

## 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.

Reel	Box	Folder
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## American Zionist Emergency Council, "G", 1945-1947.

Western Reserve Historical Society 10825 East Boulevard, Cleveland, Ohio 44106 (216) 721-5722 wrhs.org

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272 VAN HORNE STREET TORONTO 4, CANADA

October twenty-fifth 1945

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The vigour in your statements as recounted in bulletins I am receiving from the Emergency Council leads me to believe that the enclosed will not be as thoroughly condemned by you as it is by Zionists in Canada. I am accordingly taking the liberty of explaining that the attached sticker and accompanying leaflet have been going to our company's customers and suppliers since October 1st, appearing with every letter, invoice, quotation, and other business correspondence.

In the event you are interested in the statistics involved, I might mention that three out of four non-Jews who respond by letter, by telephone, or by personal visit, express approval and sympathy. The sticker served to arouse them as a preliminary, and perhaps make many of them bridle. But the explanation in the leaflet as well as further discussion resulted in their pronounced best wishes for my objective.

If three out of four Canadians can see nothing really unjustified in Jews refusing to purchase goods made in England as long as England bars the Jews from Palestine, I feel I ought to tell you about it.

Sincerely yours,

1. M. Kim

I. M. Gringorten

IMG/M

AS PROUD AND SELF-RESPECTING CANADIANS, WE DEPLORE ENG-LAND'S BROKEN PLEDGE TO THE IEWISH PEOPLE, AND WE WILL BUY NO GOODS MADE IN ENG-BUY NO GOODS MADE IN ENG-BUY NO GOODS MADE IN ENG-BUY NO HALESTINE.



FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, JERUARY 12, 1946

DR. SSRAEL GOLDSTEIN SCORES ATTEMPTS BY BRITISH "TO CREATE MISCHIEF" AGAINST AMERICAN JEWISH CITIZENS

DEFENDS RIGHT OF AMERICAN CITIZENS TO UNGE CARRYING OUT OF AMERICAN POLICY ON PALESTINE

New York, Jan. 12 - Apparent attempts by British consular officials to create dissension along racial and religious lines in the United States were demounced today by Dr. Israel Goldstein, in his sermon delivered at the B'nai Jeshnrum Synagogue yesterday morning.

- AAZHO LETTERHEAD)

Text of the sermon by Dr. Goldstein, who is chairman of the World Confede the ration of General Zionists and member of the Governing Council of/World Zionist Organisation, follows:

Mapprehensions have been aroused recently in more than one American community as a result of utterances of British consular representatives. These utterances, as reported, give the impression of being calculated to create mischief against American Jewish citizens.

"The British consul-general, Eric Carvell, speaking at a church in Los Angeles, is reported by Reverend Hareld H. Robinson, to have made a vicious attack upon the Government of the United States and groups of American citizens on account of their sympathy for the personned Jews of Europe and in Palestine. Reverend Robinson goes on to say 'it appears to me that this is the beginning of an attempt by the British Government to create dissension in this country on racial and religious lines. The British consul-general went for beyond the bounds of diplomatic propriety, and even the distates of humanity, in his unwarranted and clever attempt to belittle our nation and the herois efforts of the Jewish people to establish a homeland in Palestine.?

"A similar report has come from the northwest area regarding the British consul there. One of his audience states regarding an address of Mr. Joseph Robinson, the British consul in the Minneapolis area: 'His talk was virulently anti-Semitic as well as anti-Zionist, he justified the Mufti and magnamimously forgave him, he intimated that some Jews often made good citizens in the countries in which they lived. I Are these animadversions of British consular officials inspired by the British Foreign Office? They seem to represent a concerted effort to make trouble here. Is it the purpose of the British Foreign Office to sow anti-Jewish prejudices among Ameridan communities? This would indeed be an unwarranted intrusion of a foreign government into our American community life. Jewish and Christian citizens in America are doing no more than exercising their rights as American citizens when they urge a program which represents American policy as formulated in the United States Congress resolutions. Any effort by British officials to sow discord between group and group here in the United States is a violation of fundamental decencies of international relations.

"Are we now being treated to the spectacle of Foreign and Colonial Office attempts to justify the unjustified British White Paper policy in Palestine by making it appear that the Jews are the <u>causes</u> of that policy rather than its victims? What is taking place in Palestine is not taking place in a vacuum. The picture being presented to the American people is that Britain has been put into an intolerable situation as a result of Jewish resistance, There is Jewish resistance because of British policy. That is the framework of the picture which the British spokesmen conveniently overlook. As history shows, extremism is the inevitable resource of a people when legal pressures for achieving security and freedom have failed. I am sure that the American people understand this struggle for freedom.

- 2 -

"Another type of objectionable intrusion has come from a British quarter where it was least to be expected. Mr. R. H. S. Grossman, who served as a member of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine, writing in <u>The New Statesman and Nation</u>, attacks the 'outlook, tactics and policy of the United States delegates to the Zionist Gongress' which he says were more American than Jewish, and he states that American Jewry has become a self-assertive power with a financial stranglehold on the Zionist movement.

"Mr. Grossman's powers of observation seem to have failed him in this instance. If he has followed carefully the proceedings of the Hasle Zionist Congress he should know that the decisions of that Congress were just as much the decisions of Zionists from Europe, Palestine and other parts of the world as they were decisions of Zionists coming from the United States. As a matter of fact nearly half of the entire American Zionist delegation of all parties voted with the minority at the Congress. Other parts of the Zionist world, therefore, voted in the same majority-minerity pattern as the Zionists coming from America. It is unworthy of Mr. Grossman, whom we have come to regard as a friend of Zionism, that he should misrepresent and distort the majority will of the Zionist movement as expressed in the decisions of the Basle Congress. Surely he can find no fault with American Jews for taking an interest in Palestine, for seeking to give it moral and material support. The American Jewish community is the largest in the world. It has a duty to help its brethren in Europe. Would Mr. Crossman not have it assert itself, not have it do what it can to help a people who surely are in need of help?

"It is intolerable that, failing to carry out the Mandate for Palestine, But is should continue to act against the Jews in Palestine in such a manner that they must struggle to exist, and it is insufferable that she should then cite this struggle for existence as justification for her repressive policy.

- 3 -

"We are asking only for that which Lord Balfour, David Lloyd George and Woodmow Wilson a generation ago, and the British Labor Party as recently as two years ago, declared were no more than our just due. It is grotesque, therefore, to attack Zionists for supporting traditional policy and for making every effort to achieve Zionist aims. Mr. Joseph Robinson, the British consul in the Minnespelie area, was quoted as haging referred to the 'wisked Zionists who are doing the dastardly and despicable thing of using the 600,000 displaced persons in Europe to try to pry epen the doors of Palestine. ( The Zionists who seek to pry open the doors of Palestine are no more (wicked' than a man is wicked who fights against strangulation. The Zionists in Palestine and out of Palestine ask no more than what Zionism itself has always meant -- the carrying out of international pledges.

