious reply, that his case is unanswerable.

If it had been the policy of the Jewish Agency to secure, for every step, the strongest possible legal support by the team-work of a few first rate lawyers; if the British Government would have been confronted everywhere, instead of the feeble emanations of legal mediocrities, with irrefutable statements by men of world-wide reputation whose very names assured respect and possible support by prominent non-Jews, things might have turned out very differently. In any case it is not a sound policy to neglect even the remotest possibilities and omit to make the fullest use of the best legal arguments. Even the mightiest State would not dream of acting without the advice of its legal departments. And we powerless Jews whose only strength is the spirit, should refuse to make use of it?

I shall mention only a few instances of this neglect.

(1) The Balfour Declaration is the legal basis of our "new claim"

to Palestine. It would have been the task of the Jewish Agency as soon as the Mandate had come into operation, to publish the complete history of the Balfour Declaration and a first class legal analysis of it. Unfortunately, the history of the Balfour Declaration is almost unknown. Yet, renewed study has confirmed me in the conviction that the usual construction of the Balfour Declaration, and my own, based on the misleading narrative in Sokolow's "Fistory of Zionism", is wrong, and that the Balfour Declaration is to be considered as the u n i l a t e r a i d e c l a r a t i o n o f o n e o f t h e t w o p a r t i e s t o a r e a l p a c t. If this is exact and the question should be studied thoroughly even now - it would change our position. We would have, independently of the Mandate, a legal claim against Great Britain, France and the other Allied Powers for "using their best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people".

(2) The Mandate is a kind of Jewish constitution. It was published in 1922. It would have been the task of the Jewish Agency to unite the best Jewish lawyers for a thorough study of this vital document. Nothing of this kind was done. The first serious book on the Mandate (by Mr. Stoyanovsky) was published in 192 1928. Though an excellent book, it is not, and could not be expected to be, complete or free from mistakes.

Apart from the lack of the general study of the Mandate the Jewish Agency has failed to have studied the following vital problems:

> (a) Can the Mandate be changed or terminated without the consent of the Jewish people?

(b) When is the National Home "established"?

(c) Does the Mandate allow of any restriction of Jewish Immigration?

(d) Is there, apart from political action before the Mandates Commission, any 1 e g a 1 remedy against a breach of the Mandate?

when I came to England in 1936 I took up the study of the Mandate and found after a few days only that the construction of it with regard to immigration was wrong; art. 6 which up to then was considered as restricting Jewish immigration does not apply at all to the admission of immigrants but only to the special facilities to be granted to them while immigration itself is not restricted at all. On this point I gave an opinion, and my construction was adopted and submitted (though very inefficiently!) to the Peel Commission (cp. Memorandum - with covering letter of the 20th November 1936 - No. 72 and 73).

I suggested that the opinion should be endorsed by leading non-Jewish authorities on International Law. I interested the greatest Jewish authority, Prof. Strupp, a man of world-wide reputation, and he was prepared to take the matter in hand and obtain the support of a few leading non-Jews. But when I submitted the idea to Prof. Brodetsky and asked for 50 L (not for me!) he flatly refused. My opinion was published later in a French version in "Mélanges Streit" (former Greek Foreign Secretary and well-known authority on International Law) in 1939. Had it been published in 1937 with the endorsement by some leading authorities it might have had a certain influence. (I have since been informed that a leading member of the Mandates Commission was in complete agreement with my opinion).

(3) The Mac Mahon correspondence turned up in 1922. It would have been the task of the Jewish Agency to submit it to competent Jewish lawyers who, no doubt, would have found the very obvious answer which I gave in "Justice for my People" (Engl. ed. p. 92/94; American ed. p. 90/93). Instead of doing this and exposing the whole argument as the work of legal ignotants, the Jewish Agency allowed it to develop into a dangerous myth. The Agency's legal advisers emulated the Government's advisers in vain attempts to construct or justify the text of the correspondence (which, in my opinion, was in ten ded to mislead the Arabs and should have served us for demonstrating them our goodwill). On both sides the lawyers showed their incompetence by their inability of distinguishing between a political document and its legal implications.

These are only a few instances of the lack of understanding for the political importance of legal arguments. This attitude is inexcusable and must be abandoned.

We will have to face new problems of the greatest importance. The Preamble and art. 1 no.1 of the Charter of the United Nations may provide new opportunities while others, for inst. art. 79, may be dangerous and make it imperative to study a t o n c e the decisive question whether the Mandate can be changed or terminated or a new trust agreement be concluded without the consent of the Jewish people. This absolutely vital print task requires the collaboration of the best Jewish lawyers throughout the world and, if the result is favourable, the support of leading non-Jewish lawyers.

If we had that In Jewish Institute of International Law which I have been advocating since 1935, it would be its task to take the lead. Now, I can only address to you and the Jewish Agency this urgent appeal: Set up at once a committee for the study of this one question; consult Prof. Lauterpacht, ask the Institute for Jewish Agency in New York to co-operate; instruct the Executive in Jerusalem to

contact Dr. Feinberg in Tel-Aviv. But do not lose time, concentrate on this one vital point, and above all - act!

We have And missed so many opportunities that we simply cannot afford to miss this, perhaps our last chance.

Yours sincerely



The time to create a Youth Department of the American Zionist Emergency Council is now. We need a Youth Department now because Zionist activities in the next few months will probably be of a kind that must be supported by impressive and demonstrative mass activities. They can be launched only with full participation of the organized Tionist youth groups, and they will be most effective if organized from one central office in accordance with a general nation-wide plan. A Fouth Department of the American Zionist Emergency Council will now be accepted more readily than at any other time. Presently, it will be part and parcel of the over all re-organization, and no party, group or individual is likely to oppose the new administration on the grounds of such an administrative measure. Furthermore, the American Zionist Emergency Council should from the very beginning make very clear that the character of its youth department will be such that no existing organization. could justly feel that an attempt is being made to infringe on its prerogatives: (1) The Youth Department will not be a membership organization. Its essential purpose will be to mobilize American Jewish youth in militant support of the political Zionist program through existing channels (i.e., local emergency committees, Zionist Youth Commissions, Zionist youth groups, Brandeis Committees of Hillel Foundations, etc.) (2) While the Youth Department will encourage activities that are required by a specific phase of the prosecution of the American Zionist Emergency Council's program, the Youth Department will as a rule not conduct activities of its own but rather initiate and encourage them to be carried out through the above mentioned existing organizations. (3) The Youth Department at no time will consider taking the place of a membership organization. Instead it is envisioned to establish on a national basis a relationship comparable to the harmonious and creative one that has been developed locally with the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York. A Council of Zionist Youth Organization should be set up which will counsel with the American Zionist Emergency Council's Youth Department as to the projects to be adopted and the methods to be employed. HL : HW

Mr. H. L. Shapiro

Hans Lamm

July 17, 1945

TO HARRY L. SHAPIRO AND ALL OF THE ACTIVE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE:

I regret that sixteen hours of train riding prevent me from giving you personally my congratulations upon a well-earned and invaluable victory. The hardest battle, however, lies ahead.

Win or lose, I know you will not slacken the fight.

Marvin Lowenthal

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

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

July 23, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

May I submit to you the few remarks which you wanted me to make at the staff meeting last Friday.

In addition to numerous ad hoc assignments which I filled during recent weeks, I have been permanently in charge of the Committee on Cooperation with Post-War Planning Groups and of the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York.

The Committee on Cooperation with Post-War Planning Groups, under the Chairmanship of Mrs. David de Sola Pool and Captain Abraham Tulin, held several meetings early this year. The Committee's major activities since then consisted of contacting some of the more important organizations in the field of post-war planning, such as The Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, The American Association for the United Nations, and The Federal Council of Churches. The Committee was able to provide speakers for groups in the post-war planning field, as was done in the case of the Research Bureau for Post-War Economics -- whose Conference Mr. Harry Viteles addressed -- and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, whom Judge Levinthal addressed. In numerous other instances the Committee, due to its close contacts with post-war planning groups and as a result of its membership in The Postwar Information Exchange, has been able to bring to Mrs. Shepard's attention conferences and institutes to which her Club Program Service subsequently sent speakers. The Committee has also interested 130 prominent individuals and groups in a monthly news service on Palestinian post-war projects which our Committee makes available to them. There are no specific suggestions or recommendations I have to make in regard to this Committee at this time.

However, action seems to be indicated in the case of the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York.

- 2 -July 23, 1945 You probably know that the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York was created early in January 1944 as a federation of all Zionist youth groups of greater New York to carry out the instructions of the American Zionist Emergency Council in the New York area. We have been in close touch with them during these nineteen months and I believe one may say that they have done a good job. Whenever an emergency has arisen, they responded promptly and in large numbers to our call. Among other things, they engaged in letterwriting campaigns addressed to the President, the Department of State. to members of Congress, to newspapers and radio commentators, and they have given much help in publicizing our mass demonstrations in Madison Square Garden and in Lewisohn Stadium. They also have organized rallies and institutes of their own which have proven valuable as a means of educating and mobilizing politically Zionist youth. For a long time the groups represented in the Young Zionist Actions Committee have demanded that they should have been permitted to expand beyond New York City and to organize a similar organization on a national scale. Connected with this demand was their request that the Emergency Council should organize a youth department which would function in a similar manner as I have worked in conjunction with the New York Young Zionist Actions Committee. I believe that both requests are justified and than an indefinite delay of a decision on these demands could prove harmful to our cause since, in the not too distant future, we may need well-organized bodies comparable to the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York in many other cities. I submit copy of a memorandum which I wrote to Mr. Shapiro last week in regard to this matter. Although I realize that your Executive Committee will not be able to act on this matter for the next few weeks, I would appreciate it if you would indicate your general attitude toward this project which might give us guidance to further planning until definite action can be instituted. With best wishes for the success of your trip to London and with kindest regards, I remain Hans Lamm HL:jm Encl.

MEMORANDUM

To

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date August 13, 1945.

From

Arthur Lourie

In going through some papers I came across this
letter from Max Rhoade to you dated August 14, 1944.

I wonder if this is a matter which you would wish to have followed up.

2.

AL:LB Encl. of which is

Joseph Linton. Cable aug. 27 WRHS Jewish agency for Palestine

DAVID L. PODELL

JACOB LANDAU
SECRETARY & MANAGING
DIRECTOR

PARIS
LONDON
JERUSALEM
WASHINGTON

Iewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41st STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 1, 1945

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER HOTEL COMMODORE N.Y.C.

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING COPY OF A LETTER | RECEIVED THIS MORNING FROM MR. SWOPE.

I HAVE WRITTEN TO SWOPE HOW MUCH YOU ENJOYED MEETING HIM, AND THAT YOU ARE HOPEFUL THAT WITH HIS COOPERATION, YOU WILL BE ABLE TO OVERCOME SOME OF THE OBSTACLES, ETC.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

HERBERT BAYARD SMOPE 745 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

AUGUST 31, 1945

DEAR J.L.:

SILVER IS A NICE FELLOW. SO ARE YOU. OF COURSE, I'LL DO ALL I CAN. THAT MUCH BELONGS TO HIM BECAUSE OF WHAT HE REPRESENTS AND BECAUSE HE IS A FRIEND OF YOURS.

MY WARM REGARD.

s/ H.B.S.

JACOB LANDAU, ESQ. OVERSEAS NEWS AGENCY 101 PARK AVE.

N.Y.17, N.Y.



P.S. I HAVE TURNED DOWN THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE FEDERATION. DON'T YOU THINK I'M RIGHT?

MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

COMMITTEE ON UNITY FOR PALESTINE

From: RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD

Suite 600

41 East 42d St. - Mu 2-3205 - New York 17

To: Mr. Arthur Lourie

American Zionist Emergency Council

Subj: 342 Madison Avenue New York, New York September 4, 1945

You will be interested to learn that the public opinion poll to put on record the opinions of American Jews with respect to Zionism, discussed by us last June, is now ready to go. The Elmo Roper organization has made several test pollings, all of which show the most interesting trends and promise results of great value to us. At a conference today with Mr. Roper and his staff members, it was determined that the Roper organization would go ahead with the poll, using the approach outlined in the attached set of questions, and that they would make 2170 interviews soon after the High Holy days.

I am convinced that the sampling and the geographical distribution are of the kind that will assure accurate results. As you already know, the poll is being purchased by a private individual. Its results will be made available to us to be used only at our descretion. Roper's one condition is that if the results of the poll be released at all, they be released in their entirety. This is the general rule of practice of his organization.

There are many interesting aspects as to the way in which the poll has been prepared and as to the results of the pre-tests, which I should be glad to discuss with you or with those of our leaders who may be interested, in person.

Cordial greetings.

AJL:rl encl.

We are making a survey among Jewish people. (Unless respondent asks for more information go to Question 1. If asks further detail say: I am working for Elmo Roper, who does public opinion surveys. He is doing this survey for a group of serious-minded Jews, who want to find out what Jewish people think about a much discussed Jewish matter.)

Are ;	you	Jewish?		
			Yes	
			No	

- 2. Here are two statements. Please tell me with which one you come closest to agreeing (Hand respondent card)
 - I. A Jewish state in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish state, or commonwealth, for those who want to settle there.
 - II. Jews are a religious group only and not a nation and it would be bad for the Jews to try to set up a Jewish state in Palestine or anywhere else.

Have you ever heard of the Zionist movement?
Yes No
(if "yes" in 3) What does it stand for?
(If "Yes" in 3) Would you say you are in favor of it or not in favor of it?
In favor
Not in favor
Are you a member of? (Hand respondent card)
Zionist Organization of America Hadassah
Poale Zion Misrahi None ARCHIVES
What is the occupation of the main earner in your family?
Professional Proprietor, Executive White collar worker
Laborer Other
Do you have a telphone in your home?
Yes
Do you own your home or do you rent it?
Owns

8.	Into which one of these groups does your monthly rental fall?						
	A	E	I				
	В	F	J				
	C D	G H	K				
9.	Where do you go to attend services?						
	-						
	_						
	_		~~~				
		Does Not att	end				
	(If non-Jewish	h church named, skip Qu church")	estion 10 and check in	n below under			
10.	(If attends) reformed?	What kind of service i	s this, orthodox, con	servative or			
		Orthodox _					
		Conservative					
		Reformed Neither	ARCHIVES				
		Non-Jewish	MANAGE PARKET				
		church	NP3				
	Sex: Male	0766					
	Female						
	10.05			glish well			
	Age: 18-25 25-40			glish brokenly			
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Charge to the account of_

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED					
DOMESTIC	CABLE				
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY				
DAY	URGENT RATE				
SERIAL	DEFERRED				
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER				
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM				
Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be					

WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS

NEWCOMB CARLTON

J. C. WILLEVER

1206-

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

9-5 45

WANT A REPLY?

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

Jacob Landau 106 E. 41st St. New York, N.Y.

IF YOU WILL SEND OVER TO MR. SHAPIRO THE REQUEST OF MR. SWOPE OUR OFFICE WILL COLLECT THE DATA WHICH HE REQUESTS. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

September 5, 1945 . Mr. Jacob Landau Jewish Telegraphic Agency 106 E. 41st St. New York, N. Y. My dear Mr. Landau: I wired you today to the following effect: IF YOU WILL SEND OVER TO MR. SHAPIRO THE REQUEST OF MR. SWOPE OUR OFFICE WILL COLLECT THE DATA WHICH HE REQUESTS. KINDEST REGARDS. The most telling data are those contained in the official report which has been presented to the President by Mr. Harrison. It will probably be released in a few days. If not, I will try to obtain a copy of it for Mr. Swope. I hope that Mr. Swope will be able to arrange the meeting with Mr. Baruch as soon as possible. You have probably seen the item in today's press to the effect that the British Foreign Secretary is calling the various British ministers in the Middle East to London for consultation. This looks as though they intend to get to grips with the problem in the near future. It is of utmost importance that the American Government speak up in the very near future. With all good wishes for a very happy new year, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

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

September 5, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Before you went to London I submitted to you a few suggestions in regard to the expansion of the youth work of the Council.

Due to the fact that I was on vacation last week I did not have the opportunity to discuss this matter with you and would, therefore, appreciate having a talk with you concerning the ideas outlined on your next visit to New York.

Kindest regards and best wishes for the holidays.

ASLA STUCELETA AOU

Hans Lamm

HL: SL

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

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SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL=Night Letter

LC=Deferred Cable

NLT=Cable Night Letter

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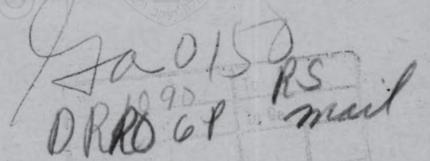
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TEMPLE=

105 ST AT ANSEL RD CLEVE=

SWOPE WRITES ME THAT HE WILLSEE WHAT HE CAN DO ABOUT ARRANGING A MEETING WITH BARUCH ON TUESDAY STOP BEST WISHES

FOR A HAPPY NEW YEAR =

JACOB LANDAU.



JACOB LANDAU SECRETARY & MANAGING DIRECTOR

JACOB BLAUSTEIN CHAIRMAN

DAVID L. PODELL VICE-PRESIDENT

PARIS LONDON JERUSALEM WASHINGTON

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

NEW YORK 17. N. Y.

SEPTEMBER 12, 1945

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SIL VER THE TEMPLE 105 ST. & ANSEL RD. CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR RABBI SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING MEMORANDUM WHICH I HAVE SUBMITTED TO MR. SWOPE.

IT WAS WRITTEN BY VICTOR BIENSTOCK.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU

MANAGING DIRECTOR

CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION

SYMBOLS

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LC = Deferred Cable

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CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

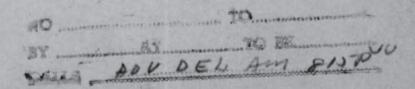
4905 FIFTH AVE RABBI SOLOMON B

IN VIEW OF REPORTS FROM LONDON AND EXTREME NECESSITY FOR MASS ACTION
TO AVERT UNFAVORABLE DECISION ON PALESTINE THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY
COUNCIL IS SPONSORING A GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN MADISON SQUARE GARDEN
SUNDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 30. THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE IS URGING
ITS CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS TO HELP MUSTER A GREAT ATTENDANCE ARRANGE—
MENTS CAN BE MADE FOR A MASS MAILING OF POST CARD NOTICES TO YOUR MEMBER—
SHIP IN GREATER NEW YORK WITHOUT POSTAGE OR PRINTING EXPENSE TO YOU.
TELEPHONE DAVID SHERMAN CONFERENCE OFFICE MURRAY HILL 2-7197 NOTIFYING
HIM HOW MANY POST CARDS YOU NEED FOR YOUR MAILING LIST AND WHETHER YOU
CAN USE LEAFLETS FOR DISTRIBUTION AT LOCAL MEETINGS.

LOUIS LIPSKY CHAIRMAN EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

750P

MA 1500



Maurice M. Lach, 1147 E. 125th St., Cleveland 12, Ohio.

September 24, 1945.

Rabbi A. H. Silver, The Temple, Ansel Road at E. 105th St., Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

It is unfortunate that our Greater Cleveland Zionist groups did not take fuller advantage of your report submitted a few days ago at a mass meeting at Severance Hall. Friends and acquaintances, the majority of them non-Zionist, thoroughly enjoyed your remarks; I was unable to attend but managed to pick up a very good resume from the local papers and from a number of people who had been there.

My own congressman, Mrs. Bolton, not only inhaled or sniffed the perfume of Araby but practically took to heart The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam! Perhaps old Ibn Saud is a lineal descendant of the old Persian tent maker; that trip of hers thru his kingdom, I mean old Ibn's, her visit to his harem while he was entertaining the boys at a strictly stag affair, must have given her the idea that the Arab League was just the thing.

It is all very well for you and other speakers to exhort an audience to take pen in hand and write to the President, their congressman and to their senators. It is a sad but true fact that too many people do NOT know who their representatives are in congress. And of those who do know, how many heeded your plea and petitioned their congressman and senators? The usual excuse is "leave it to George." The usual answer may be that one fellow figures that the other man is going to write—then why should he bother; "there will be plenty writing without me" is the reflection. A great many people keep putting off the answering of a letter. Then, too, they just don't know what to say in this type of communication; the very idea scares them. So, how is our dear Mrs. Bolton to know that the Jewish people do not look with favor on her sudden acquisition of "dem alten Ibn Saud far a mi-chuton!" Who is going to tell President Truman that he may be misled on the Palestine question? How are our senators going to be reminded that NOW is the time for them to "pay off" on those pro-Zionist promises they have been making from time to time?

Let's take a leaf from Father Coughlin's book; why not borrow an idea from the United Mothers and their present champion Gerald L. K. Smith? Make the writing of messages and petitions a simple task. It is done in two ways. One way is to print thousands of penny postcards. Or, if economy is desired, plain cards will do. Just leave two lines for name and address of writer. One side will bear the message while the reverse will carry the address of the congressman. Our solons usually gauge such sentiment by weight; they know that it takes so many cards to make a pound. A series of packages from her district, arriving every day, may decide Mrs. Bolton to change her mind.

The signed petition is the other but better way. Petitions are printed for each congressman and senator and another to the President. Like the postcard idea each person will have to sign at least three times. But the signatures should be obtained on the night of the protest meeting. After the audience has been thoroughly aroused and is in the right mood, that's when the individual should be tackled. At Severance Hall, as the meeting breaks up, the crowd is steered to tables showing big signs: "20th District--Michael Feighan," "21st District--Robert Crosser," "22nd District....." etc., etc. Each table would also have petitions addressed to the senators and to the congressman-at-large.

The very next day every Jewish butcher shop, grocery store and delicatessen should shove petitions under their customers' nose. Nothing should be left undone to obtain signatures; our non-Jewish friends will gladly sign for their acquaintances who are Jewish lawyers, doctors, dentists and merchants. The outlets for signatures is unlimited.

Meetings such as yours at Severance Hall should be nation-wide. A specific date should be set for a spontaneous protest meeting from coast to coast; then a simultaneous gathering of signatures for a monster petition. Then let our indignation pour down on Washington like an avalanche. Let Britain know that the time for stalling has past. Let the nations know that the Jewish People, too, should come up for consideration when boundaries are being remade. The Jewish effort in this war must merit greater consideration. The Jewish Problem cannot be solved in the gas chambers of Belsen and the fiery furnaces of Buchenwald; that was Hitler's solution to the problem. It is very nice of the British authorities to bring the Belsen beasts to justice. Their entire handling of the Balfour Declaration, the series of White Papers, the plethora of Reports and the sudden reductions in visas year after year may be laid, indirectly, at Britain's door, as the creation of Belsen and Buchenwald.

P.S.
Wide publicity being given "a debate on Zionism," to be held next week, when a well-known rabbi will tell why he is opposed to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, does not sit well after the front page story of your talk in the Plain Dealer.

M. M. Lach

Judge Louis Levinthal Cith Hall Philadelphia, Pa.

