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American Zionist Emergency Council, memoranda, 1945-1946.

18th June, 1945.

Your Excellency,

I have the honour, on behalf of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, to address you on the subject of Jewish immigration in the new circumstances created by the defeat of Germany and the liberation of Europe from Nazi oppression.

2. From reliable reports it would appear that, apart from the Soviet Union, only 1,400,000 Jews have survived in Europe. Over 6,000,000 European Jews, including at least 1,000,000 in the Soviet Union, have been annihilated. So gigantic a campaign of extermination has no precedent in history. By its magnitude and frightfulness the Jewish tragedy stands out unique even among the horrors wrought by the Nazi regime.

3. The tragedy is the result of the exceptional position of the Jews as a homeless people. Their cruel destiny pursues them into the post-war world. Against the general background of war devastation, the destruction of the Jewish communities in Europe presents a problem sui generis. The physical and economic condition of the survivors is precarious in the extreme. Eye witness reports about the position of Jewish survivors in various parts of Europe - in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Greece, to mention a few examples - tell of appalling distress, heavy child mortality, unspeakable housing conditions, disease and starvation, and utter hopelessness. Their pre-war economic positions have been destroyed beyond recovery, their homes and possessions have fallen into the hands of others who are now combining for the defence of their ill-gotten gains. In view of the insecure position of the Jews in Eastern Europe before the war, a reversion to the status quo ante would in any case have been a bleak prospect. Today, after the havoc wrought by the Nazis, it is quite unthinkable.

4. The position of the survivors is further aggravated by the virulent growth of anti-semitism in most countries of Europe. The Nazis have inculcated their anti-Jewish doctrines into every nation that fell under their sway, in particular into the younger generation. Everywhere the Jew, emerging from his hide-out or returning from the concentration camp, is an unwelcome apparition. It is tragically significant that many of those in western countries who, during the German occupation, abstained from anti-semitic activities for fear of becoming identified with the Nazis, are openly indulging in Jew-baiting now that this no longer taints them with "collaborationism". In France and Belgium there is a militant body of opinion against the restitution of Jewish property. Throughout the continent, Governments whose position is yet tenuous are putting off indefinitely the actual restitution of Jewish property even where legislative measures to that effect have been enacted. In some countries feeling against the Jews reaches the intensity of fierce animal hatred. Poland could not have been turned into the slaughter-house of European Jewry had it not been for the connivance - and in many cases the active assistance - of the local population. The feeling of thankfulness to Hitler for having rid Poland of the Jews is reported to be widespread and vocal. Even after the liberation, during the one month of March, over 150 Jews are known to have been murdered in broad daylight in various parts of Poland. It is reported that Poles who had helped to save Jews from the Nazis are now begging their Jewish friends not to divulge their kind acts lest their own position become untenable among their neighbours. A spokesman of the Soviet-

- sponsored Polish Government recently stated that the atmosphere in Poland was so full of anti-Jewish venom that even the small remnant that had survived the Nazi mass slaughter would have to be evacuated. What is true of Poland applies also to other countries in Eastern Europe. Eye witnesses report that the mass extermination of the Hungarian Jews was carried out with the active collaboration of the Hungarian population and that since the liberation of the country there have been grave anti-Jewish excesses in the parts not directly controlled by the Russian Army; many cases have occurred of Jews coming out of their concealment only to be killed by their Hungarian neighbours. The Nazi design of turning the accumulated hatred and bitterness of the exhausted nations of Europe against the Jews is bearing rich fruit.

5. From all parts of Europe the Jewish Agency is receiving urgent pleas for immigration permits to Palestine - from France and the Low Countries, from Italy and Greece, from the many thousands of Jewish refugees stranded in Switzerland and Sweden, from the survivors of the horror camps in Germany and Czechoslovakia. Within a few weeks of the opening of the Palestine Office of the Jewish Agency in Rumania, 30,000 Jews had filed applications for admission to this country. There was a similar rush for certificates in Budapest. Recent messages received from various European centres warn us that every week of delay spells further deterioration of conditions, more disease and mortality, more insecurity amidst the new internal struggles in the liberated countries where the Jews are again serving as scapegoats for all that goes wrong. Particularly frantic calls for immediate evacuation to Palestine are reaching Jerusalem, London and New York from the 70,000 odd survivors of the liberated death-camps in Central Europe who are haunted alike by the memories of past horrors and the dread of forcible removal to their countries of origin. But the claim for admission to Palestine is not limited to the Jews placed in such untenable conditions. Jewish refugees from Germany who found temporary sanctuary in England during the pre-war years and in the early months of the war are becoming increasingly aware that the prospects of their permanent settlement in England are slight. As the idea of a return to Germany is utterly repugnant to most of them, their minds are inevitably turning to Palestine. Similarly, most of the Jewish soldiers in the Polish army who fought in the western campaign, particularly those in Italy, are determined not to return to Poland, whatever its political fate, but seek admission to Palestine. The present demand for immigration certificates comes indeed not merely from those who had long ago tied up their future with this country. It is voiced by many formerly not associated with Zionism whom the cataclysm of the last decade has driven to see in Palestine the only hope of rehabilitation.

6. Nor is the urge to migrate and settle in Palestine confined to Jews who were direct victims of the European catastrophe. It is widespread and growing throughout the oriental communities, from Morocco to Iran, from Istanbul to Aden. A combination, in varying degrees, of a number of factors - economic distress, religious persecution, the memories and fears of massacres, political and social disabilities - is producing among the Jews of the East an ever-increasing gravitation towards the National Home. There is a growing practical interest in Palestine also among the Jews in Great Britain, the Dominions and the United States. There are in England many hundreds of young Jews, many of them British born, who, for years past, have been preparing themselves for eventual settlement in Palestine. A similar pioneer movement has taken root among the Jewish youth in America and South Africa. The war, the Jewish catastrophe in Europe and the sporadic growth of anti-semitism have produced a great awakening of Jewish national consciousness in these countries, which does not merely find expression, as in former years, in moral and material support for the National Home, but in impelling many to seek new roots in the ancient and newly revived land of their people.

