



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

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

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

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American Zionist Emergency Council, "R", 1938-1946.

MAX RHOADE  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Republic 4477  
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4748

1623 Juniper Street, N. W.  
~~1831 G STREET, N. W.~~

August 14, 1944

WASHINGTON

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I've been out of touch with Zionist affairs for a long time. This is not the occasion to enter into the reasons. Suffice it now to say that since my Zionism has not waned, I am not happy over it. Further, my own conscience in the matter is entirely clear.

I emerge to write you this word regarding Henry P. Fletcher. According to the press, he has been designated an American representative to the forthcoming conference regarding problems of the post-war settlement. In 1922, when I represented the Zionist Organization in Washington in connection with the resolution of Congress favoring Zionism, Fletcher was Undersecretary of State (Hughes was Secretary). We dealt with Fletcher concerning the resolution, and won his warm support. It was largely through his efforts that the State Department adopted a friendly attitude. The late Senator Selden Spencer, of Missouri, a great friend of Zionism, primarily was instrumental in enlisting his aid.

Although Fletcher is a Republican, he has been in the diplomatic service for a long time. In his new role, of course, he is of great importance to us, and may be in a position to help in more ways than one. It is of course necessary to ascertain whether he is still friendly. I imagine an excellent introduction for you could be arranged through your friend, Senator Taft. I am sure Fletcher will appreciate our remembering his contribution to the passage of the resolution--unless, of course, his attitude has completely changed in the meantime. In any case, he is important enough for you to see him personally--and little time is left before the opening of the conference.

I thought I should not fail to bring the foregoing to your attention, in case you were not already in touch with Fletcher.

As I was not sure of your present movements, I am sending a copy of this letter to Rabbi Wise and also to Rabbi Israel Goldstein.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Max Rhoades

MR:ln



MAX RHOADE  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Republic 4477  
TELEPHONE ~~NATIONAL 4477~~

1623 Juniper Street, N. W.  
~~1623 G STREET, N.W.~~

August 15, 1944

WASHINGTON

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Although I am quite sure you are acquainted with the fact, perhaps I should have added in my letter to you regarding Henry P. Fletcher that he was formerly, of course, the Chairman of the Republican National Committee, apart from having been most of his life in the diplomatic service.

That was why I thought of Senator Taft arranging to have you meet Fletcher, in case you were not already acquainted with him.

While Fletcher, as a Republican, may have little to say in the formation of policy--just because he is a Republican, he might be willing to talk to you and Taft (if the latter remains in touch with him) much more freely concerning what he picks up.

Cordially yours,

*Max Rhoads*

MR:fl



August 2, 1945

Mr. James N. Rosenberg  
165 Broadway  
New York City

Dear Mr. Rosenberg:

With reference to the remarks made to you by Mr. Ohrbach "that I had failed to satisfy the Committee of Six" when it indicated its desire to have a study made of the ONA's activities, I enclose copies of an exchange of correspondence between our Agency and the Committee of Six. Please note in particular Mr. Blaustein's letter of April 5, 1944.

After considerable discussion, an understanding was reached in regard to the scope and purpose of the study, and we were agreeable to having it undertaken. At first, Professor Lee was suggested to conduct the survey, but on December 26, Mr. Benjamin R. Epstein, Secretary of the Committee of Six, informed us that Professor Lee was not available, and asked us for alternate suggestions. We replied on January 10, suggesting either William Schirer, Andre Visson, or Quincy Howe. We received no reply to this letter.

May I now draw your attention to paragraph 2, page 2 of Mr. Blaustein's letter, in which he says, "I would be less than frank, however, if I did not tell you that we had some misgivings as to the absolute objectivity and competency of the study proposed by the Committee of Six." This remark was prompted by certain antecedents which must be related if you are to comprehend fully our position.

Some time in 1943, the AJC employed one, Horace Marston, as head of the department dealing with the Foreign Language groups in the United States. Antagonism developed between Marston and myself. I had objected to the kind of contacts he established with reactionary foreign language newspapers. He took revenge by stating to certain government agencies in Washington that he had heard reports that the ONA and I were on the payroll of the Russian and Czech Embassies; that he believed these reports, and that I should be investigated.

I brought this development to the attention of Mr. Alan Stroock, then Chairman of the Administrative Committee of the AJC, and asked for an investigation. I also communicated with Herbert Bayard Swope, who made a similar request of Judge Proskauer. Mr. Morris Waldman was entrusted with this investigation. He made a careful and painstaking effort to get at the facts. As a result of his findings, the Committee decided to dispense with the services of Mr. Marston. However, they did not inform him of the real reason for his dismissal.



August 2, 1945.

Soon afterwards, Mr. Marston was engaged by the Anti-Defamation League for exactly the same kind of work he had done for the AJC. I wonder how much of a real effort was made by the ADL to consult with the AJC before hiring Marston. Nevertheless, I have reason to believe that the ADL knew about his activities against ONA and myself, since I had informed a prominent ADL official about what had transpired. Despite this, Marston was employed.

You will realize what effect it had on Washington officials when Marston again appeared on the scene after having been put in charge of the same kind of activity by another important defense agency. I would not be at all surprised that some suspicions of the Agency and myself are aroused if an important Jewish communal body continues to employ one who originally spread the rumors against us, and it would not be surprising if ultimately they would want to investigate me and the Agency. It would be entirely due to the fact that not only are such rumors not contradicted, but as a matter of fact even emanate from Jewish communal sources.

At a luncheon meeting at which Mr. Ben Epstein and Mr. Samuel H. Kaufman attended on behalf of the ADL; Mr. Alan Stroock, Mr. David Sher, and Dr. John Slawson for the AJC; and Mr. Jacob Blaustein and I for JTA-ONA, I brought up the Marston affair. I stated that I had been told that a committee of two on behalf of the ADL Board had inquired into the Marston affair and had reported to the Board that they had spoken to Mr. Stroock who had stated that he saw no objection to the employment of Marston. Mr. Stroock flatly contradicted this report. He said he <sup>had</sup> made no such statement.

I drew the attention of the ADL representatives to the grave consequences of tolerating tactics such as those pursued by Marston. I pointed out that nothing would suit anti-Semitic propaganda better than a charge that an Agency which was an offshoot of a world-wide Jewish News Agency, the latter being backed by 300 Jewish Communities throughout the United States, as well as by the Warburgs, Schiff, Rosenwald, Bernard Baruch, and many other prominent Jewish names and leaders here and abroad, was tied up with Moscow. It was tantamount to giving substance to one of the main themes of Nazi propaganda.

I further pointed out that if this slander continued to be circulated, the entire Jewish Community would be affected, and the defense agencies would have to spend a good deal of time and money in refutation. I emphasized that no one is held in greater contempt by Jews than an informer who makes false denunciations about Jews to Government bodies, and that in my opinion, it was incredible that such a person should be employed by a Jewish communal organization, particularly, by a defense agency whose purpose it was to protect the Jews against defamation. Despite my statements at that meeting, Marston is still in the employ of the ADL.

In view of these circumstances, you will appreciate how preposterous a study would be, made under the auspices of an organization whose objectivity and fairness we have good reason to question. Since his employment by the ADL, Mr. Marston, I am informed on good authority, turned out a memorandum in which he endeavored to prove that ONA is following the Communist party line.

Mr. Ohrbach should have no difficulty obtaining from AJC, Mr. Waldman's report on the inquiry into the Marston affair. When perusing Mr. Waldman's report, he will learn, to his astonishment that Mr. Frank



August 2, 1945.

Trager, then one of the highest officials of the AJC, aided Mr. Marston without justification. Mr. Trager informed Mr. Swope, Mr. Harold Guinzburg, and various members of his Committee, as well as me, that he had learned from a Washington official that our Agency was about to be investigated by the Department of Justice because of our tie-up with Moscow. He was hard pressed by Mr. Waldman to divulge the source, but he declined, stating that "this is privileged information." He gave the same reply to me when I asked him for his source. I know today that Mr. Trager based his statement on information given him by Mr. Marston. (I am rather curious to know whether, when he is released from the Army, Mr. Trager will be re-employed by the AJC.)

When studying all relevant documents and material, Mr. Ohrbach will discover that the Committee of Six had decided to employ Mr. Isaiah Minkoff as professional consultant in the study of our Agency. Mr. Minkoff is known for his phobia on Russia, and time and time again has severely criticized ONA. This is another indication of how impartial the proposed study was intended to be.

Mr. Ohrbach will further learn that the ADL, under the influence of Mr. Marston and the Jewish Labor Committee, and probably also of Mr. Minkoff, utilizes the Common Council for American Unity in the work of the ADL in the Foreign Language Press of this country.

This calls for a word about the Common Council for American Unity. Mr. Ohrbach will be able to find in the files of both the AJC and the ADL material to indicate that the Common Council, at least until Pearl Harbor, refused to send out anti-fascist material, and even termed anti-Semitism a "controversial issue." Further study of the Common Council would indicate that that organization lent itself, during the war, to the protection of some of the most reactionary foreign language newspapers in this country. The records of the AJC further indicate the ineffectiveness of the Common Council's operations.

The utilization of the Common Council by the ADL must be considered in the light of the existence of the comprehensive Foreign Language Division maintained by the Overseas News Agency. This Foreign Language Division has far better facilities for rendering the kind of services required by the ADL than the Common Council has. Proof of this may be seen in the following facts:

1. The OWI, during the entire period it maintained its foreign language branch (until July 1st of this year) utilized this Division of the ONA in order to effectively reach the Foreign Language press of the United States.
2. The Office of Strategic Services contracted with ONA for the compilation of weekly digests surveying the Foreign Language Press. This work entailed continuous studies of this press in its 23 languages. For these services, OSS originally paid ONA \$300 per month, but they were so satisfied with the quantity and quality of our services that they subsequently increased the fee to \$640 per month, and later (a year ago) to \$1000. While the budget of OSS has been cut in half, and they have been compelled to reduce their activities in any number of directions, they have just given us a new contract for another year, maintaining the subscription fee of \$1000. The OSS has intimated to us that later in the year, this subscription fee may be further increased.



August 2, 1945.

To my knowledge, our Agency is the only organization compiling these Digests which, in my opinion, are indispensable to any organization interested in doing an intelligent and effective job among the foreign language groups and newspapers of this country.

It need hardly be pointed out that such governmental institutions, with their excellent facilities for information would not entrust the ONA with the aforementioned assignments if there were the least substance to the rumor spread by Mr. Marston.

A careful study of this entire development would reveal one of the reasons why the work of our defense agencies is not as effective as it might be. I am convinced that neither Mr. Ohrbach nor the other well-intentioned lay leaders of the AJC or ADL really are cognizant of what happened. I am certain that they do not know all the ramifications and implications of the Marston affair, and that they have only a nebulous idea of why ADL supports an organization like the Common Council. They have no time to study such involved matters, and are compelled to rely on the word of professionals. They are at the mercy of such professionals whenever the latter do not choose the "straight and narrow path," whether for reasons of prejudice, malice or self-interest.

It would be interesting, for example, to know how Mr. Epstein, when reporting on the proposed study of the ONA informed the Committee about our seeming dilatory tactics. The fact is that it usually took him three to four weeks to write one of his laconic letters informing me of whatever decisions his Committee had made. I would also be interested to know whether he informed the Board of the ADL fully and objectively of the statements I had made with regard to Marston at the Luncheon meeting, previously referred to, and particularly whether Epstein had apprised the Board of Mr. Stroock's denial that he had raised no objection to the employment of Marston by the ADL. If he did not do so, he was obviously anxious to keep his own Board in the dark, and contrived the continued employment of Marston on false suppositions and premises.

I have no intention of defending the Agency or myself against the allegations made by Mr. Marston except to say that they are libelous, and that his employment by a Jewish organization is both shocking and disgraceful.

None of the 70 newspapers which we serve in the United States has ever criticized the bona fides of our Agency. We have been attacked only by some reactionary foreign language newspapers, and the Russophobe New Leader. If we follow the Communist party line, then the Herald Tribune, Bernard Baruch (see his speech before the Military Affairs Committee of the House) General Eisenhower, etc. etc. must be following the Communist party line. We are guided by a responsible Board. No one can question the competency of men like Herbert Bayard Swope to guide or evaluate a newspaper or a news agency. I do not need to point out that Mr. Swope would never permit himself to be identified with a Communist News Agency. The same is true of Mr. Jacob Blaustein, who is chairman of the Executive Committee of the AJC. Nor can Professor Shotwell, Mr. John F. Neylan, and Wm. L. White, who are members of our Board, be suspected of allying themselves with a Communist news service.



Mr. James N. Rosenberg, 5

August 2, 1945.

We consider it our task to be objective. We have never hesitated to report a development regardless of whether it painted Russia favorably or unfavorably. We do not consider it our task, however, to join in the hate campaign against Russia.

The Marston affair is indicative to what extent some of our agencies have become the hot bed of petty intrigue. For the ADL to knowingly and deliberately tolerate the Marston situation, indicates to me an amazing lack of a sense of responsibility. In a subsequent letter, I intend to point out that the Marston affair is rather symptomatic, and is a grave indication that the defence work is not founded by our community on as comprehensive conception of the issues we are confronted with, without which it cannot possibly be truly effective.

Sincerely yours,

JACOB LANDAU  
Managing Director





C  
O  
P  
Y

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

August 30, 1945.

Dr. Mr. Lourie:

Replying to your letter of the twenty-eighth,  
I am at present fairly well rushed trying to do a number  
of things before I leave on a short holiday.

May I suggest that if there is any urgency  
that the delegation arrange to see Mr. Ben Cohen in the  
State Department?

Very sincerely,

(Sgd) Samuel I. Rosenman

Arthur Lourie, Esq.,  
Political Secretary  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York 17, New York



CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM  
UNION TRUST BUILDING  
PITTSBURGH, PA.

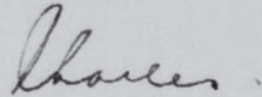
September 7, 1945

Dear Doctor Silver:

I wish to apologize for my delay in answering your telegram but I hope that my reply today with the enclosure will make the proper amends.