My dear Judge Levinthal:

I should like to re-read the Harrison Report. Have you a copy of it available? I shall return it to you after I will have read it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

FAST





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VLT ABBA SILVER STEPHEN WISE 342 MADISON AVE NEWYORKNY

2175 JEWS IN BERLIN FROM CONCENTRATION CAMPS REGISTERED

AND DESIRE MIGRATION ERETZ YISRAEL STOP EUROPEAN JEWERY FEELS

LIFE IS IN VAIN WITHOUT LIVING IN PALESTINE STOP WE MUST NOT

LET THEM DOWN STOP BY CHAPLAIN BRESLAUS ASSITANT

SAUL LOEB

CFM. 2175

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

October 1, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

When I received your letter of the 27th I had already learned that the Harrison Report would be published on Sunday. I think that Mr. Harrison would appreciate a note from you. He should be addressed as the Dean of the Law School of the University of Pennsylvania, 34th & Chestnut Streets, Philadelphia, Pa.

The reports of the Madison Souare Garden mass meeting last night in the New York papers are excellent. Unfortunately, our Philadelphia papers gave scant space to it. As a matter of fact, Lessing Rosenwald's dastardly statement is given equal, if not greater, prominence.

The Philadelphia Inquirer this morning has an excellent editorial. The Record's editorial is not nearly so good.

As I wrote Harry Shapiro, the Council's advertisement should appear in the Inquirer and the Evening Bulletin as well as in the Record. The first two, as you probably know, have extremely large circulations. I was happy to see that the Times quoted your admirable comment on the Jewish opposition to our program.

Heartiest congratulations on the newspaper ad. It should prove most effective.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Cordially yours,

October 3, 1945 Mr. Benj. Levinson 706 Pemobacort Bldg. Detroit, Michigan Dear Mr. Levinson, I am glad to inform you that I have conveyed your message to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Dr. Silver will write to you within a few days about the possibility of your coming to Cleveland to see him and discuss the matters with him further. I am, Most sincerely yours, LOUIS SEGAL General Secretary LS: PMK AFOE

numurpul 9-701 LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA October 8, 1945. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, East 105th Street at Ansel Road, Cleveland, Ohio. Dear Rabbi Silver: I agree entirely with your thought about the mass demonstration in Philadelphia. Unfortunately, the local committee combined the J.N.F. conference on October 14th with the mass demonstration. I am enclosing the announcement which I just received this morning. While in New York yesterday I spoke to Emanuel Neumann about a telephone conversation I had with William B. Ziff of Washington on Saturday. Ziff says that he has some "inside information" as to the attitude of some important political figures in Washington. He says he has some very important suggestions to make to the Emergency Council and that if he were invited he would be glad to come to New York and present his views. I told him that I would convey his message to you. I am sure that you know the type of person He does have some rather important con-Ziff is. tacts in Washington and it may prove worth while to have his suggestions. We can decide, after we hear them, whether they have any merit. I know that some of our people feel that because of his former Revisionist associations Ziff ought to be shunned. I, personally, do not share this view. From my own experience in the past I have found that some of his ideas have proved to be very constructive and helpful. As you know, the Philadelphia Zionist District is planning a large membership dinner shortly before the Zionist Convention. You have been invited to be the principal speaker. If you can possibly manage to get here I am sure that your presence will be very helpful to the cause. With warm good wishes, I am Cordially yours, I am

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Constituent Organizations

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

October 8, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

HL:NF

In the past, I have had occasion to report to you a number of times about the activities of the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York, whose work I am coordinating with that of the Council.

I believe that the attached copy of the biweekly bulletin of the Young Zionist Actions Committee will give you a fair picture of the present activities of that group, and I therefore take the liberty of bringing the attached issue to your attention.

With kindest regards.

Very sincerely yours,

Hans Lamm

October 8, 1945 Mr. Maurice M. Lach 1147 E. 125th St. Cleveland 12, Ohio My dear Mr. Lach: Thank you for your kind letter of September 24. I was happy to receive your suggestions. Many of them are being acted upon throughout the country. Washington has been flooded with letters and telegrams from both Jews and non-Jews. Cleveland has not been behind in this mass demonstration, but much can still be done. I believe that you can do very much in your own district to get people to write to your congressmen. A national petition is being planned. Much, however, will depend upon the political developments of the next few weeks. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

October 10, 1945 Mr. Hans Lamm American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N.Y. My dear Mr. Lamm: Thank you for your kindness in sending me the bi-weekly bulletin of the Young Zionist Actions Committee. It is good. Please carry on. You may not hear from me often, but I am following your work with great interest. Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

JACOB BLAUSTEIN CHAIRMAN

JACOB LANDAU
SECRETARY & MANAGING
DIRECTOR

DAVID L. PODELL VICE-PRESIDENT

PARIS LONDON JERUSALEM WASHINGTON

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41st STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

OCTOBER 10, 1945

RABBA ABBA HILLEL SILVER THE TEMPLE 105 ST. AT ANSEL RD. CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR RABBI SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING COPY OF INTELLIGENCE DIGEST WHICH HAS A CHAPTER ON PALESTINE WHICH WILL INTEREST YOU.

THIS MEMORANDUM REFLECTS THE VIEWPOINT OF VERY CONSERVA-

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU MANAGING DIRECTOR

BY SPECIAL CABLE FROM LONDON

REVIEW OF WORLD AFFAIRS

WRITTEN AND PUBLISHED BY KENNETH de COURCY

STALIN AND RUSSIAN WORLD POLICY

Russia has become involved in policies of great complexity. Sometimes it seems as if everywhere her affairs were being swept forward upon a flowing tide. But that impression is deceptive. She has won and may still achieve vast gains. Nevertheless she is embarrassed and even losing ground in many places, while at home great uncertainties persist.

Stalin himself doesn't want another war in his lifetime. He is tired. Whenever the Western Powers stand really firm he gives in or compromises. But of course he does want, and indeed must have, big diplomatic successes. His problem is to gain these when all the Great Powers know that he is unwilling to press anything to a final crisis. It would have been grand for Russia if, following victory, Stalinist Parties had risen to power throughout Europe before any other forces got to work. But this has not yet happened.

Monsieur Blum thinks the Communists have missed the last boat. That may be wishful thinking up to a point, but it is not entirely devoid of truth. It is in a balance. Some observers think Stalin's own days are numbered. And the rumour has foundation. Stalin is not well. He is rather ill, in fact. Moreover, Red Army discipline is declining. Criticism of Stalin can be heard amongst all ranks. Reaction being one of the great laws of human affairs, it is not surprising. Every conceivable means of propaganda is being used to check it but great weariness and opposition to so many Russian plans by the Western Powers causes trouble. What the outcome will be none can foretell. But there it is. If Stalin dies or falls, he will be replaced by some one much more and not less dangerous in another sense.

There is an inner struggle. The politicians and the soldiers both want power. Of the big politicians only Molotov still pays lip service to Communism probably because, as Foreign Minister, he finds it a useful language. Nearly all the others are pure Imperialists—anti-Semitic, anti-foreign, pro-expansion.

THE MIDDLE EAST

This is the area where the ultimate balance will be struck. It is in this area that Russia is working most intelligently and with full realization of the enormous significance of every move. We know a good deal about it all because one of our most distinguished observers is at this moment in the heart of Arabia and in close contact with the leading men in those parts.

The Arab League is under vigorous leadership. Its Secretary-General, Abdul Rahman Pasha Alazzam, is a big man. He faces giant tasks. He accepts as basic fact that the economic well-being of all Arab States depends on good relations with the Powers. His big trouble is, however, that the prestige of the League depends upon wresting big political concessions from some of those very nations. The elimination of Italy was popular, and Britain gained all the prestige. She also gained from her Lavant policy. Her difficulties arise when it comes to Palestine.

The United States is in the same boat. The Arabs hold that the 1939 Palestine White Paper, although not satisfactory to them, should be considered final. They say it represents their last concessions. Moreover, they insist that at the meeting with King Ibn Saud, after the Yalta Conference, both Roosevelt and Churchill promised no new approach to the question would be made without consultation with the Arabs. They regard President Truman's recent Press Conference statement, that the Palestine question was discussed

It is all propaganda and must be read as such. But it shows the way the wind blows.

THE FAR EAST

The Russian Pact with Chungking had the object of lessening American influence there and forcing an entente with Yenan. Once that was gained, it was thought the Yenan influence would prevail. The terms demanded by the Communists made that much clear. The Russian method was clever, and it again showed Stalin's extreme reluctance to create a clearcut crisis. If he had bluntly recognized Yenan without first playing the Chungking card, he would have offended America beyond repair. He does not want to do that. This method is intended to gain a considerable object without drastic consequences.

The whole policy can be seen in a clear light if the Yenan Chungking talks and accompanying propaganda are followed. If America remains firm and supports Chungking against the Yenan demands, Russia (under Stalin) is unlikely to press too far. If America weakens, China will swing into the Russian bloc.

AUSTRIA

The other day an observer of ours stood on the hills near Graz. The Russian Army in Austria presented a surprising spectacle. It is not motorized. It moves like an old-time army on small horses, and with small wheeled carts. To watch it slowly moving northwards was an amazing sight. Amongst great clouds of dust this vast army of horses and horse-drawn vehicles was slowly withdrawing. It hardly seemed to fit into the contemporary context of vast mechanized armies, atomic bombs, and great air fleets. It was like a scene from an old campaign.

The Russians are withdrawing for a simple reason. The Red Army has been living on the country, and having exhausted the supply is now hungry. Lack of food has forced the steady withdrawal eastward.

Nothing has impressed the Austrians more than the Russian soldier's ignorance of the modern world. Many are astonished to see electric light, and play with the switches like children. Watches and clocks they will almost die for. They are tremendously intrigued and are very anxious to take what they can back home with them, things they haven't dreamt of. In Graz houses have been completely stripped and most people there possess nothing except what they are wearing. In one village nearby all the inhabitants were assembled in the market place, and stripped of everything including their clothes. And thus it has been. Red Army officers haven't been able to stop it.

Another observer, now in Vienna reported: "Arrived on September 9th. The people are hungry and look it. The diet is weak soup, a little bread and some peas. Until recently most of the peas were bad . . . labour is scarce and often odd-job men, etc. Men refuse to work except for food. Looting has been pretty considerable—this even allowing for exaggeration. The owner of the house in which I am, is buried in the back garden. The Metro is full of people of all ages and classes, carrying huge bundles of wood collected for the winter. Electricity functions spasmodically in some parts of the City. There is no gas, and being a civilian I am taken for an Austrian by the Russians so I feel my wanderings will not be without adventure, especially as the Russians like all bright gleaming things."

CZECHO-SLOVAKIA

Three and a half million Sudeten Germans have been ordered out. They were allowed 35 kilograms of luggage, and 250 Reichmarks apiece. First they were driven towards the Riesengeierge, only to be stopped by the Poles. Then there was a mass movement towards Silesia, stopped by the Russians. Then they switched towards the American Zone, to be refused there. In the end vast numbers of them took to the woods and forests, and authoritative observers reckon that at least 60,000 have already committed suicide.

Czech politics are in a muddle. The strongest political party is the National Socialist, headed by Dr. Fierlinger, of which President Benes is also a member. The Government has completely abolished freedom of the Press, films, and radio. Even art and music are censored. Frightened by the trend, Dr. Benes has contemplated resignation but has found it impractical. The Home Minister

between himself and Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee, (though not with Generalissimo Stalin), at the Potsdam talks, as a breach of that post-Yalta promise. His statement created an uproar throughout the Arab world, of which too little has been heard outside.

We also have news from an observer right inside the Zionist Movement in Palestine. The Zionists hate the White Paper. They never thought it went far enough. The fearful persecutions which the Jews have suffered in Europe, and the general decline in their fortunes all over the Continent have worked them into a state of tenseness. Big trouble is brewing in their camp, too.

Throughout great areas of Eastern Europe there is a steady southward movement on the part of the Jews. It is continuous and large. There is a trek by train, on horse, on foot, slowly but surely towards Palestine. Our observers have been deeply impressed by this. Perhaps never before has the Zionist feeling been so strong, or in the eyes of Jewry has Zion seemed a prize more desirable. Something (what can it be?) draws them irrevocably towards the ancient land. Both sides, therefore, are making heavy demands and are passionate. The great safeguard is that the Jews realize the vital importance of Anglo-American friendship.

A moderating influence in the Arab League is Ibn Saud, who remains convinced that the Arab world should never quarrel with Great Britain and America. Everything that has happened in the last few years has strengthened this conviction, and this is a great stabilizing factor. Ibn Saud will support the Arab League in many of its demands. His words will perhaps be sharp, but in every ultimate issue his influence will be brought down on the side of peace. He will be against quarrelling. At present neither side is therefore inclined for a big quarrel with Britain and America.

But it would be very different if Russia came down heavily on one side in the Arab-Jew dispute. Then it would be a much more serious business. The best of the Arab leaders are frankly worried about that. They look towards Europe and they see a group of States completely dominated by the Soviets. They see developments in the Far East which in their eyes favour Russia more than any other Power. The steady pressure upon Persia and Turkey adds to anxiety, while the claim to Tripolitania causes great alarm. The surrender of Dardanelles to Russia or the entry of the Soviets into the Mediterranean area would be regarded throughout the Arab world as a major triumph for the Kremlin, and one of the heaviest blows ever struck against Britain and America.

If on top of this the Russians made pro-Arab propaganda over the Palestinian question, it would cause a vast disturbance throughout Islam. Fierce interests would clash, causing great political confusion ending perhaps in a deep split amongst the Arabs themselves. If, on the other hand, the Russians came out in full support of Jewish claims, the whole of Islam would be enraged, and that coupled with a deep-seated traditional fear of Russia would line up the whole Moslem world against the Soviets.

Moscow is, of course, well aware of this. So Russia walks delicately, testing every step. There is a word more to say about the Russian attitude towards the Jews. In Roumania of late, as elsewhere, there is a campaign against all those Jews who do not wish to join the Communist Party. Any Jew who doesn't do so is dubbed pro-Fascist. Similar stories come from many different parts. Does it mean the Russians are extending their experiment of playing the Arab card against the Jews? If they finally decided to do this, it would have world-wide repercussions, changing the course of politics in many countries.

One of our best European observers, who has far-reaching secret sources, sent in the following report after the foregoing was written. It is of great significance. This is what he writes:

"Anti-British propaganda is being made on a grand scale (in Eastern Europe). People are told that the collapse of the British Empire is a matter of months; that the Moslem world is turning to Moscow; that a Kurdish Republic will soon emerge at the expense of Turkey, Persia, and Iraq; that the Soviet flags will soon fly over Tripoli, and that the Elections would give Communists power in France and Italy."

It is all propaganda and must be read as such. But it shows the way the wind blows.

THE FAR EAST

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is a Communist, and therefore controls the Security Police, which entirely dominates the situation—no one, not even the President, is free.

The political police system is very formidable. Once established, it entirely controls even the most highly-placed Ministers. The Army about which we have reported before is well-equipped. Discipline is fair, though there are a good many desertions. Everything is completely dominated by Russia. In this sphere she is mistress.

THE POLISH SCENE

Poland is once more heading towards a crisis. Russian authority and prestige being involved in a large way, it is of universal importance. The Mikolajczyk compromise provided for a reconstructed Government based on four Parties—Communists, Socialists, Peasants, and Democrats. Mr. Harriman, worried by the omission of the Church Parties, protested, and as a result the Chairman of the Christian Labour Party was asked for. Talks which lasted for six weeks came to nothing. The Right-wing National Party was not mentioned in the agreement, despite Mikolajczyk's efforts.

The United States and British Ambassadors were told that the Party was Fascist and collaborationist, and therefore ought to be excluded. In fact it was and is neither. At Potsdam Mr. Eden also tried to win recognition for it, but failed. President Truman and Mr. Bevin succeeded in getting a verbal guarantee of free elections under the 1921 Constitution in which all Polish Parties, except the Nationals, would take part. Their exclusion made the concession a poor one. Great anxiety is felt about the elections. No one knows how the four million Poles away from home are to vote. If they can't, no election could represent public opinion.

The experts are also worried about the new settlers in the West, of whom no statistics yet exist. Moreover, all the Democratic Parties ask how they can make active propaganda when the entire press and radio are police-controlled. The entire daily press is under control and paper is not available for any critical publication. The only effective opposition comes from Archbishop Prince Sapieha's literary weekly.

One of Mikolajczyk's big disadvantages is that he has not been able to start a newspaper. Vice-Premier Mikolajczyk (who is also Minister of Agriculture), has been faced with a split in his Peasants Party. This was artificially created with the object of smashing him. But he has won so far. His nation-wide speaking tour was successful and he everywhere had an enthusiastic welcome. He has the personal support of Tito and all the old Provincial Party Leaders, and has been helped by clergy and middle class alike. Internal security is controlled by a Communist Cabinet Minister. His agents are trained by the N.K.W.D., the Soviet Secret Police. They are heavily armed and use their weapons freely. This, together with a good deal of banditry from a considerable number of German, Russian, and Ukrainian army deserters, makes things rather uncomfortable.

The greatest nuisance is the forest partisans. During the German occupation they were the main barracks of the Underground Army. When Mikolajczyk returned, he ordered the partisans to come out. But this order has not been obeyed everywhere. The Rightwingers remain under arms in hiding. They live on the country and frequently attack the police. During the early summer months at least two thousand were killed. Their activities are more restrained now but the problem is still a considerable one.

In addition to the partisans the forests are infested by ordinary bandits. The landlords are in a miserable condition. They have lost everything—their estates, private homes, gardens, money, and are not even allowed to remain near their former properties. The Lublin decree promising them fifty acres has not been honoured, and Mikolajczyk's attempt to hold them has been sabotaged. Most of them have taken refuge with the clergy, and are living in parsonages. Some are moving Westwards, opening shops and restaurants, while a few have jobs as State-farm managers.

The churches are everywhere supporting the dispossessed by sermons and other means. This is the only open opposition to the Regime. The Cardinal Primate has returned, but because of his flight in 1939 he hasn't anything like the prestige of the Archbishop of Cracow, Prince Sapieha.

That elderly prince, severe, rigid, inflexible, is morally the head of the Polish church.

The Poles are not at all pleased with their new Western frontiers. When in Moscow Mikolajczyk protested to Mr. Churchill that the borderline would be dangerous. He did not like it as the compensation for losses in the East. But Mr. Churchill said to him quite bluntly, "Don't mind the five or more million Germans. Stalin will see to them. You will have no trouble with them: they will cease to exist." It was not long, however, before Mr. Churchill discovered that such a problem couldn't be easily liquidated, and in the House of Commons he was himself obliged to talk about the whole thing as a prodigious human tragedy.

That is what Mikolajczyk foresaw, and he foresaw more than that. Most Poles, however, felt that they had to have some kind of compensation, and therefore accepted the Western frontier as better than nothing. But they are worried about the future. In the meantime few Germans have remained East of the Oder. The majority have fled or been deported into Russia. Whole towns and villages are entirely deserted. When new settlers do arrive from the East they are very often attacked by small gangs of Germans who have remained behind to take revenge.

Breslau, formerly a purely German town of about one million inhabitants, now has in its ruins a new Polish population of about 250,000. Beyond this, however, the settling process is slow. Marien Wisder is without a single inhabitant. Stettin, normally 100,000 strong, has now 10,000. Agriculture is in a bad state. New settlers seldom have the necessary tools, and can't set about the job of putting things right. Another big problem is the spread of epidemics, especially in the ruined towns which are full of unburied bodies under the debris.

The tangle over the armed forces abroad has not been unravelled. Both the Regime and the nation want them to come back though for opposite reasons. Most of the Polish Commanders abroad agreed to the principle of return on conditions, but Russian opposition to those conditions wrecked the talks. The only alternative is demobilization on foreign soil, and eventual return as civilian refugees with each individual making his own decision. This would mean chaos.

That part of the Polish Army which was formed and trained in Russia is not very popular. Its strength is about equal to that of the Polish Army in the West, but it is poorly equipped. Most of the senior officers were formerly in the Red Army, and although of Polish origin hardly speak the language.

Several things are undermining Communist influence in Poland, and in consequence form a threat to Russian influence: (1) Mikolajczyk's strong attitude, which has begun to infect the Socialists with anti-Communism.

- (2) The marked decline of Red Army discipline, which everyone in Poland is talking about. Stalin recently ordered twenty Russian officers to be shot as a warning, but this has had little effect. The Curzon Line is manned by special N.K.W.D. units who arrest all Russian soldiers crossing that line carrying loot. The result is that in Eastern Poland it is easy to buy a vast number of articles looted from Germany. Indeed, Polish shops are full of food, clothes, boots, etc., from this source. The army is drinking very heavily with the result that there is now widespread banditry. The Russian gendarmerie tries to interfere, but very often without any success at all.
- (3) The violent reaction of the Vatican to the proposed new marriage laws, and the sudden repudiation of the Concordat.
- (4) Russia's effort to force Poland into an anti-Western Federation with the Czechs and South Slavs. The Poles also resented the attempt to drag them into the anti-Italian group at the Peace talks. Mikolajczyk's Peasant Party has strong links with many of the anti-Tito groups in Yugoslavia.
- (5) Whole trainloads of U.N.R.R.A. relief goods intended for Poland have been looted by Russian troops in a state of virtual mutiny. At certain ports U.N.R.R.A. ships have also been completely looted. Many of these goods are subsequently sold in the black market at enormous prices.

All the factors have turned opinion against the Communists, and of course against the Soviets. Everything Moscow can do in order to keep the facts secret is being done. But things have gone beyond possibility of suppression. We may stand by for big revelations of an incontroverible kind. Too many observers have now seen the state of affairs for themselves.

All this so gravely affects Soviet Foreign Policy that Moscow is making terrific efforts to restore discipline in the Red Army, and get the whole situation under control. In the meantime every frontier which can be is sealed. The other day a correspondent of ours telephoned to the office. He said, "I've just seen someone, a Socialist, back from the European East. He confirms every word of what you say. Your reports were dead right." And it is so.

In consequence of all this, Mikolajczyk has certainly won the first rounds in his political struggle. Whether he can pull off a complete victory is still, however, in a fine balance, just as the whole issue of Communist influence elsewhere is still in a balance. He is now preparing a Party Congress to give him authority to demand: (a) an overhaul of the entire personnel of the Cabinet and National Council, the effect of which would be to move the Government from the left to the centre.

- (b) The reform of the land reform which he considers has gone much too far.
- (c) the disbandment of the present police force and the organization of a new one.
- (d) The return of the emigres and the armed forces roughly on the terms they ask.
 - (e) Full political freedom for all Parties and for the press.

Mikolajczyk feels that this represents what was promised him by Mr. Bevin, and he feels that Britain and America have a heavy obligation to support him through thick and thin. The Communists are, in the meantime, violently opposing the Anglo-Saxon Powers and accusing Attlee, Bevin, and Truman of unfriendliness to Russia, and of threatening the Soviet with the atomic bomb.