7. The situation created by all these developments calls for a fresh approach to the immigration problem. The Jewish Agency does not in this memorandum propose to raise the larger political issues forming the subject of its comprehensive memoranda to His Majesty's Government of October 1944 and of May 1945, in which the claim for a large Jewish immigration and the vesting of immigration control in the Jewish Agency occupied a prominent place. It cannot, however, in view of the untenable position of the surviving Jews of Europe and the many urgent demands for immigration facilities from elsewhere, postpone any longer the submission of its plea for an immediate preliminary decision regarding immigration in the coming months. In order to meet the most urgent claims the Jewish Agency hereby begs to apply for the allocation of 100,000 immigration permits to be placed forthwith at its disposal. One-quarter of this total is to be earmarked for the admission of children without parents on the strength of special funds to be supplied for this purpose by Jewish organizations abroad and facilities to be provided by the Jews of Palestine. A detailed analysis of the country's absorptive capacity for new immigrants, as summarised in the attached memorandum, shows that the other three-quarters can be productively absorbed under present conditions.

8. It will be observed that the data on the immediate prospects of economic absorption set forth in the attached memorandum, are based on the framework of the present Jewish economy without taking into account the plans for the expansion of Jewish agricultural and industrial enterprise. They show, it is submitted, that an immigration of the size indicated is not only immediately practicable, but that it would generally benefit the economic structure of the country. The memorandum also indicates the housing schemes which are immediately practicable. A more radical solution of the housing problem depends primarily on Government action by authorising the importation of a larger volume of building materials, and by empowering the local authorities to requisition, for the accommodation of refugees, buildings and apartments now used for non-essential purposes, and by adopting concerted measures for the lowering of the cost of building. It should be borne in mind that even a temporary discomfort in Palestine would be considered by most immigrants from Europe infinitely preferable to the lot they now have to endure; also that many immigrants would find accommodation with their relatives by whose insistent and anxious claims for the immediate bringing over of their surviving kith and kin the Jewish Agency is now daily besieged.

9. The Jewish Agency is aware of the difficulties of exit, transit and transport hampering immigration from most European countries under the present, still abnormal, circumstances. It would, however, point out that the piecemeal allocation of permits has in the past gravely impeded the efforts made to deal with these problems. These difficulties were further aggravated by the practice of fixing rigid totals from time to time, which made it impossible to respond to any newly emerging need without cutting into, or completely cancelling, earlier commitments. The recent instances of the virtual "freezing" of blocks of certificates allocated to the Balkan countries and to Mauritius, respectively, which for a diversity of reasons could not be immediately utilized, may be cited as cases in point. Only if a large total of permits is immediately available for distribution to all countries of provenance, will it be possible to plan ahead with regard to transport, to coordinate shipping facilities and to grapple effectively with the problems of exit and transit.

10. The Jewish Agency is fully aware that the decision for which it pleads would imply the abandonment of the immigration policy embodied in the White Paper of May 1939. It is not proposed in the present context to go again over

the grounds on which, in previous communications of the Jewish Agency, the moral and legal validity of the White Paper was challenged. Nor is it intended to cite here the authoritative statements to the same effect made at the time of its promulgation, in particular on the immigration issue, by the Permanent Mandates Commission and by prominent members of the present Government. The restrictive immigration policy has been fraught with disastrous consequences for the Jewish people during the most tragic years of its history. The Jewish Agency finds it inconceivable that a measure of expediency resorted to under the shadow of the oncoming war should, after its successful conclusion against the major enemy, continue to serve as an obstacle to the rescue and rehabilitation of its victims. In the name of the entire Jewish people we appeal to the wisdom and magnanimity of His Majesty's Government to right the wrong committed in the stress of a difficult period and to open the gates of Palestine to receive the remnants of European Jewry and all those Jews who feel impelled by spiritual attachment or by external pressure to seek a new home among their own people in their ancestral country.

I have the honor to be,
Your Excellency's
Most obedient servant,

M. Shertok
EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY



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NOTE ON IMMEDIATE PROSPECTS OF ABSORPTION

JUNE 1945

General:

1. Palestine as all other belligerent countries is suffering from an acute shortage of man-power. In Palestine the shortage is more pronounced as the country was caught by the war in the midst of a rapid development process. During the war the value of production doubled, while the population increased only by 18% and the number of earners by 25%. A considerable proportion of those now gainfully employed are former housewives and elderly or very young persons. The transfer of such persons to gainful occupations has in many cases had detrimental social and educational effects. In spite of this strain the shortage of labour in most branches of economic life is still very considerable. Wages have risen and are still rising. Agriculture cannot avail itself of all opportunities of expansion. Building costs, to a large extent because of high wages, are rising to a prohibitive extent. Industry is working overtime.
2. This position does not appear to be transient, at least as far as the near future is concerned. Military works and services seem likely to continue on a considerable scale. Immediate tasks of reconstruction, such as relieving congestion in housing and the rehabilitation of citrus plantations, will require additional labour. Shortage of shipping space and dearth of commodities will make further expansion of agricultural and industrial production imperative. The extent of pent-up demand for various commodities is indicated by the fact that as compared with 1939 the physical volume of imports was 50% in 1941, 60% in 1942 and 41% in 1943. On the other hand, currency in circulation has increased to LP.41.7 million and the volume of deposits to 71.1 million. A wide margin has thus been created for the financing of the expansion in production.

Citrus:

3. In 1939 Jewish plantations covered an area of 150,000 dunams out of a total of 300,000 dunams. The peak of citrus exports in 1938-39 was 15 million cases of which 10 million was the Jewish share. At that time about 20,000 workers were employed in Jewish groves, the schedule of working days being as follows:

Cultivation	2,700,000	
Picking	1,000,000	
Packing	1,000,000	
Miscellaneous	<u>100,000</u>	4,800,000 man-days

This total does not include employment in the handling of exported fruit on roads and railways and in the ports.