I want to take this opportunity of extending to you and your family every good wish for a happy New Year. Lucile joins me in the hope that the year will bring you strength and joy, peace and contentment, and that it sees your efforts on behalf of Jewry and Palestine crowned with success.

Cordially yours,



Charles J. Rosenbloom

Doctor Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
East 105th at Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio



September 12, 1945

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom  
Union Trust Building  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Charles:

Thank you so much for your kind note and the enclosure. Your contribution will help materially in our work.

The Emergency Council is getting under way for very intensive activity in the next few weeks and months. It seems as though some important decisions will be reached in London before very long and we are doing all we can to persuade our Administration to use its good offices in our behalf. There is much work to be done in Washington. President Truman's recent press conference statement indicated that while our government is ready to help, it is easily influenced by the most fantastic anti-Zionist propaganda — such as the need for a half million American soldiers to preserve order in Palestine.

I trust that you are well and with all good wishes to Lucille and yourself in which Mrs. Silver joins me most heartily, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



MAX RHOADE  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

NOTED BY	REFER TO
DATE	DATE
SEP 20 1945	
ANSWERED	

Sept. 14, 1945

Plaza 7878  
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4748  
222 Wendover Road  
Baltimore 18, Md.

1331 G STREET, N.W.  
WASHINGTON

*Send to Mr. Shapiro*  
*EB*

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
521 Fifth Avenue, 1903  
New York, N. Y.

*to AHS per HKS*

Dear Emanuel:

Many thanks for your kind note. I note you intend to pursue the matter further with Dr. Silver the next time he is in New York, and I look forward to hearing from you.

I want you to know how greatly I appreciate your close interest, and the efforts you are exerting.

Dr. Silver, I hope, does not hesitate to expect a great deal. I cannot emphasize too much in this hour, that is the very idea that stimulates me. We pressingly need unusual plans, ideas, and methods, visualized and executed on a new plane, and employing resources that have not been tapped or properly exploited.

You, on personal knowledge, are in a position to judge whether there is enough in the past--the difficult days of making brick without straw, and of divided time--to justify keen expectations.

Doubtless you infer, that having come to a decision, I approach this matter in no usual spirit, and for that reason, it should be of additional interest to Dr. Silver.

Incidentally, I recall, that in the only direct contact of note I had with Silver, he was highly pleased and appreciative, years back when I got Senator Bulkley to go to New York and speak in Silver's honor, and worked out the speech with Bulkley, etc.

I greatly--as always--enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you, although this time it was all too brief.

With cordial regards, and warmest wishes

Sincerely yours,

*Max*

MR:lb



*Copy*

*Richards*

103 PARK AVENUE

New York City

September  
twenty-one  
1945

Emanuel Neuman, Esq.  
Palestine Surveys, Inc.  
521 Fifth Avenue  
New York City

PERSONAL

Dear Neuman:

I note that former Senator Gilette has denied his statement about the President's communication to Premier Attlee on the subject of the one hundred thousand visas, but the facts are, of course, essentially correct, although this denial may presage a break between the former Senator and the League For Free Palestine.

Anyway, Washington, with its repeated statements including the one issued through Congressman Sabath (with whom I have corresponded on the subject) shows sustained if not increased sensitiveness to Jewish demands and dissatisfaction. This induces the thought which has undoubtedly occurred to others but which now perhaps ought to be stated more clearly and more emphatically, that hereafter and pending the coming national elections, we should appeal less to the statesmen higher up and more and more to local political leaders, from aldermen to assemblymen to members of Congress. Through them we can best and most emphatically convey the disappointment and frustration which is felt by citizens of the Jewish faith throughout the land and which feeling is ultimately bound to manifest itself in a manner voicing the deepest disapproval of the Administration.

Our people are, of course, pretty well divided between different parties and basic American issues come first in their consideration. But everything being equal, and assuming especially that the opposition party will put forward a candidate of liberal tendencies called for by New Time, the voting strength of citizens of Jewish identity is likely to affect the situation in a telling and unexpected manner.



This point has to be impressed in definite and unmistakable terms upon local political leaders everywhere who have any kind of standing and influence and whose views and influence are conveyed and spread from place to place and from circle to circle, always moving upwards toward the higher levels of determining political force and action.

I do not think this thesis has to be elaborated to anyone like yourself who has observed political actions and trends in this country. The main thing is to shape and concentrate our work in such a way as to enable us to spread this view and sentiment throughout a multitude of coordinated and effective channels.

Perhaps we will talk about it some more one of these days, especially from the point of view of some of the political experiences which I have gone through in recent years both here and in Washington.

With best wishes, I am

Yours sincerely,

W. R. H. S.  
Bernard G. Richards



**CLUB PROGRAM SERVICE**

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

**Sponsors**

American Palestine Committee  
Christian Council on Palestine

Chestnut Hill College  
Philadelphia 18, Pa.

September 29, 1945

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I read with rather raised eyebrows your advertisement, or rather, a passage in the ad of the American Zionist Emergency Council published in the N.Y. Post on Thursday, Sept. 27th. I quote: "The responsibility for the extinction of six million Jews in Europe was not Hitler's alone. The entire Christian world shares that responsibility". If you could have used the term "Gentile" instead of Christian I would not have remonstrated.

I am a Catholic but as to the extent, power, size and influence of Christianity in our time I have no illusions whatever. We Christians of conviction are today nothing but a minority in a rapidly dechristianised world. We have no statistics showing how many baptised individuals understand fully Christianity and believe in it thoroughly but the answers would be anything but encouraging. If the Gentile would actually be Christian the horrors of the last decade could not have happened.

I think that neither the religious nor the agnostic sector of Jewry would be thoroughly content in a 100% Christian (or Catholic) world. But I surmise that you are a scholar and that you are thoroughly acquainted with the position of the Jews in the Christian world of past days. I am personally in no way an advocate of the policy prevailing in our Church during 1000-1750 A.D., but you know very well that the Catholic Church would never have permitted a persecution similar to that of Hitler. In the worst periods of mob persecution the Jews always tended their grievances to the Papacy. Moreover, true Christianity can never be racialistic. And finally - no intelligent Christian can forget that Our Lord, Our Lady, Our First Holy Father were all Jews.

The plight of the Jews today is mostly due to the fact that the Christian values are "fizzling out". Do not forget either that the whole liberal tradition of the 18th and 19th century is entirely of Christian origin. There are no ethics, no morals rationally defensible unless they are rooted in a revealed religion (I would certainly include Judaism and Mohammedanism). It is precisely the disappearance of revealed religion in favor of some vague "social adaptation" which undermines our whole cultural and ethical structure and thus makes horrors like Belsen, Dachau, Oswigim and the Siberian Labor Camps logical.

My friend Francis S. Campbell has made this (in a short story published in October's "Catholic World") perfectly clear. - Since we live in an age catering to Majorities the minorities



have to suffer most grievously. Our age may be "democratic" but it is neither Christian nor liberal. As a matter of fact I am inclined to believe that the persecution of the Jews is only the first chapter in the persecution of Christianity.

Thus I sincerely do hope that you will reflect more seriously the next time you will sign a similar appeal. The Prince of the World, especially of the world we are presently living in, is not Jesus Christ but Satan.

Yours very sincerely,

Erik M. Ritter Kuehnelt-Leddihn

ER  
10/2/45



# New York Post

FOUNDED 1801

75 WEST STREET - NEW YORK - WHITEHALL 4-9000

Oct. 2, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Hotel Commodore  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I want to thank you for this afternoon's valuable interview.

Immediately after our conversation, it occurred to me that I had not emphasized (as I had intended to do) the fact that the project I mentioned to you is, to me, more than just a news story.

I believe that, if skillfully handled, the story of the project would be moving and dramatic and would drive home the true seriousness of the situation. Indeed, I think that the propaganda value of the story would greatly outweigh any adverse effects it might have, especially since all interested parties are undoubtedly aware of the practice.

Thanking you again, I am

Respectfully,

*Alvin Rosenfeld*  
Alvin Rosenfeld.



קרן היסוד, בע"מ

לונדון-ירושלים

THE EREZ ISRAEL (PALESTINE) FOUNDATION FUND

**KEREN HAYESOD, Ltd.**

LONDON - JERUSALEM

INCORPORATED IN ENGLAND 1921

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Tel. 4691

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HEAD OFFICE

Jerusalem October 5, 1945.

P. O. B. 583

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
"The Temple",  
Cleveland, O.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I want to tell you that the meeting at Madison Square Garden created quite an impression in this country and I hope it will be productive of some results. I had been helping with some type of argument here which I think we ought to use more in future. Indeed, we are now discussing the purpose of a legal action which will bring into review the whole problem of the White Paper. I expect to leave for New York by air either at the end of next week or beginning of the following, so I hope to see you soon and discuss matters with you personally.

With kind regards and best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Ben-Zion*

BAB:BF

*P.S. Enclosed is my article from Post  
which was weekly reviewer  
[Signature]*



Sept 21, 1945

Pol. Post

# BRITISH OBLIGATIONS IN PALESTINE

## American Jurist's View

By B.A. ROSENBLATT

THE recent authorized statement by President Truman to ex-Senator Gillette calls attention to a fact which is not generally recognized either in this country or in Great Britain. In the eyes of the American public the White Paper, restricting Jewish immigration and land purchase, has no validity as a legal document, because, by the decision of the Mandates Commission in June 1939, soon after the promulgation of the White Paper, it was officially announced that the policy "was not in conformity with the Mandate, any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the Mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors."

### Palestine Constitution

In view of the fact that when Mr. Malcolm MacDonald appeared before the Mandates Commission he announced "that the League of Nations had the last word," this was an acknowledgement of the generally recognized fact that Great Britain is in Palestine as a trustee, charged with certain duties by the League of Nations and responsible to its decisions. In plain language, the Palestine Mandate is the written constitution of Palestine, and anything done in contravention of that constitution is null and void.

In other words, even an Act of Parliament which is declared to be in opposition to the written constitution of Palestine has no legal validity, even though there is no sheriff strong enough to force the British Government to carry out the decisions of a judicial body set up by the League of Nations. The question of legal right and the power to enforce it is the difference between a decision of an English Court and the military power to carry out that decision.

Now, Americans have been educated to revere a written constitution, and from the days of Edmund Burke, who referred to the American colonists as "lawyers," even up to this day, the average American, Gentile or Jew, regards with abhorrence any violation of a written constitution. Hence, after the decision of the Mandates Commission in June, 1939, in the eyes of every American all acts performed under the White Paper are patently illegal, notwithstanding the forms of law under which such measures have been pronounced. It is therefore clear to them that those who kept Jews from coming into this country were acting illegally.

To all Americans, for in-

stance, the detention of hundreds of so-called illegal immigrants in Mauritius was an act which calls for judicial review and punishment of those authorities who enforced such an illegal decree. The persons responsible for denying the entrance into Palestine of the "Struma" passengers would, under American procedure, be hailed into court and asked for an accounting, which they would not be able to excuse by citing such an illegal decree as the White Paper, which has been declared to be "in contravention" to the constitution of Palestine.

### Treaty with Britain

Furthermore, America has a treaty with Great Britain, dated December 3, 1924, in which the former is to be consulted upon any change in the status of Palestine. Certainly, restriction of immigration and land purchase is such a fundamental change as to call for the prior consent of the American Government—which was never obtained. That is why President Roosevelt, despite his wholehearted friendship for Great Britain, drew attention to the fact that the White Paper "was never approved" by the U.S. Government. President Truman is following the same good American tradition—a tradition, incidentally, copied from the long history of British constitutional government, for the only difference is that in America we have a written constitution and in Great Britain it is unwritten.

This is not the place to discuss which is more efficacious, but the fact remains that once the proper tribunal has declared a law to be unconstitutional, whether an act of a State Legislature of one of the 48 States in America, an act of Congress, or an act of Parliament, from that moment on the purported law has no validity as a legal document.

### Against White Paper

In other words, it is not merely the 5,000,000 Jews of America who contest the validity of the White Paper, but the whole body of 135,000,000 Americans who see in this attempt, during a long period of six years, to enforce an illegal document, something that is contrary to the spirit of Anglo-Saxon traditions of legal justice. Only by frankly proclaiming that the White Paper was not only a mistaken policy, but legally invalid from the date it was so declared by the League of Nations Mandates Commission, can we restore the feeling of true reverence for Anglo-Saxon judicial procedure.



## STRIKE WAVE SPREADS IN AMERICA

### LABOUR DEPARTMENT GIVEN MORE POWER

WASHINGTON, Thursday (R). — New powers for the Labour Department to deal with the growing threat of mass strikes in the country's great industrial centres were announced today by President Truman, within three days of the outbreak of major unrest in many key industries.

The President stated that the Secretary of Labour, Mr. Schwollenbach, would take over and control all the powers of the Labour Board, the Man-Power Commission and the Employment Service.

As the Government took this swift step to meet the worsening situation, more than 100 strikes in the Middle West are slowly paralysing motor car production and threatening the shut down of the Buick, Chevrolet, and Oldsmobile Divisions of General Motors.

A full-scale threat to the industry is offered by the Automobile Workers Union, which today announced that it would accept temporary wage increases while insisting without qualification on an eventual 30 per cent increase for the whole industry.

### NEW REUTERS BOARD

LONDON, Thursday (Reuter). — Reuters new Board of Directors, as announced today, consists of Viscount Rothermere, Chairman of Associated Newspapers, whose Papers include "The Daily Mail," Sir Walter Layton, Chairman of the "News Chronicle" Ltd.; Mr. H.G. Bartholomew, Chairman of the "Daily Mirror" Ltd.; Mr. J.R. Scott, Chairman of the "Manchester Guardian," Mr. Malcolm Graham, Managing Director of the "Wolverhampton Express and Star"; and Mr. Harold Grime, Governing Director and Editor of the "West Lancashire Evening Gazette."

The first three are members of the Proprietors Association representing London newspapers, and the others are members of press associations representing provincial newspapers.

Under Reuter's constitution, the Directors are appointed to the board in rotation, and every year two Directors retire — one from the provincial side and the other from the London side.