Presently Russia is to announce that she herself is producing that weapon. It is said that the ending of lease-lend was a challenge to Russia, as Truman immediately entered into talks with Britain but did not do so in the case of the Soviets. There is widespread talk of setting up a new Germany friendly to Russia, and hostile to the Western Powers. This is all the propaganda slant of the moment. It is not more than that, but it is very well worth noticing. Very much depends upon how things go politically in the West during the next three months.

THE BALKAN FIELD

It would of course be extremely foolish to overstress Russia's difficulties. She has great support all over the world amongst foreign people for her policies. She has the priceless advantage of recently acquired military prestige. Above all, the world is tired and disinclined for strong policies. Russia may well win several points before she is obliged to stop.

Those like M. Blum, who say Communism has had its Waterloo, may be ahead of facts. Nevertheless, Soviet difficulties are great. It is not only a question of Stalin's health, Red Army lawlessness, and Polish problems.

Even in Yugoslavia, where Russia considers herself paramount, we find Marshal Tito's army is split into two parts, the anti-Russian Regulars fairly well equipped and disciplined, and the pro-Communist Partisans well equipped but undisciplined. They are shooting and looting all over the place. It is estimated that Tito's forces killed about 800,000 Serbians as well as some Germans. From two entirely separate and thoroughly reliable observers we have it that General Mihailovitch is still in control of most of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Only two of his ten Generals have been caught by Tito's men. There is a distinct swing of opinion in Mihailovitch's favour amongst the Serbs. King Peter knows this, and is therefore watching and waiting. He is being advised by American friends, and one of his recent important statements was actually written in an American house with American advice.

All this, of course, the Russians know and they are not at all pleased. They are furious with Peter and Mihailovitch. If Peter sets up another Government in exile, anger will turn to fury. The real power behind the scenes is Tito's adviser, Edward Kardely, Chief of the Slovenian Communists. He has prepared the elections in the usual Totalitarian manner. This however has already created an internal crisis. Grol, the Vice-Premier, resigned and is building up an opposition to Tito in addition to the opposition which existed before. The famous Macek, who escaped to Paris despite pursuit and threatenings of the secret police, is negotiating with Grol for a joint front against Tito. Then there is the powerful General Goutabic, whose guerrilla force is about 150,000 strong in Bosnia. He may be working with Mihailovitch though this is not known for certain.

There is an idea being promoted in certain quarters that all South Slavs should federate under Tito's rule. That would be very dangerous. The Turks are cerribly worried about it, and the idea is hated by Hungarians, Roumanians and Greeks.

Of the three religious movements in the Balkans, Roman Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox, the one most hated by Russia is the first, while there is a distinct effort to compromise with the Orthodox, and to use it because of its great influence locally and with the Anglican Church. The Moscow Metropolitan Sergius is sending frequent political missions to the Balkans for this purpose. So far the Moslem card in the Balkans has not been seriously played one way or the other.

ROUMANIA

Roumania, who lost about 300,000 in the war against Russia, is a soft, pleasure-loving country, rich in resources: corrupt in morals. She is neither strongly opposing nor helping Russia. All classes are so easy-going that not even the Russians can make things go right. Everything is quietly circumvented by these masters of evasion. Polite indifference to Russia's ideas of purge and change, plus an amazing capacity for overcoming all regulations defies Moscow. There are fewer Communists here than in any other Balkan country.

The peasant Manciu remains popular, and his Party powerful. The Russians hate him but are afraid. One positive thing emerges: for the first time in history relations with Hungary are really getting better. Roumanian milk is being sent to Budapest for the children. There are few really hard feelings over Transylvania. Well-known writers of both countries plead for good will.

FRANCE

There is now no doubt at all that the reprieve of Petain marked a turning point in France's politics. The local elections have proved it. As we know the Communists did everything in their power to have him executed, while De Gaulle and practically all the non-Communist Parties were in favour of reprieve. It was a test of strength and the Communists lost. Nothing succeeds like success. De Gaulle and the non-Communist Parties therefore increased their prestige.

The next test in this particular affair will come over his prison lodgings for the winter. The Moderates want him moved to the Mediterranean coast, and for his wife to join him: the Extremists want him left in his present Pyrenees eagle's nest. The cold there is great and the conditions grim, though his food is pretty good.

The trial result promises to be no more successful for the Third Republicans than the condemnation of Dreyfus was for the old military caste. Both trials are likely to go down in history as political failures. The fact that the Communists did not make any revolutionary move when their demand for Petain's public degradation and execution did not succeed, has increased the number of people who believe that the Socialists and Radical Socialists will turn up again despite the enormous amount of discredit they have to live down.

Russian attacks on both Parties have steadily increased, especially on the Radical Socialists who are now bluntly accused of being responsible for Munich—which indeed is true, as reported before in these pages. Monsieur Daladier was the prime cause of that policy being followed, though the initiative and

burden of responsibility were cleverly pushed over to Mr. Chamberlain. It was the despatches from Paris which did the trick. This the Russians know quite well.

Nevertheless, a short time ago they were supporting the Radical Socialists and the ex-Ministers belonging to that Party. Now that need is passed, and angry with the idea of a Western Bloc being formed of which both the Radical Socialists and the Socialists approve, they are now being very blunt, and there is a deterioration between Russia and France in the field of foreign affairs, and between the Communists and the other political parties on the home front.

The general economic and social situation is slowly improving. But it is desperately slow. There is bad organization, laziness, and lack of supplies. The railroad system is being better looked after than anything else. There has been slight increase in coal production and food is easier. But there is a great idleness over housing. Where temporary homes have been erected people are inclined to shrug their shoulders and accept them for a permanency. That is more or less the spirit. The Radical Socialists Congress was a failure, and apart from the Munich business upon which the Russians played there is widespread feeling that responsibility for the defeat of 1940 largely rests with the Radicals. The counterweight to this unpopularity is the personal prestige of Herriot, who has become Party Chairman.

De Gaulle has distinctly moved away from Russia towards the Western Powers. He is playing the opposite game to the one he tried last year. The reason for this is that he had difficulties with the Russians, whose contempt for him personally has very much upset him. The Appearement policy which he hoped would control his Left-wing at home failed.

THE COURSE OF BRITISH POLITICS

The political situation in Britain was never more interesting. The Government is in great difficulties. Its Back Benchers are critical about Foreign Policy, housing, demobilization. On any of these issues the Government may find itself saved in the Lobby of the House of Commons by the vote of the Conservative Opposition. If this happens there will be a big crisis in the Socialist Party. Some people think it won't come for a year: others that pressure of public events at home and abroad will bring it sooner.

The gangsters in the Conservative Party favour exploiting this to the utmost with the object of getting back single-handed. Those in the centre of the Party think that when the split comes it would be wise to help form a new Constitutional Front or Coalition. It is hard to see how big a split in the Government Party can be averted.

Mr. Bevin is pursuing a Foreign Policy more strong and conservative than Mr. Eden's. It is the exact opposite of what the rank and file of Labour propagandists said on every political platform throughout the length and breadth of the country. Foreign policy is important enough. But when housing and demobilization are added, it makes it a serious business.

The dissatisfied Leftists are, however, split over Russia. Some think Mr. Bevin is right, others are sure he is wrong. There is more—much more—common ground about home politics. The critics think they can induce both Mr. Aneurin and Sir Stafford Cripps to resign from the Cabinet if home affairs are not dealt with in a more revolutionary way. These critics have great personal contempt for the older Labour leaders, and have no feelings of sympathy for them.

Mr. Bevin has made a very good impression on the Foreign Office officials, partly because of the firmness of his decisions. He is a very different man from Mr. Eden. Eden made his decisions (when he made them) by instinct. He seldom read the official papers right through and was bored by a recitation of facts. He strongly believed in his natural flair, and usually relied on it. Although he had temperamental dislike for official methods, he was nevertheless unconsciously much influenced by officials.

Mr. Bevin reads his papers from A to Z. He is a great one for facts. He makes up his mind on the facts and sticks to his views and fights for them through thick and thin. Criticism doesn't bother him at all—whereas it used to upset Mr. Eden very much. Bevin doesn't care what people say about him—Eden was much bothered by it. The Foreign Office finds the change very

satisfactory. But as the policy being followed is so contrary to former Socialist propaganda, it is causing a large stir the end of which can't yet be foreseen, except that there is trouble brewing in a very big way.

THE UNITED STATES

The only two men of the old State Department team left are now William L. Clayton and James C. Dunn. The latter is an extremely capable man who has been in the Department for some years. He is a sound, steady working, career diplomat. He is seldom in the public eye, hardly ever makes a speech or a declaration, and is for those reasons of great departmental value. He is a man of much importance, silent but very influential.

The disappearance of Mr. MacLeish is another blow to the Left for he was very much that way of thinking. The general line of policy in all departments, especially those dealing exclusively with American affairs, has taken a definite turn to the Right in conformity with the trend of public opinion reported in these pages for a long time. Mr. Truman does make some concessions to the Left, but they are very seldom made in home politics. They are nearly always to do with foreign affairs.

Another noticeable thing is that a good many politicians have been replaced by technicians, as for instance in the Treasury, where Secretary Morgenthau is replaced by Vinson, and in the Department of Agriculture where Secretary Wickard has been followed by Mr. Anderson. The whole tendency is a westward one. Under Mr. Roosevelt most appointees either came from New Deal circles or Eastern States. The outlook was much more an Eastern one with the possible consequence that it was also more European. Mr. Truman, coming from Missouri, naturally brings into the Government people from his part of the country. The Midwest is solid American, with a sharp eye towards local affairs, though so vast and powerful are these interests that the world local is perhaps rather inappropriate.

United States politics have undoubtedly swung towards a revived Americanism, though not Isolationism in the pre-War sense. The President is devoting most of his time to home affairs. Close though the relations are between Britain and America, there are some deep gaps.

The U.S. has moved to the right: Britain to the Left. The Americans are chopping up Bureaucratic methods, cutting red tape into ribbons and sweeping officials away. The British are tied up by endless miles of tape, restrictions persist, and there is a strong tendency to make many wartime measures permanent. Every American eye is upon Reconversion and getting back to peacetime.

While the British business man is floundering in a mass of Bureaucratic regulations and running from department to department about the control of this or that, the American is scouring the world for orders. American export trade is going to be developed on an unprecedented scale. This, however, may prove the very thing to stop the present tendency in Britain, and to bring about a new outlook and large changes with political consequences.

Everything America does will have a direct reaction upon British psychology, economics, and politics. It is probably true to say that the future of trends in Britain can be foreseen by looking closely at what is happening in America. What is happening there will force Britain to do things regardless of doctrine and theory.

In foreign policy America is largely clearing out of Europe and going deep into the Middle East. But strategically that is the area of to-morrow. With her quick reactions and instinct for modernism, she has plumped right into the biggest thing. The Middle East, so vital in the war, in going to prove the place of decision in the balance of super-world politics. America means to be right there.

A FLIGHT OVER HOLLAND

A flying observer sent in the following report on September 26th: "Flying over to-day from Brussels to The Hague, the countryside below showed an agreeable change from six months ago. The Dutch are making enormous efforts to get their country back to something approaching normal. Damage

caused by the misfiring V2's, which one noticed when driving in from the airstrip to The Hague, is very extensive, and one passes some very lovely country houses which are complete shambles. Here and there rows of houses are roofless and windowless."

"A large crater in a field here, and a mass of rubble where once a house stood, greet one from many parts as one drives to The Hague. As one gets nearer into the town the appalling devastation caused by the unfortunate Allied bombing of the residential area strikes one as remarkably tragic. However, the town itself is clean, and has a welcome freshness from the general untidiness of Continental towns, and in spite of the fact that between 800 and 1,000 people were reported killed when this attack on the supposed V2 site was made, the Dutch have taken it very philosophically."

K.L.M. are going ahead with farsighted and concrete plans to develop their air line, which has a reputation even amongst flying circles of being second to none. For the past five or six years K.L.M. have operated with DC2's and DC3's from England to Lisbon, and have maintained this service with remarkable regularity. Now they are hoping to take delivery within the next few months of a number of Sky-masters, and possibly in the early spring of a number of Constellations, and it is obvious that unless B.O.A.C. make a vast change in their method of attack and operation to our air lines, we shall be left almost completely in the cold. Under the B.O.A.C. charter they are not normally allowed to operate any aircraft other than those constructed in the British Isles, and we do not appear to have an aircraft capable of competing with the American civil airlines, except perhaps the Tudor, whereas K.L.M. are free to buy the best aircraft in the world's markets.

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PRINTED IN CANADA

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October 12, 1945 Mr. H. O. H. Levine, Executive Director Baltimore Zionist District 1305 Court Square Bldg. Baltimore 2, Md. My dear Friend: Please pardon the delay in answering your kind letter of September 27. I have been away from the city most of the time. Will you not convey to the Board of Directors of the Baltimore Zionist District my profound appreciation for the Resolution which they adopted on September 26. I am grateful for this expression of confidence more than I can tell them. I am looking forward with pleasure to seeing you and the delegates of the Baltimore Zionist District at the ZOA Convention. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: 3K

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS

1201

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LEADER WILL ASSURE SUCCESS OF DEMONSTRATION CONFIRM YOUR

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LOS ANGELES EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS
THEODORE STRIMLING CHAIRMAN . NS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

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WANT A REPLY?

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

THEODORE STRIMLING Los Angeles, Cal.

DEEPLY REGRET UNABLE TO ACCEPT YOUR KIND INVITATION NOVEMBER FIRST.
HAVE THREE OTHER OUT OF TOWN ENGAGEMENTS DURING THAT WEEKEND. HOPE
YOUR DEMONSTRATION WILL BE GREATLY SUCCESSFUL AND WILL EXPRESS FULL SENTIMENTS
OF YOUR GREAT COMMUNITY AT THIS CRITICAL TIME. KINDEST REGARDS

ABB A HILLEL SILVER

collect D.L.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

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

October 17, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you very much for your encouraging lines of recent date.

I have the pleasure of submitting to you today's issue of the BULLETIN of the Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York of which, as you will see on page 2, you have become a contributor. I can assure you that the Young Zionist Actions Committee is very happy to know of your active interest in their work.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Hans Lamm

HL: jm Encl.

FISK BUILDING 250 WEST 57TH STREET NEW YORK

COLUMBUS 5-2763

October 19th, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As one who has worked actively with the Policy Committee, I have written to Emanuel and enclose a copy of my letter.

Your work is going to be difficult enough from now on without tolerating obstructionists any longer. I hope we shall not be delicate or practical about the matter. The crisis is too grave. I should want to particularly exclude from the new administration the penitents who now endorse so eloquently the policy which they denounced at a time when it might have prevented what they permitted to happen.

I hope also that we shall not be squeamish about our references to Roosevelt's almost incredible, betrayal which now becomes official American policy.

Cordially yours,

ML:bm Encl. Dr. 745
Nev

FISK BUILDING 250 WEST 57TH STREET NEW YORK

COLUMBUS 5-2763

October 19th, 1945

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

Dear Emanuel:-

I am horrified by the correspondence between Roosevelt and his "great and good friend" in Arabia. I was prepared for a good deal, but this goes far beyond my worst fears. It is a solemn warning which will not be heeded by other peoples in the prevailing mood of our realistic world. The surrender of democratic processes into the hands of personal rulers is bound, as we saw last year, to lead to the usual consequences of secret diplomacy. I hope that we shall not permit anyone to read any hopeful interpretation into Roosevelt's letter. It is a gross and vicious betrayal and must be so branded.

My purpose in writing now has to do with our present policy. As you know, I worked sealously because Dr. Silver, as we then knew and as we now, with aching hearts, have had confirmed, was so thoroughly right. If we had had our resolutions, I doubt whether this commitment could have been made.

My view is that everyone who had anything to do with the policy of the Emergency Council which brought us into this position by counseling faith in private assurances from the President or his associates must be driven out of the movement immediately. It ought not to matter that they have changed their position since.

This, of course, is a horrible catastrophe, and we must carry on with an administration that respects the democratic processes upon which our cause and the cause of other peoples also depends.

Cordially yours, her

ML: bm

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

October 25, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

David Stern is out of the city and is not expected until late tomorrow night. In the meantime, I shall make it my business to see him as soon as possible.

I shall also keep in touch with Senator Meyers, whose name was also mentioned.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

CONFIDENTIAL MEMO

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

October 26, 1945

FROM: Howard M. LeSourd

As a part of our efforts to contact all the Embassies in Washington, I had a forty-five minute conference today with Mr. Balfour, who is the cousin of Lord Balfour and who is now serving as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary. He said that it would be impossible for members of the Embassy staff to come to our Conference Dinner without permission from London and that in view of the present tensions concerning Palestine, he was sure they would object to offer representation. I suggested that some come unofficially and he said that there is no such thing as unofficial representation by official representatives of the British government.

In the course of our conversation, he expressed the delight of the cooperative decision which now seems to be in the making. I referred to the mass public expression in terms of forty-one governors, thirty-five legislators and the majority of both Houses of Congress, and he said, "That's fine, but you will have to convince them also that they participate in decisions and the support of the decisions when made." I said that I was quite sure that the people of America were now so internationally minded that they would participate in such a world problem, and he said that he rejoiced in the changed attitude among the Americans who are now feeling a sense of world responsibility.

He invited me to return to see him and spoke of the ardent Zionism of his aunt, Lady Balfour. He also said that an announcement would be forthcoming soon, probably before the dates of our Conference.

At another point I said that if the United States and Great Britain could work closely together on all international problems that things would happen, implying that the apparent vascillation of the British policy had been the result of a feeling of "aloneness" and their world policy.

I am sending this to you at the suggestion of Mr. Tuvim.

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

October 26, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have not yet been able to see David Stern as he has not come back to the city.

I met Senator Myers here in Philadelphia. He informs me that he is not going to England and he quite understands why we resent Mr. Gillette's statement.

It so happens that Gillette addressed a meeting here in Philadelphia last night under the auspices of his League. Prior to the meeting I communicated with Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Richman and also with Simon Bricklin, who, though members of the Z.O.A., have also been tied up with Bergson and his various outfits. They told me that they had intended being present at the meeting and I communicated to them the contents of the Gillette news story.

I learned this morning that there were a few hundred persons present at the Gillette meeting, that he spoke very briefly and got away. Alex Wilf, who is the Executive Director of the League, was spoken to by Richman. He promised that a public correction would be made by Gillette. Personally, I doubt that such a correction will actually be issued.

I shall keep you informed of my meeting with Mr. Stern.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours

P.S. I am enclosing clippings from today's Philadelphia Daily News.

L.E.L.

NEW OFFICERS OF THE YZAC

At the Plenary Session of October 21st, the following were elected to form the new Executive Committee of the YZAC:

Co-Chairmen: Harry Sosewitz
Joseph P. Sternstein
Chairman, Executive Committee: Paul Byne
Corresponding Secretary: Frieda Chesir
Treasurer: Raphael S. Pinchas

Committee Chairmen:
Special Functions: Arthur Talmadge
Campus: Judith Tannenbaum
Natalie Lookstein
Veterans: Bernard Popkin
Bulletin: Gwen Goldstein, F. Chosir

Each member or canization is entitled to one representative on the Committee and invitations have gone out to the organizations to let us have the names of their new representatives.

LETTER RECEIVED BY THE NEW CO-CHAIRMEN

October 26, 1945

"Mr. Harry Sosewitz and Mr. Joseph P. Sternstein Co-Chairmen, Young Zionist Actions Committee of New York

Dear Friends:

First of all, let me repeat the congratulations on the occasion of your election which I previously expressed orally. For anybody who has your ingenuity and imagination this is an exceptional opportunity for service and achievement.

At the same time I would like to bid farewell to you and all my other friends in the Young Zionist Actions Committee. As you probably know from the press, I am about to leave for the American zone of occupation of Germany and Austria as an envoy of the American Jevish Conference. My association with Y.Z.A.C. has been one of the most pleasant and worthwhile experiences I have had during my two years with the American Zionist Emergency Council. I am convinced that the YZAC is filling, and will fill to an even greater extent, a most essential function in our fight for a Jewish Palestine. The work which you are doing requires the skill and constant alertness which are yours. YZAC has trained a group of people who know of the urgency of the task ahead of us and of the political means to be employed for the achievement of our just demands. I am cortain that you will in the future, even more than in the past, develop that watchfulness in regard to the different means of public opinion, and stimulate your members' immediate action whonever the situation requires.

I am looking forward to keeping in touch with you in the days to come, and I trust that under your leadership the YZAC will widen its scope, expand its activities, and increase its membership.

My best wishes and cordial regards to you and to all my other friends in the YZAC.

Very sincerely yours,

A BEWILDERING EDITORIAL

THE NEW REPUBLIC in its issue of October 29, devotes a lengthy editorial to the subject of Palestine, which deserves to be classified among the most confused and inconsistent pieces that have ever appeared in print. Notwithstanding the fact that THE NEW REPUBLIC comes out strongly for the opening of Palestine which it calls, "the only place where the Jews of Europe are really welcome", it mixes in an almost unintelligible manner pro-Zionist and anti-Zionist arguments. We would not find it necessary to dwell on this strange riece of well-meaning and ill-founded journalism if it did not contain a sentence most challenging to every Zionist, Jew and non-Jew.

After stating, "The Editors of THE NEW REPUBLIC are not and cannot be Zionists", the editorial continues, "They believe that the Zionists ill serve the cause of human decency when they raise the issue of a Jewish nationalism and a Jewish State in Palestine". The editors do not even make an attempt to give reasons for the insult thrown in our face. We urge our readers to study that editorial carefully and to rebuke its unreasonable argument in letters to Mr. Bruce Bliven, Editor, THE NEW REPUBLIC, 40 East 49 Street, New York 17, N.Y. It should not be difficult for any well-informed young Zionist to make an intelligent and considered case for the interlocking of the refugee problem and the immediate necessity of the creation of a Jewish State. We trust that many of you will rebuke this uncalled for slander of Jewish nationalism in a dignified and effective manner, and we would appreciate receiving copies of your letter to Mr. Bliven.

IMPORTANT: ACTION ON BALFOUR DAY

The Young Zionist Actions Committee is planning a special demonstration in front of the British Consulate and the British Empire Building on Balfour Day, Friday, November 2nd. Please call our office at once if you will be able to participate in it.