4. Exports overseas having practically ceased during the war the Jewish-owned area has shrunk to 120,000 dunams, the balance having been abandoned. Of this area only 20% is now fully cultivated, 30% is partly cultivated and 50% is receiving cultivation merely to the extent of keeping the trees alive. The main cause of the neglect is lack of funds but shortage of labour is a contributory factor.

5. The total number of workers engaged in the cultivation of the Jewish citrus area is about 5,000 of whom only about 2,000 are Jews. Up to the 1944-45 season few workers were employed in picking and packing but in that season their numbers increased, owing to the resumption of exports on a restricted scale, bringing the total of workers employed on the Jewish-owned area up to 8,000.

6. It seems to be fair to assume that in the season of 1945-46 exports will be resumed on a large scale, leading to a marked improvement in the employment capacity of the whole industry. The labour requirements of the Jewish citrus area have been estimated as follows:

	<u>Workers</u>
1. Full cultivation of 120,000 dunams at the rate of 16 working days p.d.	8,000
2. Additional work (pruning, etc.) on the groves now inadequately cultivated	600
3. Repairs of irrigation plants and erection of packing sheds	400
4. Combatting of black scale according to the plan of the C.C.B.	400
5. Picking and packing of $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 million cases	<u>4,000</u> 13,400

After deducting the 8,000 employed in 1944-45 the net increase required will be 5,400.

Mixed Farming:

7. All collective settlements have throughout the war years suffered from a chronic shortage of labour which has prevented them from developing their potentialities of production to the fullest possible extent. The cooperative smallholders' settlements as well as the many middle-class settlements and individual farms in which the war witnessed a marked progress of mixed farming production have likewise been overworked and short-handed. In the collective settlements alone the detailed list of vacancies for new members, excluding old members on military service, totals up to 4,300. To this is added a minimum allowance of 1,000 for other types of settlements based on mixed farming. The manning of new settlements to be established in the nearest future is left out of account. Moreover, only the present actual deficiency of labour has been taken into consideration without any allowance being made for prospective expansion, contingent upon further progress of irrigation. It may be mentioned in this connection that import quotas of 7,000 and 9,000 tons of pipes, mainly to be used for irrigation, have been approved. Thus the total minimum provision for mixed farming included in the present estimate, which leaves a wide margin of safety, is 5,300.

Industry:

8. The following is an estimate of labour requirements in industry based upon actual possibility of increased production in existing factories and workshops, according to a detailed inquiry carried out in all branches:

Foodstuffs, Drinks and Tobacco	350	
Textile and Clothing	2,000	
Metal-Working and Machinery	250	
Wood-Working	200	
Leather Working	50	
Paper and Printing	-	
Chemicals	-	
Electrical Machinery and Apparatus	-	
Building Materials	4,150	
Miscellaneous	<u>200</u>	7,200

9. Neither the establishment of new factories nor the elimination of overtime work, which alone would have yielded 1,500 vacancies, has been taken into account. No allowance has been made for the increase of industrial production in the agricultural settlements on the assumption that the labour required for it will be provided from the general allocation for agriculture (see: Mixed Farming). The very considerable expansion of consumption which will be caused by the immigrants themselves has likewise been left out of account, thus providing a wide margin of safety. On the other hand, the above estimate is based on two assumptions which appear to be reasonable, viz. (a) that the importation of raw materials will proceed within the framework of allocated quotas and (b) that exports of manufactured goods will not decrease.

Building:

10. The pent-up demand for housing has assumed very considerable proportions. In spite of the high cost of building, shortage of materials and scarcity of labour, the area of construction for which licences were issued in 1944 was more than three times that of 1943. In the first two months of 1945 the total area for which licences were taken out was five times as large as in the first two months of 1944. Some idea of the cumulative deficiency of building may be gathered from the following table:

New Buildings authorised in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Tel Aviv and Haifa

1939	223,639	square metres
1940	151,674	" "
1941	65,614	" "
1942	61,951	" "
1943	24,680	" "
1944	82,911	" "
Jan. & Feb. 1945 *	25,620	" "

11. The extent of building activity is, of course, determined not by demand alone but, given the demand, by the availability of building materials and labour. Government have recognized the need and provided for the importation, in 1945, of materials sufficient to construct 27,000 rooms, of which one half is to be allotted to the Jewish section of the population. In addition it is confidently expected to secure materials for 3,000 rooms in agricultural settlements, the total for the Jewish population thus reaching 16,500 rooms. The returns obtained from various building companies and housing agencies, public and private as to schemes in hand for 1945 actually total up to that figure. It is assumed, however, that further

* No later official figures have yet been published.

materials will be provided for 5,500 rooms for the accommodation of refugee children and another 5,000 rooms for adult immigrants (in addition to the 1,000 rooms already built). for both of which items the financial means are assured. Thus the sum total of building prospects for 1945 is 27,000 rooms for the Jewish population. Apart from that, allowance has to be made for public and industrial buildings, and for public works (road construction, etc.)

12. The calculation of labour requirements for this construction programme is as follows:

- (i) At the rate of 160 working days per room, and 250 working days per worker per year, the construction of 27,000 rooms will give employment to 18,000 men for a whole year.
- (ii) It has been ascertained that LP.1,500,000 will be invested in public buildings for which plans and funds are ready. On the assumption that 40% of the total cost will be expended in wages, a total of 425,000 working days is obtained which is equivalent to 1,700 men for a whole year.
- (iii) It is estimated that 1,000 men will be required for the erection of industrial buildings.

The total required is thus 20,700 men. Deducting 4,000 men now employed in construction, the net requirement for new labour is 16,700 men. No allowance has been made for 3,200 men at present employed on military works as there is little prospect of their release this year.

It should be emphasized that the present estimate is not based on building requirements but only on building schemes for which financial means and partly building materials are assured. Any extension of financing, additional provision of materials and lowering of the cost of living and production will stimulate building activity and further increase the volume of labour required. In this connection it should be borne in mind, first, that imported building materials make up only 10% to 15% of the total cost of building, and second, that immigration itself, by increasing the supply of labour, will be a potent factor in reducing the cost of building.