### "DEMOEBED" CARS

Palestine Post Cable

LONDON, Thursday. — Although 30,000 people have already applied for reconditioned Army cars, their chances of getting

## GUERRILLAS WERE READY IN MALAYA

### CAME BY SUBMARINE AND PARACHUTE

By ALAN HUMPHREY  
Reuters Special Correspondent

SINGAPORE, Thursday. — A great guerilla army trained several hundred British officers and men who arrived by submarine and parachute has been built up and was preparing to strike at Malaya when the Japanese surrendered, it is disclosed.

The first man to organize the guerilla warfare behind the Japanese lines was Lieutenant Colonel Frederick Chapman, a Malay climber and Arctic explorer who had gone to Singapore in charge of a party of Australian commandos. European officers and tough young Chinese who knew the country well were operating in December 1942. Two months later Singapore fell and they were cut off from the outside world.

Reinforcements landed on the west coast of Malaya from a Dutch submarine in May 1944 when Captain John Davies of the Malayan Police, Captain Richard Broome, of the Malayan Civil Service, and a small group of Malaysians and Chinese crossed the dangerous coastal belt to reach the hills of Perak. There they found a Chinese guerilla camp — a detachment of the Malayan People's Army, which now covered the whole of Malaya.

Contact with S.E.A.C. by submarine was later broken off, but in November 1944, a party of 12 British officers and Chinese agents from Australia landed on the eastern corner of the Malayan peninsula from a submarine. They reported that Colonel Chapman, Captain Davis and Captain Broome were still alive. They had escaped after the Japanese, who obtained information by torturing Chinese, had attacked their camp.

### NEW DEPUTY CHIEF OF IMPERIAL STAFF

Palestine Post Cable

LONDON, Thursday. — The man behind the terrific barrage preceding the El Alamein attack, Lt.-General Sir Sydney C. Kirkman, has been appointed Deputy Chief of the Imperial General Staff at the age of 50.

At El Alamein, General Kirkman was Field Marshal Montgomery's chief gunner officer and he became a Major-General R.A., in the 18th Army Group in 1943. He took command of the 50th Division in Sicily and Italy and later commanded the 13th Corps. Before D-Day he was G.O.C.-in-Chief, Southern Command, and was promoted Lieutenant-General last year.

General Kirkman was twice wounded, was mentioned in dispatches, and won the M.C. during active service in the Middle East, Italy, and North-West Europe.



C  
O  
P  
Y

UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on Interstate Commerce

Montgomery, Ala.  
October 17, 1938.

Mr. I. Bauman  
Secretary  
Congregation, Agudath Israel  
Montgomery, Alabama.

My dear Bauman:

I am in receipt of your telegram of the 15th  
and am always happy to hear from you.

In reply thereto, permit me to say that while I  
was in Washington last week I contacted the President and  
the Department of State with reference to their interceding  
with Great Britain in an effort to keep open the door in  
Palestine to the Jewish people. I assure you this was a  
pleasure and I hope you will never hesitate to call on me in  
anyway at any time.

With all good wishes to you and the Congregation,  
I am,

Sincerely your friend

(Signed) Lister Hill



MAX RHOADE  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Plaza 7878  
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4748  
222 Wendover Road  
Baltimore 18, Md.

1331 G STREET, N.W.

November 11, 1945

WASHINGTON

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Personal and Confidential.  
Not for Council File.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Dr. Neumann kindly sent me the excerpt from your letter referring to Dr. Akzin's correspondence with me.

I appreciate your having asked Dr. Akzin to write me as a personal courtesy, to avoid delay. Please be assured that I understand your present situation.

I rejected Dr. Akzin's invitation, as I felt my position had been misconceived. Apparently, there has been a serious misunderstanding. Perhaps these brief words--which I am sending you in view of the excerpt passed on by Dr. Neumann--will serve to clear it up.

I do not believe you expected me to see Dr. Akzin in order to discuss with him ways in which I could be helpful in Washington, if you were aware of my 15 years of experience (1921-1936) as the sole Zionist representative in Washington--many times longer than any other individual--and that among the numerous matters I handled in that capacity were the Zionist resolution adopted by Congress in 1922, and the original organization of the American Palestine Committee in 1932; that I withdrew from Zionist activity in 1936 due to the damage inflicted upon my personal affairs by overindulgence in Zionism; that the Zionist leadership drafted me over all those years, incidentally disrupting my law practice with their repeated demands upon my time and effort; that I carried through all those delicate and complex matters not on full time, but severely handicapped by dividing my time with my law practice and by the lack of means for conducting the work (mere pennies were spent, as compared to today); and that the Zionist leadership (Brandeis included) never failed to applaud and express satisfaction with my work, and still thought so well of it that they tried (as Dr. Neumann knows) to draft me again at a very murky stage preceding your entry into the emergency work.

It would appear that these facts, and the range of matters they suggest--Congressional, State Department, White House, Press, etc., along with the personal equipment, information and ability to secure it, contacts political, diplomatic, journalistic, official and lay--answer affirmatively and of themselves the question whether I could be helpful in this work.

Therefore I must conclude that you were not fully cognizant of these



facts, but that Dr. Neumann assumed the contrary, also that he refrained, perhaps as unnecessary, from mentioning my willingness to reenter this work only if my long experience suggested that action should take the form of a draft.

I scarcely think you will deem it strange under the circumstances, that I was pained and surprised when--instead of hearing from you--I received Dr. Akzin's letter; nor that, irrespective of Dr. Akzin's general abilities, I felt it would be incongruous for me to discuss this subject with a man who--after all--is a newcomer of but a few months in this particular work.

I hardly need disclaim a mere feeling of sensitivity. Perhaps, indeed, a little less past self-effacement would have avoided this misunderstanding.

I resigned some months ago after over five years of service as an attorney with the Government, in order to accept my present business connections (headquarters for the territory in Baltimore).

I do need the happiness the unhandicapped resumption of Zionist service would bring me. I feel a strong desire to serve, and make a maximum contribution.

However, on the material side--including an inherent diffidence toward a so-called professional Zionist career--the decision is very difficult. Hence, as I told Dr. Neumann, I am willing to make the decision only in response to a correspondingly clear and urgent call for my service.

Dr. Akzin has written me a second letter, copy enclosed, asking merely to consult me regarding the problems facing the movement. I would have preferred meeting Dr. Akzin under less abortive circumstances. But as this was hardly a rejectable request, I have replied it will afford me pleasure to meet him soon. This occasion, of course, cannot extend beyond establishing cordial relations. Moreover, in this wide and complex field, "consultation" suggests operative, rather than abstract, casual treatment.

Needless to add, my unwillingness to discuss this particular matter with Dr. Akzin must be entirely distinguished from my feelings regarding him otherwise. I have no ill or preconceived attitude toward him. Rather, I believe from the favorable information concerning Dr. Akzin given to me by Dr. Neumann, that were I to come into this work, we could get along and work well together as a team. I do expect to rise to the occasion--my longer experience notwithstanding. We should be able to combine our theoretical and practical talents to the best possible use. There is certainly ample scope.

I shall of course deem it a pleasure to see you whenever you wish. (My disinclination to discuss any phase of this matter with anyone other than yourself, does not, of course, refer to Dr. Neumann.)

With warmest good wishes, and personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Max Rhoads*



C O P Y

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Washington Bureau  
1720 Sixteenth Street, N. W.  
Michigan 4480

October 31, 1945

Mr. Max Rhoades  
222 Wendover Road  
Baltimore 18, Md.

Dear Mr. Rhoades:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of October 25, and I am sorry to hear that you are not in a position to discuss participation in the work of the Emergency Council in Washington.

I hope, nevertheless, that I may have the opportunity to meet you in the near future in order to consult you about the problems facing the Zionist movement. I would particularly welcome such an opportunity since Mr. Neumann told me about the valuable experience you have in connection with the situation in Washington.

In view of your inquiry, I would like to assure you that my previous letter to you has not been discussed by me with anyone except Dr. Silver and Mr. Neumann.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) B. Akzin

Benjamin Akzin

BA:cw



TELEGRAM

C O P Y

WESTERN UNION

November 19, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Zionist Organization of America

Endorse enthusiastically your program for world  
wide appeal to open gates of Palestine to 100,000  
Jews immediately, to abrogate White Paper and to  
eliminate ghetto concentration camp in the Holy Land.

Ferry Rosenbaum, Chairman American Labor Party  
23rd AD Club, Kings County, Brooklyn, New York  
1602 Pitkin Avenue

SL  
11/28



November 21, 1945

Mr. Max Rhoades  
222 Wendover Road  
Baltimore 18, Md.

My dear Mr. Rhoades:

Thank you so much for your  
letter of November 11.

I am going to leave for Palestine in  
the next few days and I shall therefore not have  
the pleasure of seeing you for some weeks and  
talking over the matters to which you refer in  
your letter. May I suggest that in the meantime  
you keep in touch with Emanuel Neumann.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



MAX RHOADE  
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Plaza 7878  
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4740  
222 Wendover Road  
Baltimore 18, Md.  
~~1931-G-STREET-N-W.~~  
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1945.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thanks for your kind letter of November 21.

I shall be happy to see you after your return from Palestine, and shall keep in touch with Emanuel Neumann meanwhile, as you suggest.

My best wishes for a safe and most fruitful journey, and warmest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

*Max Rhoads*

MR:fw



A.H.S.

November 28, 1945

Mr. Perry Rosenbaum, Chairman  
American Labor Party  
1602 Pitkin Avenue  
Brooklyn, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbaum:

Thank you for your wire of November  
19, to Dr. Silver.

Dr. Silver is, at the present time,  
in Palestine. Upon his return your wire  
will be shown to him.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Shapiro  
Executive Director

NLS:HSL





# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, Inc.

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-3780

*President*  
MORRIS ROTHENBERG

*Honorary President*  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

*Honorary Chairmen*  
JUDITH EPSTEIN  
WOLF GOLD  
SOLOMON GOLDMAN  
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HARRIS J. LEVINE  
IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
LEON RUBINSTEIN

December 4, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
c/o The Temple  
Ansel Rd. at East 106th St.  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I have the pleasure of extending to you a cordial invitation to address the National Conference of the Jewish National Fund of America which is to be held on January 4th, 5th and 6th at the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

I should like to urge you to make every effort to take part in the Conference and to deliver the major address at one of our sessions. If you could be with us at the opening session on Saturday night, January 5th, it would be especially appreciated. That would enable you to be in your pulpit on Sunday morning.

If it will be possible for you to attend all of the sessions, then, of course, we would want you to speak on Sunday, January 6th.

It is my hope that the pleasure will be afforded me to greet you officially as the President of the Zionist Organization of America at this Conference.

I should like to urge you to make every effort to accept this invitation which I am extending to you on behalf of my associates and myself.

Very sincerely yours,

*Morris Rothenberg*  
Morris Rothenberg  
President

MR:SS



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# WESTERN UNION

1206-

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

12-21-45

## WANT A REPLY?

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

The Hon. Edith Norse Rogers  
U. S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C.

I READ WITH SATISFACTION OF THE SUPPORT WHICH YOU GAVE TO THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE HOUSE WHICH FAVORABLY APPROVED OF IT. I WISH TO EXPRESS TO YOU OUR PROFOUND APPRECIATION THE PASSAGE OF THIS RESOLUTION WILL GREATLY HEARTEN OUR PEOPLE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, President, ZOA  
Ex. Chairman - EZEC







# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, Inc.

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-3780

December 21, 1945

*President*  
MORRIS ROTHENBERG

*Honorary President*  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

*Honorary Chairmen*  
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WOLF GOLD  
SOLOMON GOLDMAN  
JAMES G. HELLER  
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MAX KIRSHBLUM  
HARRIS J. LEVINE  
IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
LEON RUBINSTEIN

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Ansel Rd. at E. 106th St.  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I am glad to welcome you home. I know that you had a difficult journey, but I am certain your contributions justified the trip.

During your absence, I have sent you an invitation to address our National JNF Conference which is to take place on January 4th-6th at the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa.

It would mean a great deal to the Zionists of America to have you at this Conference and to hear your impressions of your recent visit to Eretz Israel. I know how hard pressed you are for time but as the head of the Zionist Movement in America, the delegates will be looking forward to hearing from you. I do hope that you will be able to be with us either on Saturday night, January 5th or Sunday, January 6th.

I sincerely trust that you will send me word that you will come.

With all good wishes,

Very cordially yours,

MORRIS ROTHENBERG  
President

MR:SS



# CLASS OF SERVICE

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

# WESTERN UNION (22)

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

## SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

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

IN A621 34=NEWYORK NY 22 310P :

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

DR ABA HILLEL SILVER=

CARE THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

945 DEC 22 PM 3 27



=AM ADVISED YOU WILL BE IN NEW YORK BEGINNING MONDAY.  
ANXIOUS CONFER WITH YOU REGARDING MATTERS AFFECTING UNITED  
PALESTINE APPEAL WOULD APPRECIATE ANY APPOINTMENT. PLEASE  
ADVISE BY WIRE CARE SAINT REGIS HOTEL NYC. REGARDS=  
CHARLES ROSENBLOOM.

SH 405P... 945 DEC 22 PM 3 27





# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, Inc.

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-3780

*President*  
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*Honorary President*  
ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

*Honorary Chairmen*  
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MAX KIRSHBLUM  
HARRIS J. LEVINE  
IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
LEON RUBINSTEIN

December 24,  
19 45.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, President,  
Zionist Organization of America,  
41 E. 42<sup>nd</sup> St.  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with our constitution the Annual Meeting of the Jewish National Fund, Inc. is scheduled to take place during the month of January.

You are, therefore, requested to please designate your 16 representatives on the JNF Board of Directors, including 3 from Bnai Zion.

Your cooperation in making the list available at the earliest possible date will be very much appreciated, so that we can complete the organization of the JNF Board within the next ten days.

Sincerely yours,

Morris Rothenberg,  
President.

MR:d1





# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, Inc.