SOME REMINDERS

- (1) Have you written to Station WJZ in support of the continuance of the broadcasts by William S. Gailmor? If you haven't, please do so immediately.
- (2) The pamphlet, BRITISH LABOR AND ZIONISM, has created as an enthusiastic response as we expected. If you have not ordered your copy yet, you may still do so.
- (3) Are you constantly on your toes in watching newspaper columnists and editorialists to ascertain whether an opportunity offers itself to present our position in a letter to the editor? There are certain periodicals, such as THE PROGRESSIVE, Madison, Wisconsin, which print practically every letter they receive from their readers, Even if they make a selection of incoming letters, other periodicals are most sensitive to expressions of public opinion which reach them. One of the most important assignments for members of YZAC is to keep in mind the need for letterwriting to newspapers and radio commentators.
- (4) The Essay Contest sponsored by the American Zionist Emergency Council in cooperation with all national Zionist youth organizations will close on November 30. For those who may have overlooked or lost it, the announcement of the Contest is attached.

JEWISH BOOK MONTH

November 1st begins Jewish Book Month which culminates in Jewish Book Week, November 24-30. The Jewish Book Council of America, 145 East 32 Street, New York 16, N.Y. has issued a splendid Jewish Book Annual, (280 pp.), in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish, and we think that many of our readers will want to consult it and should contact the Jewish Book Council directly.

SPEAKERS ON CIVIC PROBLEMS

The Union for Democratic Action is prepared to provide expert speakers on the FEPC Bill, the MVA, the Full Employment Bill, and other legislative matters presently pending. If you should be interested in obtaining such a speaker, kindly contact Mr. Henry Fluegel Silver, 521 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. (VAnderbilt 6-0200)

ATTENTION: EMERGENCY CALL

Some of the large American and Jewish flags which were carried in the March of Youth on October 24th have not been returned. They do not belong to us but were rented from a company. We urge all of those who know of their whereabouts to call the office immediately (MUrray Hill 2-1160).

PALESTINE ON THE AIR

- A. On Sunday, October 28th, the Chicago Round Table discussed "Is There An Answer To The Palestine Question?" If you did listen, send the University of Chicago your comments; at any rate order your transcript (10¢ a copy) from the University.
- B. On Thursday, November 8th, the subject of discussion on TOWN HALL MENTING OF THE AIR will be "Should we Support the Establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine?". The discussants for the positive will be Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Edgar A. Mowrer; for the negative they will be Rabbi Morris Lazaron and Carol Binder. We urge you to listen and then to send your reactions to Town Hall Meeting of the Air, 123 West 43 Street, New York City.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

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

October 30, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You probably know that the American Jewish Conference has asked me to go to the American zone of occupation in Germany and Austria as one of their representatives and I have, therefore, asked Mr. Shapiro to grant me a leave of absence.

I am to depart next week and I would not like to do so without telling you how much I have enjoyed working under your inspiring and aggressive leadership. I have accepted the assignment from the American Jewish Conference only because I believe I will then be in a position to perform a necessary service to our people. It seems likely that work among the Displaced Persons in Central Europe might be a service not only to them and to our people in general but also to the Zionist cause.

At any rate, I am looking forward to my return to the Council, and I sincerely hope that by that time we will have advanced much towards the accomplishment of our final goal.

With kindest regards, I am

Very sincerely yours

Hans Lamm

HL:jm

Committee on UNITY FOR PALESTINE

of the Zionist Organization of America

41 EAST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dr. Felix A. Levy Chairman

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD

Executive Director

OSCAR LEONARD
Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

October 31, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105h & Ansel
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

As you know from conversations which we have had, the Elmo Roper organization has been engaged in making a poll of American Jewish opinion on the subject of Zionism. That poll is now complete and I understand that the results are favorable from the standpoint of Zionist public relations.

You will recall that I assured you that these results would not be released without full consultation both as to advisability and as to most effective techniques. We have, therefore, arranged a meeting to be held Wednesday afternoon, November 7th, at 2:00 P.M. in the Conference Room in this office, at which Mr. Roper will make known to us the detailed results of the poll. This letter is to extend to you a cordial invitation to be present at that session.

I shall appreciate hearing from you.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld

Executive Director

AJL:rl

Invitations have been extended to the following!

Dr. Israel Goldstein

Mr. Emanuel Naumann

Mr. Arthur Lourie

Mr. Harold Manson

November 1, 1945 Mr. Hans Lamm American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N.Y. My dear Friend: I was happy to learn that you are going abroad to the American cone of occupation in Germany and Austria as a representative of the American Jewish Conference. I wish you every success in your mission. I know that you will render great service to our people and to our sacred cause. We shall look forward to your return. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

LA

The Los Angeles Zionist Emergency Council, comprising all Zionist organizations of Los Angeles, with a membership of 10,000, cordially invites you to be principle speaker at culmination of giant demonstration at steps of city hall on November 1. The presence of you as our great leader will assure success of demonstration. Please confirm your kind acceptance.

Los Angeles Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

Theodore Strimling, Chairman

Committee on UNITY FOR PALESTINE

41 EAST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

DR. FELIX A. LEVY Chairman

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD Executive Director

OSCAR LEONARD Secretary

November 1, 1945

Dear Colleague:

The Committee on Unity for Palestine has developed a public relations program in a hitherto untouched segment of the Jewish community. This program has, we feel, vital importance not only because it is counteracting the well-organized and lavishly financed anti-Zionist programs that are now active, but also because it is capable of tapping new resources of membership and support for the Zionist movement.

The time has come to review what we have done in the past year and to lay plans for the most effective campaign possible in the year ahead. To this end, we want the privilege of conferring with you who have been in touch with our Unity Committee work and who have been implementing our campaign in the communities.

We have, therefore, arranged in conjunction with the approaching Convention of our parent organization, the Zionist Organization of America,

> A NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON UNITY FOR PALESTINE Hotel Breakers, Atlantic City, N. J. November 16th 1945 - 10:00 A.M.

There will be round-table discussions of important problems relating to our work. The program will be brief and stimulating and will afford the opportunity for full discussion and participation by the conferees. Our attention will be focussed on techniques of extending the area of Zionist influence. The theme of the meeting will be

"Telling the Story to Non-Zionists"

Further details will be sent you in a few days. Meanwhile, please mark this date on your calendar. We count on you to be present with us and to help us plan the significant work of the Committee on Unity for Palestine.

With Zion's Greetings,

Sincerely yours,

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld

Executive Director



LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

November 1, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

While at the Z.O.A. Executive Committee meeting Tuesday evening, a call came from J. David Stern informing me that Mr. Gillette would meet me at his office in Washington on Wednesday at 2 o'clock if I could make it. I agreed to go.

I met with Mr. Gillette for about two hours. When I arrived he handed me a letter which he had written in reply to David Stern's communication, in which he enclosed a copy of my letter.

Gillette told me that he had been misquoted in The Times, that he was merely discussing the difference in the phraseology of "his" Congressional resolution introduced by Senator Tobey and the resolution sponsored by us last year and introduced by Senators Wagner and Taft. I pointed out to him that in his letter he fell into the same misconception as the American Council for Judaism: that he looked upon the Jews as a religious communion similar to the Roman Catholics or the Protestants. He readily and frankly admitted his error in that respect, but maintained that because of the prevalent confusion on this subject it was a mistake to use the term "Jewish" commonwealth. He said he was glad to note that the new resolution introduced under our sponsorship indicated that we too realized the inadvisability of using this term.

In discussing his resolution, I pointed out the obvious danger of an international commission consisting of "interested United Nations". He immediately saw the point when I stated that the Arab states would be entitled to become members of such an international commission. He said that the resolution had been hurriedly drafted and he realizes that it would have to be corrected. At the same time he claimed that our resolution was inadequate since there was no indication of how the policy would in the meantime be implemented. When I told him that our Zionist point of view was that the Jewish Agency should be vested with authority over Jewish immigration, he stated that that would be all right with him. I then told him that he would find that his "boys" would bitterly oppose any reference to the Agency. It was then that he revealed his impatience with the doctrinnaire notions of Bergson and his following.

I was very favorably impressed by Mr. Gillette. He is undoubtedly sincere and eager to be helpful to our people.

In the course of our conversation he spoke of a meeting he had had that very morning with Ambassador Halifax and a conversation he had had with Secretary Byrnes a few days ago. I am sure that if properly guided, Mr. Gillette could be of tremendous value to our cause.

He intimated that he was distressed by the internal Jewish controversies over what he termed "organizational and personal prestige" and that he is going back to Iowa by January 1st.

I believe it would be definitely worth while for you and Mr. Gillette to meet and to see whether we cannot enlist his active cooperation in the American Palestine Committee.

Apparently Rabbi Green, who tried to arrange the meeting between you and Mr. Gillette sometime ago, gave him the impression that you would not meet him in his office but only "on neutral ground". He said that he told Green that he had a crowded schedule that day, that it would be impossible to get to the Statler Hotel where you wanted to meet him, and that he did not consider himself an "enemy" and could not understand the business of "neutral ground".

If you want me to arrange a meeting between you and Mr. Gillette here in Philadelphia I shall be glad to do so, and I am confident that you will find such a conference worth while.

As I was about to leave Mr. Gillette's office, Mr. Joseph Sharfsin, a Philadelphia attorney who appears to be giving a great deal of time to the Bergson group, came in with Bergson and a Mr. Ben Nahum. The latter two raved and ranted. I am more convinced than ever that they and the rest of their intimate group are definitely phychopathic. Ben Nahum said to me: "Don't think that by taking Mr. Gillette away from us you will put an end to our activities. Ben Gurion thought that by taking Van Paassen away he would destroy Bergson. We don't depend on the goy. We depend on ourselves, etc., etc."

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, #3

Will you please let me hear from you at your earliest convenience?

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours . Cariel

P.S. I am enclosing copy of letter which Mr. Gillette addressed to me.

WRHS L.E.L.

November 2, 1945 Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, Executive Director Committee for Union for Palestine 41 E. 42nd St. New York 17, N.Y. My dear Rabbi Lelyveld: I regret that I will not be able to attend the meeting with Mr. Roper on November 7. I shall not be in New York on that day. I do plan to be in New York City on Monday, November 5. If you can arrange a meeting with him for that day at the same hour, I shall be very happy to attend. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

November 2, 1945 Mr. Max Levy Fisk Building 250 West 57th St. New York, N.Y. My dear Mr. Levy: Thank you so much for your kind letter of October 19 which I read with a great deal of interest. I am sure that your suggestions will be given serious consideration. There is so much merit in them. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

MEMORANDUM to Dr. Silver

To

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

Date November 2, 1945 4. 1.

From

Hans Lamm

You may be interested in knowing how much publicity has been given to the Essay Contest for Youth which we are sponsoring this year.

53,500 Announcements and 2500 Posters were printed

We received requests for quartities of posters and announcements from:

> Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees National Youth Organizations 11 Rabbis from various communities Hebrew and Sunday Schools 101 64 Jewish Community Jensers 35 Hillel Foundations 13 Directors of Minai B'rith Youth Organizations --- Various other individuals and organizations. ---

Orders for Literature based on our Essay Contest announcement are streaming in continuously and, although the Essay Contest does not close until November 30, a large number of essays have already reached our office.

there is no doubt that regardless of the number and quality of the essay reaching us, the wide publicity given to it guarantees that the Contest will have contributed much to awakening interest in Zionism among Jewish youth of the United States and will have performed a serious and lasting educational Influence.

HL:jm

-THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

in cooperation with

The American Zionist Youth Commission, Avukah, Habonim, Hapoel Hamizrachi, Hashomer Hadati, Hashomer Hatzair, Hechalutz, Junior Hadassah, Junior Mizrachi Women, Masada, Young Judaea

ANNOUNCES THE SECOND ANNUAL

Essay Contest for Youth

Entries will be judged in the following age groups:

Elementary School Age 10 to 13 years inclusive High School Age 14 to 17 years inclusive Young Adults 18 to 25 years inclusive

The Subjects for all contestants are:

- (1) Why a Jewish Palestine NOW.
- (2) What Zionism Means to Me and My Future.
- (3) Chalutziut—A Challenge American Jewish Youth Must Meet.
- (4) Why All American Jewish Youth Should Support Zionism.

 (This essay may be in the form of a letter or speech addressed to Jews.)
- (5) Why American Non-Jewish Youth Should Be Interested in Zionism.

 (This essay may be in the form of a letter or speech addressed to Christians.)

The prizes to be awarded to each of the three age groups are:

FIRST PRIZE—One \$50.00 U. S. WAR BOND
SECOND PRIZES—Two \$25.00 U. S. WAR BONDS
THIRD PRIZES—Three \$10.00 U. S. WAR STAMPS
TWENTY AWARDS—An outstanding book on a Jewish subject

Should any essay be considered of unusual excellence and recommended for publication, a Special Award of a \$50.00 U.S. WAR BOND will be added.

The Rules of the Essay Contest are:

- I. Essays must be signed with a pen-name and the author's age should be indicated on the manuscript. Each entry should be accompanied by a sealed envelope containing the penname and the real name, the address, and the organizational affiliation of the contestant. No person may submit more than one essay.
- II. All essays become the property of the sponsor and will not be returned.
- III. Entries must be sent before Chanukka 5706 (November 30, 1945) to:

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

For reading list and material apply to above address.

November 2, 1945 Mr. Benjamin Levinson 706 Penobacort Bldg. Detroit, Michigan My dear Mr. Levenson: Mr. Louis Segal wrote to me some time ago about. I should be very happy to see, if you can come to Cleveland, to talk over the ways in which you may be helpful to the movement at this time. Please let me know when you are free to come. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

November 3, 1945 The Hon. Judge Louis . Levinthal 606 City Hall Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Judge Levinthal: I was pleased to receive your letter of November 1 and the report of your conversation with Gillette. Of course I shall be very happy to meet with Gillette in Philadelphia or in New York. With reference to Rabbi Green and his request to have me meet with Mr. Gillette -- I told him that I shall be very happy to meet with the gentleman. It was clear that I could not go to the offices of the American League for a Free Palestine because that would have been seized upon immediately by the Bergson boys as proof that the American Zionist movement was coming hat in hand to them to ask for their help. Please bear in mind that Mr. Gillette is no longer a Senator of the United States, but an employee of the Bergson boys. I did not

suggest that Mr. Gillette should come to the offices of the American Zionist Emergency Council in Washington, but that we should meet in the Statler Hotel, which is surely a common meeting place for many conferences.

The reception which you got from Bergson and Ben Nahum in Gillette's office proves, I am afraid, the soundness of the position which I took.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ARS: BK

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

November 5, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing copy of a letter received from Senator Gillette and copy of my reply.

After our very successful mass protest last night at the Academy of Music, I took Senator Myers with me to J. David Stern's home. We were there from about 10:45 P.M. until about 2 A.M. I think I made as clear as possible to both the Senator and to Mr. Stern who the Bergson boys are and what are their objectives. Fortunately, Mrs. Stern was present and she apparently is a wise woman.

Joseph Sharfsin, the former City Solicitor of Philadelphia, was also present and apparently he has been completely sold by Bergson and his group, but he really doesn't count. He does have some influence on Dave Stern, but I hope that the net result of the meeting last night will be that Stern will realize that he ought to dissociate himself from the group.

I think it would be worth while for you to meet with David Stern at your and his mutual convenience. Perhaps a meeting with both Gillette and David Stern together would be desirable. If you want me to arrange such a meeting for you I shall be glad to do so.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

DAVID L. PODELL VICE-PRESIDENT

LONDON
JERUSALEM
WASHINGTON

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41st STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

NOVEMBER 6, 1945

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

JUST A LINE TO REMIND YOU OF YOUR KIND PROMISE TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE LEADERS OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL REGARDING THE JTA.

I DEEPLY APPRECIATE THIS.

I TELEPHONED MR. SWOPE LAST NIGHT. HE PROMISED ME HE WOULD DO HIS BEST TO TALK BARUCH OUT OF HIS AFRICAN SCHEME. I EXPECT TO SEE SWOPE SOME TIME THIS WEEK AND WILL TALK TO HIM ABOUT THIS AND THE OTHER MATTER WE DISCUSSED.

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,

MANAGING DIRECTOR

November 6, 1945 Judge Louis E. Levinthal 606 City Hall Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Judge Levinthal: Thank you for your letter of November 5 and for the copy of Gillette's letter. I am glad that you are following through with the matter. Gillette is not quite as innocent in this matter as he would like himself to be regarded. The gross hisrepresentation of our movement was twice repeated by Gillette, the first time, over a month ago. At that time, Lourie wrote to him and called his attention to the misrepresentation. He took no steps to correct.it. On the contrary, he repeated the same libelous charges a few months later in the public press. He is now worried that the Jews have begun to attack him for his misrepresentations. I am glad that you had the meeting with David Stern. I shall be in and around Atlantic City during the time of the ZOA Convention. It might be possible for me to meet both Stern and Gillette in Philadelphia, say on Saturday afternoon, November 17. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

Tabli Alta Hules Silver! nov. 6, 1945 Dayton. O. Cleveland, Ohio Dear Rabbi: In re the question of a howeland for Jews in Valestine - the most effective means we Jews in anuica can Employ is to hove the Senate bass a resolution, stating that the W.S., upon the invitation of the Butish government, will accept the joint administratorship of the mandate over Palesting. Vouce the W.S. is in this Societion we will no longer have to appeal to a foreign gov. for sid. for sed. The thought of a joint administratorship occurred to he, when a recent British news Release creticized the policy of the W.S. The British administration view alestine without accepting responsibility

to assist in & administering the Palestin Senator Taft replied to my suggestion that he introduce such a resolution by saying that the question of joint administratorship of the mandate does not face us at this time. He is apparently turning a deaf ear to the British news release, and is not genuinely interested in the plight of the victims Of nazi atrocities, (my only hearon for writing This cold blooked fish was because of a speech in Columbus, if which he wiged that Britain should in Columbus in Jews in Palestine in comformity.

permit the entry of Jews in Palestine in comformity. may I suggest then, Rabbi, that Senators who are genuise humanitarians at heart he appealed to, in behalf of this resolution -Thenators such as Wagner of New york, Pepper of Florida, Ball of minnesotta Etc. Trusting that something can concretely be dow and done soon for our suffering to-religionists in Europe, I am ; with beilfuriles,

JUDGES' CHAMBERS 11-6-45 COURT OF COMMON PLEAS NO. 6 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL JUDGE My den Al. Lily -"Evering Bulletin Bliteriety in the voled. Revea's largest-circulation Everignensper) is significant. Rolf W. Vaye, my Jersend friend, is the ran of fors arbonada Bege. Hi column i read of Las Halifax and was read of President Provelt, whose itimate friend be wn. Notre hi attempt to above Rosevelt. 4. Blile. Bulletin Burgh Worlington, used be Noticellows Blog, Worlington, used be appended, I am num. Cartiel Al. C. Entel

JACOB LANDAU
SECRETARY & MANAGING
DIRECTOR

JACOB BLAUSTEIN CHAIRMAN

DAVID L. PODELL VICE-PRESIDENT

PARIS
LONDON
JERUSALEM
WASHINGTON

Iewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET NEW YORK 17. N. Y.

NOVEMBER 7, 1945

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING TEXT OF LEY'S TESTAMENT.

CONSTANTINE POULOS IS RETURNING TO PALESTINE TOMORROW (THURS-DAY). WOULDN'T YOU WANT TO SEND A CONGRATULATORY MESSAGE TO SWOFE?

IT IS ENTIRELY DUE TO HIM THAT WE ACHIEVED THIS VICTORY, WHICH I
HAVE NO DOUBT WILL MAKE QUITE AN IMPRESSION IN PALESTINE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU

MANAGING DIRECTOR

November 7, 1945 Dean Howard M. LeSourd American Christian Palestine Committee 41 E. 42nd St. New York 17, N.Y. My dear Dean LeSourd: In the Report which I am to prepare for the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City, I should like to include a statement of three to four paragraphs on the work of the American Palastine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine since October, 1944. I wish you would send me such a report giving the high-lights of the accomplishments, within the next few days. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cable-gram unless its de-ferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or pre-ceding the address.



IESTERN (52)

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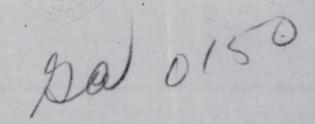
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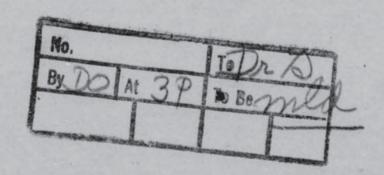
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NB321 80 4 EXTRA=NFW NEWYORK NY 8 226P DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, THE TMPLE=

EAST 105 ST AT ANSEL RD CLEVE=

THE B'NAI ZION ANNUALLY CONDUCTS A DINNER FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND GIVING DINNER IN HONOR OF OUTSTANDING ZIONIST PERSONALITY, JEWISH NATIONAL FUND RECEIPTS BEING USED FOR THE PURCHASE OF TREES PERSON HONORED. B'NAI ZION CORDIALLY INVITES YOU TO ACCEPT YOU MAY SELECT ITS TRIBUTE AT THIS YEAR'S ORDER DAY DINNER. ANY SUNDAY EVENING IN MARCH FOR THAT PURPOSE CONVENIENT FOR YOU. STRONGLY URGE YOUR ACCEPTANCE BY WIRE. BEST REGARDS= LOUIS LIPSKY NASSI 386 FOURTH AVE NYC.





The Hon. Robert M. La Follette United States Senate Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator La Follette:

Because of your deep and sustained interest in our cause, I am taking the liberty of writing you at this time. You undoubtedly know that Senators Taft and Wagner have re-introduced their Palestine Resolution, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. The Resolution was slightly revised, with the cooperation of Senators Vandenberg and Brewster, to include a reference to President Truman's request of Prime Minister Attlee for the immediate admission of one hundred thousand Jewish refugees to Palestine, and also to meet some of the objections which were raised to the Resolution as it was introduced last year.

It would be tremendously helpful if favorable action could be had in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee during the coming week when Prime Minister Attlee will be discussing the subject with the President. It would be a clear indication to Mr. Attlee as to how the Senate of the United States feels about the matter. It might achieve the very thing which the introduction of the Resolution intended to achieve. This, I believe, is the psychological moment.

Senators Wagner and Taft showed the Resolution to the President and to Secretary Byrnes before they introduced it, and they both approved of it. The sentiment of the Foreign Relations Committee seems to be overwhelmingly in favor of it. I am sure that if our friends would press for action in the Committee next week, a great and good thing could be accomplished.

I am afraid that Senator Connally will not bring up the Resolution for action unless he is strenuously urged. The impression is gaining ground that while the green light, so to speak, was given both by the President and by Mr. Byrnes, other advice may have gone forth to shelve the Resolution. I am in no polition to evaluate these rumors, but certainly delay would give substance to them.