Child and Juvenile Immigration:

13. The allocation of 25,000 permits for children falls outside the estimate of the economic absorptive capacity as these children will be supported by funds to be provided from abroad. A detailed scheme has been worked out by the Youth Aliyah Department of the Jewish Agency which provides for the accommodation and education of these children as follows:

	<u>Numbers</u>
1. Training Centres in Agricultural Settlements:	
Juveniles 9,100	
Children <u>3,900</u>	13,000
2. Expansion of existing educational institutions	1,200
3. Establishment of 42 new institutions in agricultural settlements	7,300
4. Four new boarding schools	1,200
5. Places to be vacated by present trainees on completion of training period	<u>2,300</u> 25,000

The new contingent of 25,000 children and juveniles will necessitate the employment of tutors, instructors and administrative personnel aggregating 1,430.

Services and Other Occupations:

14. The total labour requirements so far assessed are:

1. Citrus industry	5,400	
2. Mixed Farming	5,300	
3. Industry	7,200	
4. Building	16,700	
5. Personnel for immigrant children	<u>1,400</u>	36,000

15. To this total of vacancies in the basic branches of economy an allowance has to be added for a corresponding number of vacancies in the catering trades, distributory services, commerce, transport, liberal professions, clerical services, etc. On the basis of the present occupational composition of the Jewish community, (the ratio of 37:63 as between the occupations enumerated above on the one hand and agricultural and industry on the other hand) an allowance of 21,150 would be due on that score as an addition to 36,000. On the assumption that persons already employed in the functional services will partly be utilised to cater to the immigrant population, the estimated number of new immigrants to be absorbed in these services has been reduced by one-half, viz. to 11,500 which may be regarded as a minimum. We thus arrive at a total of 46,500 adult earners.

Dependents:

16. The ratio of dependence to principal immigrants (not counting among the latter, young persons entering under C3) in the years 1941-44 was 3.4. Assuming that the same proportion will be maintained, the total number of dependants will be 34,900.

Total:

17. The full total is thus as follows:-

(a) Primary occupations	36,000	
(b) Subsidiary occupations	10,500	
(c) Dependants of (a) and (b)	34,900	
(d) Children and juveniles without parents	<u>25,000</u>	106,400

18. A general reduction in all trades is indicated in respect of released soldiers who will seek employment. Their number in the near future is not likely to exceed a few thousand. Moreover, those of them who will be re-absorbed in agricultural settlements have already been accounted for. To meet this contingency, it is proposed to disregard the excess over 100,000 in the present estimate.

Jerusalem
18.6.1945

Washington, D. C.

July 2, 1945

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

THE victorious close of the war in Europe makes it timely and urgent to address you now on a subject which may well be the testing ground of our determination to achieve a stable peace based on justice and equality.

The story of the monstrous atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis needs no repetition. The Jewish people were deliberately singled out for wholesale annihilation, and in this suffered beyond all other peoples. Civilization owes it to the Jewish people to see that the great work of reconstituting Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth initiated at the end of the last war, with the endorsement of the League of Nations and of our Government and people, is brought to a successful conclusion.

Every President of the United States since Woodrow Wilson has reaffirmed the support of the American Government for the restoration of the Jewish National Home. The United States Congress, as early as 1922, endorsed that policy. The approval was reaffirmed by the American-British Convention of 1924. The two major American political parties in 1944 declared at their respective national conventions their support of this policy, and thirty-three of our States representing eighty-five percent of the American population have similarly gone on record, through resolutions adopted by their respective Legislatures, in support of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

All efforts to find refuge for the uprooted Jews of Europe have been fruitless. It is apparent that the undertaking at the end of the last war to establish Palestine as a national home for the Jewish people is the only answer.

The Jews have shown what they are able to create in their ancestral home, both as colonizers in peace and as allies in war. Their record in both respects is superb. They have established a sound economy. Their achievements in industry, agriculture and public works are proof that the land they are so admirably reclaiming can absorb all who seek a home there. Their single-minded devotion to the Allied cause, and their contribution of blood and toil which in Palestine is out of all proportion to their number, constitutes an outstanding chapter in the history of our common struggle.

Mr. President, we believe that the time for action is now. We respectfully urge, now that hostilities in Europe have ceased, that all powers of our Government be exerted toward the immediate fulfillment of that policy to which America is so deeply committed. We earnestly request you to use your influence with the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory for Palestine, to open forthwith the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization; and we hope that you will urge all interested governments to join with the United States toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth at the earliest possible time.

To the attainment of these ends — which have the endorsement of the American people — we pledge you our support.

Respectfully yours,

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Memorandum on Palestine

MEMORANDUM ON PALESTINE

1. THE UNITED STATES AND THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME PROMISE.

On November 2, 1917, the British Government, after full consultation with President Wilson, issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people. The Declaration was subsequently included in the Mandate for Palestine, and was endorsed by 52 nations. The Jewish National Home pledge was approved in 1922 by a unanimous resolution of the Congress of the United States. It was subsequently incorporated in the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, which provided:

"Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, ... unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

The purpose of the Declaration was expressed by President Wilson when in March, 1919, he stated:

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

Every American President since Wilson has endorsed the Jewish National Home objective and in 1944 it received the unequivocal support of both of the great national parties. The Palestine plank in the Democratic party platform reads as follows:

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

On October 15, 1944, in his historic message to the Zionist Organization of America, the late President Roosevelt gave his support to this plank and stated:

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

This position was reaffirmed by President Roosevelt on March 16, 1945.

On April 20, 1945, President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement to the effect that he intends to carry out President Roosevelt's policy, with which he is fully familiar.

Within recent months 33 States representing 85% of the population of the United States have through resolutions of their State Legislatures gone on record in favor of this objective. More recently, 37 State Governors, as well as a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, in petitions addressed to the President, have urged early and affirmative action in support of the Zionist program. The American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and various business, religious and educational organizations have likewise committed themselves in support of this aim.