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-3780

*President*

MORRIS ROTHENBERG

*Honorary President*

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IRVING D. LIPKOWITZ  
LOUIS RIMSKY  
LEON RUBINSTEIN

December 24,  
19 45.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,  
c/o American Zionist Emergency Council,  
342 Madison Ave.,  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am glad to welcome you home. I know that you had a difficult journey, but I am certain your contributions justified the trip.

During your absence I have sent you an invitation to address our National JNF Conference which is to take place at the William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, Pa. on January 4th, 5th and 6th.

It would mean a great deal to the Zionists of America to have you at this Conference and to hear your impressions of your recent visit to Eretz Israel. I know how hard pressed you are for time, but as the head of the Zionist Movement in America the delegates will be looking forward to hearing from you. I do hope that you will be able to be with us either on Saturday night, January 5th or Sunday, January 6th.

I sincerely trust that you will send me word you will come.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Morris Rothenberg,  
President.

MR:dl



MAX RHOADE

ATTORNEY AND COUNSELLOR AT LAW

Plaza 7878  
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 4748

P. O. Box 112  
Waverly Station  
Baltimore 18, Md.  
1931 G STREET, N.W.

December 26, 1945

WASHINGTON

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In view of your request that I keep in touch with Emanuel Neumann pending your return from Palestine, I informed him of a business trip to New York I was scheduled to make early this month, and he wrote me indicating he anticipated seeing me while there.

However, I was delayed in making that trip--as it appears until the next week-end--by several important pending matters. I am informing you of this, as I may be detained in New York for a few days. I shall apprise Dr. Neumann of my address in New York in case you wish to reach me before I return.

It will afford me much pleasure to see you.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

*Max Rhoades*

MR:fw



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DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
WASHINGTON

December 29, 1945

My dear Rabbi Silver

I have received your letter of October 30, 1945, with which you enclosed a copy of the telegram which you and Dr. Stephen S. Wise sent to the President, regarding Palestine. I regret very much that this reply has been so long delayed.

You are assured that your views and those of Dr. Wise have been brought to the attention of the appropriate officers of the Department of State; your courtesy in writing to present them is very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

For the Acting Secretary of State:

Francis H. Russell  
Chief  
Division of Public Liaison

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



Rosenblatt

copy 6342 mad. ave

December 31, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

When we met in your New York office on Wednesday afternoon with Emanuel Neumann you were good enough to say that you wished me "to continue" as President of the Keren Hayesod. I took this statement at its face value, knowing your simple and direct approach to any problem. There was then some talk about Charles Ress as Chairman of the Board, and I appealed to you that Herman Weisman should remain to obviate any charge of "purges", with which you immediately agreed. Accordingly, it was arranged that Charles Ress be named as Chairman of the Administrative Committee, upon my explanation that a Board of Directors could create new officers, while at a subsequent meeting of the Board the By-laws could be amended (on notice) defining the functions of such a chairman, as he was to participate actively in the administration.

I was therefore surprised when I was shown a typewritten memo just before the Board meeting on Thursday evening, which clearly reduced the presidential office to a mere figurehead, without the right even to preside over or appoint any committees whatsoever--in short, reducing the office to a mere cipher, while carrying public responsibility for the acts of the administration. I immediately announced that I could not accept the post, and would rather "walk home". A change was then suggested for joint responsibility between the President and the Chairman of the Administrative Committee, to which I agreed. When, however, I arrived at the meeting a few minutes later, I was told that this change was not acceptable, and I thereupon again stated that I would go home and better not attend the meeting, when Rabbi Miller persuaded me to leave the entire matter of division of functions to the incoming Administrative Committee. I agreed to this, having in mind that there are duties in the Keren Hayesod in its relations not only to any expanded program, but also to both Pales-



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

-2-

December 31, 1945

tine and the other Zionist funds.

I had hoped that the matter was settled, but learned only yesterday, in a telephone conversation, that I would have to accept the "figurehead" status, because the Administrative Committee would vote "under instructions", and "possibly by secret ballot" over any objections. Under the circumstances, I really think it best that I resign forthwith the office to which I was elected only last week, and relieve you of any difficult situation.

In doing so, believe me that I carry away with me only the highest regard for your Zionist leadership and shall never forget the invaluable services that you, and Emanuel Neumann, in your absence, rendered in the epoch-making passage of the Palestine Resolution. I regard its importance as second only to the Balfour Declaration itself, and we received it just in the nick of time, for today, with the Palestine disturbances advertised in our newspapers, Congress would probably have refused to vote for it.

I hope I shall be able to continue to render useful services in the future, for our cause.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*Ben Kumbblatt*

BAR:RK  
AIR MAIL



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P  
Y

RECEIVED JANUARY 3, 1946

NBM17 GOVT LG- WUX NEWYORK NY JAN 2 611 P

*Dr. Silver*

CABLE ABBA HILLEL SILVER AND STEPHEN S WISE

342 MADISON AVENUE

SC-4603 UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED RETEL HEARINGS JOINT ANGLO AMERICAN COMMITTEE AM MAKING  
PREPARATIONS ON THE REQUEST OF MILITARY AUTHORITIES TO PRESENT VIEWS AT TIME AND PLACE  
CONVENIENT TO COMMISSION PD AMERICAN MEMBERS HAVE BEEN ADVISED BY U.S. AUTHORITIES  
PD BE ASSURED I WILL SUBORDINATE PERSONAL CONVENIENCE FOR THIS PURPOSE USFET MAIN  
FROM JUDGE RIFKIND SQD. MCNARNEY

N.Y. SIGNAL CENTER NEWYORK NY 021300Z

SC-4603 AM 021300Z

CONCENIT USFET





January 4, 1946

Judge Morris Rothenberg, President  
Jewish National Fund  
William Penn Hotel  
Pittsburgh, Pa.

My dear Judge Rothenberg:

I am sorry that I cannot attend the annual conference of the Jewish National Fund. I know that you will have a great convention and that you will be warmly welcomed in the community which is very much JNF-minded. I recall with deep pleasure the JNF Donor Banquet in Pittsburgh, last October, which I was privileged to attend, and where a substantial sum was raised for this great cause.

I have just returned from Palestine where I attended the sessions of the Executive of the Jewish Agency. I had occasion to see some of the land which the JNF acquired and what was being done with the land and the thriving settlements which were being established upon that land. There is no finer investment which Jews can make in the future of their people than to acquire land and more land in Palestine and to build upon that national base colonies and more colonies. By the manner of our planting and building, we defeated one vast section of opposition which for years maintained that the Jewish people did not possess either the skill or the stamina for pioneering and colonization. That opposition is now completely silenced. We are now engaged in a determined and bitter struggle to silence the other opposition -- the political one. We shall defeat that too!

More power to you.

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



FAST



DIRECT



# RADIOGRAM

## RCA COMMUNICATIONS, INC.

A SERVICE OF RADIO CORPORATION OF AMERICA  
BETWEEN IMPORTANT U. S. CITIES

TO ALL THE WORLD

TO SHIPS AT SEA

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

*Via RCA*

XDA/MEB MXL375 MEXICO 41 NL 5 2115 ONE WORD EXTRA IN SIGN  
DOCTOR ABBA HILLEL SILVER PRESIDENT ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF  
AMERICA 41 EAST 42 STREET NEW YORK CITY  
RECEIVE OUR HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS FOR BEING ELECTED  
PRESIDENT OF ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA STOP WE INTRUST  
THAT UNDER YOUR LEADERSHIP WILL GUIDE US SOON TO REDEMPTION  
OF JEWISH COMMONWEALTH IN ERETZ ISRAEL KEREN KAYEMETH  
LE ISRAEL OF MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA  
TEODORO RESNIKOF PRESIDENT

**Telephone: HAnover 2-1811**

To secure prompt action on inquiries, this original RADIOGRAM should be presented at the office of  
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# WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

1220

(59)

## SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LC = Deferred Cable

NLT = Cable Night Letter

Ship Radiogram

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GA190 97=PITTSBURGH PENN 15 1138A

DOCTOR: ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE=CLEVE=

JAN 15 PM 12 00

LAST NIGHT I SENT YOU THE FOLLOWING LETTER TO NEW YORK. QUOTE. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT MY NAME HAS NOT BEEN FOUND READILY ACCEPTABLE AS CHAIRMAN OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL. UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES I BELIEVE IT IS BEST TO WITHDRAW MY NAME. I FEEL THAT IF I WERE NOW CHOSEN IT WOULD BE WITH GREAT RELUCTANCE. IN SUCH AN EVENT MY USEFULNESS TO THE CAUSE WOULD BE IMMEASURABLY IMPAIRED. UNQUOTE. I AM SENDING THIS TO YOU IN CASE YOU ALREADY HAD LEFT NEW YORK, AS I WANT YOU TO BE APPRISED OF MY DECISION. KINDEST REGARDS=

CHARLES.

*Rosenbloom*

*Gao150*

No.	To	MTW
By	AL	med
	B20P	



AHS

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NATIONAL REGIONAL ACTION COMMITTEES  
OF

THE PROTESTANT  
521 5th Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

January 17, 1946

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

Dear Rabbi Silver:

I am enclosing copy of a letter sent today to Judge Joseph Proskauer of the American Jewish Committee.

This is to keep you informed on a matter which may require your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Richardson (signed)

Enc.



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January 16, 1946

American Jewish Committee  
386 Fourth Avenue  
New York 16, N.Y.

Attention of Judge Joseph Proskauer

Gentlemen:

Anti-Semitic literature in the form of an appeal to support the Palestine movement is being distributed under your imprint. Copies of this literature have come to our attention.

These leaflets are obviously calculated to use the Zionist effort as a provocation against the Jewish people. The text of the leaflet reads as follows:

**"BACK THE PALESTINE MOVEMENT!**

All citizens are urged to aid the Jewish people to return to Palestine.

The National Jewish Committee has issued a Call, that every person of Jewish birth now living in the United States be in Palestine no later than June 30, 1948.

It is agreed that the only way to eliminate sweatshop conditions, low wage slavery and general unemployment, is for all Jewish people to have a country of their own. This is a call to all law makers and citizens to donate toward the Palestine Movement. Send in your vote and donation to - American Jewish Committee, 386 - 4th Ave., New York 16, New York."

Will you let us know what action you intend to take since we require your disavowal of this literature in order to proceed against those who disseminate it.

Sincerely yours,

Ben Richardson.



24th of January  
1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

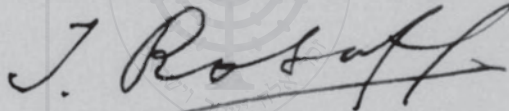
Though I have written you last week, I am very sorry that I have as yet received no answer.

As you will probably remember, I saw you last in London and later, when I heard you had been elected Chairman, I sent you a telegram. When I tried to reach you again I was advised that you had left for Palestine.

Now, I am leaving back for Palestine myself and I would like very much to see you before I leave. If it is at all possible I would appreciate an appointment some time during next week if you are able to get to New York.

My sincere regards and best wishes.

Cordially yours,



Israel Rosoff

c/o Lurie

838 West End Avenue

New York City, N.Y.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio



ROSENBLATT & ENSELMAN  
COUNSELORS AT LAW

TELEPHONE HANOVER 2-0590  
CABLE "ROENS" NEW YORK

ISIDOR ENSELMAN  
BERNARD A. ROSENBLATT

80 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4, N.Y.

January 25, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with the telephone conversation received from the Emergency Council, I am glad to inform you that at a meeting of the Joint Committee, yesterday afternoon, Charles Rosenbloom was elected as National Chairman and Rudolph Sonneborn, Associate Chairman.

On the motion of Mendel Fischer, (probably motivated by a natural desire to please Judge Rothenberg), the Committee, after some discussion, voted that two additional associate chairmen be added, one to represent the Jewish National Fund, the other the Karen Hayesod.

On the larger question of reorganization of the U. P. A., a Committee was appointed to confer with the Committee chosen by the U. P. A. and to report at the next meeting.

When you are next in New York, I should like to talk with you and get your advice on this matter.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*Bern Rosenblatt*

BAR:RK



January 27, 1946

Mr. Israel Rosoff  
c/o Lurie  
838 West End Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Rosoff:

Permit me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of January 24. When I was in New York last week, I asked Mr. Neumann to get in touch with you and to arrange for our meeting. Presumably because he had to leave the city, he did not get in touch with you.

I shall be in New York this coming Wednesday, stopping at the Commodore Hotel. Please telephone me and we shall arrange for a time when we can meet.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:GR



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# WESTERN UNION

1206-

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

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

COPY

DAY LETTER

2-8-46

**WANT A REPLY?**

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

Mrs. Abraham Revusky  
84 Sanford Street  
Yonkers, N.Y.

HAVE LEARNED WITH DEEP SORRY OF THE PASSING OF YOUR DEAR HUSBAND. I HASTEN TO SEND YOU MY PROFOUNDTEST SYMPATHIES. MR. REVUSKY'S DEATH IS AN IRREPARABLE LOSS TO OUR MOVEMENT TO WHICH HE DEVOTED THE GIFTS OF HIS HEART AND MIND WITH SUCH UNFAILING LOYALTY AND LOVE. THE OFFICERS OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL JOIN ME IN THIS MESSAGE OF CONDOLENCE AND TRIBUTE. HIS MEMORY WILL LONG BE TREASURED BY US.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



BERNARD G. RICHARDS

103 PARK AVENUE

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 21, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I received your kind note of the 14th with reference to the new edition of Isreal Cohen's book on which my work has now been practically completed.

I shall take pleasure in sending you a copy on the chapter of American Zionism as soon as the same is in final shape and ready for the printer.

With many thanks and regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

*Bernard G. Richards*



Feb. 25, 1946

My dear Dr. Silver,

Although I know that you are an habitual reader of the Yiddish press, I wanted to make sure that you'll read my column in today's Journal. Hence, I am mailing to you.

Respectfully

M. Dinitz





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UNITED STATES SENATE  
Committee on  
Expenditures in the Executive  
Departments

Washington 25, D.C.  
February 26, 1946

Mr. Isadore M. Bauman  
806 Sayre Street  
Montgomery, Alabama

My dear Mr. Bauman:

Your recent letters have been received, and I am  
always glad to hear from you.