I would be deeply grateful to you for shatever help you can

Senator La Follette November 9, 1945 -2give us at this critical time. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE

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

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN ROBERT M. LAFOLLETTE, JR., WIS. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH. ROBERT A. TAFT, OHIO JOHN THOMAS, IDAHO DAVID I, WALSH, MASS. ALBEN W. BARKLEY, KY. TOM CONNALLY, TEX. TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
JOSIAH W. BAILEY, N. C.
HARRY FLOOD BYRD, VA.
PETER G. GERRY, R. I. HUGH BUTLER, NEBR.
EUGENE D. MILLIKIN, COLO.
OWEN BREWSTER, MAINE
HARLAN J. BUSHFIELD, S. DAK.
ALBERT W. HAWKES, N. J. United States Senate JOSEPH F. GUFFEY, PA.
EDWIN C. JOHNSON, COLO.
GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, MD.
SCOTT W. LUCAS, ILL.
BRIEN MC MAHON, CONN. COMMITTEE ON FINANCE CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK November 13, 1945 Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Chairman, Executive Committee American Zionist Emergency Council East 105th Street at Ansel Road Cleveland, Ohio Dear Rabbi Silver: This will acknowledge your letter of November 9th. I very much appreciate what you said about my efforts in behalf of the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. I am in favor of S. J. Res. 112, now in the Foreign Relations Committee and, as a member of the Committee I shall do whatever I can to help secure favorable action on it. Tobuju Le Tellette. RML: RMV

Somethis Nov. 13, 1945 Mr. Harry Shapiro, Z.E.C. Dear Harry: Re the Bevin and Truman statements of today, I recommend the following action: 1. The Zionists must refuse to cooperate in any way with the proposed Commission of Inquiry. If we cooperate we commit ourselves to the destruction of our cause. If the Zionist program is to be destroyed anyway - as it may well be - we must not become parties to the deed. We must give sound convincing reasons for our refusal to EXPERATE cooperate - so as not to be accused of intransigeance. There are many good sound reasons. Among them, I note the following: a. We cannot act as witnesses in or a party to an Inquiry, without being assured of the good faith of the parties holding the Inquiry. This good faith can only be shown if The British Government lays its cards frankly on the table. In the Bevin statement we are took that HMG has made commitments to"various parties" - and implies that such parties include the Arabs of the Middle East and the Moslems of India. The Jews and the rest of the world knows of only one commitment of "undertaking" made by the British: i.e. the terms of the Mandate. This too, so far as we know, is the only commitment endorsed or made by the U.S. government. We cannot therefore collaborate in any Inquiry unless these other private and hitherto secret commitments are revealed; and only if we then find they do not violate the one public, official, world endorsed commitment of the Mandate. . We should draw up a timetable of how long the proposed program would take to effectuate. First, an Inquiry, with reports, surveys, witnesses, etc. Then recommendations to Britain and the U.S. Then - and when? - the first preliminary action on an "interim" policy. Then-and when? - submission of a "permanent" smittem solution. Then - and God knows when? - action by HMG that would supersede the Mandate. All of this might well take two years or much more. Therefore we cannot cooperate in such a program; for we cannot have on our heads the "interim" suffering and death of the hapless Jews of Europe. Perhaps we can do nothing to stop this murlerous innumen procrastination - but our humanity and honor and sense of justicexber cannot allow us to share in it or to tacitly consent to it by participating in the Inquiry. The pledges given us by the Democratic and Republican parties, by the Labor Party, and by our President will not permit us to condone in their repudiation through this proposed course of procrastination, vagueness, and gambling with hidden cards. This Inquiry fits neither the words nor the spirit of the above pledges.

d. All the other good and sound reasons that will occur to you.

However, we must condude by making a proposal of our own - again to show that we are reasonable and not intransigeant. Our proposal should be:

a. We will cooperate with an Inquiry or any other effort for an interim and permant solution which has as its hast basis the terms and intentions of the Mandate - the only commitment which has any standing in law and honor.

b. And we will do so only if, as our President has urged, a substantial number of Jews - say 100,000 - are given immediate entry into Palestine. This is the only action which squares with our obligations toward the suffering Jews of Europe.

3. Some Zionists may oppose the above course. One reason I am sure they will give is this: if we do not consent to cooperate, HMG will turn to other agencies, or take over immigration and all the rest of it itself. The answer should be obvious from what I said in Par. 1. If Zionism is to be killed, let some one else kill it.

Marvie

Marvin Lowenthal

2.

Sparkill, N. Y. Nov. 20, 1945.

Dear Abba:

Please extend to the ZOA and our movement in general my congratulations upon your election as president. It is a guarantee that whatever American Zionists can do will be done.

I especially approve of your program so far as it is reported in the papers; - urging the World Executive not to cooperate with the Inquiry; carrying the fight to the people of America and Congress; fooling around no longer on the doorsteps of the White House and No. 10 Downing; carrying our case to the Russians and the French.

We all know there will be grave disadvantages in refusing to cooperate with or testify before the Inquiry. It will be a hard decision to make. I can see all the minor benefits that will come from stringing along: our case will be presented adequately; the powers of the Agency will not be (temporarily) jeopardized, etc. But in the end it still remains true that we are abetting our own destruction.

And, whether we propose to or not, we shall become entangled with and committed to all sorts of dilatory devices with, as our finis, the almost certain prospect of being internationally legislated into a permanent minority in Palestine. Therefore I still say "no soap" and I hope you can persuade the World Executive to agree.

As you have no doubt gathered from the press and elsewhere, we have American public opinion on our side. I am glad that you propose to mobilize it at once - while the issue is still fresh. If we act now we will need to waste little effort or time on education or propaganda; events and the press are doing that for us. But I feel that the mobilization of this favorable opinion must have some specific actions and as its immediate end. We must ask people not to be on our side, but to do something. The quickest and most obvious and easiest thing is to ask the public, and organize the public, to support the Congressional resolutions. Next, to let the President know where they stand and what they want.

Wherever it may be, it ought to be undertaken at once. In a few months - or even weeks - the public, naturally, will accept the present situation as it accepted the decisions on Poland, Greece, and other similar actions which it did not approve.

I wish you luck - if such a thing is still possible for a Zionist.

Marvin

Marvin Lowenthal

C O P Y

Law Offices Charles V. Linshaw 1103 North American Building Broad and Sansom Streets Philadelphia 7

November 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I know that there are two Palestinian resolutions pending in Congress. The first was introduced by Senators Tobey and Myers and sponsored by the American League for a FreePalestine. The second was introduced by Senators Taft and Wagner and sponsored by the Zionist Organization of America.

Will you be good enough to tell me what difference, if any, exists between the two resolutions? Will you also tell me how the American League for a FreePalestine and the Zionist Organization of America differ in overall policy with respect to the political future of Palestine.

Since this matter is of prime importance today, I would appreciate a reply as promptly as possible.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES V. LINSHAW

right despired ausure

December 3, 1945 Mr. Harry Shapiro American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N.Y. Dear Mr. Shapiro: Dr. Silver received the enclosed letter which should be answered. Will you take care of it? With best wishes, I remain Very sincerely yours, BK Secretary to Dr. Silver

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A. N. WILLIAMS

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WANT A REPLY?

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

The Hon. Robert M. LaFol ette Jr. U. S. Senate Washington, D.C.

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

·ABBA HILLEL SILVER

JACOB LANDAU SECRETARY & MANAGING DIRECTOR

BORIS SMOLAR

EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

PARIS LONDON JERUSALEM WASHINGTON JACOB BLAUSTEIN CHAIRMAN

DAVID L. PODELL VICE-PRESIDENT

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

DECEMBER 19, 1945

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING COPY OF A LETTER RECEIVED BY MR. SWOPE FROM LORD HALIFAX, FOR YOUR PERSONAL, CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION.

I AM GLAD YOU ARE BACK. YOU MUST BE DELIGHTED WITH THE WAY THINGS ARE NOW GOING IN WASHINGTON. YOURS IS ALL THE CREDIT.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU MANAGING DIRECTOR

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

December 21, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

The attached clipping is from Ralph W. Page's column in the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of December 19th. As you know, the Bulletin has the largest evening circulation in the country and Ralph Page is regarded as the best contributor to this paper.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

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A. N. WILLIAMS

NEWCOMB CARLTON

J. C. WILLEVER FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

1206-

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12-21-45

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"

or similar phrases may be
Included without charge.

The Hon. Clare Boothe Luce U. S. House of Representatives Washington, D.C.

I RE D WITH DEEP SATISFACTION OF YOUR SUPPORT OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU MY PROFOUND GRATITUDE FOR THE HELP WHICH YOU RENDERED TO A GREAT CAUSE IN A CRITICAL HOUR.

Abba Hillel Silver, President ZOA Ex. Chairman - AZEC 2808 27th Street, N. W., Washington 8, D. C.

29 December 1945.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, 606 City Hall, Philadelphia, Penna.

My dear Judge Levinthal:-

It was a pleasure indeed to receive your kind letter dated December 26th.

At his request I conferred yesterday with Mr. Epstein of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, 2210 Massachusetts Avenue, who requested that I testify before the British-American Inquiry Commission precisely as outlined in your letter which I received subsequent to my conference with him.

I assured Mr. Epstein that I would be happy to render any possible assistance, and that my testimony might possibly prove quite pertinent. I informed him, however, that since I shall very probably still be on a military status during the period of the Commission's hearings, permission of the War Department would doubtlessly have to be sought. This I shall undertake to procure.

For the present, and following upon submission of the lengthy study I compiled in Europe, I am engaged upon some special duties with the Intelligence Section of the Air Staff here in the War Department. I hope, however, to complete these duties and be discharged from the military service by mid-January or a bit later. Thereupon I shall be visiting both in Philadelphia and New York, and certainly shall undertake to see you at that time for an exchange of ideas. If in the meanwhile you may be in Washington I should of course be happy to meet with you here. But permit me to say that should you wish to see me prior to the approximate time named relative to the subject matter of your letter, I could doubtlessly secure a day's leave to proceed to Philadelphia.

Reciprocating your kind personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

SEABOURNE.

LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL 12-31-45 PHILADELPHIA plea Lommel -Latenday ofterom. Harry terrby called me un the John about Cd. Laboure. He the me that f. f. M. had sphen to ga about an administrative assistant to be engaged of the Commission. If it can be arranged. Leabure when a ideal and the can be arranged. Chal while I am would a latty from the chart of jetting attempt to tatify if there is any close of jetting the Comming.

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SECRETARY: ALBERT P. MORANO

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

January 2, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Doctor Silver,

Thank you very much for your cordial telegram. I am gratified to know that the position which my colleagues and I have taken in support of the Palestine Resolution is in accord with the sentiments of so many American men and women of good will.

Sincerely yours,

CLARE BOOTHE LUCE

Overseus News Agency, Inc.

101 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-2997

JANUARY 4, 1946

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I AM ENCLOSING COPY OF CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD

HALIFAX, AND HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU

MANAGING DIRECTOR

Dear Mr. Swope:

Mr. Bevin has asked me to acknowledge your telegram of the 24th of October concerning the recent action taken in Palestine with regard to your correspondent, Mr. Constantine Poulos, and to inform you that the belief that he was expelled from Palestine as a result of his one press dispatch from that country is founded on a misapprehension.

- 2. Although Mr. Poulos has since been readmitted to Falestine, I think it right to let you know the exact circumstances in which he originally came to leave the country. Mr. Poulos was accredited to the United States Army in Palestine, which was engaged in rest and recuperation. As it was suddenly decided to remove all American troops from Palestine, Mr. Poulos' accreditation automatically lapsed. The British Public Relations Officer attached to GHQ Middle East thereupon informed American Army Headquarters that as a military correspondent Mr. Poulos was persona non grata to GHQ Middle East Forces. The American Headquarters were also informed that this would not necessarily prevent the return of Mr. Poulos to Palestine in a civilian capacity. The decision to regard him as persona non grata as a military correspondent was based on the fact that he had disobeyed military regulations in Greece in 1944, when he entered that country from Turkey by means unknown, before any authority for entry of war correspondent had been granted and without obtaining permission from U. S. Army authorities in the Middle East or allied Forces Headquarters.
- 3. In sending you th is explanation, I would also like to take the opportunity to draw your attention to the fact that, on his readmission to Palestine, Mr. Poulos sent a dispatch which appeared in the New York Post of the 9th November to the effect that the Palestine Government was arming Arabs and inciting them to attack Jews. To support this accusation he declared that the Palestine authorities had allowed an individual named Abdullah Khalil El Sheikh to return to Hebron whence he had fled to biding in 1936 after commanding a gang of Arabs terrorists in that area. The dispatch further maintained that the Palestine Authorities had assisted A dullah Khalil with agricultural machinery and livestock and that, in repayment of these obligations, they had some two months ago prevailed upon the reluctant brave to organize the Hebron Arabs into an armed force for the purpose of resisting Jewish aggression.
- 4. You will no doubt have seen that, when questioned on the subject by Lord S. rabolgi in the House of Lords on the 21st November, Lord Ammon stated on behalf of HMG that there washo truth in this report which he qualified as absurd and malicious. Lord Ammon also pointed out that Abdullah Khalil appeared to be a fictitious character and that the authorities in Palestine were unable to trace any such person. It therefore looks as though the first act of Mr. Poulos on readmission to Palestine had been to draw upon his imagination to invent a fictitious ruffian as a means of discrediting the Government of Palestine. I mention this episode because, in the absence of any evidence to substantiate the report, it seems clear that Mr. Poulos has comported himself in a manner wholly incompatible with the fine traditions of the free press.

Lord Halifax British Embassy Washington, D. C.

Dear Lord Halifax:

I beg to acknowledge your letter dated 11 December, which I have read with interest. I find myself unable to accept the version outlined therein of the expulsion from Palestine of ONA correspondent, Constantine Poulos, nor the allegation that he has acted in a manner incompatible with the fine traditions of the free press.

As an old friend of England and one of the warmest advocates of her cause, I am entitled to more candor than the evasive statement prepared by officials on the spot called on to justify their acts. I cannot accept the results of an "investigation" conducted by the individuals investigating themselves.

Permit me to set the record straight:

Poulos was not accredited to the United States Army in Palestine, as your informant says, but to the American Mediterranean Theatre, the Meadquarters of which are in Cairo, He entered Palestine on travel orders issued by United States Army Headquarters in Cairo with the agreement of the British military authorities. There is no U.S. Army set-up in Palestine to which e could have been accredited. There was, consequently, he question of his accreditation having lapsed automatically when it was decided to remove all American troops from Palestine.

Poulos was never inforted when he was thrown out that his expulsion as a "persona non grata" war correspondent did bar his return in a civilian capacity. The American Public Relations Officer in Cairo, who arranged for the return of Poulos to Falestine, was likewise never informed of this somewhat bewildering privilege, and, accordingly, he sent Poulos back as an accredited war correspondent.

The "persona non grata" status conferred on Poulos by the British military authorities in Palestine has some interesting implications in the light of the facts.

First, it is quite true that Poulos entered Greece in 1944 some months before the British Liberation Army without specific permission from the U.S. Army Public Relations or Allied Forces Headquarters, which, technically, he should have had. But he entered Greece with the knowledge and through the assistance of a unit of the United States Army. It was a piece of journalistic enterprise that won him professional kudos and caused no harm in any way.

It is interesting to note that although he entered Greece irregularly, Poulos was not declared "persona non grata" and compelled to leave the country after the arrival of British occupation forces. Your Lordship may not be aware of the fact that Poulos was not regarded as "persona non grata" even a year later when he applied for and received permission to revisit Greece, only four weeks before proceeding to the Middle East on the present assignment.

It seems odd, to say the least, that although Poulos was still persona grata to the British authorities in Greece and to GHQ of the British Middle East Force which had to approve his admission to the Middle East Theatre he was considered "persona non grata" by the Public R lations Officer in Palestine - who is subordinate to GHQ!

I'm agraid that the linking of the action against Poulos to the one story he filed from Palestine before his expulsion is based on more solid grounds than Emisapprehension, as you phrase it.

And I must take exception to your charge that Mr. Poulos has comported himself in a manner incompatible with the fine traditions of the free press.

The very indignant denial that Lord Ammon made in the House of Lords anent the Poulos dispatch in the New York Post on November 21st was based on a transmission error as the Foreign Office could easily have established had it been as eager to ascertain the facts as it was quick to deny an unpleasant story.

The original dispatch gave the name of the Arab bravo involved as Abdullah Khalil El Sheikh. Lord Ammon, in denying the Poulos story, said this A dullah "appears to be fictitious character." I venture to suggest that Lord Ammon qualified his denial because the Palestine authorities, from whom he obtained his information, knew that the name, garbled in cabling, was still too close to the correct name, Abd-El Helim Joulani, who is, I assure you, a living and breathing Arab gangster. It was to him Poulos referred.

If the British authorities are so certain that Poulos "drew upon his imagination to invent a fictitious ruffian, Abdullah, as a means of discrediting the Palestine Government" perhaps Lord Ammon will stand up in the House of Lords and deny the existence of Abd-El Halim.

As to the truth of the charges that Palestine Government officials have armed this gangster, I have no reason to doubt Mr. Poulos on that. Certainly, Lord Ammon's statement didn't deal with the charge. As I said before, I would be rejuctant to take any exculpation made by Palestine Government officials, instructed to investigate their own actions. Nothing else but a whiteware could be expected in such circumstances.

As one trained in journalism and committed to the support of Britain, I may be permitted to say I thought the letter prepared for your signature was petulant and non-responsive. After all, my dear Mr. Ambassador, rules of conduct are established by agreement. They are not arbitrary expressions of momentary authority.

With assurances of my personal regard, I am,

Faithfully,

Herbert Bayard Swope Chairman

606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

January 4, 1946.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, E. 105th St. at Ansel Road, Cleveland. Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I asked J. David Stern whether he could meet you for lunch in New York on January 12th. He is very anxious to do so but is involved in a very important libel suit which is being litigated in our courts this week. He is afraid that it may not be possible for him to leave the city that day. He wanted to know whether you could meet him here in Philadelphia for lunch the same day. I would be happy to sit in with you both if you wish.

If you cannot arrange to come here for lunch he will try to meet you in New York later in the afternoon, but is not certain that he can manage to get away from Philadelphia that day.

Do you deem it worth while to meet former Senator Gillette as well? If you wish to have me do so, I shall be glad to ask him to come to Philadelphia that Saturday and you might meet him, alone or with Stern, as you prefer.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours.

JACOB LANDAU
SECRETARY & MANAGING
DIRECTOR

BORIS SMOLAR

PARIS
LONDON
JERUSALEM
WASHINGTON

Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

JANUARY 7, 1946

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

THE OTHER DAY I SENT YOU CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD HALIFAX AND HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE. I RATHER ENJOYED THE VIGOROUS REPLY SWOPE HAS GIVEN HALIFAX.

IF YOU AGREE WITH ME, I WONDER WHETHER YOU WOULD NOT CARE TO WRITE A NOTE TO SWOPE, TELLING HIM YOU APPRECIATE THE COURAGEOUS STAND HE HAS TAKEN, WHICH HAS LED TO AN IMPORTANT VICTORY.

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB ANDAU

2 . Fr .

MANAGING DIRECTOR

January 7, 1946 Mr. Philip Lassar 1384 E. 29th Street Brooklyn 10, N. Y. Dear Mr. Lassar: I am pleased to inform you that you have been appointed as a member at large of the Mational Administrative Council. I know that your devotion to our cause and your wise counsel will prove to be of great benefit to us in the deliberations of this body. The first meeting of the new National Administrative Council will take place on Sunday, January 13th at 2:00 p.m. at the Murray Hill Hotel, 41st Street and Park Avenue, New York City. With Zion's greetings, Sincerely yours, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver AHS/Mab

January 8, 1946 Judge Louis L. Levinthal 606 City Hall Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Judge Levinthal: Thank you for your kind letter of January 4. It will not be possible for me to go to Philadelphia. I am trying to conserve my strength. I have been confined to my home for the last ten days with the Flu. I will be in New York all day Saturday and I shall be very happy to see Mr. J. David Stern at any time during the day. In the evening we will have a meeting of the Executive of the ZOA so that I will not be free. I am always happy to meet with Senator Gillette, but I find that every time an effort is made to arrange for such a meeting, it is Bergson who projects himself in the forefront and who asks for the appointment. This happened last week and once before in Washington. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS

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1-8-46

WANT A REPLY?

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Dean Howard LeSourd Washington, D.C.

REGRET CANNOT BE WITH YOU ON SUNDAY AFTERNOON INASMUCH AS THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE ZOA MEETS AT THAT TIME. I COULD MEET WITH YOU SUNDAY MORNING OR SATURDAY AFTERNOON IN NEW YORK. KINDEST REGARDS.

SILVER

January 9, 1946 Judge Louis E. Levinthal 606 City Hall Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Judge Levinthal: You have undoubtedly received a letter from Mrs. Frank Cohen dated January 4. She wishes the American Zionist Emergency Council to sign the enclosed draft. I wish that you would report on the matter at the meeting of the Emergency Council next Monday so that we can dispose of it once and for all. With all good wishes, I remain Very cordially yours, AHS: BK Enc.

January

1946.

Esco Foundation for Palestine, Inc., 521 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

On behalf of the American Zionist Emergency Council, it is hereby acknowledged and certified that the said Council asserts no claim to the ownership of the manuscript of the Esco Foundation Palestine Study nor to any rights in and to the copyright of the manuscript.

Very truly yours,

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Chairman

606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

January 10, 1945.

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

Dear Dr. Berkson:

It has come to my attention that bound mimegraphed copies of the Esco Report have tone out from the
office of the Council to Dr. Weizmann, Mr. Eliezer Kaplan
and Mr. Linton. Although I have no doubt that if the
Esco offices had been consulted, consent would have been
granted. I feel, however, that we ought not to depart
from the letter and spirit of our priginal agreement. We
made it clear that the chapters of the Report were being
mimeographed for internal office use and that the would
be no distribution outside of the affice without prior
consent of Esco. I feel that in the future no copies should
be distributed without such prior lonsent.

I would also suggest that you submit to Esco a copy of the title page, as to chapters and as to the bound manuscript, for the approval of seco. I understand that Nr. and Nrs. Cohen have no desire to be mentioned individually on the title page.

I have a letter from Dr. Silver in which he asks me to report on whether the draft of the certificate sent by the Esco Foundation should be signed by him. As I have indicated in my letter to Mrs. Johen, I feel that the draft as submitted goes farther than becessary. I am enclosing copy of the tertificate Dr. Silver should sign as Chairman of the Council. I am confident that it will meet with the approval of counsel for the Esco.

The letter of indemnification should have been signed long ago by Dr. Filver. I am urging him to sign both documents as quickly as possible.

th kind pegards, I am

Cordially yours,

606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

January 10, 1945.

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

My dear Dr. Silver:

It so happens that Mrs. Rose Jacobs was in my chambers when your letter of the 9th, enclosing the draft of the Esco Foundation certificate, arrived.

I have written to Mrs. Cohen suggesting that the draft as submitted was too all-inclusive and should be modified. I am enclosing a draft which I submit to you for your signature. I am confident that it will meet with the approval of the counsel for the Esco Foundation.