- 4 -

"These are grave and critical hours for the Jewish people. They have always considered themselves friends of Great Britain; they have been her allies everywhere. They stand deeply in need of their friends as Britain stands today in need of hers. It ill becomes British officials to render this disservice to the Jewish people. It ill becomes mepresentatives of the British Government to term attempts at Jewish survival 'despicable' and acts of dignity under military tyrenny as 'wicked.'

"Great Britain still has an opportunity to regain Jewish confidence and friendship, as well as the confidence and the respect of the American public, by deciding at long last to redeem its pleam pleage to the Jewish people."

- 30 -

American Zionist Emergency. Council <u>COPY</u> 342 Madison Ave. N.Y.C.

PIONEER WOMEN'S ORGANIZATION 45 E. 17th St. New York, N.Y.

July 1, 1946

Dr. A. H. Silver and Dr. Stephen **B.** Wise Joint Chairman American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise:

I feel like starting this by saying: "What--another mass demonstration?" I imagine that my reaction may be that of many others. Therefore, I take the liberty of writing you. Under no circumstances would I attend, as I am no longer interested in just getting together and listening to a lot of speeches. I would not feel that way, because a good speech is a good speech, if I knew what I was supposed to do the next day, the day after that, and the day after that.

Our past experience has been that we go either to Madison Square Park, or Madison Square Garden, or Carnegie Hall, or where not, and we demonstrate. So What? If we are in the least moved, or if it does something to us psychologically, we lose it in the days following when we remain completely inactive. Can't we expect of our leadership that they should work out a week's program, a month's program, if need be, each day scheduled for something else -- beginning with a mass rally and demonstration.

It so often happens that our leaders do not feel the pulse of the masses of the people. I know whereof I speak for frequently here at the head of the Pioneer Women's organization, I, too, make plans and think things out which satisfy me, but which I find afterwards have not satisfied many of the women all over the country.

I can't, of course, compare Pioneer Women to a large Zionist Emergency Council. I merely want to register with you the fact that I know how hard you are working and all those directly under you, but sometimes you may think that if you have managed a wonderful rally that other people are satisfied. We have got to find something that we can do to make us feel that it is a vital part of our lives and take up more time than just that of attending a rally. Forgive my presumption in writing. This was my reaction, however, at the time of the last Madison Square Garden Rally, and I know that I need not remind you that there were only 12,000 people there.

I imagine that in view of the present terrible situation in Palestine, the Madison Square Park demonstration will be a more successful one. Nevertheless, I feel certain that there will be a feeling of futility on the part of many the next day.

I suggest again a calendar of one kind of demonstration after another for a whole week, taking up every day or for longer than that if the situation is not eased.

In the hope of better news in the Zionist World, I am

(Signed) BERT GOLDSTEIN Mrs. Israel Goldstein



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ABBA HILLEL SILVER

NEW YORK JULY 5th, 1945

MEETING COMMITTEE OF EIGHT WILL BE HELD ON MONDAY JULY EIGHT AT TWELVE NOON.

NAHUM GOLDMAN

WESTERN UNION GIFT ORDERS SOLVE THE PERPLEXING QUESTION OF WHAT TO GIVE

OF TORONTO

for the support of political prisoners and their dependents July eighth 1946

Dear fellow-Jow:

Arrested in the dead of night, bundled into a truck in your pyjamas, and held in a concentration camp for an indefinite period without charges or trial. That's what might happen to you if you are a Jew and live in Palestine.

To be arrested on suspicion is the hazard faced by every Jew and Jewess in Palestine today. Every officially deputized Englishman, whether soldier, policeman, or civilian has the right to tap you on the shoulder and escort you to a police station, from which point you can begin your jail career without benefit of charges or trial and no chance to protect yourself by legal means. Some of our people have thus been imprisoned as much as two years with no sign of release.

Up to three weeks ago there were 800 such political prisoners, 300 of them in Eritrea and the rest in concentration camps in or near Palestine. Today these arrests have been increased by close to 3000. So now almost 4000 Jews and Jewesses are held on suspiciom.

What the end will be is not for us to speak of with assurance. But the families of these arrestees are in need, that we know. With their breadwinners in jail, these several thousand families have to be maintained. And for our own morale as well as the morale of Palestine's Jews, they must be maintained.

The Assirai Zion Committee in Palestine consists of an informal group of prominent Jews who undertake to receive funds and distribute them among these families. Since the arrestees come from all shades of Zionist opinion --General Zionists, Mizrachi, Revisionists, Poale Zion -- the collection and distribution of funds has no political coloration. The family of any arrestee is taken care of without regard to the politics of its breadwinner.

The Committee includes Chief Rabbi Hertzog, Professor Joseph Klausner, Dr. Judah Magnes of the Hebrew University, Mayor Rokeach of Tel Aviv, deputy-Mayor Oster of Jerusalem, and others.

Our committee, and similar committees in other cities of Canada and the United States, send funds direct to one or other of the above prominent Palestinians with the information that the money is for the Assirai Zion (political prisoners of Zion). They do the rest.

#### Assirai Zion

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Will you help? Will you avoid thinking of this as charity, but rather as a holy responsibility in Jewry's fight against the tyranny and oppression initiated by the Colonial Office? Let's show those brave men and women of Palestine who dare to believe that God intends Palestine to be the Land of Israel that their families will be taken care of.

Please send your token of support at once, payable to the treasurer, Mr. J. S. Granatstein, 482 Wellington Street West, Toronto 2B.

Sincerely yours,

1 cul Im I. M. Gringorten

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Secretary

#### I. M. GRINGORTEN

272 VAN HORNE STREET TORONTO, CANADA

> July twenty fifth 1946

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

In telephone conversation with the New York office of the United Zionists-Revisionists, I was informed that you indicated your willingness to reply to inquiries on the authenticity of the Assirai Zion Committee in Palestine.

The Toronto Assirai Zion Committee was formed on the strength of the fact that funds would be collected by the local group only, and sent by them direct to well-known personages in Palestine who would be responsible for distribution among the affected families. Such procedure seemed to permit of no question on the proper disbursement of money collected.

A rumor has now been started in Toronto to the effect that funds sent to individuals like Mayor Rokeach, Professor Klausner, and others are diverted to political uses. The explanation is that Mayor Rokeach and the others, responsible individuals though they be, are careless enough to hand over the funds to a Palestinian committee whose use of the money is open to question.

I would hate to think that Mayor Rokeach, Professor Klausner, Dr. Magnes, deputy-Mayor Oster, and other such reputable men are guilty of receiving funds from committees like our own, and handing them over to people who use the funds for other than the intended purpose. Nevertheless, the above story is being given credence in intelligent Toronto quarters.

If the rumor is unfounded, a grave injustice is being done to the unfortunate families for whom sympathetic Zionists in the United States and Canada are anxious to contribute support. However, if there is some truth in it, many others as well as I would like to know about it. Those who have started the story have referred to the collections as a "racket". I hope you will find it possible to give me your own impression of the facts in the matter. I enclose copy of a form letter mailed in the past few days to many Toronto Jews.