I regret so much that the almost overwhelming  
pressure of correspondence that I have been receiving recently  
has made it impossible for me to reply to your letters sooner.

It will be a pleasure for me to send you a copy of  
President Roosevelt's letter to the House of Commons regarding the  
Balfour Declaration. I have not as yet been able to locate this  
copy in my files but I am having an extended search made, and shall  
send it on to you just as soon as possible.

Let me hear from you at any time and call on me in any  
way.

With kindest regards and all good wishes, I am

Very sincerely,

(Signed) Lister Hill





# JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, Inc.

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE: VANDERBILT 6-3780

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LEON RUBINSTEIN

March 11, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Ansel Road at East 106th St.  
Cleveland, Ohio

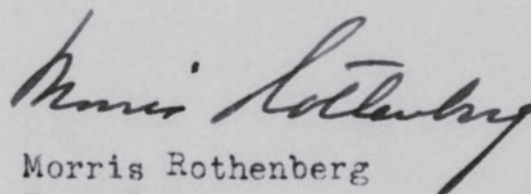
Dear Dr. Silver:

It is with much pleasure that I inform you that at the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund you were unanimously re-elected as an Honorary Chairman of the Jewish National Fund of America.

We are confident that the prestige of your name will serve to advance our Cause in the tasks that lie ahead.

Looking forward to your continued cooperation, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Morris Rothenberg  
President

MR:md





# קרן קיימת לישראל

## "KEREN KAYEMETH LEISRAEL"

HAMBURGO 138

APARTADO 2700  
MEXICO, D. F.

ERIC, 11-03.13

א' אדר ב' תש"ו  
14 למרץ 1946Presidente Honorario:  
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TEODORO RESNIKOFFVice-Presidentes:  
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Sra. RAQUEL SCHWARTZ

MIJEL SCHWARTZ

MARTIN SCHWARTZ

SAMUEL SHAPIRO

MOTOK SZYPER

Sra. MIRIAM TAUBER

Srita. INGE WOLMUTH

YEHUDA WASSERTEIL

BENJAMIN YALON

לכבוד

נשיא ההסתדרות הציונית בארצות-הברית  
ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר  
קליבלנד-אוהאיו,

ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר הנכבד והיקר,

הרינו מתכבדים בזה להודיע, הנשיא, שועידת הקה"ל הראשונה עבור מכסיקו וארצות אמריקה המרכזית, נתייחס כאן, בבירת הרפובליקה המכסיקאית, בהשתתפותו הנכבדה ורבת-הערך של נשיא הדירקטוריון של הקה"ל בירושלים, ד"ר אברהם ברנובסקי. הועידה הזאת, שעברה בהצלחה רבה, נתייחס מה-15 עד ה-19 בחודש פברואר ש.ז. ובה הצהירה חניגית יהדות מכסיקו וארצות אמריקה המרכזית, שהיא תומכת בהתלהבות עצומה בתוכניתו ההיסטורית של ד"ר אברהם ברנובסקי לגאולת חצי מיליון הונגרים קרקע במולדת במשך השנתיים הקרובות, מה שיהווה בסיס רחב ומוצלח לעליית מאות אלפים מאחינו הפליטים מתופת אירופה. במעמד נציגי הקה"ל מכל הארצות בחלק תבל זה הצהירה הועידה שהיא מקבלת עליה לגאול בשנה זו 1946/5000 הונגרים, מה שמחייב את יהדות מכסיקו ומרכז-אמריקה לאסוף סכום של חצי מיליון דולרים.

מכסיקו עצמה החליטה להעביר חשתי את מנביית השנה בסכום של שני מיליונים פסות שהם כ-400 אלף דולר. הישוב שלנו מיצער הוא וההתחייבות למאור נכבדה וגדולה. אולם רחוקים אנו מלהרתע כדי לעשות את המאמץ הגדול ביותר בהנאי ישוב מכסיקו, כי השעה הגורלית הנוכחית בחיי עמנו וישוב ארץ-ישראל דורשת הדבר מאתנו בכל התוקף.

ברם מובן מאליו הדבר, שההתחייבות גדולה זו לא תוכל לצאת מן הכוח אל הפועל, באם לא נשכיל להתחיל את מנבייתנו באקט פוליטי-חברתי ממדרגה ראשונה, כמוהו טרם ידעו במכסיקו. אנו פונים לכן אליד, הנשיא, שתואיל לקחת לתשומת לבך את בקשתנו החמה ולכבדנו בביקורת לפתיחת המנביית ההיסטורית בקרב יהדות מכסיקו. הישוב היהודי המקומי לא פעם ביקש מידנו שאתה, המנהיג הגדול של ציונות ויהדות ארצות-הברית ושל התנועה הציונית העולמית, תאזן לבקרנו כדי לשמוע מפיד על המצב הנוכחי בציונות ובשוב בשעה מכריעה זו בחיי ישראל סבא. אנו שוב בסוחים, שאד זרק במעמד יעלה בידנו להעביר באופן צלח את המנביית הענקית שלנו בסכום של שני מיליונים פסות, שהיא המנביית הגדולה ביותר בתולדות כל יהדות אמריקה הלטינית, ארגוסינה בכלל.

יודעים אנו גם יודעים, שזמנד יקר הוא למאור, עמוס טרדות ושנושא אתה על שכמד הרם אחריות כה גדולה לגבי עמנו ותנועת ההחיה שלנו בארץ-אבות, ברם למרות כל אלה סבורים אנו, שכדאים ציוני ויהודי מכסיקו לביקורת הנעלה, ויהא זה רק לשלושה ימים בלבד, והיינו מאושרים להמצא במחיצתך, לשמוע דברך החשוב ובעת ובעונה אחת להבטיח את הצלחת המנביית הגדולה שלנו, שמפתיחתה תלוי גורלה והצלחתה. והננו לציין, ד"ר אבא הלל סילבר הנכבד והיקר, שבלעדי בואך אין לנו כל ביטחה ואף תקווה כלשהיא במהלכו הצלח של המנביית הענקית שלנו למען גאולת הקרקע במולדת.



C  
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P  
Y

BRITISH PASSPORT CONTROL OFFICE  
630 Fifth Avenue  
New York 20, N. Y.

March 18, 1946

Dear Dr. Bernstein,

I was much touched by the kind expressions of your letter of 15th March, conveying your good wishes on my approaching retirement and for the box of cigars accompanying it.

I am most happy to feel that I may have been in any degree instrumental in assisting toward the resettlement of the Holy Land, and thereby also in the furtherance of the fulfilment of Divine prophecy. The certainty of that is assured.

I am grateful that you invoke the Almighty without Whom all man's life is futile and vain.

With my sincere regards,

Very truly yours,

(signed) D.M. Robertson

ידיד שלי,  
היה לי חלק גדול  
במשימתך להקים  
מדינה יהודית.  
אני שמח מאוד  
לשמוע על הצלחתך  
במשימה זו.  
אני מאחל לך  
הצלחה רבה  
בכל דבר.  
במיוחד  
במשימתך  
להקים  
מדינה יהודית.  
אני מאחל לך  
הצלחה רבה  
בכל דבר.  
במיוחד  
במשימתך  
להקים  
מדינה יהודית.



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

# WESTERN UNION

1206-

CHECK
ACCOUNTING INFORMATION
TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER  
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

3-22-46

## WANT A REPLY?

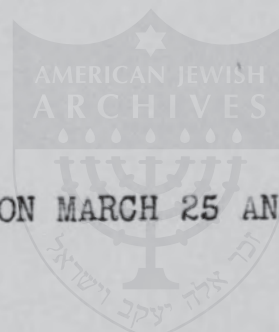
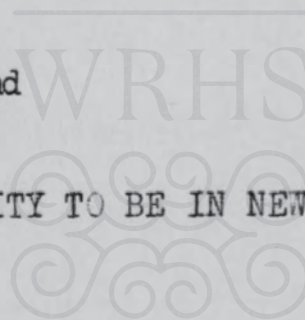
"Answer by WESTERN UNION"  
or similar phrases may be  
Included without charge.

Judge Simon H. Rifkind  
NEW YROK, N.Y.

DEEPLY REGRET INABILITY TO BE IN NEW YORK ON MARCH 25 AND ATTEND YOUR MEETING.

KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER





# CLASS OF SERVICE

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

# WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS  
PRESIDENT

1201

## SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

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Ship Radiogram

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

NB327 NL PD=NEWYORK NY 21

DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER:

1946 MAR 21 PM 4 35

=THE TEMPLE CLEVE=

*Ansul Road + E 105*

:AM INVITING A FEW OUTSTANDING LEADERS FOR OFF THE RECORD  
REPORT ON SITUATION ABROAD AT MY CHAMBERS MONDAY MARCH  
TWENTY FIFTH AT TWO PM HOPE YOU CAN COME=

SIMON H RIFKIND.

*Ga 0150 temple  
Dr 1090 new*

,PM.

No.	To BIK
RC 933a	Mailed
3/2	see book 915a
	838a

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE



April 2, 1946

Mr. Efraim M. Rosenzweig  
The Chicago Medical School  
710 South Wolcott Ave.  
Chicago 12, Ill.

My dear Eph:

Thank you for your interesting suggestion under date of March 28 that "the local Jewish artists of Chicago who have concerned themselves with such matters (decorative possibilities of synagogues) to put on an exhibition under the auspices of the C.C.A.R." during the Convention in Chicago.

I see no possible objection to having such an exhibit, provided it will involve no cost to the C.C.A.R. and no obligation for the Conference. The arrangements could be made on the same basis as Bloch and Jewish Publication Society have their exhibits. It is entirely on their own.

With warm personal greetings, I am,

Sincerely yours,

AJF:B

✓ C: Dr. Silver



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June 24, 1946

Dr. A. H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am enclosing copy of a letter just sent to the British Ambassador in Washington, in the hope that it may be of some use in our campaign for the 100,000 refugees. (By the way, I had advised Mayor O'Dwyer to follow the example set by LaGuardia, when he denounced the Nazi regime, and was gratified to see the Mayor's condemnation of Bevin's statement in the next morning's papers.)

I was sorry that I had to keep another appointment before the completion of the Emergency Council meeting on Friday, of the Executive. I should have liked to emphasize the importance of immediately taking our stand by the side of Hagana, for a number of reasons, which I would like to offer:

(1) To end, once and for all, talk about this resistance movement as the work of terrorists, since our indorsements would give recognition and standing to the Hagana (as in the case of the Irish Volunteer army), over and against the Irgun. We can recognize the Hagana while the Jewish Agency might pursue its political demands under the mandate ~~without~~ offering such recognition. This might cause an apparent break between the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Council, but that would be all to the good of our cause, since it would leave us free to pursue a strong policy when necessary. (You might take the position, as an individual, that while a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency, you are outvoted on certain issues, but as the head of the Emergency Council, you have an obligation to all Zionists of America.)

(2) Just because the Hagana is so close to the Histadrut, its recognition by the Emergency Council would be proof positive that in this emergency our acts are above party politics.

(3) We do not have to go to the extreme and enroll Hagana members, as has been suggested, but a mere indorsement by us would be notice to the world of our solidarity with "Jewish Palestine"--as an answer to Dr. Magnes and his bi-nationalism.



Dr. A. H. Silver

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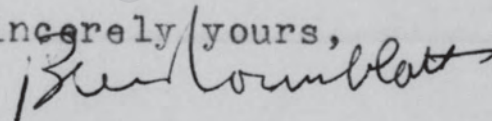
June 24, 1946

Now may I add one word about the British loan. I would tell our friends in Washington, like Wagner, that it is up to them to protect and preserve the position we have jointly won, if they want to protect also the British loan. This time we dare not accept British promises. I would urge an authoritative interpretation of our convention with Great Britain, under date of December 3, 1924. The Senate has a right to offer its interpretation and surely will not follow the narrow policy of the State Department. Once such a clarification of our treaty, with respect to the Mandate, is announced, we shall be able to demand, if necessary, that the whole matter be brought by our Government to the International Court of Justice for clarification and interpretation. Of course, this is for the long term policy, over and above the question of the 100,000 refugees. We must, once and for all, get away from pleas of mercy and insist upon our legal rights, to which our country is also a party. If Great Britain can be made to feel that she is amenable not only to world public opinion, but also to a Court of International Justice, she may hesitate to treat the Palestine Mandate like a "scrap of paper".

I am thoroughly convinced that an energetic policy now will spell future dividends for the Jewish Commonwealth.

With kind regards,

Sincerely yours,



BAR:RK



June 24, 1946

Lord Inverchapel  
British Embassy  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Lord Inverchapel:

I am impelled to write to you after reading your reference in yesterday's "New York Times", to the effect that the criticism of Bevin's remarks about the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees into Palestine, ignored the word "now". I am somewhat familiar with your past career, and therefore hope and trust that you will not lend yourself to another attempt on the part of some "hidden hand" in the Colonization Office-- or Foreign Office--to delay and postpone President Truman's recommendation for the admission of 100,000 refugees. Time is the very essence of the recommendation, for at the present rate of 1,500 a month, it will take some six years--at which time the large majority of the 100,000 will be in their graves.

On the other hand, if the American recommendation for the admission of 20,000 per month be adopted, that problem will be solved before the end of 1946. Palestine was well able to absorb 62,000 Jewish immigrants in the single year of 1935, when it was far less industrialized, and there is no earthly reason now why 100,000 cannot be absorbed before the end of this year--with the help of the \$100,000,000. from the United Jewish Appeal collections.

A friend of mine, who occupies a high official position in our Government, inquired from a British General in Germany some months ago: How many American troops would the British really require in order to implement the Anglo-American Committee request for 100,000 Jewish refugees. To this, the British answer was clear and explicit: "One American soldier".