There can be no question that the overwhelming majority of the five million Jews in this country fully support these Zionist aspirations. The American Jewish Conference, which speaks for the majority of them, has on two separate occasions gone on record to this effect.

2. BRITISH SUPPORT. The Jewish Commonwealth also has the support of a large section of British public opinion. Both the Labor and Liberal parties have at recent conventions passed resolutions in its behalf; while in the Conservative party such men as Winston Churchill, Leopold Amery and Alfred Duff Cooper have long been convinced supporters of the Zionist cause. Undoubtedly, for many others in the Conservative party, a determining factor will be the strength and character of American support.

3. THE RESPONSE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. The Jewish people responded to the opportunity given them under the Mandate with eagerness and devotion. Funds running into hundreds of millions of dollars have been provided by Jews in all parts of the world, and in particular by the Jews of the United States, for Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine and for the economic development of the country. A land which had become waste and neglected under the Turks was transformed out of all recognition. In the course of twenty-five years the Jewish population of Palestine has grown from 60,000 to 600,000. They have established some three hundred Jewish agricultural settlements, and have made Palestine the industrial center of the whole Middle East, with thousands of factories and small workshops; new cities have come into being, and the capital city of Jerusalem today has a population of over 130,000, of whom a substantial majority are Jews; the same is true of Haifa -- strategic key to the Eastern Mediterranean and terminus of the oil pipe-line from Iraq. Jews have harnessed the waters of the Jordan as a means of electrical power, and have initiated the development of the inexhaustible chemical resources of the Dead Sea. Hebrew has been revived as a living language and the efficient Hebrew School system embraces the entire educational field, from kindergartens to a University and technological institute. In regard to their internal affairs, further, the Jews of Palestine have developed a well organized system of self government on the widest democratic basis. For all purposes there have, in fact, been established in Palestine the beginnings of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The effect of all this on the position of the Arab population was epitomized by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) in the House of Commons in 1938:

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present), at which it had been stable under the

Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

4. THE WHITE PAPER OF MAY 1939. In 1936, disturbances fomented by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and directed against both the Jews and the British broke out in Palestine. The response of the Chamberlain government was in conformity with its general program of appeasement at that time. In May, 1939, it issued the Palestine White Paper. In essence the White Paper was a capitulation to the demands of the Arab terrorists. In direct contradiction with the purposes of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, it provided (1) that Jews must not be permitted to exceed one-third of the population of Palestine, and to this end no further Jewish immigration would be permitted after the admission of a quota of 75,000, now practically exhausted; (2) for the effective prohibition of Jewish settlement on the land in 95% of the 10,000 square miles of Palestine.

The White Paper was held by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the only competent international body to have considered the question, to be incompatible with the Mandate. It was denounced by large sections of British public opinion and was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill as a "breach and a repudiation" of Britain's pledges and a "mortal blow" to the Jewish people. As prophesied by him, it did not even serve to secure the appeasement sought. The Mufti of Jerusalem, who had organized and directed the terrorist outbreaks in Palestine of the pre-war years, continued his pro-Axis activities and finally fled to Berlin. In Iraq, at a most critical moment in the war, there was an anti-British uprising. The other Arab countries seethed with pro-Axis propaganda, and only when the war in Europe was virtually at an end did the Arab states "declare war" on Germany. The Jewish people rejected the moral and legal validity of the White Paper, but for which indeed many tens of thousands of Jews could have been saved from Nazi massacre. Were it not for the outbreak of war they would have resisted its enforcement in Palestine by every means at their disposal. As long as the war in Europe lasted, however, they considered it their paramount duty to do their part in the struggle against the Axis as if there were no White Paper. The Jews of Palestine alone in all the Middle East fought actively on the side of the United Nations. Their dead lie scattered on the battlefields of Greece, Syria and North Africa, and their economic and military contribution was out of all proportion to their numbers. Now that the war in Europe is over, however, the White Paper will no longer be tolerated. As was predicted by Mr. Churchill in 1939, it "will be resisted by the despairing Jews." A situation is therefore developing which threatens a tragedy in the Holy Land - a tragedy which will be regretted by the whole civilized world. For it is clear that the further application of the White Paper will be resisted by the Jews and will be possible only by the continued use of brutal force. This tragedy must be averted. It can be averted by a clear-cut decision. It cannot be averted if there are further delays, half solutions or paper formulas.

CONSIDERATIONS WHICH COMPEL AN IMMEDIATE DECISION

5. SITUATION IN EUROPE. Of the six million Jews inhabiting the European continent (outside Russia) in 1939, nearly five million are estimated to have been massacred under the Nazis. For most of the survivors, deprived of their belongings and of their livelihood, continued existence in an atmosphere poisoned

by anti-Semitism and by the recollection of the horrors they have endured, is intolerable. Europe has become the graveyard of their families, of their fellow Jews and of their hopes. Economically and as a group they have lost the basis of existence. The bitter and potent residue of anti-Semitism left by the Nazis in most European countries may well be used as an instrument in the resurgence of aggressive nationalism. Jews will not be able to recover their economic position and what they do recover by way of jobs or property can only be secured over the bitter opposition of the present holders.

In these conditions, to provide for the voluntary emigration of the greater part of the Jews of Europe corresponds not only with their needs and desires but would be a genuine contribution to the stabilization of Europe. It is certain also that the countries of the Western Hemisphere will not today readily receive large numbers of emigrants. Palestine alone, therefore, offers the European Jews the prospect of a fresh start among their own people and of a dignified and constructive existence.

6. ORIENTAL JEWRY. In addition to the problem of the Jews of Europe, there is that of the Jews of the Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East. Approximately a million in number, they live under conditions of increasing xenophobia and religious intolerance, such as may lead at any time (as in the case of the Baghdad pogrom of 1941) to acute persecution. For them, too, emigration to Palestine is the obvious and indeed the only rational solution and should be undertaken without delay.