Thank you very much for your kind attention.

Sincerely yours,

2. W. K

and a might outralley

IMG/GHT

Page Two

From The Washington Post Thursday, August 8, 1946

Gerrasi

## HOLES IN THE PALESTINE PLAN

Editor's note: Frank Gervasi, the author of this communication on Palestine, is associate editor of <u>Collier's</u>. During the war he visited many countries of Europe as a correspondent. He is the author of a recent book, "To Whom Palestine."

It has been proposed that Palestine be partitioned into Arab and Jewish states as a permanent solution to what is called the Palestine problem but is, as we shall see, a great world political, social and economic problem. The next war can well begin in Palestine, strategic crossroads of the Eastern Hemisphere and frontier between capitalism and communism. The stakes in human terms are, therefore, enormous. If solution there is to be, it must be on solid foundations.

The new "solution" to the Palestine problem proposed by the so-called Anglo-American Cabinet Committee violates virtually every legal and moral commitment made by the British and Amerigan Governments in more than a generation of haggling over the issue.

It is, to begin, merely an extension of the 1939 White Paper policy which was recognized as unlawful by the Mandates Commission of the League of Nations. It amounts to a repudiation of the mandate itself and of the Anglo-American Palestine Treaty of 1924. It is inconsistent with American policy on Palestine as envisioned in congressional resolutions adopted in December, 1945, and expressed by both the Democratic and Republican Parties in their national conventions in 1944.

The British plan is a fraud. It tries to make things appear different from what they are, by a careful choice of names and language. It proposes a "federal" Palestine with "self-governing" Arab and Jewish provinces. If we look closely, we find neither a federation nor self-government. We find two districts, both ruled by ministers appointed by a British High Commissioner and subject to his supervision. These ministers rule with an elected assembly, but the British commissioner has the right to veto any measures, dissolve the assemblies and dismiss the ministers.

The plan tries to impress the reader with the fact that the Jews are being given the richest, though the smallest, part of Palestine, and therefore a part most apt to absorb a large number of additional immigrants. What the proposal does not specify is that the part given to the Jews is by far the most densely populated area of Palestine. Any plan which would have genuinely attempted to offer opportunities for Jewish immigration would have included some of the relatively empty parts of Palestine. The real aim of the plan's authors was to offer to the Jews such a zone that the Jews themselves would have to admit after some time that there was no room for the absorption of any further immigrants.

The superficial impression conveyed by the plan is that the authorities of the Jewish province would all but determine the rate at which further immigration should be permitted, and that the British High Commissioner would only have to fulfill the formality of giving his consent. But the Jewish authorities who are to recommend the number of immigrants to be admitted are themselves appointees of the British commissioner and subject to removal by him. A very characteristic feature of the plan is the treatment of the Negev. The plan explains that according to British opinion the Negev cannot be made an inhabited area, though the Jews think otherwise. The British admit that it would have been possible, of course, to give the Negev to the Jews and let them see what they could do with it, but with touching concern for Jewish feelings, the British state that it would have been unfair to the Jews to give them a piece of land which would prove uninhabitable. This is why they propose to keep the Negev for themselves.

As a matter of fact, the British do mention that at a later time they will send experts to explore the Negev, and if they find that it can be made inhabitable, they might lease land in the Negev to a Jewish company, taking good care that the oil concessions of the British companies should remain unimpaired, and that should the experts find that the Negev is uninhabitable the British will either keep it for themselves or incorporate it into the Arab province!

How can one, on the one hand, mention oil concessions in the Negev, and therefore opportunities for industrial development, and, on the other hand, say that the Negev cannot support any population? And why if the Negev is good should it only be leased to the Jews, while if it is bad it should be given to the Arabs? And what will the Arabs do with the Negev if it is uninhabitable?

Most interesting aspects of the plan are these features which it omits. Not a word is said about the fact that Great Britain would be free under it to have extensive military bases all over Palestine; that such bases are already being installed there, or the fact that these bases are regarded as a major necessity for the British Empire in view of the international situation and in view of the fact that the British have to evacuate Egypt.

Stripped of all verbiage, the plan amounts to an attempt to continue all the essential restrictions of the White Paper. Just as under the White Paper, the Jews would be denied access to most of Palestine, and their access to the remaining little part would be controlled by British authorities.

An idea which underlies the British plan is the statement that the experts (meaning the Englishmen and Americans who came together in London), had come to the conclusion that Palestine is too small to absorb the European Jews who cannot remain in or return to their present countries. The trick in this statement is the reference to the "experts." With all due respect for the three Americans who were sent to London -- one a president of a California shipping company, another a Wall Street lawyer, and the third a Treasury official -- who had studied the question of Palestine a few weeks, it is permissible to ask what makes them "experts" to determine this question. There is no need, of course, to discuss the expertness of the British representatives, since in their case we have an avowed government policy which does not wish for a large Jewish immigration into Palestine.

But assuming that this one statement has some justification and that even the whole of Palestine may be too small to absorb all of the Jews who want to go there, by what process of reasoning does the plan arrive at the other conclusion that a tiny part of Palestine amounting to 1500 square miles would be sufficient to allow a considerable immigration — the bait which is dangled before the Jews of the world in order to secure their acceptance of the plan?

The plan overlooks entirely not only the existing international legal documents concerning Palestine, but -- what is more important -- the fundamental political and sociological reason for the world's interest in the Jewish National Home. But the main reason why the world is interested in the Jewish National Home is because it would contribute to a very large extent to the solution of an otherwise insoluble international problem — the problem of the unwanted Jews of Europe, who are equally unwanted in Europe and on other continents. The plan proposed by the British makes it almost impossible, both through restrictions in territory and through the wide scope of powers which it allots to an unsympathetic British administration, for Palestine to absorb any large number of Jewish refugees. Therefore, the British plan is not a solution, since it does not permit solution of the very problem the Jewish National Home was intended to solve.

What the plan amounts to, in effect, is that, in consideration of the acceptance by the Jews of all the restrictions which will be imposed upon them by the terms of the plan (restrictions which will put them in a much worse position than the position which they hold under the mandate), they are promised the admission of 100,000 Jews. It is, in a way, an exercise in blackmail. Since the British know how anxious the Jews are that 100,000 of them should be admitted to Palestine immediately, they try to get the Jews to sign away all their rights in return for this concession.

The tragic thing about it is that not even here do the British really commit themselves: they still leave themselves a loophole by means of the stipulation that the entire plan will have to be agreed to by Jews and Arabs alike. Since the British are certain that the Arabs will not agree to the plan, they can always escape the obligation to admit even the 100,000. But in the process of doing so, they counted on extorting from the Jews a voluntary renunciation to enter and settle in most of Palestine -- a renunciation which they were never able to get under the terms of the White Paper.

This plan not only blackmails the Jews. It also attempts to get the United States to bribe the Arabs in and out of Palestine to the tune of 300 million dollars. Insofar as the Arabs of Palestine would be concerned, this money would be spent under the control, and therefore presumably in the interest, of the British Empire. But all of the Arab countries remain linked to a large extent with Great Britain, and the British plan, without materially helping the Jews, would anount in the final analysis to enriching another British-controlled part of the world by 300 million dollars.