As an old friend of Great Britain--who often had to defend the British from condemnation, voiced by some of my Irish Catholic friends, active in American politics--I can truthfully assert that to preserve American good will--not merely Jewish friendship--it is essential that President Truman's request be imple-



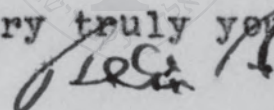
June 24, 1946

mented now. Nor can it be made contingent upon the admission of Jewish refugees in America, Argentina or Siberia. There is no Mandate for a "Jewish National Home" in Brooklyn, or the dominions of Stalin or Peron, while Britain is obliged to admit Jews into Palestine based only upon the "economic absorptive capacity" (Churchill's very words, by the way) of the country. The Jewish refugees ask for no acts of mercy for admission into the vast dominion of the British Empire, from Canada to Australia. They demand their admission into Palestine as a "matter of right and not upon suffrance", again to repeat Churchill's phrase.

As one who has served as a Judge in the Courts of New York, I claim to be objective, despite my deep interest in the Jewish National Home. It is therefore my conviction that your Government has no legal right to refuse to implement the unanimous report of the Anglo-American Commission, which indorsed President Truman's request for the admission of 100,000 Jewish refugees.

Trusting that you will receive this letter in the good spirit in which it is offered, I am,

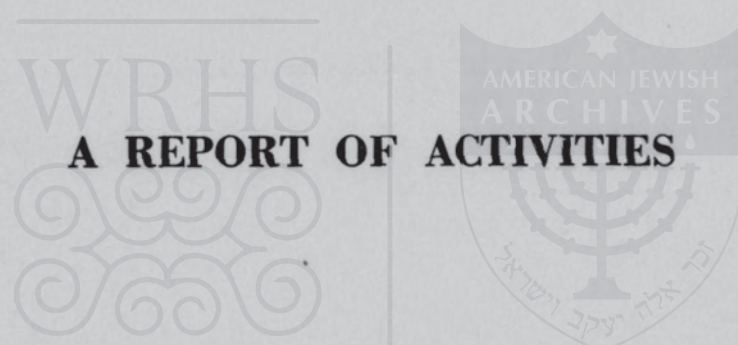
Very truly yours,



BAR:RK



# **THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**

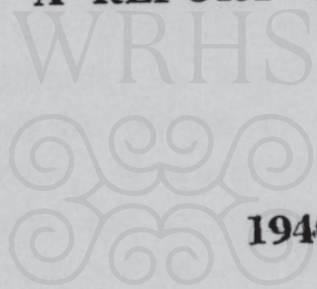


**1940 — 1946**



# THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

## A REPORT OF ACTIVITIES



1940 — 1946





## ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COUNCIL

THE establishment of the American Zionist Emergency Council dates back to the beginning of World War II. Late in August, 1939, the 21st Zionist Congress met in Geneva. Its work was conducted in the shadow of the impending catastrophe, and was indeed cut short by the sudden closing of the international frontiers and the need for delegates to return to their homes without delay. At a meeting of the World Zionist Executive held in those last tense days, attended also by leaders of the American delegation to the Congress, the implications of the war crisis for the immediate future of the Zionist movement were considered, and it was decided, for the period of the war, to set up a special Emergency Committee in the United States.

The Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, as it was first called, was originally established with two purposes in view. The possibility was foreseen that, as a result of the war, the headquarters of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem might, by reason of invasion or otherwise, be completely cut off from the rest of the movement. It was desirable, accordingly, that there should be in existence in America a body which could, if need be, assume the authority and the functions of Zionist leadership. But it was further recognized that, whether America entered the war or not, the attitude of that country was likely to be of decisive importance in determining the future of the Jewish National Home. With the eclipse of the Jewish communities of Central and Eastern Europe, the center of gravity for Zionism, outside Palestine, had moved clearly and unequivocally to the American continent. On American Zionists would now devolve duties and responsibilities, on the due discharge of which might well depend the fate of the Jewish people in Palestine. With this in mind, it was essential that an effective instrument be created, whose purpose it should be to bring home to the American public and to American political leaders the needs of the Jews as a people and the meaning of Palestine to the Jewish future. A major task of public relations, of political action and education was involved, requiring a concentration of all the available forces in American Zionism.

The first eventuality which the Executive had in mind in setting up the Emergency Committee was, happily, not realized. Despite periods of imminent danger, Palestine and the Yishuv remained safe during the war. Zionist communications by letter and cable with the rest of the Jewish world, outside of Europe, though subject to various wartime difficulties and restrictions, were maintained without interruption. In particular, the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem continued to function and from time to time sent out some of its leading members to guide and inform the movement abroad. It was, accordingly, on the second task—that of directing and coordinating Zionist public relations and policy in America—that the work of the Emergency Committee has been prima-



rily concentrated. The specifically American character of the Committee was emphasized by a change in title to that of the *American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs* (later contracted to "American Zionist Emergency Council"), as well as in the by-laws adopted in January, 1942. The Council today consists of twenty-six members. It comprises representatives of the Executive Committees of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion, together with a number of leading American Zionists nominated *ad personem*. The Council also includes a number of observers from other Zionist groups and from the members in America of the Zionist Actions Committee. In all, through its constituent and affiliated organizations, the Council represents bodies with a membership of more than 500,000.

A smaller Executive Committee which meets at frequent intervals carries on the business of the Council with responsibility to the full membership. In the initial period, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Dr. Solomon Goldman constituted a presidium at the head of the Council, and later Dr. Wise was nominated as its Chairman and Judge Louis E. Levinthal as Chairman of the Executive Committee.

During the earlier months of its existence, the Emergency Council functioned rather as an interparty body for receiving reports and for deciding on matters of common interest to the four constituent groups, than as the initiator and director of an active program of political action on the American scene. It was not till late in 1940 that a full-time Secretary was appointed and that the Council acquired offices of its own. The appointment, too, in January, 1941, of Mr. Emanuel Neumann as Executive Officer in charge of a Department of Public Relations and Political Action (a position from which he resigned in December, 1942), and of the late Rehavia Lewin-Epstein as Director of an Economic Department, marked an important development in the work of the Council.

#### **American Zionism Activated**

However, despite the fact that a number of important activities were initiated by the Council during this period, it was clear that Zionist political and public relations work was not being carried forward on the American scene with the required scope and effectiveness. The need for an over-all program of action to activate the American Zionist masses of all parties, and for strong centralized direction was widely recognized by the leaders of our movement in Palestine, London and the United States. Consequently, a complete reorganization of the Council was effected in August, 1943 when, at the request of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, as well as of Dr. Stephen S. Wise who had been serving as Chairman of the Council, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver accepted the leadership of American Zionist political and public relations work. Dr. Silver



became Co-Chairman of the Council with Dr. Wise, and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

With the object of initiating an extensive nation-wide public relations program, the Council was thoroughly reorganized, a much larger budget secured and its staff and scope of operations greatly enlarged. A number of special departments were established, headed by experts in their respective fields, including those dealing with Information, Community Contacts, Publications, Speakers, Research, Christian Opinion, American Jewish Religious Forces, Special Events, Labor Relations, etc. Of special significance was the establishment throughout the country of more than 400 local Zionist Emergency Committees, representing all Zionist parties, which were organized for political action and public relations activity in every major American community, and all of which continue to receive regular direction and guidance from the New York headquarters.

Thousands of editorials in papers ranging from country journals to metropolitan dailies, and innumerable telegrams and letters which bolstered the Council's work in Washington, as well as large numbers of rallies, radio addresses and articles by Jewish and non-Jewish leaders, testified to the new vitality permeating American Zionism following the reorganization of the Council.

## **POLITICAL REPRESENTATIONS**

Throughout its existence the Council has, through its representatives, been in communication with the Department of State in Washington (a permanent office of the Council, under the direction of Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, was established in Washington late in 1943), the British Embassy, or, on occasion, with the envoys of other foreign countries, in regard to various matters of political concern as they arose. Thus, representations were made and detailed memoranda submitted on such matters as the plan for the establishment of a Palestine Jewish Army; the questions associated with the transfer to Palestine of the 800 refugee children in Teheran to whom the Iraqi Government had refused transit facilities; the question of Jewish immigration into Palestine in general; and in particular the burning issue of the refugee ships — the *Struma*, the *Atlantic*, the *Patria* and so forth — with their tragic cargo of human beings fleeing the Nazi extermination camps; the repatriation of the Mauritius deportees; the Bermuda Conference; the question of Jewish representation at the San Francisco meeting of the United Nations; and, more recently, the demand for the immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 refugees from the German and Austrian camps; the indictment of the Mufti as a war criminal; and the question of the recognition of Transjordan as an independent state. Fundamental questions



concerning the political future of Palestine and its establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth were dealt with in comprehensive memoranda presented to the American authorities on a number of occasions. Among these were detailed statements submitted for the consideration of President Roosevelt and President Truman at the time of the Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences, respectively.

Among other matters with which the Council was concerned in the earlier part of the war was also the escape from unoccupied Europe of prominent Zionists who had obtained temporary haven in Soviet-occupied territory, in unoccupied France and elsewhere, for whom no possibility existed at the time to get to Palestine, and who were enabled to come to the United States. In this connection, the Council worked in close touch with the Chairman of the President's Advisory Committee on Refugees. The attitude of the State Department in this regard, which had originally been one of willing cooperation, underwent a change in September and October of 1940, when a virtual stop was put to the issuance of Emergency Visitors' Visas. Subsequently, however, there was some modification in the attitude of the Department and a small but steady stream of permits was issued to Zionist refugees on the initiative of the Council.

## **THE BILTMORE CONFERENCE**

The wider issues of the post-war settlement in regard to Palestine began to come to the fore as a result of the calling together, at the instance of the Emergency Council, of the Extraordinary Zionist Conference which was convened at the Biltmore Hotel in New York on May 9-11, 1941. The Biltmore Conference, which undoubtedly marked a milestone in the development of Zionist policy, was significant as the first representative gathering in many years of all parties in American Zionism, and its importance was enhanced by the presence of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency, and of Mr. David Ben-Gurion, Chairman of the Executive. In its concluding Resolution the Conference was responsible for a clear and important enunciation of Zionist aims and principles, which has subsequently become famous as the Biltmore Resolution.

## **AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE**

A further event of major importance in crystallizing and confirming American Jewish opinion on the Palestine issue was the inaugural gathering of the American Jewish Conference. The Conference, in the calling of which the American Zionist Emergency Council played an important role, met in the late summer of 1943, following several months of negotiations between Zionist and non-Zionist bodies. It constituted the first democratically-elected body, representative of the totality of American



Jewry and entitled to speak on its behalf, since World War I. The Conference was deeply concerned with the urgent problems of rescue and relief, but it saw them in their historic perspective, and devoted itself to the temporary as well as to the permanent solutions without sacrificing one to the other. The Resolution adopted by an overwhelming majority at the conclusion of the Conference, in effect registered the collective will of the Jews of America in support of the Biltmore Program. From that time on there could be no question that the Jews of America, as a group, were enthusiastically behind the Jewish Commonwealth program.

## **MASS DEMONSTRATIONS**

At different times the Zionist Emergency Council has been responsible for the holding (alone or with other bodies) of a number of great public meetings. The first of these demonstrations was that at Madison Square Garden, New York City, in July, 1941, in connection with the desperate plight of the Jews in Nazi-occupied Europe. A similar gathering which drew a huge audience was held on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, while another noteworthy mass rally, attended by some 60,000 people, took place in Lewisohn Stadium, New York, in April, 1945. Even this gathering was dwarfed, however, by a later open-air demonstration in Madison Square Park to protest British policy in Palestine, at which those present totalled more than 200,000. Such meetings in New York were generally followed or supplemented by other great gatherings in leading cities throughout the country. Further details on these and other demonstrations are included later in this report.

## **AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

Associated with the American Zionist Emergency Council in its efforts to present the Palestine issues before the public are two leading non-Jewish groups: the American Palestine Committee, founded in April, 1941 under the Chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner, and the Christian Council on Palestine headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson. The American Palestine Committee is composed of leading Americans distinguished in many walks of public life, who desire, through its medium, to signify their interest in and goodwill toward the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The membership of the Committee now exceeds 15,000, including 17 State Governors, 61 Senators, 150 Congressmen, as well as many others well known in the nation's civic and religious life.

The Christian Council on Palestine comprises a membership of 2,400 leading clergymen, representing all Christian denominations, and has taken an active part both in informing clerical groups and enlisting their support for the Jewish National Home.

In May, 1946, the two bodies merged as the American Christian



Palestine Committee. In addition to Senator Wagner and Dr. Atkinson as Founders and Honorary Chairmen, there were appointed as Co-Chairmen, Senator Owen Brewster, Senator James M. Mead and the Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling. Dr. Carl Hermann Voss was appointed as Chairman of the Executive Council while Dean Howard M. LeSourd continued as Director of the joint organization.

The members of these bodies have been kept informed, by the circulation of memoranda and other material, of developments in the Palestine situation, and they have on various occasions taken action in support of the Zionist position. The American Palestine Committee has held a series of impressive annual dinners in Washington, attended by many distinguished Americans, as well as by the representatives of various foreign governments. Of special interest, too, have been the well-attended all-day discussion meetings associated with the more recent of these functions. In addition, the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine have sponsored a number of outstanding regional conferences on Palestine in several of the larger American cities, notably in New York, Boston, Chicago, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Detroit, Houston and Philadelphia. These were addressed by prominent speakers and were attended by many tens of thousands of persons. Reference may also be made to the successful inception, during the last two years, in conferences held at Princeton and Ocean City, of annual seminars for speakers and others specially interested in a deeper study of the problems involved.

An important action initiated under the auspices of the American Palestine Committee as one of its earlier activities was the issuance of a Declaration signed by more than two-thirds of the Senate and approximately two hundred members of the House of Representatives, reiterating support of the Jewish National Home. The Declaration, entitled "The Common Purpose of Civilized Mankind," was published in many tens of thousands of copies and received wide distribution. It constituted a valuable pointer to Congressional opinion in connection with the introduction at a later date of the Palestine Resolution in the United States Congress.

**Congressmen,  
State Legislatures,  
Governors  
Pledge Support**

Again in 1944-1945, a "Letter to the President," urging action in behalf of Jewish settlement in Palestine and its establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth, was circulated among members of Congress and was signed by 55 Senators and 261 Representatives.