7. PALESTINE READY TO RECEIVE FIRST MILLION JEWS. During the past two years the Jewish Agency has been working out plans for the speedy transfer of the first million Jews and their settlement in Palestine in the shortest possible time. The area of Western Palestine is somewhat more than six and a half million acres. The 600,000 Jews of Palestine are settled on about 400,000 acres -- about 6% of this area. The Arabs occupy another 1,750,000 acres. The remaining four and a half million acres of Palestine are entirely unoccupied and officially regarded as uncultivable. In fact, however, most of the present flourishing Jewish settlements are located on land which was originally considered "uncultivable" and the Jews are willing and able, on the basis of experience of the last 65 years in Palestine, to settle most of this waste land. Experts of the Jewish Agency, corroborated recently by two great American irrigation specialists, Mr. J. L. Savage and Mr. J. B. Hays, maintain that at least a million acres can be put under irrigation. At present less than one-tenth of this is irrigated. Hundreds of thousands of new settlers could find a livelihood on the land and, as Jewish experience in Palestine has shown, for each family on the land at least four families can be settled in industrial, commercial, maritime and other pursuits.

But in order to enable all the Jews who need and want to go to Palestine to settle there in the shortest possible time, a clear-cut decision is now necessary that Palestine is to be established as a Jewish State and that the Jewish Agency for Palestine, internationally recognized under the Mandate as the representative of the Jewish people, be vested with all necessary powers to control immigration into Palestine and to build up the country.

8. ARAB OPPOSITION. The main obstacle to the carrying out of this program is said to be Arab opposition. While the Arabs are not expected to give their consent in advance to a Jewish State, once a clear-cut decision by the Great Powers will be reached and announced, it will be accepted as an accomplished fact, as it was at the time of the Balfour Declaration. All the

promises made to the Arab peoples at the end of the last war have been fulfilled in their entirety. As a result of Allied victory the Arab countries, stretching over a vast territory, have gained their independence. Only the pledge made to the Jewish people, and endorsed by 52 nations of the world including the United States, still remains unredeemed.

It is sometimes suggested that this pledge to the Jewish people can be fulfilled only at the cost of bloodshed on the part of an aroused Arab world. The fact is, however, that there was never a time when the Arabs were so dependent on the Great Powers nor when the latter's prestige and authority were greater than they are today. Certainly as long as there is hope by agitation and threats of violence to influence the decision, the Arab leaders will continue to employ these tactics. No Arab leader will talk in terms of cooperation if there is hope that the White Paper may still be implemented. Let there once be a clear and unequivocal decision, however, by the Great Powers acting in concert and followed immediately by determined action and the whole Arab "bogey" will be found to be the myth it is.

As regard the actual military force at the disposal of the Arabs, it should be remembered that at a most critical moment in the war the revolt, with Axis aid, of the Iraqi army under Prime Minister Rashid El Gailani was suppressed by only two Battalions of British troops!

It is hardly to be doubted that granted the determination of the Great Powers and their readiness to use force if necessary, the need for its actual employment in implementing a just decision in Palestine will, apart from some minor and sporadic outbreaks, not arise.

9. THE TIME ELEMENT. The vital element is that of time. The world situation today is fluid. The Great Powers are now in a position to carry out major changes which later may be difficult. Already indeed opportunities have been lost. During the concluding months of 1944, when the danger to the Middle East was long past and the downfall of Germany a fact, the Arab countries were anxious to be admitted to the United Nations. Although they had played a minimal part in the war effort and in many instances acted detrimentally to the cause of the United Nations, they were admitted to membership. At that time an announcement that, prior to the admission of the Arab countries to the ranks of the Allies, the unsettled Palestine problem must be solved by opening the country to unrestricted Jewish immigration and by its transformation into a Jewish State, would have encountered a minimum of opposition. The Great Powers are still in the position, within the framework of a general settlement, to offer to the Arab world by way of a quid pro quo generous political and economic advantages. The Arab lands of the Middle East are for the most part undeveloped and underpopulated. They offer scope for Arab development and civilizing endeavor for a century to come. But assistance to this end must be predicated on the establishment of a firmly rooted Jewish nation in Palestine.

10. A JOINT BRITISH-AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. The fate of Palestine is now largely in the hands of the British and American governments. There is reason to believe that if they decide to fulfill the pledge given to the Jewish people their decision will be accepted also by the Soviet Union. Our government has always maintained that as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the last war, it has a right to participate in the disposition of territories taken away from the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the last war, it exercised that right in favor of creating the Jewish National Home under the terms of the

Palestine Mandate. The future of that Mandate is shortly to be determined. Our Government will again be called upon to exercise its right in determining what disposition should be made of it. The American people have made it indubitably clear that they favor redeeming the pledge made to the Jewish people, which calls for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, in which all the inhabitants shall enjoy equal civic, religious and cultural rights, and all opportunities for economic advancement. The failure to exercise our right in favor of this objective will constitute a gross betrayal of the principles of international law and good faith at a time when it is more than ever necessary that these be confirmed and strengthened. It is inconceivable that our government will be prepared to place itself in any such position.

Based upon the considerations set forth above, it is submitted that our government should take immediate action to right a great historic wrong and put an end at long last to the homelessness of the Jews as a people.

It is therefore most respectfully urged

- (1) that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, and
- (2) that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with all necessary authority to bring to Palestine as many Jews as need and wish to settle there, and given such financial, technical and other aid as will help the development of the country to its maximum capacity.

July 3, 1945.

Memorandum

July 20, 1945

To decide on an intelligent division of work in Washington between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council, it is necessary to visualize clearly the tasks facing us in Washington and the atmosphere in which these tasks would have to be performed.

The principal tasks are as follows:

1. - Negotiations with high Executive officials regarding political steps calculated to bring about the Jewish State.
2. - Negotiations with government officials concerning economic and technical measures of value to Jewish Palestine (trade and currency arrangements, shipping facilities, visas and travel priorities, communication facilities, etc.).
3. - Creating and maintaining a friendly attitude in the circles of Executive officials and their entourage, and dispelling hostile influences in these quarters, as a condition of successful negotiations.
4. - Creating and maintaining a friendly attitude in Congressional circles (both Democratic and Republican) and dispelling hostile influences in these quarters.
5. - Obtaining active Congressional support for our efforts, both through formal action of the Houses of Congress and through informal (either public or discreet) action by members of Congress acting individually or in groups.
6. - Creating and maintaining a friendly attitude in circles of leading authors, editorial writers, columnists, commentators, leaders of various civic organizations and other persons who congregate in Washington and who play an important part in

moulding the public opinion of the country, and dispelling hostile influences in these quarters.