Sometime ago I submitted the letter of indemnification for your signature. I urre that it be signed as
soon as possible and sent on to the Esco Foundation. I am
enclosing copy of a letter which I am sending to Dr. Berkson
with reference to the distribution of the bound mimeographed
copies.

As to the basic question of the publication of the manuscript in book form, I understand that the Esco Foundation is considering undertaking its publication. We should hear definitely in the near future.

As to submitting the namuscript to the AngloAmerican Inquiry Committee (I understand that Mrs. Frank
Cohen spoke to you about this matter over the telephone),
it is my opinion that it would be wiser to have the manuscript
carefully edited first. I am informed that there are some
minor references, trivial in themselves, which may have
unfortunate implications.

As I have court sessions all of next week, I doubt very much that I shall be able to attend the meeting of the Emergency Council Monday afternoon. I am therefore writing this letter to serve the purpose of a report for our Committee. I hope that he bed and I may soon be discharged from this assignment.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Committee on UNITY FOR PALESTINE

of the Zionist Organization of America

41 EAST 42nd STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Dr. Felix A. Levy Chairman

RABBI ARTHUR J. LELYVELD Executive Director

OSCAR LEONARD
Secretary

. January 14, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with our conversation yesterday, I have made plans to stop in Cleveland this Thursday, January 18th, en route to Chicago.

I expect to fly on Thursday so that will have a full afternoon and evening to consult with you at your convenience.

I look forward to this privilege with keen anticipation.

Cordially yours,

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld
Executive Director

AJL:rl

Overseus News Agency, Inc.

101 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MURRAY HILL 3-2997

January 16, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
105 St. & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At the suggestion of Swope, we sent an ONA reporter to interview Churchill when he arrived. I am enclosing memorandum about it.

It turned out much more satisfactorily than we had hoped.

Sincerely yours,

Jacob Landau

Managing Director

Y

DR. LE SOURD'S REPORT ON HIS TRIP TO CHICAGO - JAN. 16-18, 1946

Chicago is on the way to a vigorous revival of interest in American Christian Palestine Committée.

The luncheon (Jan. 16th) for ministers, attended by 25, was marked by keen participation in discussion and a readiness to do something.

Dr. Loos is going ahead, in close cooperation with Mr. Silberman, to complete the organization, getting a strong list of names. He is utilizing the sponsors of the 1944 conference and has a list of officers whom he will approach, and whose cooperation he will endeavor to enlist. All agree that if we can get Paul Douglas as chairman we will have an ideal man. We have arranged to use the best pressure we know on him.

At a dinner meeting on Thursday night Jan. 17th, we invited those of importance who could not come to the luncheon on the 16th, such as Weiman, Adams, Soper, etc. I included Paul Hutchison of the Christian Century and we worked on him. He was most gracious, but this is just the beginning of the campaign to change that paper's policy. Tittle urged us to include Hutchison, for Tittle is slightly confused himself.

Chicago should open immediately an American Christian Palestine Committee office for the North Central Region. I feel sure, Loos will act as head if we want him. He knows Chicago and I think is the best man available. The decision should be made at once. The Zionist Organization of Chicago will assume half of the total budget if the national American Christian Palestine Committee (that is imerican Zionist Emergency Council) will assume the other half. I estimate a necessary budget of from twelve to fifteen thousand per year, and anticipate a two year program. The office should be functioning by March 1st.

Plans are under way for some sort of conference to be held about the time of the report of the Committee of Inquiry. They like the St. Louis plan, and wonder if the banquet, which costs so much, could be eliminated without too great loss.

The suggestion to invite the cooperation of Rabbis and their congregations along with Zionist in general to help in the enrollment of their Christian friends as members of the Ame ican Christian Palestine Committee met with enthusiasm. That will be followed through by Silberman on receipt of official invitation from American Christian Palestine Committee. This is our second experimental center ok'd by Dr. Silver. The first was Baltimore.

I am now off to Baton Rouge.

copied 1/29/46:MH

January 17, 1946

"We were frightfully disappointed in the hearings. They simply were NOT interested in enyone speaking FOR Palestine. Before Walter began they said "Make it brief and interesting" and their attention and attitude was so cold and uninterested. Here was a project which would solve all the Jewish refugee problem and lift up the Arabs and they were not interested. Only ONE asked a question and it was not a really important one. Then when Walter had Mr. Hayes, the engineer, show the big map with all details simplified and worked out in steps, giving cost and just what it would do for Palestine, Sir John Singleton DOZED off SIX times by my actual count-then roused himself-gazed at the ceiling or at papers and then his eyes shut and his head dropped again. He asked NO questions. The next speaker was a cheap little smirking christian minister from Palestine who had been working under the Church of England. He spoke for the Arabs and the continuation of the White Paper, etc. and Sir John was VERY WIDE AWAKE and alert. When he finished, he so sweetly asked questions so as to make the minister say again that he felt the Jews were the cause of all the trouble in Palestine and that there should never be a Jewish State and that it was an injustice to the Arabs, etc. It was all so evident that they were NOT interested in testimony for the Jewish side, but were eager to bring out facts on the Arab side. We were both sick, but I still have faith that somehow God will work things out. I do not for one minute believe this committee can permanently stop the Palestine movement. Surely nothing was clearer than the Balfour Declaration and England scrapped that and even though this committee was in favor, England would ignore it. This whole thing is a farce and a trick. I think Walter plans to write to Pres. Trumen but I do not know whether it will ever reach him."

January 17, 1946

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The New Palestine

The American Zionist Fortnightly Devoted to Jewish Affairs
1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

Ludwig Lewisohn, Editor 57 Montgomery Place Brooklyn 15, N. Y.

January 18, 1946

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

Dear Doctor Neumann,

I have just examined an advance copy of The New Palestine for January and I know that you will forgive me for making the following observations. I make them wholly in the service of the aims we entertain in common.

Under my title "The Doors Ajar" a different editorial has been substituted for the one I wrote. The new one is neither structurally nor from the angle of diction ("deserve a break") such as I would care to have attributed to me. Yet it will be. I made the same points, only more sharply and concisely. I confess to you that I had looked forward to the present administration with the expectation that sharp speaking would not be blunted. My editorial on the commission hearings was omitted. Heaven knows, I was not proud of it. But since I was not invited to Washington to the hearings I could not write the really memorable report of, after all, so memorable an occasion as, it seems to me, I owed our constituency. The omission of my brief but adequate editorial on the Morgan scandal is also regrettable. It will be looked for, and in vain. I know there was the problem of space. But I am sure that you must share my impression that the "Observer" from London offers us nothing that a careful reading of the New York English and Yiddish press does not tell us. We could write that briefly and better right here. I am also grieved to observe the inordinate amount of space given in a single number to Mr. Akzin. He is an excellent man but not sufficiently distinguished either i n mind or style to warrant that. So one way or another there were pushed out the admirable letter on "Peace in Palestine" and the exquisite, brief article by Dr. Hugo Bergmann. Since I am the responsible editor of The New Palestine and am made, quite justly, to bear the brunt of criticism; since, moreover, I have a reputation as an editor and writer to sustain beyond the limitations of The New Palestine, I am sure that you will view these observations with the justice and in the kolegialisch spirit in which they are made.

I hope you like the new <u>Druckbild</u>. I'm not yet sure myself. But I do know that Cooperman made an earnest and, as it seems to me, intelligent effort.

With very kind regards,

Cordially yours,

Ludwig Lewisohn

MEMO FROM MR. OSCAR LECHARD

Di Bilver

Mr. I.L. Malamut of the Jewish Morming Journal of New York, managed, somehow, to get into the sessions of the American Council for Judaism National Conference in Philadelphia, January 20th. He was discovered finally and asked to leave, but he managed to stay long enough to get some very good extracts of the addresses made at the Conference.

He begins his article by saying that the Council engaged in the usual accusation against Zionists as being disloyal to America. He says that tenor of the addresses are those of informers against their own people. As for the importance of the Conference, he says "to give an idea of how "representative" the so-called American Council for Judaism is.

It is well to note that this entire so-called National Conference including the delegates and local attendants occupied a very small room, and there were some empty chairs.

Sidney Wallach was supposed to speak on Public Relations, but he devoted his entire address to denounce the Jewish Press, which he says misrepresented Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, and his statements before the Anglo-American Inquiry Commission in Washington. He said that Rosenwald was provoked by certain questions which elicited his replies. This caused the Jewish Press to accuse Rosenwald of having stated that the Zionist leaders are disloyal to America. A moment later Mr. Wallach argued that the American Zionists are demanding certificates for 16,000 American Jewish boys and girls as Chalut sim in Palestine. Mr. Wallach continued, "Is this what you call loyalty to America? Isn't this double allegience?"

The next speaker was Bernard S. Gradwohl of Lincoln, Nebraska. (This is the same Gradwohl who organized an anti-Zionist reform congregation. O.L.) His was a most rabid anti-Zionist speech. He cited as an example Fritz Kuhn, who was deported from America because, while an American citizen, he lead a movement sympathizing with the fatherland. Then Mr. Gradwol asked, "What are the Zionist leaders doing?" They insist that they are American citizens, and loyal to their country and while they protest their loyalty to America, they are engaged in building a Jewish Mational Homeland in Palestine.

Gradwohl also complained that during the war, while there was a law for all foreign agents to register with the Attorney General's office, and to report their activities, the Attorney General certainly overlooked the fact that Stephen Wise, while Hillel Silver, and Dr. Emanuel Newman acted as foreign agents. He denounced the President of Hadassah who at the last Convention appealed to young Jewish American boys and girls to go to Palestine, and to fill the gap which has remained on account of the murder of Jewish youth and Rumania and Poland.

"Don't the leaders of Hadassah know, he screamed, "That this smacks of treason and that such words can annul the citizenship of such people, they can be fined, and even thrown into prison".

This Nebraska jurist then tried to prove that Jews in all lands are foreign agents when they engage in efforts in behalf of Palestine. He bemoaned the fact that American Zionist leaders are engaged in conversations with the representatives of the English government. This smacks of a conspiracy with foreign power.

He deplored the fact that Jewish children in America are exposed to teachings which include the idea of building a Jewish homeland. Such children are not reared as good American patriots. They are trained to love a foreign land. They are taught foreign ideas. He concluded his address warning the Zionist leaders that by their actions they not only are untrue to their oath of citizenship, but are

imperiling the citizenship status of all their Zionist members, sympathizers and followers. "Some day", he said, these deluded people will find out how sadly they have been mislead."

When the speaker concluded, someone rose and after praising him for his speech, moved that the address be printed and widely circulated in order to open the eyes of the deluded Zionists. Lessing Rosenwald placed the motion which was seconded, and carried.

Suddenly someone rose and stated that a stranger was in their midst. They had noticed a gentleman taking notes. A man came to the writer and grabbed him by the sleeve, and yelled at him.

"Are you a member"."

"No, I am a member of the press."

"What are you doing here."

"I represent the Jewish press."

The questioner became red in the face. He grabbed the representative of the press, ready to throw him out of the hall.

"Why not act politely like a gentleman," the writter suggested. "After all this is a Jewish Conference, isn't it?"

Someone whispered to Mr. Rosenwald as to what was going on, and he then rose, and said to the audience, "I understand that a stranger is among us. May I ask him whether he is a member of the Council!"

"No, I am not a meber of the Council. I am a member of the Press".

"What paper do you represent! Rosenwald asked.

"The Jewish Morning Journal".

"I am then informing you, said Mr. Rosenwald, "That this is a Conference for members only. We did not invite you nor any other member of the Press. I want you to give me your word that you will not devulge anything you heard here. If you will promise that, you may remain". The writer said, "I prefer to leave this meeting".

Several men suggested that someone grab his notes and destroy them. However, they did not succeed.

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106 EAST 41st STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

JANUARY 25, 1946

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 ST. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I HAVE YOUR LETTER OF JANUARY 23.

ACCORDING TO THE INFORMATION WE HAVE, DR. BAECK IS NOT EXPECTED BACK. HOWEVER, WE HAVE CABLED OUR LONDON OFFICE ABOUT THIS, AND AS SOON AS WE HEAR FROM THEM, WE SHALL RELAY THEIR MESSAGE TO YOU.

WITH KINDEST REGARDS,

SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

P.S. I AM ENCLOSING A CLIPPING FROM EDITOR AND PUBLISHER ABOUT RALPH MCGILL GOING TO PALESTINE FOR OUR AGENCY, IN WHICH MR. HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE IS QUOTED.

January 25, 1946.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

My attention has been called to an anti-Zionist article in the January issue of "Catholic World". An attempt should be made, if at all possible, to have some Catholic friend of the movement write an article on our behalf for the same publication.

With kind regarde I am

Sincerely yours,

Copy to Cleveland

The New Palestine

The American Zionist Fortnightly Devoted to Jewish Affairs
1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W.

WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

Ludwig Lewisohn, Editor 57 Montgomery Place Brooklyn 15, N. Y.

Jan. 251946.

Dear Dr. Silver:-

Your note of recent date was badly delayed in transmission to me from Washington. Hence the tardiness of my reply.

I never look at newspaper reports; they are not good for one's temper. But what I said was very different from what that irate and frightened gentleman supposed. I said that certain kinds of resistance to us were not reachable by either invective or by mouthing idealistic words. They must be understood and intelligent countermeasures must be taken, one being—as I have plead since at least 1937—the establishment of a National Jewish University. If you have my book "The Answer" you can see the line of argument. (P.275 ff.)

Amusingly enough the response in Woonsocket of a quite "mixed" audience was extremely warm and our uncommonly cultured and able district president there, Arthur I. Darman, was so pleased that he forced on me on leaving not only a bottle of 25 year old cognac but some Ruedesheimer 1929.

May I say, moreover, that from my experience really nice people don't write these pseudo-indignant epistles--even aside from the merits of a particular case. So my only regret is that you were annoyed.

Always faithfully yours,

Laring Revision

LOUIS E. LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,

January 25, 1946.

American Zionist Emergency Council, 342 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Dear Dr. Silver:

On January 16th I was informed by one of our Zionist members, Harry Magen, that he had received an invitation to attend the Penn Athletic Club Luncheon Forum, at which Hugh C. McClellant. the British Consul-General would speak on Palestine.
I communicated with Stanley Grauel, who is the
Executive Director of our Philadelphia American
Christian Palestine Committee and he left his sick
bed in order to attank the laucheon. (The Penn A.C.
is one of our leading clubs and is made up almost
entirely of Gentiles. I am enclosing Grauel's
letter and report to me of what took place at the letter and report to me of what took place at the meeting.

I wonder whether icClelland's talk is part of a plan of the British Foreign Office to utilize consular representatives for propaganda purpose. It might be helpful to urge our people throughout the country to be on the alert for similar addresses by British officials.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

On Thursday, January 17th, through the kindness of Mr. Harry S. Nagin, I attended a luncheon of the Penn Athletic Club. The speaker was the Hon. Hugh C. McClelland, his Britannic Majesty's Consul General. His dissertation was on the whole, quite truthful.

He traced the development of the idea of a Jewish state up to the present time.

He, however, omitted certain important facts and skimmed over the White Paper of 1939.

His conclusions were:

- 1. That Great Britain "naturally" would not countenance any rebellion on the part of Jews in Palestine. And, of course, force would continue to be used.
- 2. "Naturally" the admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine would seriously disrupt the economic life of Palestine. Furthermore, he had serious doubts about the land being capable of absorbing very many more.
- 3. Great Britain is a great mother concerned only with the welfare of her children, and the best thing possible for both of her children. Arab and Jew. would be done.
- At the conclusion of his presentation, the meeting was thrown open for questions.

 At the conclusion of his presentation, the meeting was thrown open for questions.

 One man inquired, "Why can't these Jews in Europe go back to their own homes and stop raising all this fuss?" I immediately took the floor and answered that question and then monopolized the rest of the question period by firing questions and facts at the Honorable Mr. McClelland concerning absorpative capacity, the machinations of the Colonial Office and whether or not it had been clearly indicated by the various leaders of Great Britain that the intention of efeating a Jewish state was implied in the Balfour Declaration. The speaker replied by saying that he was not in full possession of the facts and was not in a position to discuss the matter fully. The Chairman, incidentally was the Holland Consul, Mr. Groenendall, who hastilly called the meeting

to an ende

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, Executive Director Committee on Unity for Palestine of the Zionist Organization of America 41 E. 42nd St.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Rabbi Lelyveld:

Thank you for your letter of January 25.

I knew of Mr. Straus' resentments, but I didn't think they were so relentless. I do not believe that much can be gained by pursuing the matter further with Mr. Straus.

I think you ought to explore the field further together with Rabbi Miller in the hope of getting some prominent laymen to head off your committee.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS: BK

P.S. Would Ira A. Hirschmann be a good man?

January 28, 1946 Judge Louis E. Levinthal 606 City Hall Philadelphia, Pa. My dear Judge Levinthal: I received a letter from Israel Cohen of London, England, a copy of which I believe was also sent to you. It concerns the arrangements which were made by you and Dr. Goldstein last August in connection with the publication of his new book, "The Zionist Movement." What is the present status of the matter? with all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: BK

January 29, 1946

The Honorable Herbert H. Lehman 820 Park Avenue New York, N.Y.

My dear Governor:

I know you have complete command of all the facts relating to the tragic plight of the ill-fated and destitute remnant of the Jewish people of Europe and that you are also fully familiar with all the opinions and sentiments prevailing with regard to the recent charges of General Morgan.

Never-the-less, I thought it may be useful to place before you a few observations made by one who has kept in fairly close touch with the feelings and anxieties of the largest masses of Jews in this and other cities of the country. Despite various efforts which have been made to find extenuating circumstances and to attempt an exoneration of General Morgan, as exemplified by the articles of Mr. Raymond Danniell in the New York Times, the overwhelming majority, almost the whole of our people, continues to be deeply and irretrievably resentful of the General's eweeping and extravagant assertions which any number of writers in the Jewish Press here and abroad have identified with the gratesque and slanderous "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." Tou may and you may not have seen the editorial in the Jewish Chronicle of London on January 11, but that bitter and crushing indictment only echoes in part what is being felt by Jewish men and women everywhere.

General Morgan has not merely added insult to injury: he has added most outrageous affront to the slaughter of six million Jews made all the more horrible and shocking by the British betrayal of her trust in the form of the Mandate over Falestine.

The feelings of grief, anger and resentment will not soon or easily subside and they are bound to affect our social and even political life in more ways than one.

Left without comfort or encouragement even from high political places whence we had a right to expect it, our people will, in a time of utter disillusionment and desolation, seek an outlet for their pent-up indignation and chagrin. In these circum-

stances the final disposition of the question that is now before you and the UNRRA may either give them some measure of renewed faith in humanity or bring them to the utter brink of despair, as far as the Jewish future is concerned.

Such feeling and realization may be registered in a manner contrary to the interest and views for the furtherance of which we have in the past labored together.

Trusting that you will on the basis of my past services forgive this intrusion upon you and thanking you for your consideration. I am with renewed expressions of esteem,

Yours very sincerely.

Bernard G. Richards

BGR: RL

Jelian 31. 1946

The action of Mr. Herbert H. Lebusan in restoring Lt. General Morgan to his post as Chief of Operations in Germany for UNERA is a lamentable act of white-washing of a British official whose own words condemned him as hopelessly unfit to occupy any office where truth and humanity are primary requisites.

why Mr. Lehman reversed the action previously taken by UNRA remains a mystery. Cortainly Morgan's disingenuous letter of explanation could not have caused the change of heart. Morgan does not deny that he uttered those unconscionable and irresponsible statements which accused Jewish refugees, the survivers of Mazi horror, moving out of Poland in order to find greater security elsewhere of being agents in some secret plot of world Jewry, and that in them "we have the seeds of World War III." No man who occupies a key post in dealing with refugees and who harbors such views should be permitted to stay on in that position. Of course Mr. Morgan is no anti-Semite. They never are. They just voice outrageous anti-Semitic charges and immendees.

Mr. Norgan lent himself to a British political maneuver to discredit the insistent and desperate clamor of the Jews of Europe to be permitted to go to Palestine. He proved himself a loyal servant to the interests of British imperialism. But he also established himself as a disloyal servant to a non-political, non-partisan humanitarian post which he occupied and to which he is now regretably returning.

It is sad that Jews occupying high positions like Mr. Lehman so often lean so far back when vital decisions affecting the defense and the dignity of their own people are involved.

The manner in which a few Jewish relief representatives abroad rushed to the defense of Mr. Morgan and the manner in which certain Jewish leaders in the United States are said to have been persuaded that the case of Mr. Morgan should be closed, have also their interesting, psychological angles.

Until we learn to act normally as a self-respecting people and not to pocket gratutious insults and affronts hurled at our people, we shall be spat upon time and again.

THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST RGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC. 1819 BROADWAY . NEW YORK 23, N.Y. TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-6585

February 4, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

In a letter dated January 29th, which I received from Arthur today, he asked me to submit for the record what he called "fragments".

We had a phone call from Arthur Friday night at home. He indicated that he was leaving for Paris today and would determine then whether he goes elsewhere on the continent or straight to Palestine. I imagine the deciding factor will be whether or not he can secure visas. In the meantime he has asked me to write him in care of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours, Leaunelle f. fourie

Jeannette N. Leibel.

I armus that the code names are Keeven to give.

jnl:k encl.

cc to Dr. Wise Jewish Agency

MISS HENRIETTA SZOLD

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MISS SUSAN BRANDEIS DR. ALEXANDER M. DUSHKIN

MAXIMILLIAN KOMOW J. EDWARD MAYMAN

DR. NOAH NARDI MRS. MOLLY M. SLONIM

OBJECT IN AMERICA: Fostering Zionist ideals through Jewish education. Participation in a program of democratic

ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE:

1. Post-war Health Program; 2. Countrywide public health, hospitalization and child welfare (including vocational education and recreation) programs. Headquarters: Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital, which is part of the Hadassah Medical Center, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem; 3. Newest project: the erection of Hadassah's 200 bed tuberculosis hospital in Palestine; and joint sponsorship with American Friends of the Hebrew University of a campaign for funds with which to erect the Hebrew University-Hadassah Undergraduate Medical School; 4. Hadassah reclaims and afforests the land of Palestine through its contributions to the Jewish National Fund; 5. It also educates and maintains Jewish refugee children brought to Palestine through the Youth Aliyah movement, of which Hadassah is the official American representative.

JUNIOR HADASSAH Maintenance of Meier Shfeyah Children's Village and Pardess Anna Training Farm.

JOINT ACTIVITY WITH SENIOR HADASSAH

Maintenance of Henrietta Szold School of Nursing: Junior Agency Youth Aliyah.



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Dear Dr. Silver -The enclosed letter to Harry is self-explanatory. This is a wonderful conference and there is an excellent Christian response

It much be followed upe unmediately by a Director of the Southwestern Devrien of the ACPC. The hope we Can juid hur soon.