The growing public interest in the Palestine issue was further given expression by the passage of Resolutions by State Legislatures throughout the country in support of the Jewish National Home and of the reestablishment of the Jewish Commonwealth. No less than forty-one



State Legislatures, representing approximately 85% of the population of the United States, have adopted Resolutions along these lines.

This activity was supplemented by a Petition in similar terms signed by 40 State Governors and submitted to the President immediately prior to his departure for his historic conference with the British Prime Minister and Marshal Stalin in Berlin. The Petition was initiated under the sponsorship of Governor Moore of Utah, as Chairman of the Conference of State Governors, together with the Governors of New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut.

### **CLUB PROGRAM SERVICE**

The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council jointly sponsor a lecture bureau, "Club Program Service," which stimulates an interest in the Palestine question on the part of community, college, church and women's groups, as well as radio broadcasting stations throughout the country, and also provides these groups with effective lecturers.

Club Program Service has also fostered the development of prominent non-Jewish platform personalities, and today has several hundred pro-Zionist Christian lecturers available to audiences in the United States. In this fashion the British and Arab anti-Zionist propagandists have been counteracted, and the Zionist position presented effectively throughout America.

### **INTERNATIONAL CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE**

Early in November, 1945, there took place in Washington an International Christian Conference on Palestine, which was attended by representatives of no less than thirty nations. Among a number of distinguished guests who came to America to attend the Conference were Mrs. Lorna Wingate, widow of the British General, Orde Charles Wingate, and Senator Gonzalez Videla, recently elected President of the Republic of Chile. As a result of the Conference the "World Committee for Palestine" was established, with Sir Ellsworth Flavelle of Canada as Chairman. The World Committee for Palestine has been working in close association with the American Christian Palestine Committee and has concerned itself more particularly with the Latin American countries and Canada. The World Committee recently arranged for Dr. Gustavo Gutierrez, a prominent Cuban personality, who had become keenly interested in the problem of the Jewish people and of Palestine (which he has recently visited) to tour the South American countries, where he established many important contacts.



**AMERICAN  
JEWISH  
TRADE UNION  
COMMITTEE  
FOR PALESTINE**

Organized American labor, too, has made an important and positive contribution to the Zionist effort. Many labor leaders individually, as well as numerous trade unions, have placed themselves on record in support of Zionist aims. The American Jewish Trade Union Committee, headed by Mr. Max Zaritsky, has been especially effective in obtaining adherence to the Zionist program of the federated trade union groups. Indicative of the attitude of organized labor in behalf of Jewish aspirations in Palestine may be mentioned the following: On September 11, 1944, the New York State C.I.O. Conference adopted a resolution similar in terms to the Palestine Resolution then pending before Congress; on September 21, 1944 and October 23, 1945, the Ohio State Federation of Labor and the New Jersey State C.I.O. likewise adopted pro-Palestine resolutions; on November 13, 1944 the National Convention of the American Federation of Labor unanimously approved the Palestine resolution which was submitted to the Conference, and instructed its President, William Green, to use his good offices in behalf of the fulfillment of the purpose of the resolution. The Council of Industrial Organizations, at its National Convention, also placed itself on record in favor of the Palestine Resolution in Congress and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

**PUBLICATIONS**

The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council have issued a considerable number of pamphlets which have been widely circulated. These include "The Voice of Christian America"; Sumner Welles' recent "Palestine's Rightful Destiny"; "The Arabs and Palestine" by Albert Einstein and Eric Kahler; "Before the Bar of History," a discussion of the Arab question by the Reverend Wendell Phillips; Professor Eduard Lindeman's "Palestine, Test of Democracy," and American editions of the Reverend Dr. Norman MacLean's scathing indictment of Britain's immigration policy under the White Paper, entitled "His Terrible Swift Sword," and of Victor Gollancz's "Nowhere to Lay Their Heads."

A large number of pamphlets were also issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council, and were distributed in many tens of thousands of copies to selected individuals and groups throughout the country. Some of these pamphlets are "Jews, Arabs and the Middle East" by Ephraim Broido; a legal memorandum on "Britain and Palestine" by Arthur Lourie; "We Do Not Want to Return to the Past" by Dr. Chaim Weizmann; "The Jewish Case," a statement prepared primarily for the delegates to the United Nations Conference in San Francisco; "Palestine in the Press"—being material from the American press of August 1946; Ernst Frankenstein's "Open Letter to Ernest Bevin"; an American edition of "Soldiers from Judaea," a description of the Palestine Jewish



Units by Rabbi Louis Rabinowitz, former Chief Chaplain of the British Eighth Army; and a jubilee edition of Herzl's "Jewish State." In addition, the Council has been actively concerned with the promotion of Ernst Frankenstein's "Justice for My People" (Dial Press), Professor Carl Friedrich's "American Policy Toward Palestine" (Public Affairs Press), Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's now renowned volume "Palestine, Land of Promise" (Harper's), and "To Whom Palestine?" by Frank Gervasi (Appleton Century).

The Council publishes, further, a monthly bulletin of information and opinion called "Palestine," which is widely distributed among government, academic and journalistic circles. The Council was also responsible for the publication in 1945 of an important volume, "America and Palestine," which gives the history of America's deep and continuous interest in the Jewish National Home over a period of many years. The book includes all important documents bearing on the subject and records the opinions of over 400 members of the Congress of the United States at the time—77% of the entire body—in favor of Zionist aspirations.

#### **RESEARCH DEPARTMENT**

A Research Department of the Emergency Council was established in 1943 headed by Dr. I. B. Berkson, who directed its activities until 1946. This department proved an important adjunct to the work of the Council. It has had the use on loan of the valuable collection of the Esco Foundation, and has itself built up an extensive collection of documentary material relating to Palestine. The Research Department publishes a monthly review of developments with regard to Palestine, entitled "Palestine Affairs," which has been enthusiastically received in academic and other circles. The Zionist Archives and Library have also proved an invaluable supplementary source of reference and research.

#### **PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES**

The most important step taken by the American Zionist Emergency Council on the political front was the introduction of the Palestine Resolution in both Houses of Congress. In 1944, the effective date of the White Paper guillotine on Jewish immigration into Palestine was approaching. Not only was it timely that the Congress of the United States should again, after an interval of nearly a quarter of a century, place itself unequivocally on record in favor of Zionist aspirations, but the very discussion of our problem in this great forum of public opinion was in itself a political event. The Resolution served as a target, further, on which the Council could effectively concentrate its propaganda. It was a step taken only after long and critical deliberation and after a systematic canvass of Congressional opinion, both through the Local Emergency Committees and through the Washington Bureau, had been



made. The introduction of the Resolution in the House of Representatives was preceded by warm statements of endorsement on the part of the leaders of both of the great political parties. Similarly, the introduction of the Resolution in the Senate, under the sponsorship of Senators Wagner and Taft, was preceded by strong supporting statements by both the majority and minority leaders of that body. Hearings took place before the House Foreign Affairs Committee for four days in the month of February, 1944. The Zionist position was presented with great distinction by the Zionist leaders, including Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise, Mr. Emanuel Neumann, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mr. Herman Shulman, Mr. Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Wolf Gold, Mr. David Wertheim, Mrs. Moses P. Epstein, Dr. James G. Heller and others not directly associated with the Zionist organizations. The officially published reports of the Hearings, indeed, contain one of the most complete, well-documented and convincing statements of the Zionist case in existence. Magnificent support came from the Local Committees. From centers, large and small, throughout the country, hundreds of thousands of letters, postcards and telegrams poured in upon the Members of the Senate and the House. Congressmen were unanimous in stating that they had seldom seen such a remarkable expression of public interest in a piece of legislation.

**"Conspiracy  
of Silence"  
Broken**

One immediate result of all this was that the "conspiracy of silence" on the Palestine issue, which seemed to have developed in Washington, was effectively broken. Less than a year previously, there had even been the danger that an official demand might be issued, backed up by the authority of the chiefs of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain, calling for a cessation for the time being of all discussion of the Palestine question. This proposal had been shelved only after the most strenuous efforts on the part of the then leaders of the Council. Now, Palestine was definitely placed on the agenda of public opinion as one of the vital issues of the hour, and the justice of the case for a Jewish Palestine was brought home to the American people as never before.

Unfortunately, at a critical moment in the consideration of the Resolution by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the War Department brought about a postponement of action on military grounds. It was nevertheless apparent to the National Administration that Congress was overwhelmingly in favor of the Resolution and that a large section of American public opinion was deeply concerned over the deferment of action on the measure. In response to this tremendous public pressure, the President, on March 9, 1944, issued what was the first clearcut expression of sympathy with Zionist aims to come from a leader of any of the great powers since the beginning of the war. The President



## REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY PLATFORMS

authorized Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, Co-Chairmen of the Council, to issue in his name a public statement to the effect that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939 . . . and that when future decisions are reached full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home." The President's statement was the more significant coming as it did immediately following a series of protests to Washington from various Arab states expressing concern with the American attitude on the Palestine issue.

While Congressional action on the Palestine Resolution was for the time being deferred, the Council did not suspend its activities. In the summer of 1944 both the Republican and Democratic parties held their national conventions—prior to the national elections—and the Council therefore shifted its political front from Washington to Chicago, where these conventions were taking place.

In June, 1944, the Republican Party adopted a forthright plank on Palestine pledging unequivocal support to the full Zionist program. This was followed in July, 1944, by the Palestine plank in the platform of the Democratic Party, which put the party of the National Administration on record as follows:

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

These planks represented an act unprecedented in American political history and served dramatically to give notice that the American people were overwhelmingly in sympathy with the aims of the Zionist movement.

Subsequently, on October 15, 1944, in his historic message to the Zionist Organization of America, the late President Roosevelt gave his support to the plank in the Democratic platform and stated:

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

This position was reaffirmed by the President on March 16, 1945—very shortly before his death. Five weeks later, on April 20, 1945, President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement to the effect that he intended to carry out President Roosevelt's policy, with which he was fully familiar.



**REINTRODUCTION  
OF THE  
RESOLUTION:  
RESIGNATION OF  
DR. SILVER**

In October 1944, the military objection to the passage of the Congressional Resolution was withdrawn. In the light of the planks adopted by both the Democratic and Republican Parties, as well as of the statement of October 15 of President Roosevelt, it was decided that an effort should be made to reopen the matter of the Congressional Resolution which had lain dormant since the previous March. Before taking action in the matter, however, clearance for the Resolution was sought from President Roosevelt and Secretary of State Stettinius; but, instead of the expected concurrence of the Administration, vigorous opposition on the part of the President and Mr. Stettinius was encountered. Late in November the Taft-Wagner Resolution, as it was called, came up for action again in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, where it was considered at three successive meetings. The State Department and the President, however, remained obdurate in their position that the passage of the Resolution was inopportune. The matter came up for a vote in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on December 11, 1944. On this occasion Mr. Stettinius made the last in a series of personal appearances before the Committee, and, in the name of the National Administration, argued against its passage. Such pressure from the Executive branch of the American Government made it impossible to pass the Resolution, and it was finally tabled by a bare majority in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

A violent controversy had developed within the Council when the Administration's opposition to action on the Resolution was encountered. Some members of the Council thought it inadvisable to proceed with the matter and assured leaders of the Government that they would not press for the Palestine Resolution against the wishes of the Administration. Dr. Silver, supported by other members of the Council, took a different view of the situation. He felt that every effort should be made to induce the Administration to withdraw its opposition to the Resolution—which opposition was diametrically opposed to the stand taken publicly by President Roosevelt and his party.

Unfortunately, the proponents of these two different views also adopted conflicting procedures in Washington. Thus, while Dr. Silver sought to carry out the Council's decision to seek the removal of Administration opposition, other Zionist leaders informed official Washington that they were not pressing for the Resolution. Following the tabling of the Palestine Resolution, the far-reaching controversy within the Council culminated in the resignation of Dr. Silver from his position as Co-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee.

In the reorganization which followed, Dr. Wise was elected Chairman, and Dr. Hayim Greenberg became Chairman of the Executive



Committee, with the late Mr. Herman Shulman as Chairman of a small Administrative Committee.

The aforementioned controversy was not confined to the Zionist leadership, but also agitated the Zionist rank and file throughout the country. In the months that followed, the issues were debated throughout America and it became clear that the view represented by Dr. Silver—that favoring a program of militant political action to move the National Administration to follow a line in keeping with its own public pledges—was victorious in the arena of public opinion. The demand for a closing of Zionist ranks and for the recall of Dr. Silver to active leadership became ever more insistent, and finally, in July, 1945, there was a further reorganization. Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise became Joint Chairmen of the Council and Dr. Silver was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

#### **PASSAGE OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN CONGRESS**

The Resolution was subsequently reintroduced into Congress in somewhat revised form, and this time, after a further brief hearing in the House Foreign Affairs Committee, where the Zionist position was effectively stated by Mr. Emanuel Neumann, and after a full debate on the floor of the Senate, was at length passed by overwhelming votes on December 17, 1945, in the Senate and on December 19, 1945, in the House. The Joint Resolution concluded as follows:

*“... Therefore be it RESOLVED by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.”*

The passage of the Palestine Resolution by the Legislative branch of the United States Government thus confirmed as an expression of American policy all of the aforementioned public statements in support of Zionism. The Resolution also served notice on the British Government, as well as on the American National Administration, that the American people, speaking through Congress, continue to regard the international pledge of a Jewish National Home as morally and legally binding, and will seek its fulfillment.



## ATTITUDE OF THE ADMINISTRATION

Despite these striking expressions of official support for the Zionist position, it would be idle to ignore the fact that the Executive branch of the Government of the United States has not in the past been vigilant to secure that this sentiment of the American people and Congress should be reflected in action. Too often there has been an unfortunate contradiction between American official pronouncements favoring the Jewish National Home and concrete action towards their fulfillment.