7. - Creating and maintaining a friendly attitude in foreign press circles in Washington.

8. - Creating and maintaining a friendly attitude in circles of foreign government representatives in Washington.

9. - If necessary, - utilizing foreign circles in Washington as channels for negotiations with foreign governments.

The essential purpose of all these activities should be to have the full weight of American influence pulled in favor of a Jewish Palestine. This is not now the case. At present, the American Government does not sufficiently - if at all - attempt to persuade the British Government of the need to reconstitute Palestine as a Jewish State or even of the need to renounce the White Paper policy. On the contrary, a great many U. S. Government officials seem to doubt the wisdom, if not the justice, of a Jewish Palestine. These doubts have been strengthened by misconceptions regarding the intrinsic merits of a Pan-Arab bloc and ^{REGARDING} American interests in connection with the oil resources and the strategic position of the Middle East -- misconceptions which are being constantly fed by information from British sources, from Arab quarters, and from individual Americans closely linked to the Arabs by background and various ties. This situation is reflected in the attitude of American representatives in the field. It creates the impression among Arab and British officials with whom they come in contact that American policy

is not at all pro-Zionist, and thus encourages a further stiffening of British and Arab attitudes. In addition, there are serious grounds to believe that American acquiescence in British arrangements is figuring as a quid pro quo in certain understandings with Britain regarding British acquiescence in American policies in other regions.

Lately, doubts concerning the wisdom of American support for Zionism have begun to penetrate Congressional and press circles as well.

To counterbalance these hostile tendencies, to which ought to be added anti-Zionist propaganda from certain Jewish quarters and from some oil companies, it is necessary to strengthen and activate pro-Zionist influences in all appropriate quarters. To a large extent, this means constant and sustained contact with friendly circles, instead of the sporadic contact which we have cultivated hitherto. But to a much larger extent, this means the use of appropriate arguments, sufficient to convince the circles in question. These arguments are partly moral, partly legal, and partly political and economic in character. Special attention should be given to political and economic arguments stressing that the self-interest of the United States is not opposed to, but in many ways served by a Jewish Palestine, since it is considerations of alleged American self-interest that weigh most heavily when marshalled against us in Washington.

A particular place is to be given, of course, to pressure of voters vitally interested in the furtherance of a Jewish Palestine on their elected representatives, candidates, and political party organizations.

It is not clearly visualized in Zionist circles to what extent our contacts in governmental circles ought to be diffused. Influences and views in the higher and middle brackets of American officialdom go in personal circles and are not necessarily determined by the job occupied by the particular official. An assistant attorney general who has nothing to do with foreign affairs may be the best channel to an important official in Foreign Economic Administration or in the Department of State. Because of this, we must broaden the scope of our contacts among Executive officials. It should also be understood that certain members of Washington society and of the top-flight journalists are very close to important Executive officials, thus providing us with another potential channel. In addition, it should be realized that the agencies directly concerned with our problems are much more numerous than this would appear at the first glance. These agencies include the Department of State, the Treasury, the War Department, the Navy Department, the Department of Commerce, the Petroleum Administration, the Foreign Economic Administration, Office of Censorship, Office of Strategic Services, Maritime Commission, Shipping Administration, as well as international organizations such as the UNRRA, etc.

This memorandum does not propose to go into the question to what extent the policy is to be decided by the Agency abroad, by the Council in America, or by a suitable body that would give adequate representation to both groups. It

is assumed, however, that a coordinated procedure for the framing of policies will be devised.

On this assumption, the following arrangement in Washington would appear most reasonable:

Negotiations with the American Government on a high political level can be best conducted by the recognized leaders of Zionism. Whether these men come on behalf of American Zionists or on behalf of the Agency is less important than that they be of a caliber sufficient for the purpose and possess the necessary qualifications. Other things being equal, access to the top-figures in Government can be more frequently secured by prominent American Jews than by men from abroad.

Negotiations on an economic and technical level can be best conducted by people having a thorough knowledge of Washington and familiar with its officialdom and procedures. They would have to be, practically speaking, Americans, but it would often be useful to have experts from Palestine participate in these negotiations. The Agency would appear in many (though not in all) cases as the negotiating party, but the road should be paved by American Zionists.

Social contacts and a flow of information in official and unofficial circles in Washington (except Congress) can be maintained either under the aegis of the Agency, or under that of the Council. The important thing is that it be directed by people with a thorough knowledge of the American scene. Use of Palestinians and Europeans, who would be able to inject "local color" and a detailed knowledge of special topics, would be most valuable, however.

Congressional contacts must be maintained on a purely American level, with only occasional use of guests from Palestine and other countries as interesting persons who could convey interesting information.

Political pressure work must go on on a strictly American level, without any interference by any non-American bodies or personalities.

Contacts with foreign government representatives and the foreign press can be made either by Agency representatives or by those of the Council. As a matter of fact, there is some advantage in impressing foreigners in Washington with the attitude of American Jewry on Palestine. Nevertheless, a lot of some contacts can be handled more easily by Agency people, and most of the negotiations with foreign governments through Washington channels ought to be an Agency function.

This arrangement could be carried out with a few variations:

Variant A - (Council directs Washington work; Agency is introduced as negotiator in specific cases; Agency personnel is used for contacts, when this is opportune).

Office of the Agency:

Representative of Agency in U.S.A.

1 - 3 personable staff members, of use as experts and for contacts (foreigners, preferably Palestinians).

Office of the Council:

Chairman of Executive Committee (non-resident)

Director (resident)

Assistant in charge of Democratic contacts

Assistant in charge of Republican contacts

2 Assistants in charge of Executive contacts

2 Assistants in charge of press and civic
groups' contacts.

(The assignments should not be too strictly
defined. After all, contacts have to be made
with people, and Washington society does not
move in water-tight circles).