> That endeally Howard M. Le Sound

Houston, Texas February 13, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro, 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Dear Harry:

You will recall my telephone conversation with you when you were in Miami. It concerned the letter which Dr. Silver received from Mr. Parris. Since both you and Dr. Silver asked me to discuss with Mr. Parris his political work in relationship to Zionist objectives, I have done so and wish now to make a report.

Mr. Parris became greatly interested in this international problem, and has probed rather deeply into the American political scene as it relates to Palestine. His negotiations in connection with the resolution looked beyond passage to the realization of ultimate objectives. He asked many times during those days of uncertainties, "what is the next step when the resolution passes?" I gave him what light I had. I think you both know how he is using his influence and resources in paving the way for the future.

His position is this: He is ready to be of help if you want him. He has gone ahead as though you did, but he wishes clarification and an understanding as much as you. His recent letter was written more to raise the issue than merely to submit an expense account. As a matter of fact he prefers to work on a basis which does not necessitate expense accounts. He feels however, that an arrangement is necessary that will enable him to maintain contacts.

Doctor Silver seemed concerned about the size of the expenses, the purpose of which may seem rather vague at this particular time. There is no crisis as such, but the philosophy under which Parris works is one that anticipates moves and lays plans far ahead.

It is definitely up to you to determine if you wish Parris to continue his work with political big-shots. If you would ask Parris for a blueprint of procedures he could give you none. His plan is simply to keep this issue before his contacts as a major problem upon which hinges political outcomes at home, and world peace and progress abroad.

Personally I have no recommendation to make. I did not bring Parris into the picture. I had nothing to do with arrangements. I have sought under conditions as they existed to help in every way I could and to get maximum results from these new contacts of ours.

The questions you have to decide are: 1) Do you want a man skilled in political intricacies, working more or less under cover, using all sorts of pressures to overcome antagonism in the State Department, short-sightedness in the Executive division, and opposition in the UNO delegation: 2) Do you wish to capitalize on contacts made and won by means already used? 3) Do you wish to invest further amounts pre-determined in advance along these lines?

4) If so, do you think Parris, with the contacts and advantages he now possesses, should continue?

Parris told Hannegan he would return to Washington about March 1st to follow up on previous conversations. He wishes to see Tom on his return from London to get his slant on the entire picture. Parris will do this whether or not you plan to use him in the future or pay his past expenses. On that trip you will have a chance to talk with him if you wish. Otherwise he will assume that for the present his services are not needed.

I will show this letter to Parris before it is mailed, so that you may be sure I have given you a full and accurate statement of our conversation. Your decision will in no way affect his friendship and willingness to help in every way he can. It is merely a question of how much you wish him to do.

Most cordially,

American Zionist Emergency Council

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

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

February 20,1946

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

I enclose the Minutes of the Meeting of the Executive Committee held on January 30, 1946, and the Minutes of the Meeting of the Council held on January 14, 1946.

Sincerely yours,

Lea Klein-Secretary to Mr. Lourie

LOUIS E.LEVINTHAL 606 CITY HALL PHILADELPHIA

March 13, 1946.

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I wish it were possible for me to have lunch with on on Tuesday, March 19th, at the Waldorf Astoria. Unfortunately, I shall be sitting all of next week in the Criminal Court and I am informed that a number of rather important cases are on the trial calendar.

I am hoping that I shall be able to adjourn court earlier than three o'clock that day so that I may attend at least part of the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council.

If, by any chance, I can manage to arrange to have one of my colleagues sit for me on Tuesday I shall try to get to your luncheon.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

DAVID L. PODELL

JACOB LANDAU
SECRETARY & MANAGING
DIRECTOR

BORIS SMOLAR EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

PARIS
LONDON
JERUSALEM
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Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

MARCH 21, 1946

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
105 St. & ANSEL RD.
CLEVELAND, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

MAY I REFER TO OUR CONVERSATION OF TODAY. I WILL BE MOST GRATEFUL IF YOU WOULD WRITE TO MR. CHARLES ROSENWALD. WE ARE RECEIVING \$3000 AND ARE ASKING \$5500.

I WOULD GREATLY APPRECIATE IT IF YOU WOULD WRITE A LETTER TO MR. SWOPE TELLING HIM HOW MUCH YOU APPRECIATE THE WORK DONE BY THE JTA-ONA.

I FORGOT TO MENTION TODAY THAT RALPH MCGILL, WHO AS YOU KNOW, WENT TO PALESTINE AND EUROPE FOR THE ONA, HAS WRITTEN A SERIES OF SEVEN ARTICLES, WHICH I AM GLAD TO SAY ARE MOST SATISFACTORY.

WHEN I WAS IN MEXICO, MR. RESNIKOFF SPOKE TO ME. IN APRIL, HE IS INAUGURATING A DRIVE FOR TWO MILLION PESOS (\$400,000.) HE IS MOST ANXIOUS TO HAVE YOU INITIATE THE CAMPAIGN ON APRIL 24, AND HOPES THAT YOU CAN SPEND TWO OR THREE DAYS IN MEXICO. IF YOU WOULD DO THIS, HE AND THE OTHER ZIONIST LEADERS FEEL THAT THE CAMPAIGN WILL BE A SUCCESS. I PROMISED HIM I WOULD USE ALL THE PERSUASION OF WHICH I AM CAPABLE TO INDUCE YOU TO ACCEPT THIS INVITATION.

RESNIKOFF IS PUTTING A TERRIFIC EFFORT INTO THE JNF. HE IS A MAR-VELOUS WORKER, AND IS PERFORMING MIRACLES IN FUND RAISING. HE WANTS TO COME UP HIMSELF TO EXTEND AN INVITATION TO YOU, BUT I TOLD HIM THAT PER-HAPS I COULD PERSUADE YOU HIMSELF.

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU
MANAGING DIRECTOR

DIRECTORS DR. FRANK AYDELOTTE REV. FATHER ROBERT I. GANNON JOHN FRANCIS NEYLAN WM. JAY SCHIEFFELIN DR. JAMES T. SHOTWELL DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER HENDRIK WILLEM VAN LOON WINDAM ALLEN WHITE, VICE-CHAIRMAN HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE, CHAIRMAN SUCCEEDED BY SON, W. L. WHITE Overseas News Agency, Inc. 101 PARK AVENUE NEW YORK CITY JACOB BLAUSTEIN. PRESIDENT HAROLD K. GUINZBURG, VICE-PRESIDENT GEORGE BACKER, VICE-PRESIDENT JACOB LANDAU, SECRETARY AND MURRAY HILL 3-2997 MANAGING DIRECTOR APRIL 6, 1946

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER
THE TEMPLE
EAST 105TH ST AT ANSEL ROAD
CLEVELAND 6, OHIO

DEAR DR. SILVER:

I HAVE YOUR LETTER OF APRIL 4TH. I GREATLY APPRECIATE

MAY I SEND SOME WORD TO MR. REZNIKOFF IN MEXICO? HE IS MOST ANXIOUS TO KNOW, AS I WROTE YOU IN A PREVIOUS LETTER, WHETHER YOU WILL BE WILLING TO VISIT MEXICO FOR TWO OR THREE DAYS IN ORDER TO INAUGURATE THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND CAMPAIGN.

CORDIALLY YOURS,

JACOB LANDAU MANAGING DIRECTOR

JL:JP

PRESS RELEASE from the office of SENATOR ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR. FOR RELEASE AFTER 8 P.M. Sunday, April 14 SENATOR LA FOLLETTE PROTESTS BRITISH BREACH OF TRUST IN ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, HE SAYS, GIVES "INDIRECT SUPPORT TO VIOLATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW" Toledo, Ohio, April 14 -- Because the United States has failed to protest to Great Britain against the British proposal to divide Palestine in order to set up the allegedly independent country of Transjordan, "our Government has become a party to a breach of trust", Senator Robert M. La Follette, Jr. of Wisconsin declared here tonight. As a signatory to the anglo-American convention of 1924, which ratified the British Mandate for Palestine, "the United States has every reason and every basis to protest this intention", Senator La Follette told a mass meeting in the Collingwood Avenue Temple. "It could do so, also, as a partner in the joint Palestine inquiry which is now proceeding. But it has not done so and by its inaction has become a party to a breach of trust." The Wisconsin Senator, a high-ranking minority member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Lelations, also charged that the State Department, insofar as Palestine is concerned, is ignoring the "splendid, lofty purposes" recently announced by Secretary of State Byrnes concerning the United States' "responsibility to use our influence to see that other Powers live up to their covenant." "I am sorry to say," he added, "it appears our government is giving indirect support to violations of international law." Senator La Follette sharply criticized Great Britain's administration of the Palestine mandate. "Great Britain does not own Palestine," he said. "Great Britain is not a free agent to do as she pleases in Palestine. Under the terms of the Mandate and her treaty with the United

Senator La Follette asserted that "British rule in Palestine is no longer based on law."

-2-

"It is a rule of force only, a rule of bayonets," he said.

"It present, the legal status of a Jew in Palestine -- in the country which is presumed to be his home -- is inferior to his legal status in most other countries of the world. I Jew is not permitted to live or to pursue an occupation -- any occupation -- or to own a home, or cultivate a piece of land in more than 95% of the area of Palestine. He is permitted to exercise ordinary civil rights in a zone no greater than about 1,000 square miles. This is due in part to the Eritish political maneuvering in Transjordan."

"Britain's proposed unilateral action in Transjordan,"

Senator La Follette continued, "is particularly confusing because it came at a time when Critain argued that other issues should be held in abeyance while the Joint Commission is examining the Palestine problem."

Jews of the United States and other countries who are seeking to establish in Palestine a national homeland where the unfortunate Jews of Lurope may live as free men and women have "again and again been subjected to violent miscarriages of justice", he said.

"Oppressed people need more than sympathy. To date, they have received neither justice nor satisfaction", Senator

La Follette continued.

"We as Americans must guard against complacency concerning the predicament of the refugee Jews in Europe. We should not give lip-service to the problem and then forget about it. As I see it, the real issue at stake in this Palestine situation is much more than that of obtaining justice for an oppressed people -- important as that is. The more important issue involves the international

morality among nations and the integrity and courage of national leaders in administering avowed policies."

"Palestine is not a proposition of finding a solution to a problem," Senator La Follette went on. "The solution was found and agreed to many years ago in the adoption of a basic policy to permit Jewish migration to Palestine with the view toward ultimately establishing a Jewish national home. It is now a proposition of abiding by a formal promise and policy. It requires the frank and open administration of that avowed policy -- not duplicity, subterfuge, and expediency. Even if there were a situation which required a basic change of policy -- and no one has brought forth good reasons for doing so -- such change should be made only in a manner consistent with the sanctity of international agreements among responsible nations. Political wisdom, justice, humanity, and plain respect for the letter of the law--all point to a course of action that was honorably promulgated but then drastically altered by unilateral action of the British government. Our government and others who clearly have rights in the matter have protested only half-heartedly and ineffectively."

Senator La Follette charged the Democratic Administration with disregarding the wishes of Congress and the pledges of the Democratic and Republican platforms in relation to Palestine.

""Thile the Jewish leaders and the American public are given the impression that the Administration stands four square on the policy towards Palestine, the Administration has casually given the impression to Britain and other foreign powers that we are not much concerned," he charged. "Tritish imperialists and Arab nationalists have taken advantage of this situation."

"Another situation should be cited: Soon after the United Nations Charter went into effect, with its provisions against economic aggression, the rab States, recently admitted to the United Nations, proclaimed an economic boycott of the Jewish population of Palestine. as far as I know, nothing has been done by this country to raise the question of inadmissability of such a boycott.

"Secretary of State Byrnes in a speech last February explained that this Government is opposed to the 'unilateral gnawing away of the status quo.' He said: '..s a great power and a permanent member of the Security Council, we have a responsibility to use our influence to see that other Powers live up to their covenant, and that responsibility we intend to use.'

"I respectfully submit that so far as Palestine is concerned, those splendid, lofty purposes have not been upheld by our government. And, I am sorry to say, it appears that our government is giving indirect support to violations of international law.

"The will of the people and public opinion on this question are clear. As a matter of public record, both parties are united and the Congress is agreed. The program is there. In the words of the recent Senate Resolution, which was also approved by the House of Representatives, it is the duty of our government 'to use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to a maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race and creed, shall have equal rights."

Address of Sen. Robert M. La Follette, Jr. before the Toledo, Ohio, Zionist District April 14, 1946, 8:00 P.M., Collingwood Avenue Temple Toledo, Ohio
For Release after 8:00 P.M., Sunday, April 14

I want to take the opportunity at the outset to pay my personal respects to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Leon C. Feuer, Mr. Melbourne Harris, Mr. Leo R. Sack, and others of your organization who have frequently cooperated with me on legislative problems. I am happy to be able to attend your meeting tonight and to participate in the discussions of Zionism and the Falestine situation.

The aims and philosophy of Zionism are not new to me. I learned them from the greatest of all American Zionists -- a beloved friend of the La Follette family -- Mr. Justice Brandeis. It is my opinion that Falestine would now be populated as an established Jewish nation if others had heeded his sound advice that rapid steps be taken under the Balfour Declaration to colonize and develop Palestine. To this day, Justice Brandeis remains a powerful symbol of the kind of model society which could be established in Palestine if the international political barriers were removed.

In my many years in the United States Senate, I have become accustomed to the fact that some issues require a long, hard fight before an objective is won. I know that it sometimes takes unlimited patience and perseverance to obtain passage of a meritorious bill. Frequently an issue may bound and rebound within the legislative walls for many years before it is decisively settled. Insofar as the Congress is concerned, this is partially due to the obsolete legislative methods. More often, it is due to a close balance of power between proponents and opponents of a measure. Or, it may be simply a situation wherein the facts or support for a proposition have not been adequately marshaled.

However, an ordinary explanation of delay does not suffice for the international issues involved in the Zionist movement. The movement has had able leadership. The leaders have put a strong case before the public. They have effectively mobilized support from political leaders representing diverse viewpoints on other subjects. They have obtained commitments from parties and government administrators. Anyone who conscientiously studies the facts surrounding this problem comes to the inevitable conclusion that the Jewish people have been truly long-suffering in this matter. Again and again they have been subjected to violent miscarriages of justice. National and international leaders familiar with the facts have continually expressed their sympathy. But oppressed people need more than sympathy. To date they have received neither justice nor satisfaction.

Why? What is the explanation? Obviously, the movement cuts across many political and economic problems, both national and international. Those who oppose it have exploited many cross-currents. A new rationalization is pulled out of the bag for every new occasion. Too often the arguments are tainted with the politics of oil and empire.

We as Americans must guard against complacency concerning the predicament of the refugee Jews in Europe. We should not give lip-service to the problem and then forget about it. As I see it, the real issue at stake in this Palestine situation is much more than that of obtaining justice for an oppressed people -- important as that is. The more important issue involves the international morality among nations and the integrity and courage of national leaders in administering avowed policies.

When Theodore Herzl in 1896 wrote "The Jewish State" and laid the real foundations for the Zionism movement, he was motivated by two primary factors. First, he had ambitions that his people might join to form a political entity in which homogeneous religious and cultural backgrounds could be combined with new economic opportunities. Second, he wanted to provide a haven for Jewish refugees who were being unjustly persecuted. Herzl's essay was written against the backdrop of the Dreyfus affair and the anti-Semitic uprisings in eastern European countries in the previous decades.

There were some dissenters then among Jewish groups even as there are some dissenters now who do not subscribe to his proposition for a Jewish national state. But it seems to me that any argument based on the lack of complete unanimity of the Jewish peoples in their desire to establish a national home completely misses the two main points involved in this question. First, that many homeless, persecuted Jewish people do want to establish a home in Palestine; and second, that by every criterion of justice and reasonableness, those who want to find a home in Palestine are morally and legally entitled to go there.

This is not a proposition of finding a solution to a problem. The solution was found and agreed to many years ago in the adoption of a basic policy to permit Jewish migration to Palestine with the view toward ultimately establishing a Jewish national home. It is now a proposition of abiding by a formal promise and policy. It requires the frank and open administration of that avowed policy -- not duplicity, subterfuge, and expediency.

Even if there were a situation which required a basic change of policy -- and no one has brought forth good reasons for doing so -- such change should be made only in a manner consistent with the sanctity of international agreements among responsible nations. Folitical wisdom, justice, humanity, and plain respect for the letter of the law -- all point to a course of action that was honorably promulgated but then drastically altered by unilateral action of the British government. Our government and others who clearly have rights in the matter have protested only half-heartedly and ineffectively.

Let me review briefly some of the facts from history. A quarter of a century ago, this question came before the councils of the leading statesmen of the world. They, with the support of world opinion, weighed the Jewish claim to Palestine, considered all possible objections to the matter, and passed favorable judgment upon it. They decided, at a time when the principle of national freedom and self-determination was affirmed as a right of all small and persecuted peoples, that the Jewish people too were entitled to certain rights in their ancestral homeland.

As a result of extensive negotiations in 1917, the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour, wrote as follows to Lord Rothschild:

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

'His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and

- 3 religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country.' "I should be grateful if you would bring this Declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation." Other governments, including ours, joined in this Balfour Declaration. France concurred formally in February, 1918; Italy, in May, 1918. President Wilson publicly expressed satisfaction, and the Congress several years later in 1922 passed unanimously the Lodge Resolution which resolved: "The United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people " After the war, and after three years of negotiations between 1920 and 1923, Great Britain was given the mandate over lalestine, including Trans-Jordan. The terms of the mandate were signed by 52 nations of the world. The United States Government did not become a participant in the League of Nations, but it did reserve for itself the right to approve the mandate over Palestine. Mr. Charles Evans Hughes, then Secretary of State, negotiated a Convention with the British on the mandatory policy in Palestine. The Convention was approved by the Senate of the United States on February 20, 1925. It was ratified by Great Britain on March 18, 1925, and proclaimed to be law on December 5, 1925. This treaty between the United States and Great Britain is the legal basis upon which the United States Government is both entitled and obligated to concern itself with Falestinean affairs. Several facts should be emphasized in connection with this treaty. In the first place, the Balfour Declaration was specifically reaffirmed in the preamble. In the second place, the United States was specifically given the rights and benefits involved in the mandate, notwithstanding the fact that the United States was not a member of the League of Nations. In the third place, by the terms of the mandate incorporated in the Convention, the administration in Palestine was specifically obligated to "facilitate Jewish immigration" and in cooperation with the Zionist organizations "to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land." Under Article 5 of the mandate, Great Britain was held responsible "for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased, or in any other way placed under the control of the Government of any foreign power." Finally, under Article 7 of the Convention, no modification of the mandate was permissible without the formal consent of the United States. In other words, Great Britain is the executor of an international agreement, Great Britain does not own Palestine. Palestine is not a colonial dependency. Great Britain is not a free agent to do as she pleases. Under the terms of the mandate and her treaty with the United States, she has certain obligations as well as privileges in Palestine. Great Britain was charged with a great responsibility under the mandate. She was entrusted with a policy to develop Palestine as a national homeland for the Jews. In May, 1939, the British government issued the "White Paper" on Palestine which abruptly changed the policy. It permitted only a very restricted Jewish immigation -- at a time when the wave of anti-Semitism in Europe made it more desirable than ever that access be had to the promised homeland. questions immediately come to mind. Was there justification for a change in policy? Did the United States give consent? If not, what did our government do?

A consideration of the first question -- whether or not there is a justification for the reversal of policy -- provokes several lines of thought. Has the lot of the Jews been so improved that their need for a national homeland has disappeared? Was an injustice imposed on the arabs? Have they been deprived of their chance for national independence in the countries which were assigned to them after the First World War? Have they only Palestine to look to as a national center? Has the physical power of the Arab nationalists become so great that Jewish rights must be sacrificed to maintain peace? Did the Zionist project prove to be impracticable on economic grounds? Did the country prove to be too small to absorb a large Jewish population? Did the coming of the Jews to Palestine interfere with the welfare of the Arabs living there? Did the Jews expel the Arabs from the country or deny them equal rights? Or did the Jews disregard the position of the various religions which are attached to the Holy Land?

The answer to each of these is an emphatic "no".

The fate of the Jews in recent years has become worse than it was before. Today, we know the shocking facts about Oswiecim, Birkenau, Lublin-Maidenek, Dachau, and the other infamous institutions of mass murder. We know in sorrow and shame of the more than six million Jewish civilians who were brutally murdered because anti-Semitism rose in Germany, and because these people were not allowed to go to the place which was officially recognized as their national homeland. If the Jews needed a homeland in 1917, how infinitely more do they need it now!

Nor did the Powers fail to keep their bargain with the Arabs. The Arabs today have more freedom and independence than they were given after the First World War. In contrast, the Jews are in a much worse position.

Economically, and as a venture in colonization, the success of Zionism was remarkable. In the face of a hostile regime, which did everything in its power to hinder rather than help, the Jewish population in Palestine grew from approximately 50,000 to 600,000. Taking over some of the most desolate parts of the country, and paying exorbitant prices for much of the land they acquired, the Jewish immigrants developed an up-to-date agriculture, unrivalled anywhere in the East. Citrus fruits, wheat, barley, melons, grapes, figs, and tomatoes are grown extensively with scientific reclamation of the land. Foreign Jewish capital was brought in to establish oil tanks and refineries, public utilities, many types of manufacturing enterprises, and other components of a thriving industrial economy. Educational and public health facilities were expanded; highways were constructed; a university was founded; common schools were established. Jewish enterprise has raised the standards of living for the Arab communities far beyond what it was in 1917, and far beyond the standards prevailing in neighboring Arab countries.

So obvious was the benefit to the Arabs of participating in the improvements wrought by the Jews that hundreds of thousands of Arabs from neighboring countries migrated to Palestine to share these benefits. It is a fact, for example, that during the period 1922-43 when the Jewish population increased 420,000, the population of Moslems and Christians increased by more than 500,000.

These statistics immediately raise the question:
"Has Palestine reached a saturation point for new population?"
This is one of the excuses given in the British "White Paper".
Experts who have studied this particular phase of the Palestine situation completely blast the British allegations. Dr.
Lowdermilk of the United States Department of Agriculture who made a thorough study of the absorption capacity of Palestine, writes in his book: "...There is ample proof that full utilization for reclamation and power will in time make possible the absorption of at least 4,000,000 Jewish refugees from Europe in addition to the 1,800,000 Arabs and Jews already in Palestine and Trans-Jordania."

Prior to this discussion of the justification -- or lack of justification -- for the British policy enunciated in the 1939 "White Paper", I posed the two questions: Did the United States give consent? If not, what has been the policy of our government?

Obviously, the United States government did not give formal consent. So far as I know, request for our assent under Article 7 of the Convention between the United States and Great Britain was never formally made. When pressed for a statement on the matter in 1944, President Roosevelt authorized the co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Drs. Silver and Wise, to say that "The American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939..." In view of the fact that the document had been unanimously rejected by the Landate Commission of the League of Nations, it is amazing that it should take our Government almost 5 years to recognize that the "White Paper" violated our treaty with Great Britain! Furthermore, this was a statement for home consumption; it was not a formal representation to Great Britain.