Thus the declaration of the President of March 1944, that the United States had never approved the White Paper and that full justice would be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, was not in fact followed by any official representations to the British Government. Indeed, as if to indicate that it was not to be inferred from this declaration that the American Government was embarking on a new policy towards Palestine, a telegram was sent by the State Department, with the approval of the President, to the heads of the Arab countries, renewing assurances previously given that no decision on Palestine would be reached without full consultation between both Arabs and Jews. Similarly, President Roosevelt's admirable statement to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America of October 15, 1944, was not followed up by any action. On the contrary, as already indicated, when the Palestine Resolution was revived following the withdrawal of the objections of the War Department, strong opposition was encountered from the President and Secretary of State Stettinius. The matter was brought into the open in connection with the publication by Secretary of State Byrnes, in October, 1945, of the exchange of correspondence between President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud. In dealing with this correspondence, the Emergency Council issued a widely publicized statement in which it was pointed out that, despite the unbroken chain of pro-Zionist promises and pronouncements on the part of the American Government, the policy they expressed had not been translated into action and that, on the contrary, by numerous acts and omissions on the part of the Administration the Arab leaders had been emboldened to allege that the American Government was, in fact, withholding its support from the Zionist cause. The statement of the Emergency Council, which was issued in the form of a letter to the Secretary of State, went on to review the situation in the light of the Ibn Saud correspondence and concluded by pointing out that the menacing words of the spokesmen of countries which had not lifted a finger in their own defense during the war should not be allowed to deflect the United States Government from a just course of action which had received overwhelming endorsement on the part of the American people.

It seems clear that not until late in August, 1945 did the United States Government take any action or make any representations to the



British Government, either to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration or to live up to the obligations which it had assumed. In that month President Truman sent his now-famous letter to Prime Minister Attlee requesting that 100,000 certificates be granted for the immigration of Jews into Palestine. The first real step forward was thus taken in the direction of intervening actively in the Palestine situation and of putting an end to what had developed into a dangerous stalemate.

#### **THE UNITED NATIONS CONFERENCE AT SAN FRANCISCO**

Representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council played a very active part, in collaboration with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, in seeking to protect the rights of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine at the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in April and May, 1945. The Zionist representatives kept in close touch with developments in the Trusteeship and other relevant committees, and by establishing and maintaining contact with members of the key delegations, as well as by the circulation of specially prepared memoranda and other appropriate material, they kept the Conference delegates fully informed on the Zionist point of view. These efforts were successful, to the extent that a special safeguarding clause was eventually introduced into Article 80 of the Trusteeship Chapter of the Charter of the new International Organization, whose specific purpose it is to preserve existing Jewish rights under the Palestine Mandate. This does not, of course, provide an answer to the fundamental question regarding the political future of the Jewish National Home. Any decision on that question was outside the scope of the San Francisco Conference which was concerned with general principles and not with individual territories. At the same time the inclusion of the safeguarding clause was important, since without it the special rights and position of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine might well have been prejudiced by the statement of general principles laid down in the Trusteeship Chapter in respect to dependent territories as a whole.

#### **ANGLO-AMERICAN COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY**

In August and September, 1945, it became evident that the Labor Government was about to repudiate the promises to which, as a party out of office, it had committed itself over many years in connection with the Jewish National Home. On September 23, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise issued a statement declaring that the Jewish people would resist to the bitter end the reported British decision to continue the White Paper policy. In order to give voice to the indignation of American Jewry at this betrayal of pledges, a demonstration was held at short notice at Madison Square Garden on September 30th, which was filled with a capacity audience of 22,000 together with a gathering outside of 45,000



more. Mass demonstrations were also held in approximately 30 other large centers throughout the country and in some cities the British Consulate was picketed. A month later a huge open-air demonstration (referred to earlier in this report) drew a crowd of 200,000 people to Madison Square Park.

**"Another  
Time-Consuming  
Investigation"**

At about this time reports appeared in the press to the effect that an Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry was to be set up to investigate the position of the Jews of Europe, as well as the situation in Palestine. On October 30, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, as Joint Chairmen of the Council, submitted a statement to the President from which, in the light of subsequent events, it is of interest to quote the following:

*"Within the last seven years, three major intergovernmental Conferences and Committees, in addition to our own War Refugee Board appointed in 1944 and already dissolved, have sought to deal with the question of Jewish refugees and of Jewish immigration . . . Each of these efforts ended in dismal failure, stemming from the central assumption that the doors of Palestine, unlawfully barred to Jewish immigration by the British Government under the terms of its White Paper of 1939, must remain barred. . . ."*

*"We beg of you not to countenance further commissions and inquiries at a continued cost in human life and human misery, which can only ascertain facts already well known."*

*"What is urgently needed, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements. No inquiry can be acceptable which does not base itself on the internationally recognized right of the Jewish people to reconstitute their National Home in Palestine. For such an International Commission to set out upon its quest without reference to these basic legal and political considerations, is to embark upon a sea, without chart or compass, without a point of departure or a port of destination . . . It is evident that commissions are no substitute for action clearly indicated."*

A further statement was issued by the Council on November 14, 1945, in response to the announcement of the appointment of the Committee of Inquiry and Mr. Bevin's accompanying remarks.

The Inquiry Committee opened its hearings in Washington in January, 1946. Dr. Silver was of the opinion that the Committee was a palpable delaying device and an excuse for inaction, and he therefore



urged that the movement should ignore the Committee and should not appear before it. However, in line with the decision taken by the World Zionist Executive to cooperate with the Committee, a full presentation of the Zionist case was made by representatives of the Emergency Council at the Committee's sessions in Washington. In addition to oral evidence by leaders of the Zionist movement in this country, printed briefs, including an excellent compendium of the relevant documents together with a brief running commentary, were submitted on different aspects of the problems with which the Committee of Inquiry was concerned.

In order to keep in touch with the work of the Committee of Inquiry as that body proceeded on its investigation in Europe and in the Near East, arrangements were made for representatives of the Emergency Council to attend the hearings of the Committee throughout its travels in an unofficial capacity, and to keep the Council informed of developments as they arose.

**Committee of  
Inquiry's Report:  
America's Reaction**

The Committee of Inquiry issued its Report at the end of April, 1946. Shortly before the publication of the Report, the leaders of the Emergency Council were apprised of its contents and it became clear immediately that while the Report had certain positive aspects—in particular a recommendation for the immediate transfer to Palestine of 100,000 Jews from the displaced persons' camps and the virtual abrogation of the White Paper—its long-term recommendations were not such as could commend themselves to the Zionist movement. In consequence of representations which were at once made in Washington, the President, in releasing the text of the Report, issued a statement which drew an important distinction between the immediate and the long-term recommendations. That statement formed the basis of further Zionist action in the United States until the new situation that was created by the adoption of the Resolution by the World Executive in August, 1946, expressing readiness to negotiate on the basis of a Jewish State in a part of Palestine. Thus on May 18, 1946, a telegram was sent by the Joint Chairmen of the Council to the Acting Secretary of State in connection with the new consultations which had now been proposed, urging that it be made immediately clear that the proposed consultations did not involve the recommendation of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry for the immigration forthwith of 100,000 Jews. The telegram expressed astonishment and dismay that despite the admittedly urgent need for action to relieve the tragic plight of the survivors of Nazi terror; despite the lapse, further, of more than eight months from the President's initial request to the Prime Minister for their entry into Palestine; and finally despite the unanimous recommendation in this connection of the



Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, it appeared that instead of immediate action to transfer the 100,000 to Palestine, the whole matter would be further delayed and confused under cover of the alleged need for consultation.

The same criticism was expressed in response to a written communication subsequently received from the Department of State (May 20) inviting the comments or suggestions of the Council with regard to the various matters discussed in the Report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry. The Report, it was pointed out, in its recommendation for the immediate grant of 100,000 immigration certificates to Palestine, while confirming the request of the President, had merely reaffirmed the findings of Mr. Earl Harrison and of numerous other official investigators. It had in this respect added nothing to facts well known at the time of its appointment. In the circumstances, further consultations and comments appeared meaningless except to produce delay where immediate action was called for and to confuse where the issue had long been altogether clear.

#### **Morrison Plan: American Reaction**

On June 11, 1946, the President appointed a Cabinet Committee on Palestine and Related Problems. The Committee consisted of the Secretaries of State, of War and of Treasury, and its stated purpose was to assist the President in the "early consideration of the recommendations of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry," in view of the urgency of the solution of various problems relating to the Jews in Europe and in Palestine. Thereafter, American technical experts were sent to London to work out with the British the logistics in connection with the transfer of the 100,000. And, finally, the Cabinet Committee dispatched its three deputy members, led by Mr. Henry F. Grady, to meet with a corresponding British group for the purpose of implementing the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The product of these discussions, however, was the Grady-Morrison report, which represented a radical departure from the recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry. The Grady-Morrison proposal for a scheme of provincial "autonomy" in Palestine, in which the Jewish people would be restricted to an area of some 1,400 square miles, and in respect of which Jewish immigration would still be subject to the over-riding decision of the mandatory power, evoked the strongest reaction on the part of the Zionists of America. Immediate and energetic action was undertaken in Washington and under pressure of an aroused and indignant American public opinion, the President was dissuaded from giving American support to the scheme.

In expressing American Jewry's vigorous demand for immediate



action to admit the Jewish survivors of Europe into Palestine, the Council received magnificent cooperation from the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. Almost 5,000 veterans of World Wars One and Two converged on Washington on July 14, 1946 in a protest march against British policy in Palestine. The veterans' parade in Washington and their meetings with President Truman, Under-Secretary of State Acheson and Lord Inverchapel, the British Ambassador, were widely reported in the press, in newsreels and over the radio. This demonstration contributed greatly towards the mobilization of American public opinion in support of Zionist demands.

### THE MOST RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

A few months prior to the recent elections of November 5, the Emergency Council launched a nationwide program of action to demonstrate American Jewry's deep dissatisfaction over the National Administration's record on Palestine. A special committee—the Zionist Actions Committee—was formed, with Judge Bernard A. Rosenblatt as chairman, Louis Segal as treasurer and Rabbi Max Kirshblum as secretary, to conduct a program of mass education with regard to the National Administration's failure to act in accordance with its pledges on Palestine. It was clear that in voicing the demand that the American Government immediately fulfill its commitments regarding Palestine, the Emergency Council was supported by an overwhelming majority of the American people.

The results of this campaign were reflected in the steps which the Administration took during the month of October, 1946. On October 4, President Truman issued a statement in which he declared that "substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and . . . should begin at once." The President said further that due to widespread American opposition to the Morrison plan he could not give his support to it. Referring to the Jewish Agency's proposal for "the creation of a viable Jewish state in control of its own immigration and economic policies in an adequate area of Palestine instead of in the whole of Palestine," President Truman expressed his belief that "a solution along these lines would command the support of public opinion in the United States," and went on to say:

*"I cannot believe that the gap between the proposals which have been put forward is too great to be bridged by men of reason and good will. To such a solution our Government could give its support."*

American Zionism's reaction to this declaration was contained in the Emergency Council's statement of October 9. That statement declared:



**"Public Expressions  
Do Not Suffice"**

*"... we most earnestly and respectfully urge the President to make full use of the influence and authority of his high office to the end that effective action be taken without delay in fulfillment of the spirit of his statement. Nothing can satisfy the public conscience save the early movement of displaced and homeless Jews into Palestine, the prompt cessation of British assaults on Jewish refugees and a halt to the brutal repression practiced in Palestine. This alone can be accepted as an earnest of a new and constructive policy resolutely to be pursued with all the vigor which the critical situation demands . . .*

*"Unhappily, past experience, the bitter disappointments and disillusionments which have followed upon earlier pronouncements have ripened into the conviction that public expressions, however sincere and well-meaning, do not suffice. It has become evident that the tragedy of a whole people exposed to bestial persecution, mass slaughter and continuing homelessness cannot and will not be remedied unless our Government exert sustained and vigorous effort to secure swift and favorable action to the end that heartening promises shall be realized in deeds."*

On October 25, Secretary of State Byrnes was moved to make public a statement denying that the State Department was not giving full support to the Palestine policy stated by the President. In a letter to Dr. Wise, Mr. Byrnes declared that "the statement made by the President on October 4th with regard to Palestine and to Jewish immigration into Palestine is, of course, an expression of the policy of this Government. With this policy I am in hearty accord."

However, American Zionism's demands for concrete action by the American Government continued unabated — and on October 28 President Truman issued the text of his letter to King Ibn Saud, in which he declared: "It is only natural . . . that this government should favor at this time the entry into Palestine of considerable numbers of displaced Jews in Europe, not only that they may find shelter there, but also that they may contribute their talents and energies to the upbuilding of the Jewish national home."

The President furthermore rejected Ibn Saud's accusations against the Jews, declaring that he is "convinced that responsible Jewish leaders do not contemplate a policy of aggression against the Arab countries adjacent to Palestine." He rejected also Ibn Saud's charge that the President's statement of October 4 was inconsistent with the position he had taken earlier.



Thus, for the first time, the unwarranted interference of King Ibn Saud in the Palestine situation was dealt with in a forthright manner by the President of the United States.

## **AFTER THE ELECTIONS**

On November 5 the Republican Party was victorious at the polls. Republicans now control both Houses of the Congress of the United States and will hereafter occupy an important role in determining American foreign policy. The Republican Party's record of support for Zionism has been consistent, and its present leaders include some of the most vigorous champions of the Zionist cause in the world today. It is hoped that their warm statements of the past will now be followed by efforts to bring about action by the American Government in support of the Jewish people's just demands.

## **CONCLUSION**

The unbelievably tragic events of the past decade have placed upon American Zionists a fateful responsibility for the future of the Jewish people and of Palestine. There can be no doubt that the Jews of America as a whole are deeply conscious of the historic role which they have been called upon to play. In the decisions that are to be taken affecting Palestine, the influence of the American Government and of American public opinion may well be decisive.

The American Zionist Emergency Council has sought to channelize and make effective not only the mass sentiment of American Jewry for Palestine, but also the great fund of sympathy for the development of the Jewish National Home which exists amongst large circles of the American people as a whole. It will be the purpose of the Council to continue so to inform and educate American public opinion that the latter will lend to the aim of the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth the weight of its great moral and political authority.



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