The thing which is most amazing about this plan is how American representatives could fall for it so easily. The answer lies precisely in the fact that they were not experts. They knew nothing about Palestine and they had no positive attitude toward the Jewish National Home, or even the more limited desire of President Truman to get 100,000 Jews into Palestine immediately. To that extent, the three American negotiators should not be blamed. The blame falls upon the Administration which appointed them to negotiate.

FRANK GERVASI

Washington



1.

23456

7.

TOP SECRET

## Office Memorandum . UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Special Order Section

DATE: 23 Aug 46

FROM : Base Classification and Asgmt Section

SUBJECT: Project "Borsht"

Fol EM AC Pvtz or as otherwise indicated race-white, negro, and mixed MOS-521 SvQ-5 having completed basic tng are reld from atchd unasgd AAFTTC Sq SB-60 3543 AAF Base Unit (MTC) this sta and trfd in grade to AAF ORD TEL AVIV, PALESTINE for subsequent asgt to 1st ATOMIC BONBARDMENT GROUP, Middle East Section 7th Palestine Jewish-American Air Force for duty in connection with "Operation DISSOLUTION 'LIMEY' " to secret stations. WP o/a 26 Aug 46 with 1 day delay en route plus 4 days tvl time reporting to CO Jewish Brigade Tel Aviv not later than 1 Sep 46, EDCLR 1 Sep 46. Transportation Officer will furnish necessary air transportation (P-80's) and in accord with AR-302215 will issue sufficient meal tickets (double the number necessary) to keep the EM in top fighting condition. POR will be compld with.S/R Classification Cards and allied papers will be forwarded receiving sta within 24 hours after departure of EM. Automobiles or pets will not be taken to staging area and dependents, friends, or relatives will neither accompany nor join the "Lost Battalion " to staging area. EM will be equipped only to extent authorized by current regs and unauthorized articles of clothing and equipment will not be taken to staging area. In accord with AR-354810 (Lend Lease to Jewish Agencies) EM will be supplied with Automatic Sub-Machine Guns, cal .45 M-1; Pistols, .45 M-1; Knives, M-3, Grenades, Hand; Prayer Books, Hebrew M-1948; Radar Equipment AN/TPQ-49X; 1000 rounds of ammntn, all types per EM; Vitamin Pills M-Gflte Fsh; and all necessary supplementary equpat auth by spcl arrngmt for "Operation Borsht". In accord with AR-17-37-84 25 Aug 46 the totl expndtrs for the operation will be chrgd to Jewish Lend-Lease S-99-999 auth TWX -1-1E AAF Mgs Wash DC by delegated auth from UN Security Council 15 Aug 46.

1. Goldblum, Moshe V. is hereby designated trnspt comdr and will be hld responsible for physical and spiritual welfare of EM en route

SHIPPING ROSTER #1 ALL VOLUNTEER EM SIGN BELOW: 1. Squadron Bagel <u>NAME</u> <u>ASN</u> <u>RANK TM.OF ENL.</u> <u>DUTY SSN</u>

SHIPPING ROSTER #2 "PROJECT BORSHT" TOP SECRET 12345678911234567890123456789012334567890 41. 42.

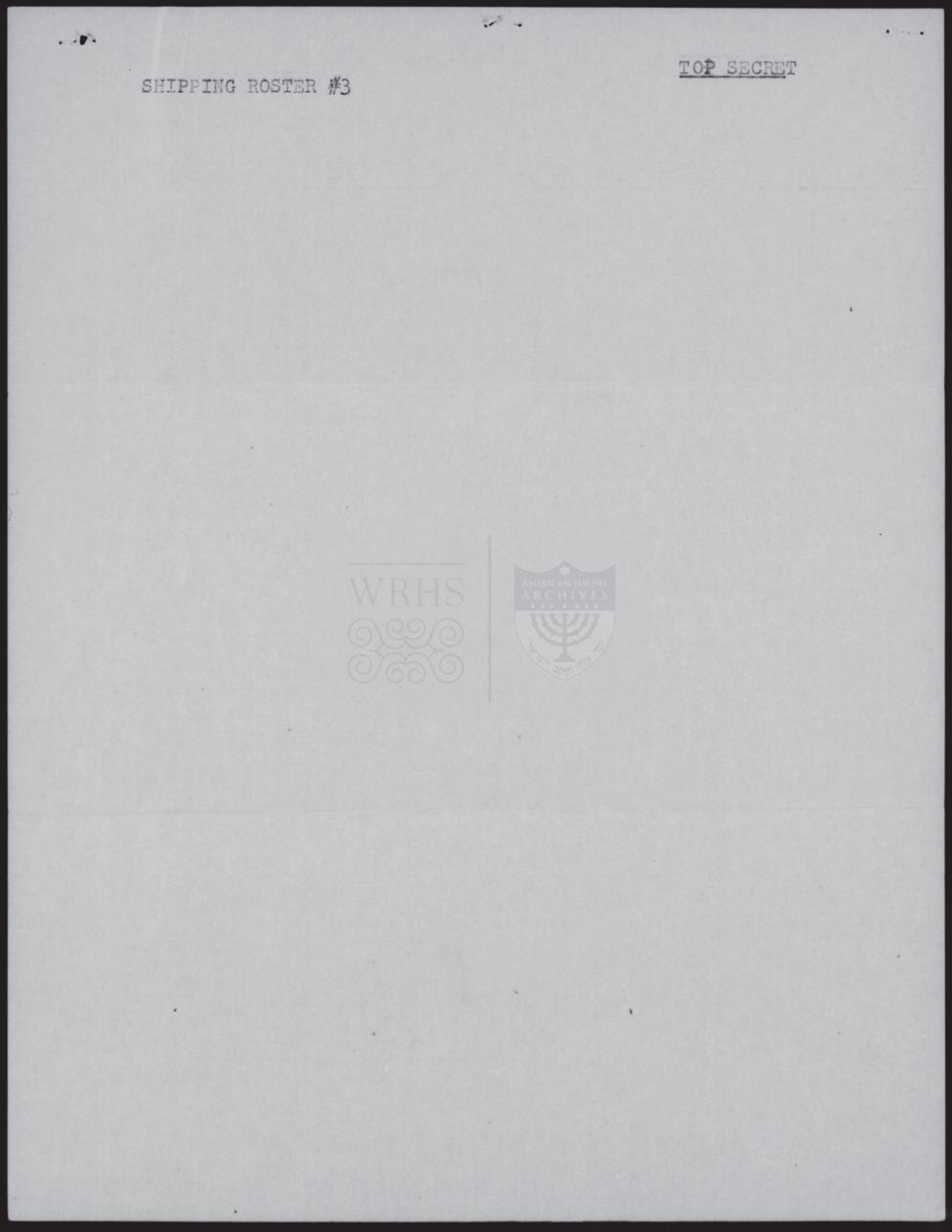
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### 3543 ARMY AIR FORCE BASE UNIT AAF MILITARY TRAINING CENTER San Antonio, Texas

109B/tt

AH-16 2 October 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Zionist Organization of America 41 East 42nd St. New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Silver.