Consultant (one or more).

Variant B - (Agency directs Washington work; Council is
used for such tasks as may not be accomplished
by foreign body).

Office of the Agency:

Representative of Agency in U.S.A.

Director (resident)

1 - 3 Palestinian assistants

1 - 3 American Assistants

Office of the Council:

Chairman of Executive Committee (non-resident)

2 staff members in charge of Congressional relations

1 liaison man with executive agencies

Consultant (L. Sack)

Variant C - (Division of work between Agency and Council offices,
each headed by a resident director and given certain
jurisdiction independent of one another).

It can be done on paper, but I doubt its feasibility in practice. It will lead to jurisdictional disputes that will spread to New York and Jerusalem, and energy will be dissipated from political work to internal squabbles.



DRAFT OF CABLE FROM SENATORS TO PRESIDENT TRUMAN

July 26, 1945

As you know, we petitioned you, prior to your departure, to "use your influence with the Government of Great Britain, the Mandatory for Palestine, to open forthwith the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and to urge all interested governments to join with the United States toward the end of establishing Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth at the earliest possible time."

The new government which has been elected for Great Britain is committed, through the platform of the Labor Party, to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, as was Mr. Churchill himself. We would therefore regard it as most timely to settle this important issue at the present conference in Berlin. A decision favorable to the opening of the doors of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, in fulfillment of pledges made to the Jewish people, would contribute to a stable world peace based on justice. The Jewish Commonwealth has been endorsed by the two major American political parties in 1944, by 33 State Legislatures and ⁴⁰~~27~~ Governors.

It has also been approved by every President of the United States since Woodrow Wilson, and recently you gave your ^{own} endorsement to it, reaffirming

the position of President Roosevelt.

We respectfully urge that you request ~~all interested governments to~~ ^{the heads of the ~~university~~ ~~in Berlin~~}

join with the United States towards the end of establishing a free and democratic

Jewish Commonwealth, ~~at the present time.~~

the heads of the
governments, now
meeting in Berlin

Mr. dear Sen.

(copy for each to
take to Congress)

This is the
of cable which I read to
you even ph. I believe that
if signed by 6 or 8 Senators
rep. both parties I cabled
to Pres. it would prove
very helpful. With all
good wishes.

Sincerely yours,
AHS.

Dr. Silver

Suggested plan for organizing and financing the World Christian Conference on Palestine to be held in Washington, D. C. on the 1st and 2nd of November, 1945

1. A Conference Committee, representative of as many nations as possible, would be organized immediately. All invitations and the Conference correspondence shall be sent out in the names listed on the letterhead. Three such names are now assured: (a) Sir Wyndham Deedes of Great Britain; (b) Sir Ellsworth Flavelle of Canada; and (c) Senator Robert A. Wagner of the United States of America. It may be wise to include the names of several representative clergymen from various nations.
2. The working committee would include Mrs. Rachel Yarden and Dr. Traub of the Jewish Agency office in New York City; Mr. Linton of London; Mrs. Blanche J. Shepard, Mr. Abe Tuvim, Dean Howard M. Le Sourd, and Dr. Carl Hermann Voss of the American Christian Palestine Committee.
3. Invitations would go to Christian leaders (not more than six from any single nation and preferably two or three in number for the average delegation) selected by the Executive of each national Zionist Organization. Copies of the invitation and duplicates of all correspondence would be sent regularly to these Zionist committees to keep them abreast of developments.
4. The plan of financing would be as follows:
 - a. The Zionist Organization of each nation would pay all the expenses of their Christian delegates to Washington and while in Washington, including hotel and meals. These expenses would not include the Conference luncheons and dinners. If some country is unable to pay the expenses, then by a decision of Mrs. Yarden, Dr. Traub, and Mr. Linton, or some other similar committee of executives chosen by officials of the Jewish Agency, these special expenses would be borne by the Jewish Agency.
 - b. The Jewish Agency For Palestine would pay for:
 - (1) Stationery, postage, cables, and other expenses incurred in working up the representation from the various nations.
 - (2) The expenses of the Conference, including Conference rooms luncheon and dinner for the delegates of November 1st; the Conference rooms and luncheon on November 2nd.
 - (3) Publicity expense in connection with the Conference, except American public relations which would be the responsibility of the American Christian Palestine Committee.
 - (4) Expenses of Jewish Agency personnel at the Conference, ~~expenses~~
 - (5) The expenses of a delegate or delegates from a country, where,

as stated above, the Zionist Organization cannot pay the expenses of a delegate or delegates. Poland is a case in point, if a Christian or, more accurately, a non-Jewish Committee were in existence and allowed to send delegates.

c. The American Christian Palestine Committee will pay for:

- (1) The expenses of the American delegates.
- (2) The expenses of the speakers~~*~~ brought to the Conference.
- (3) The banquet on November 2nd of approximately 1000 person in attendance -- including Senators, Representatives, government officials, ambassadors from foreign countries and other important persons in and around Washington.

* * * *

According to our estimates the financial responsibilities of the Jewish Agency For Palestine for the expenses listed above, excluding the expenses of any delegates from countries where the Zionist Organization is financially unable to pay the expenses of its delegation, would be about \$2,500. to \$3,000.

We calculate the expenses of the American Christian Palestine Committee to amount to about \$6,000. to \$7,500.

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As soon as this World Conference has been approved by the Executive of the Jewish Agency, the project should be presented to the World Zionist Conference met here in London (with a Yiddish interpreter for those delegates who do not understand English). As far as possible the invitation list should be made up now with those nations, wishing to participate, signifying their intention of doing so. The names of possible delegates should be given as soon as possible to Mr. Linton, Dean LeSourd, and Dr. Voss; and then the machinery for this Conference may be set in motion as soon as consent is given. Only two and a half months remain before the beginning of this Conference. This will be sufficient time if preparations can be started now during the summer.