British rule in Palestine is no longer based on law. It is a rule of force only, a rule of bayonets. At present, the legal status of a Jew in Palestine -- in the country which is presumed to be his home -- is inferior to his legal status in most other countries of the world. A Jew is not permitted to live or to pursue an occupation -- any occupation -- or to own a home, or cultivate a piece of land in over 95% of the area of Palestine. He is permitted to exercise ordinary civil rights in a zone no greater than about 1,000 square miles. This is due in part to the British political maneuvering in Trans-Jordan. I shall have more to say about the Trans-Jordan issue before concluding my remarks. Before doing so, I want to discuss briefly several other facts with reference to the reactions of our Government to the infamous British "White Paper" of 1939.

In 1943, Senators Wagner and Taft introduced a Senate Resolution to reaffirm the position of the United States on the Palestine situation. It had the support of many members of the Foreign Relations Committee, to which it was referred. When the Committee was about to take action, letters were received from the Secretary of War and Chief of Staff objecting on military grounds to the passage of the resolution. The Committee was requested not even to hold hearings on the ground that it might endanger our military. No action was taken because the majority of the Committee decided it could not in time of war ignore the request of the Secretary of War and the Chief of Staff.

It is difficult to reconcile these statements with the attitude of the Administration when action was again sought on the Senate Resolution in December 1944, immediately after the elections. The Secretary of State opposed the Resolution before the Committee, and it was again shelved despite much support in the Committee.

It was in the fall of 1944, too, that President Roosevelt went to Yalta and had his dramatic meeting with Ibn Saud. Not until many months thereafter were the American public permitted to see the subsequent exchange of letters between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud -- notwithstanding the direct bearing on the avowed policy of this country. As you know, the Congress finally passed the Palestine resolution last December, over the objections of the Department of State.

Insofar as I am concerned, I can read no other conclusion into these facts but this: While the Jewish leaders and the American public are given the impression that the Administration stands foursquare on the policy towards Palestine, the Administration has casually given the impression to Britain and other foreign powers that we are not much concerned. British imperialists and Arab nationalists have taken advantage of this situation.

I sincerely hope that it is nothing more than a coincidence that the Truman Administration went on record just prior to the last New York City elections as favoring the immediate admission of 100,000 refugees from Europe into Palestine—and then capitulated shortly thereafter to the British proposal that this be postponed pending yet another Committee of Inquiry. Newspapers in London made the shocking claim that American acquiescence was purposely delayed until after the New York elections. I sincerely hope that the Committee maneuvers do not foreshadow a report which will ruthlessly ignore and banish Jewish rights in Palestine.

Before concluding, it is appropriate to give some attention to several current issues. First, how does the Trans-Jordan issue fit into this general background?

Several months ago, on January 17, the British Foreign Secretary announced that it was the intention of the British government to bring about the permanent separation of Trans-Jordan from Palestine and its recognition as an independent state. Britain's proposed unilateral action is particularly confusing because it came at a time when Britain has argued that other issues concerning Palestine should be held in abeyance while the Joint Commission is examining the Palestine problem.

- 7 -Britain's rights in this matter have been clouded somewhat by those who assert that Trans-Jordan was independent prior to the granting of the mandate. Actually, the facts are that for administrative purposes the High Commissioner for Palestine did grant certain autonomy on September 1, 1922; but, as previously pointed out, Trans-Jordan was definitely included within the Mandate by Article 25 and so treated by the League of Nations. As a party to the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, the United States has every reason and every basis to protest this intention. It could do so as a partner in the Joint Palestine inquiry which is now proceeding. But it has not done so and by its inaction our Government has become a party to a breach of trust. As an indication of how far the policy has gradually been shifted against the Jews, consider these facts: The original program contemplated the entire area as a Jewish national home. Then a Royal Commission in 1937 recommended a division of territory with the Arabs with independence for each. Finally, we come to a policy where division and independence is offered the Arabs, and nothing for the Jews. Actually, as far as the Jews are concerned, this latest proposal would require the Jews to give up three-quarters of the entire territory included in the mandate, and would give them no special benefits whatsoever in the remaining area. Another situation should be cited: Soon after the United Nations Charter went into effect, with its provisions against economic aggression, the Arab States, recently admitted to the United Nations, proclaimed an economic boycott of the Jewish population of Palestine. As far as I know, nothing has been done by this country to raise the question of inadmissability of such a boycott. Secretary of State Byrnes in a speech last February explained that this Government is opposed to the "unilateral gnawing away of the status quo". He said: "As a great power and a permanent member of the Security Council, we have a responsibility to use our influence to see that other Powers live up to their covenant, and that responsibility we intend to use." I respectfully submit that so far as Falestine is concerned, those splendid, lofty purposes have not been upheld by our government. And, I am sorry to say, it appears that our government is giving indirect support to violations of international law. The will of the people and public opinion on this question are clear. As a matter of public record, both parties are united and the Congress is agreed. The program is there. In the words of the recent Senate Resolution, which was also approved by the House, it is the duty of our government "to use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to a maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in ' ?' which all men, regardless of race and creed, shall have equal rights."



המרכז הציוני בברישניה הגדולה ואירלנדיה

THE ZIONIST FEDERATION

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

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MAURICE COHEN, ESQ., LL.B.

L. BAKSTANSKY, LL.B., B.SC. (ECON.).

General Secretary,

75. GT. RUSSELL STREET. LONDON, W.C.1.

> 25th April, 1946. 24th Nissan, 5706.

JL/FL

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

Dear Rabbi Silver.

I have pleasure in enclosing our Passover appeal, for your information, which was dispatched to all synagogues in Great Britain, to all Zionist societies and Synagogue Councils in Great Britain, and to Zionist key-men. It was displayed in most synagogues and in many synagogues it was read from the pulpit on the last day of Passover after the Prayer for the Dead.

In view of the fact that your Organization is the most important Zionist Organization in the English-speaking countries (and in the world) your comments on this appeal will be very much appreciated.

With Zion's greetings.

Yours sincerely,

Dr. J. Litvin Synagogue Secretary.

Enc.

APPEAL

זמן חרותנו

THE FESTIVAL of our FREEDOM

ב״ה, ניסן, תש״ו.

Brethren of the House of Israel,

Almost a year has passed since the war in Europe ended. The iron curtain has been lifted, and we Jews know what terrible sacrifices the

Jewish People had to make during the war.

Over six million Jews were tortured to death by the Germans and their accomplices. Cruelties unparalleled were perpetrated on our brethren. Without Jewish burial, with their tombs unknown to us: so died the martyrs of Israel. European Jewry, constituting the main reservoir of Jewish life and thought, has lost four-fifths of its members. We mourn one-third of the House of Israel.

The sufferings and sacrifices of all nations are being constantly remembered. Only the incredible sufferings, losses and sacrifices of Jewry and the services rendered by over one million Jewish soldiers are being forgotten. Already the world shows signs of compassion for the German fiends, and Jews are being murdered in Poland, Tripoli and Egypt, and even in Palestine, the Land of Israel, military pogroms on our brethren are taking place. The remnant of Jewry who miraculously escaped Hitler's extermination plan are still languishing in camps on the Continent, undergoing terrible privations and humiliations. The Land of Israel, the only place where they could heal their wounds, restore the peace of their souls, is now closed to them.

When we will celebrate the Seder this year we shall not forget our martyrs, nor shall we forget the orphans, widows and other survivors who still suffer on the Continent of Europe. We cannot invite them to our meal, for they are not permitted to enter this country, but we must do everything possible to open the gates of Palestine to them and to

ourselves.

Never has there been a more convincing proof of the truth of the hallowed words of the Haggadah:

השתא עבדי לשנה הבאה בני חורין

"This year (while we are in Galuth) we are slaves, by next year (when we hope to be in Eretz Israel) we shall be free men." Many volumes have been written by Jews to disprove the truth of these words, and to convince Jews and non-Jews that Jews are only members of a separate religious creed, but that in all other respects they belong to the people amidst whom they live. History has tragically illustrated to us that as long as we depend on the will of other nations in the midst of whom we live as a minority, whether tolerated or ill-treated, we remain like slaves depending on the whims and goodwill of their masters.

Let us therefore unite to help our brethren and ourselves. Let us enrich our Jewish life here by our solidarity with the Yishuv in Eretz Israel and our People on the European Continent. Let us all join the ranks of the organised Zionist Movement for the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Let us support, by our own contributions and, by using our influence, persuade our fellow-Jews to aid the United Palestine Appeal. Let us acquire the Shekel for the coming Zionist Congress in Eretz Israel. Let us make our united voices heard; there at the Congress and on this Festival of our freedom pray that the Almighty may not forget His chosen People but that in His mercy He will restore Eretz Israel to the People of Israel.

לשנה הבאה בירושלם

במהרה בימינו אמן

בברכת ציון

The Central Zionist Synagogue Council.

Zionist Federation of Gt. Britain and Ireland, 75, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1. NISSAN 5706.

זמן חרותנו

ב״ה. ניסן, תש״ו.

אחינו בני ישראל. ברידער אידעו!

כמעט א יאר איז שוין פארביי זינט די מלחמה האט זיך געענדיקט. דער אייזערנער פארהאנג איז אויפגעהויבן, און מיר אידען ווייסן אצינד וואס פאר א שרעקלעכן חורבן די מלחמה האט געמאכט פונעם אידישען פאלק.

איבער 6 מיליאן אידען. זכרונם לברכה. זיינען פארפייניקט געווארן צום טויט דורך די פארפלוכטע דייטשן און זייערע מיטהעלפער. ימח שמם וזכרם, אונערהערטע, אומגלויבלעכע אכזריותן זיינען באגאנגען געווארן אויף אונזערע אומשולדיקע ברידער און שוועסטער. אן קבר-ישראל, אן קדיש און שבעה, זיינען אומגעקומען אונזערע אידישע קדושים. דאס אייראפעאישע אידנטום — דער רוב מנין און רוב בנין פון אידישען פאלק — איז כמעט אינגאנצען פארשוואונדען און מיר באקלאגן פיר-פינפטל פון זיי. דאס וועלט-אידענטום באוויינט א דריטל פון מיר באקלאגן פיר-פינפטל פון זיי. דאס וועלט-אידענטום באוויינט א דריטל פון

אידישען פאלק.

אלע אומות געדענקען זייערע קרבנות און טוען אלץ וואס סיאיז מעגלעד כדי די וועלט זאל זיי נאכאנאנד דערמאנען. נאר אונזערע שרעקלעכע קרבנות, אונזערע צרות און יסורים, אונזער בלוט, אונזערע ליידן, און אויך די גרויסע פארדינסטן פון איבער א מיליאן אידישע סאלדאטן, ווערן פארגעסן. מיט צערטלעכקייט און רחמנות ווערן באהאנדעלט די דייטשישע תליונים ימח שמם, און אומשולדיק הייליק אידיש בלוט ווערט ווידער פארגאסן אין פּוילן, טריפּאלי און מצרים. אפילו אין אונזער אייגן לאנד, אין ארץ-ישראל, קומען פאר ארגא-ניזירטע מיליטערישע פאגראמען אויף אונזערע ברידער. די שארית הפליטה, דאס הייפעלע אידען, אלמנות און יתומים וועלכע זיינען על פי נס ניצול געווארן פון היטלעריס גיהנום מאטערן זיך נאך אלץ אין די לאגערן (קעמפס) אויפן קאנטינענט, און האבן אויסצושטיין רדיפות און צרות פון די אנטיסעמיטישע מיליטער באאמטע, פון דער פארפלוכטער דייטשישער פּאליציי און פון די אידענפיינטלעכע פאליאקען. ארץ-ישראל, דאס איינציקע לאנד וואו אונזערע ברידער קענען היילען זייערע וואונדען, און לעבן א נארמאלען לעבן, איז פארשלסן פאר זיי.

ווען מיר וועלן זיצן ביים סדר וועלן מיר געוויס דערמאנען אונזערע קדושים, מיר וועלן אויך נישט פארגעסן אונזערע ברידער און באזונדערס די אלמנות און יתומים אין די קעמפּס. מיר קענען זיי נישט איינלאדן צו אונזער טיש, זיי קענען נישט קומען צו אונז. אבער מיר זיינען מחויב צו טאן אלץ וואס מיר קענען כדי צו עפענען די טויערן פון ארץ-ישראל פאר זיי און פאר אונז.

דער ביטערער אמת פון די הייליקע הגדה ווערטער: "השתא עבדי לשנה הבאה בני חורין" (דאס יאר, אין גלות, זיינען מיר שקלאפען, איבעראיאר, אין ארץ-ישראל, וועלן מיר זיין פרייע מענטשן) איז קיינמאל נישט געווען אזוי ארץ-ישראל, וועלן מיר זיין פרייע מענטשן) איז קיינמאל נישט געווען אזוי קלאר ווי איצטער. א סך ביכער זיינען געשריבן געווארן פון אידישע אסימילאטארן צו באווייזן אז מיר אידען אין גלות זיינען נישט קיין שקלאפן, און אז מיר זיינען נישט קיין באזונדער פאלק, נאר א באזונדערע רעליגיעזע סעקטע פונקט ווי אנדערע רעליגיעזע סעקטעס, און אז א אידישע נאציאנאלע פראגע עקזיסטירט איבערהויפט נישט. די בלוטיגע געשעענישן אין אייראפע האבן ליידער באוויזן אז כל זמן מיר זיינען א מינדערהייט צווישן אנדערע פעלקער, בלייבן מיר שקלאפן וועלכע זיינען אינגאנצען אפּהענגיק פון דעם פעלקער, בלייבן מיר שקלאפן וועלכע זיינען אינגאנצען אפּהענגיק פון דעם ווילן פון זייערע מייסטערס. פון זייערע אדונים.

ברידער אידען! לאמיר זיך פאראייניקן צו העלפן אונזער פאלק און זיך אליין. לאמיר זיך ענגער פארבינדן מיטן העלדישן ישוב אין ארץ-ישראל. לאמיר זיך אנשליסן אין דער ארגאניזירטער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג, און קעמפן פאר אויפבויען ארץ-ישראל אלס א אידישע מלוכה. לאמיר אונטער שטיצן מיט אלע כוחות דעם פאראייניקטן ארץ-ישראל אפיל (יו פי איי). לאמיר אין דעם איצטיגן קאנגרעס-יאר אלע קויפן דעם שקל. לאמיר אלע פאדערן אונזער היים, אונזער הייליק לאנד. ובזכות זה וועלן מיר דערלעבן אי״ה צו א גאולה שלמה במהרה בימינו אמן.

לשנה הבאה בירושלם!

דער צענטראל ציוניסטישער שוהל ראט.

די ציוניסטישע פעדעראַציע פאַר גרויס בריטאַניע און אירלאַנד.

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SENDING YOU AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY TONIGHT DRAFT

LETTER TO PRESIDENT URGING SPECIFIC PROGRAM OF INCREASED

FOOD SHIPMENTS IMMEDIATELY TO FAMINE AREAS AS PROPOSED

BY EXPERTS PROFESSOR BLACK OF HARVARD AND PROFESSOR

SCHULTZ OF CHICAGO. PLEASE TELEGRAPH ACCEPTANCE COLLECT

BY FRIDAY EVENING TO WESTERN UNION, WASHINGTON DC=:

HERBERT H LEHMAN AND CLARENCE E PICKETT.

May 15, 1946 Dr. J. Litvin 75 Great Russell Street London, W.C. 1 England My dear Mr. Litvin: Thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the Passover appeal which you issu d to all the synagogues of Great Britain. It was a very effective statement. Why should not the Jewish communities of Great Britain hold at the moment great protest meetings in their respective communities against the threat of Mr. Attlee to deny entrance into Palestine of 100,000 refugees unless impossible conditions are met? American Jewry is doing all that it can by way of arousing public opinion. I am wondering whether the Zionists in Great Britain ought not to dramatize this most critical moment in a more effective manner-meetings, petitions, telegrams, etc. With all good wishes, I remain Most cordially yours, AHS: GR

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

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

May 16, 1946

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Enclosed are the Minutes of the Meetings of the.

Executive Committee of April 15, 18 and 19, 1946.

For A.L.

Dear Dr. Neumann:-

Copy!

It is now several days ago since I received your oddly circuitous message---given to Carl Alpert by you, recorded by him in a memorandum to Sidney Marks for communication to me. I have both an address and a telephone number and I am always, as you know, a t the service of the administration, the movement and the cause. But that is trivial.

I come to the contents of Carl's memorandum to Marks which, I assume, accurately embodies your opinions and desires.

I. To discontinue publication of The New Palestine for the months of July and August is no very grave matter. We dropped one number last year. To interrupt serious communication with our membership at this historic moment for two months is not, perhaps, a very happy circumstance. But that is the worst that may be said.

II. The second part of Carl Alpert's memorandum reads: "The whole question of the future of The New Palestine is now being reconsidered because of the extreme financial burden placed upon the organization publishing 175,000 copies or more."

A reconsideration of any activity of our organization is, of course, a matter for the administration to determine. But the reason assigned in the memorandum in question is incorrect. It is a commonplace among printers, publishers, editors, that the cost of the unit of a publication of any kind --- book, periodical, pamphlet --- diminishes sharply with the number of copies manufactured. An edition of 175,000 copies is markedly cheaper per copy than an edition of 40,000 or 50,000 or 60,000/ The servicing per member with The New Palestine is incalculably cheaper today than it has ever been and will be increasingly cheaper as our membership continues to multiply. Roughly this year the cost of The New Palestine is circa 12% of the budget voted by the Convention. That is cheap. That is incomparably cheap when it is considered that our movement is a movement of the creative word and the persuasive act, a movement founded by men of letters, fostered and spread by them and wholly dependent upon the groundwork of persuasion, conviction and the impassioned action that springs from these. What should in fact be done is to spend some money to call the attention of our members more sharply to The New Palestine through cultural chairmen, through field men and regional directors in order that it be better able to fulfill its right and necessary function of making Zionists of dues-paying members. Such is our foundation. If it is shaken we will have no Zionism tomorrow.

I am--oddly enough again--acquainted only at second hand with certain projects said to be entertained by the administration, such as the publication of a more voluminous periodical by subscription. I confess that this notion has its attractiveness per se and for me as an individual. I cannot but be mindful of the extreme psychological danger of leaving the rank and file of our membership, the democratic mass, without even the opportunity of hearing the word, the lore, the teaching which are as the breath of life of our movement. I am glad that the responsibility for such an act is not mine.

Suppose the other project is embraced. We are in the middle of June. Ten weeks remain before our periodical, whatever its character, must go to press. For it is unthinkable that the richest, most powerful and most influential Zionist group in the world be stripped of expression and

intercommunication with its members and with the world at large this coming Rosh Hashanah! Well, a circulation and subscription department would have to be established at once --- a very efficient and stream-lined department. Circularization merely will not do the job. Moreover, I have edited The New Palestine single-handed. Few voluntary contributions have merit. I have thought of themes, assigned their treatment to the right people, re-written and corrected and translated the contributions. I have read every inch of proof/ etc. etc. No single individual could do that for a magazine of 75 or 100 pages a month. We would have to have departments. I have already thought of two: "Life in Eretz Yisrael" and "From the Zionist Classics." Research would be needed and a more systematic correspondence with Palestine to be established. Have you loo ked at the masthead of Commentary, wretched and superannuated thing that it is? In addition to a far more efficient managing and associate editor --- Carl Alpert would be admirable for the job --- I would need at least one highly trained editorial assistant. But the immediate and crying need --- granting such an undertaking --- is the establishment of the circulation and subscription department.

May I say, finally, that wherever I have gone among Zionists this past season I have found a deeper and more earnest appreciation of The New Palestine than ever before. I have been deeply encouraged by thoughtful men and women everywhere to do the utmost with the paper within our peculiar limitations. But if a new and other periodical is to take the place of this one—the foundations must be laid at once and the dangers considered. I may say surely at this time of day without immodesty that I am the only thoroughly equipped man of letters in our movement and that, for the sake of our members and our cause what I have here written must be very seriously considered.

I am asking you, in view of all this, to have the kindness to communicate this letter to the members of the executive in order that the deliberations may be practically guided.

Faithfully yours,

(signed) Ludwig Lewisohn

COPY

Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, Ex. Director Committee on Unity for Palestine Commerce Title Building Memphis, 9, Tenn.

Dear Rabbi Lelyveld:

I think it is essential that following Fineshriber's meeting the Zionist viewpoint be presented by an outstanding figure.

The group here would probably prefer Silver above all others.

It is imperative that we have a man of national stature - and Silver would be the best bet.

I am wondering if this could be arranged.

Let me hear from you accordingly.

Sincerely,

(signed) Abe D. Waldauer

ADW: mab

Enruend [n.o.]

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

MURRAY HILL 2-4917

Dear Dr. Silver -The enclosed I promised to send you some time ago. It may still have interest to you. Before you go to London, Carl Vors and I would like to lave a short con-Jerence with you. Congratulations on the Lower being Loped upon you, and our confidence and but wishes are with you always. most condrally Hurard M. Le Sound

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The action of Mr. Herbert H. Lehman in restoring Lt. General Morgan to his post as Chief of Operations in Germany for UNRRA is a lamentable act of white-washing of a British official whose own words condemned him as hopelessly unfit to occupy any office where truth and humanity are primary requisites.

why Mr. Lehman reversed the action previously taken by UNRIA remains a mystery. Cortainly Morgan's disingeneous letter of explanation could not have caused the change of heart. Morgan does not deny that he uttered those unconscionable and irresponsible statements which accused Jewish refugees, the survivors of Nazi horror, moving out of Poland in order to find greater security elsewhere of being agents in some secret plot of world Jewry, and that in them "we have the seeds of World War III." No man who occupies a key post in dealing with refugees and who harbors such views should be permitted to stay on in that position. Of course Mr. Morgan is no anti-Semite. They never are. They just voice outrageous anti-Semitic charges and immendees.

Mr. Morgan lent himself to a British political maneuver to discredit the insistent and desperate clamor of the Jews of Europe to be permitted to go to Palestine. He proved himself a loyal servant to the interests of British imperialism. But he also established himself as a disloyal servant to a non-political, non-partisan humanitarian post which he occupied and to which he is now regretably returning.

It is sad that Jews occupying high positions like Mr. Lehman so often lean so far back when vital decisions affecting the defense and the dignity of their own people are involved.

The manner in which a few Jewish relief representatives abroad rushed to the defense of Mr. Morgan and the manner in which certain Jewish leaders in the United States are said to have been persuaded that the case of Mr. Morgan should be closed, have also their interesting, psychological angles.

Until we learn to act normally as a self-respecting people and not to pocket gratutious insults and affronts hurled at our people, we shall be spat upon time and again.