About a week ago I wrote to you in regard to a government project which two soldiers at our Air Base had conjured up but I am embarrassed to admit that the main contents were not enclosed. You certainly must have concluded that there was one Jewish Chaplain who was not completely same and therefore I will proceed to explain from anew.

Cpls. Robert Kaplow and Paul Freimark were doing a very fine job in our classification department and in their off duty hours decided to type up a typical military order authorizing a shipment of Jewish men to Tel Aviv, Palestine. Both of them are interested in the Jewish Brigade and thought they might express their wishes through this order.

We showed the memorandum to all of the Jewish personnel and many of them took the order seriously and were really elsted. The rest realized the humor but all would have been ready to sign the roster had it been authentic.

I am sending the order to you for I believe it will be a source of satisfication in knowing the strength of the Zionist movement among our soldiers. I certainly would appreciate it if you would make a copy of it if you wish. Please return the original to me.

Sincerely Moshe V. Yaldblum MOSHE V. GOLDBLUM

lst Lt., (USA) Chaplain

1 Incl.



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LICATE OF TELEPHONED TELECON FROM COURAGEOUS GEOUS RETURNED YESTERDAY GREETINGS

YISHUV HAPPY HOLIDAY=

LEON GELLMAN.

1946 OCT

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COUR AGEOUS GEOUS YISHUV GELLMAN.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST

RGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC.

1819 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 23, N.Y. TELEPHONE: COLUMBUS 5-6585

October 9, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

I want to apologize for a typographical error on my part in transcribing Mrs. Epstein's letter to you of even date in which she invites you to be the guest speaker at the Thursday session of the Hadassah convention in Boston. In the third paragraph I wrote in error <u>many thousand visitors</u> from the New England region instead of "a thousand visitors."

Mrs. Epstein would like too to call your attention to the fact that the Thursday session is a "brunch" session and that we would like to schedule you some time between 12:00 and 1:00 P.M.

Sincerely yours,

Ethel Gross Secretary to Mrs. Epstein

MISS HENRIETTA SZOLD

FOUNDER

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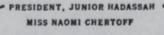
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November 6, 1946

# Dr. NAHUM GOLDMAN

#### SUBJECT: STATE DEPARTMENT VISITS

Copy

In Washington last week and over the week-end I saw both in their State Department offices and at their respective homes, Mr. John Carter Vincent and Mr. Evan Wilson. The latter is an old Oxford friend; a full report of my previous conversation with Mr. Vincent was contained in my letter of October 16th to Mr. Eliahu Epstein. While Mr. Wilson talked a great deal about the Palestine issue, he was more inclined to give his personal impression of places and personalities, to deal with past rather than present policies. Having known him well, over a very long period, I can vouch for his integrity. He strikes me as being conscious of the dilemma in which the British find themselves; of not forgiving Jews and Zionistleaders for what he regards as grave errors of judgement: but fundamentally as appreciating the Jewish position and sympathizing with the Zionist cause. When he said he tells his Arab friends that they must make concessions to us, I believe him. But while he is probably doing what he deems best for the United States and for ourselves, I suspect that at heart he wonders whether Zionist efforts will be crowned with success. He is, in short, an honest man, by now a pro-Zionist, but someone who is, I feel, bewildered by the complexity of the Jewish predicament and therefore hardly to be classified as an optimist.

With Mr. John Carter Vincent, my conversation resumed where we had left off on October 15th. He had forgotten little of our previous talk. The matters raised he had, I seemed to sense, been turning over in his mind and may have passed on to his associates. He is a man of modest demeanor and his manner is one of unaffected simplicity. It is, therefore, significant that he volunteered and stressed one particular fact about State Department administration. Mr. Spruille Braden, in charge of Latin American Affairs, is a political Assistant Under-Secretary and does not confer regularly with officials on Mr. Vincent's level. But for other questions -- Mr. Clayton being a specialist in economic affairs -- there is at the moment no political Assistant Under-Secretary. The gap is filled through joint consultations by the triumvirate of Mr. Matthews for Europe and the British Commonwealth, Mr. Henderson for the Middle East, and Mr. Vincent himself for the Far East: their daily meetings with Mr. Acheson he again described to me. From all this, I gathered he meant to imply that while the Far East is his own bailiwick, he is also concerned in our business too -- although, out of courtesy to Mr. Henderson and the Middle Eastern Division, he cannot really say so.

I, of course, seized the opportunity to express pleasure over one phase of our first conversation. On that occasion he had corroborated my own early view that President Truman's statement of October 4th laid down more of a long-range policy than it was initially credited with doing. Since, then, the letter of Mr. Byrnes to Dr. Wise and of the President to King Ibn Saud had underpinned our previous exhange of opinion and reference was made to this.

From that we passed on to the crucial problem of implementation. He seemed to say that my No.l man (meaning the visit of Dr. Goldman and Mr. Ben Gurion to Mr. Dean Acheson the previous day) had suggested "sanctions". I expressed surprise at the use of this term by him and tried at once to correct any misconception. Retaliatory action was not sought by the Agency, but only the exercise of such pressure on Britain by the United States as would implement American policy and compel Britain to carry out her own obligations under the Mandate.

(Dr. Goldman subsequently explained that what had been sought was,

- 2 -

of course, a sustained effort by the United States to have Britain discharge her commitments to the Jews or turn the entire question over to the United Nations.)

What I tried to impress on Mr. Vincent, in the hope that he might convey some of these ideas to his colleagues, was that the American Government had taken a stand, and a good one, but that it had to be followed up. On Wednesday evening, it was argued by a small, private group of highly experienced Washington experts that the means of pressure were always at hand, that there were five or six issues always pedning between London and Washington, that the climate of opinion for a settlement of some of these might be improved in the eyes of Washington if positive action were taken on a question such as Palestine, in which the United States has a special interest. When Mr. Vincent asked how American policy might be implemented, I therefore repeated this argument hypothetically as an illustration. But Mr. Vincent was doubtful. We did not know, he contended, any such array of questions, out of which such an all-inclusive settlement might be achieved; I reminded him, however, of similar attempts in the history of American diplomacy at the turn of the century.

(I have since asked one of those present at the Wednesday evening group to prepare a memorandum embodying their suggestions. Depending on its character, it might be shown in an informal way to some of our friends in official Washington; at any rate, it could help us to clarify our own thought on so vital a topic.)

But if a politico-economic deal between the United States and Britain over Palestine were not practicable, what about the strategic side of things? Here we reverted to a subject I had brought to Mr. Vincent's attention at our first conversation. He had contended that since the British were being supported by the United States in Greece, Iran and Turkey, they had no right to feel that they would be let down over Palestine in the event of international complications there, because of any pro-Zionist steps which might be taken.

- 3 -

But I again urged that neither the English man-in-the-street nor the everyday American would perceive at a glance the relation of the stronger policy of the United States in the Middle East (buttressed by new American power in the air and a fresh naval concentration in the Mediterranean) to the Palestine crisis. For American, as well as British, purposes, what is implicit and realized by professional observers behind the scenes must be made explicit and conveyed to the public mind. It may not be a question of stationing American divisions on the soil of Palestine -- the British have plenty of those there -- but to show the Arab States and the entire world that responsibility for new Palestinian moves is joint and Anglo-American, rather than British and single. American ground troops may never be required on the spot, but their availability, or at least that of American aircraft and men-of-war, must be made plain for political and diplomatic rea-The ordinary Englishman must, moreover, feel that G.I. Joe as well sons. as Tommy Atkins has become an equal target for Arab violence as a consequence of concessions to Jewish Palestine; that the risk of a policy, for which the United States herself is pressing, is shared and not borne exclusively by the British themselves.

Objections to this course, of a general rather than an anti-Zionist character, were faced by Mr. Vincent and myself. An enlarged and even more concrete Anglo-American agreement in the Middle East may be looked at askance from Moscow. It might, therefore, be well not to put too powerful a limelight on any common Anglo-American front in that troubled corner of the earth. The alternative would be to make absolutely clear that there was an Anglo-American community of strategic action in the specific case of Palestine alone. If the British were really in earnest about wanting this sort of American military re-insurance over against an outraged Arab world, and apart from the policing of Palestine itself, it should be offered to them. The British might be bluffing; the English man-in-the-

\_ 4 \_

street might find other excuses to justify the British course: but American defenders of British policy in Palestine would not have a leg left to stand on. As for British opinion itself, it, after all, might not have lost all its traditional fair-mindedness.

The major point I endeavored to establish was that the American Government itself must know better than the Jewish Agency or any outsider what means it could employ to bring the British into a more constructive frame of mind. It was their duty, I told Mr. Vincent, not ours, to search for ways and means to set in motion a series of inquiries, strategic, economic, political, and diplomatic, on how life could be breathed into the admirable documents the President had signed. One thing they could not do. They could not leave matters where they were.



- 5 -

### November 7, 1946

The Honorable Nathaniel Goldstein 80 Centre Street New York, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

Please accept my heartiest congratulations upon your re-election. I join your host of friends in expressing a deep sense of satisfaction over the outcome. May the coming year bring you much happiness and fine opportunities for service.

I hope that I may have the pleasure of seeing you in the near future.

Most cordially yours,

AHS: BK



## STATE OF NEW YORK DEPARTMENT OF LAW Albany

NATHANIEL L.GOLDSTEIN ATTORNEY GENERAL

> PERSONAL AND UNOFFICIAL

November 18, 1946

Dear Dr. Silver:

My many thanks to you for your kind congratulatory telegram. I appreciate it and shall endeavor the next four years to merit your trust and confidence.

With kind personal regards -

Sincerely yours, NATHANIEL L. GOLDSTEIN

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Mrs. David B. Greenberg 135 Central Park West New York 23, N. Y. January 12, 1947. Dear Dr. Silver I have wanted to say a Jue words of greeting Jupon your return from the arduous wecks - particularly The last week in Basely; but there has been no opportunity. and so clam taking the tiberty of writing to Express my dup sense of gratification of the outcome\_ at least as far as the American branch of the Secution,

& concurred - together with my ferrent proyer that your will prove equal to the 1 task. chope you will not think it presumptions if al add another wish which is that a were free now or very soon to lead the fight for which you hand raised the standard. as you know, el opposed A the dropping of the old pilot, chifly because cl wanted wind as a balance

to the Palestinian " co-pilor" Butch agreed with your statement at the Retions Committee - that Dr. W. should not be charged with implementing the policy of the resolution adopted by the Comes But who is implementing that poly. Who are its spokesmen? Why are such purly portition statements Emakating from men elected on a different platford 20 Today 73. S. is embracing the U. A. abid tomorta? asone jorko perhapso is deficient in courge I feel that no men of little faitly can exe Just a program whose bolde lines you that a program who wants it deforatly to succeed, Sappeal to you - to join? The battle when I raged most holly Perhaps that to Washington ! 2/20, figive me. The press statements, however Jone from London land Polestine, and after last summer fall, I have become allergie to "spokesmen" & preso statements." Please do not trouble to answer this very confidential and a little brack note. Atriglines none. mariay S. Drumberg.

Temple 257 West 88th Street

Office of the Rabbi 270 West 89th Street

Phone: SCHUYLER 4- {1400 4433



CONGREGATION B'NAI JESHURUN NEW YORK 24, N.Y. FOUNDED 1825

Febru ry 21, 1947

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

The Jewish Agency office called me yesterday to inform me about the meeting of the Actions Committee in Jerusalem March 9th. It is simply remarkable how they fix these meetings with the greatest of ease as if the only members whose presence matters are those who are in Jerusalem already.

Would it not be worth discussing this matter at the Emergency Council meeting on Monday with a view to having all the parties send a joint urgent cable for the postponement of this meeting to a later time and for the calling of it here in the United States? The American Zionists have done all the traveling abroad during recent years to suit the convenience of our Palestinian and European friends. It is time that the traffic turned the other way, for a change.

I regret very much that I cannot be present at the meeting on Monday as I am scheduled to be in Atlanta for a ZOA meeting that evening.

Dr. srael Goldstein

#### AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

April 11, 1947

Hon. Robert A. Taft Senate Office Building Washington, D.C.

Gen Guldette

My dear Bob:

C O P Y

> As you may recall, I have been, for a little over a year, working with the American League for a Free Palestine, giving what aid I can to helping the progress toward a just solution of the Palestine problem. In doing so, I have been motivated by a deep conviction that in problems such as pertain to Palestine's future lies the test as to whether the machinery which the nations of the world have set up for international justice, peace and security can effectively function. If the fate of such areas as Palestine is to be determined by the real or fancied imperial, political or financial interests of one or more of the so-called "Great Powers", then our loud protestations of adherence to basic freedoms become "as sounding brass or tinkling cymbal." And our ornate structure for international action collapses and we revert to the viciousness of power or block groups struggling to place themselves in positions of diminance over weaker states and people.

To see America become a participant in this reversion and abandon in any degree her leadership in the field of protection of human dignity, with its concomitant basic liberties, xx makes me sick at heart. There must be a firm and uncompromising American position taken. That is why I am writing this.

Much of the w rk of the American League for a Free Palestine has been in a way that is highly critical of what we believe to be a negation of the clear injunctions of the Mandate given by the League of Nations to Great Britain and the usurpation by the British Government of powers over the Pal stine area which she does not have. However, I am forced to the conclusion that our nation has also been lax in its duty and derelict in its responsibilities in this particular question.

With the purpose of a possible refreshing of your mind as to the historical events in connection with the question, it will be remembered that at the close of the first World War certain areas formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire were, by treaty of peace signed at Lausanne, transferred to the Allied and Associated Powers, signatories to that treaty. These areas -- Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and Iraq -- were, by subsequent action of the powers who came into control of them, transferred to the League me of Nations. This body, in turn, designated these states as "Class A Mandates" and held them ready for independence, subject to advice and guidance of some mandatory authority in setting up the machinery of their respective governments. It was ordered that each mandatory instrument should clearly define the powers to be exercised.

In the case of Palestine the decision was made that the policies and purposes of the Mandate should be that the immigration of Jews into the area should be facilitated, their settlement on the land encouraged, and an opportunity be given for them to set up a state in their historic homeland. Great Britain accepted the Mandate on these terms, with the provision added that no change should be made in the policies without the consent of the League of Nations Council. The United States, not being a signatory of the Treaty of Lausanne, and having failed to ratify the covenant of the League of Nations, entered into a bilateral treaty with Great Britain in 1924 in which the Mandate and its policies were set out word for word, and we endorsed these purposes and policies, underwrote them with the added provision that no change should be made in these policies without the prior consent of the United States. As you know, such change in the terms of a treaty can only be made by a document of equal dignity and authority.

Despite this treaty and despite the mandate provisions, Great Britain issued, in 1939, her so-called "hite Paper on Palestine, by the terms of which she arbitrarily slammed the doors of Palestine in the faces of further Hebrew immigrants, and adopted drastic provisions to prevent their acquisition of further land. This new policy came into full force "pril 1, 1944. Prior to the issuance of this "hite Paper - if my memory serves me - Great Britain tried to obtain the consent of the League of Nations Council, but such proposed changes as she had in mind did not receive this consent. So far as I am advised or have been able to ascertain, she did not make any attempt to secure the approval of the United States to her proposed changes in policy, as she was bound by her treaty with us to do.

The change of policy which she has been trying to put into effect since April 1, 1944, has resulted in chaos and strife and actual warfare in Palestine. You will recall, of course, our various attempts to gain her consent to modification of the policies to admit certain numbers of immigrants and the delays and temporizing incidents thereto. It is clearly apparent to me that, while Great Britain is justly subject to severe censure for her assumption of powers over and above her legal rights and for her attempts to maintain Palestine as a colonial administrative unit of the British Empire, that there is severe censure also to be made against our nation because of our failure under our treaty obligations.

I believe steps are now being taken to gain the consent of the United States to certain partition policies in Palestine even more drastic and unjust that the Trans-Jordanian episode. It has seemed to me that it is of prime importance that the country and the administration be put on notice that the United States desires to continue its record of strict adherence to its national pledges and responsibilities. Whether or not there were secret conversations under which the United States became committed to approval of Pritain's changes of policy, I do not know, but I seriously doubt it. Of course, there has been some long delay since Britain initiated her changed policy, but these were years when we were engaged in war and certainly an inopportune time to introduce elements of friction among the allies. But the problem has now reached a point where it seems to me essential that a resolution be introduced in Congress, either as a Senate resolution and possibly a companion House resolution, or as a concurrent resolution of both Houses -- something which will bring the matter to a definite head so far as a. 12 m

public information is concerned. I have drafted a tentative form of such a resolution. The "Whereas'es" would set our briefly the historical picture as I have suggested in this letter, and then set out the resolution by the Legislative Branch that the Executive Department inform the Congress of the facts as to whether American consent was sought or given in any way to the changes of policy in Palestine, and if not, to request the Executive Department to immediately open conversations with the Government of Great Britain with the view to inquiring with reference to the actions she has taken unilaterally, and further inquiring as to why she has not sought American approval of the change of policies, as bound by strict treaty obligation to do.

In my judgment such a resolution would be not only of real value in aiding hundreds of thousands of distressed people, but would be an earnest of the fact that America adheres to the humanitarian principles to which she has subscribed and upholds the sanctity of her international responsibilities and her pledged word.

It also seems to me that it is essential for the Legislative Department to act. If the Congress does not act in a matter of treaty obligation such as this, they certainly are guilty of dereliction or at least negligence in their Constitutional responsibilities, and the onus and burden of criticism must be shared by them. If, however, such a resolution is introduced, urging action such as I have suggested, Congress will have taken the only action that is indicated for them to take at this time and has placed the matter squarely before the State Department.

I am writing a letter of similar import to this to Senators Styles Bridges, Alexander Wiley, Francis J. Myers, and Charles Tobey as well as Warren Magnuson. Needless to say that I shall be glad to cooperate personally in any way I can, and the organization with which I am connected is ready to give its assistance.

with my assurance of high personal regard and friendship, I am

Sincerely,

(Signed) Guy M. Gillette President SUGGESTED FORM FOR EITHER SENATE RESOLUTION OR CONCURRENT RESOLUTION IN RE. BREACH OF TREATY COVENANT RELATIVE TO PALESTINE.

0 P Y

- WHEREAS, on the 3rd day ofDecember, 1924, the United States entered into a bilateral treaty with Great Britain, by the terms of which a certain Mandate, which had emanated from the League of Nations, and which designated Great Britain as Mandatory Power to supervise and advise the people of Palestine in setting up the machinery of independent government; and
- WHEREAS, explicit provisions of the said Mandate enjoined the Mandatory authority to facilitate immigration of Hebrews into the Palestine area; to encourage their close settlement on the land and to enable them to establish a homeland for the Hebrew people within the Palestine area; and
- WHEREAS, by the terms of the treaty aforesaid, the United States, as signatory to the bilateral agreement, endorsed and approved the provisions of the Mandate and became a party to the responsibility for carrying out its terms in letter and in spirit; and
- WHEREAS, the aforesaid treaty made specific provision that no change should be made in the terms and policies of the Mandate without prior consultation with and approval of the United States; and
- WHEREAS, Great Britain has, unilaterally, in various instances changed and altered the terms and policies of the Mandate without consultation with or consent of the United States, including, among others, the restrictions of the White Paper of 1939 and the partition recognition of the larger part of Palestine as a separate kingdom in 1946; therefore be it

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- RESOLVED, that the Executive Department be requested to report to the Congress, at as early date as possible, whether the consent of the United States had been requested to the changes in policy of the Mandate as required by the provisions of the bilateral treaty of 1924, and whether the United States had consented to such changes and given its approval thereto; and be it further
- RESOLVED,

that in the event such approval was not given, that the United States immediately enter into conversations with the representatives of Great Britain, expressing the deep concern of our Government over the unilateral alteration and repudiation of the provisions of the Mandate and the Convention of 1924 aforesaid; and that formal representation be made to the Government of Great Britain, urging that the Government of Great Britain immediately so alter its policies now being pursued with reference to Palestine in such a way as to strictly conform to the terms and policies of the Mandate and the Convention of 1924; and to further urge that, if the Government of Great Britain desires to retain her Mandatory Authority in Palestine and desires to alter the policies enjoined by the Mandate terms, that it enter immediately into negotiations with the Government of the United States for the amendment of the aforesaid Convention, so that the proposed treaty amendment may be submitted to the Senate of the United States for its advice and consent, pursuant to Constitutional requirements.

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April 25, 1947

The Honorable Nathaniel Goldstein 80 Centre Street New York, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

I an enclosing herewith a copy of the letter about which I spoke to you yesterday. I am also enclosing a draft of a statement which at this particular moment I feel that the Governor should issue by himself.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK Enc. - 2

May 16, 1947

Mr. Abe Goodman 200 Varick Street New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Goodman:

I wish that you would send \$1500 out of our Special Fund to Mr. A. K. Isreeli of the American Zionist Emergency Council. He will use that in connection with special publicity services which I outlined for him which will make the presentation of our case easier in many directions.

with all good wishes to you and to the members of your family, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS: BK

May 22, 1947

Mr. Meyer Grossman American Jewish Conference 521 Fifth Avenue New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Grossman:

Your article commenting on the presentation of my statement before the United Nations, which appeared in "The Day" on Thursday, May 15, was brought to my attention. You are entitled to your opinion, but you certainly would not wish to be responsible for spreading falsehoods.

In your article, towards the end, you state: "I wish to do justice to Rabbi Silver. He read a document which others had written (or composed)." This is completely false. The document was entirely my own. I read it to the members of the Executive on the evening before it was delivered. Only a few minor changes were suggested, mostly verbal, some of which I incorporated. Inasmuch as my statement is likely to have some historic interest, I should not like to have the authorship of it questioned due to any failure on my part to correct the kind of a statement which unfortunately you made.

I trust that you will find occasion in the columns of "The Day" to make the correction.

"ith all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours.

AHS:BK

Office of the Rabbi 270 West 89th street New York 24, N.Y.



Mr. Harry Shapiro American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York City

**MEIR GROSSMAN, Editor** 

TREND OF EVENTS Jhe Jewish News-Letter 55 WEST 42nd ST. • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

May 29, 1947

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

Dear Rabbi Silver:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of May 22nd.

The sentence in my article in the DAY of May 15th to which you refer, was based on information which I received from a most trustworthy source. It was meant to infer that you personally cannot be held responsible for all aspects of the statement, since I presumed that the document was prepared and approved by the Jewish Agency as an official statement.

I am sorry if my assertion as to the authorship of the statement has caused you any inconvenience. Enclosed you will find my article which appeared in the May 29th issue of the DAY, containing a correction as requested by you. I hope this will be satisfactory.

With best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Meir Grossman

MG:lf



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WEIZMANS CABLE TO FISHMAN QUOTE IN THIS CRITICAL HOUR APPEAL TO YOU AND COLLEAUGUES TAKE POSITIVE ACTION HASTEN CONSTURCTIVE SOLUTION STOP WHATEVER OUR MISGIVINGS AND I HAVE MANY I STILL FEEL THAT BY CONTINUING REFUSAL NOW WE MAY BRING ABOUT SITUATION IN WHICH I FEAR IT WILL BE IMPOSSIBLE TO CARRY ON STOP IN THE NAME OF ZION IMPLORE YOU ACCEPT OUR JUDGEMENT THIS MATTER STOP WE MAY FOR EVER REGRET HAVIN MISSED POSSIBLE OPPORTUNITY OF AGREED ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION UNQUOTE IMPERATIVE ABBA SHOULD BE ON ALERT ALSO COMMUNICATE WITH REBLEJBHAKOHEN

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LEON GELLMAN



פרוכט פון א שעטנזקאאליצ

קיינער קאן נים פארלאנגען, או אי דען ואלען שטענדיג רעדען פיט איין שטימע אדער מאכען אן אנשטעל פון אבסאלוטער אייניגקייט, ווי ס׳וואל טען ביי זיי ניט עקזיסטירט קיין ערנסטע הקוקי דעות ארום פונדאמעני מאלע פראגען. ביי קיין שום פאלק הערשען. נים אועלכע אירעאלע אומי שטענדען, און אוודאי ניט ביי אונו, סיאיז אָכער אָנגענומען, או ווען רע־ גירונגען אדער מיטגרידער פון א רע־ ספעציעל אין קריטישע ציי ,331713 טען, טרעטען ארוים פאר דער עפענטי ליכקייט. רעפרעזענטירען זיי א פאי כיעו ליטישע ליניע, אויף וועלבער האט זיך פריהער געאייניגט; זיי זא גען ניט ארוים פערוענליבע מיינונגען. נאר רערען אין נאמען פון גאנצען פארק אדעה מדינה. אפירו ביי גוטי איינגעפונדעיועטע ארגאניזאציעם פירט זיך, אז בעת עם האנדעלט זיך וועגען פראגען פון "אויי פאליטיק", ווערען שטרענג בערער אַפגעהים די כללים פון קאלעגיאליי טעט און קאלעקטיווער אהריות.

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מען האט דעריבער געדארפט דערי ווארטען, או אין דער איצטיגער גורלי שווערער תקופה – בלויז זעקס חדשים נאך דעם באזעלער קאנגרעס, וועלכער האם אנגענומען היסטארישע באשלוי וועט די ציוניסטישע עקועקו־ IVD טיווע האלמען זיך ביי די דאויגע גומע כלבים, און זועם האנדלען אין גייסט פון די באועלער באשלוסען און ניט מאכען קיין דערקלערונגען, וואס דר קען נים אוים די מיינונג און ווילען פון דעם העכסטען אָרגאן פון דער באי וועגונג. נאָך פעהר: פען האָט גע־ קאנט דערווארטען, או פאליטישע רערקלערונגען וועקען ניט געמאכט ווערען דורך מימגלידער פון דער עק ועקוטיווע על דעת עצמם, אהן פריי הער באשטעטיגט צו ווערען פון דער גאנצער עקועקוטיווע.

סישיינט אבער, או דודיבן גוריון, אויספארשונגרקאמיטע פון דער יויען, מען האָט געוואוסט, אז ער איז "גע־ דער פארויצער פון דער פארעסטינער סיידען דער אַקעיאָנס־קאָמיטעט וועט כאפט אויה הלוקה". אדרכא, פון כוי עקועקוטיווע, האלט נים פון אועלבע TYT ענדערונג אין is באשטימען נוריונים רעדעם אין באועל האט מען זאכען. ער מאכט כסדר דערקלערוני ID'7NE געקאנט פארשטעהן, אז ער איז פאר א גען, וואס זיינען ניט אין איינקראנג ציוניסטישע באוועגונג האט אירישער מרינה אויפין גאנצען שטה מיט די קאנגרעם באשלוסען און רופען נים גוטגעהייסען קיין באשלום צו פון ארץ ישראל. און האט ער פאר דעריבער ארוים פארוואונדערונג און גונסטען הלוקה ארער פאר א צווייי געסען, וואס דער קאנגרעס האט באי פראָטעסטען. ניט נאָר גיבען זיי א פעלקער־שטאט. אויב די אויספארי שלאסען, זאל ער איבערלייענען ר וועגען דעם מצב הרוח פאלש בילה שונגם־קאמיסיע פון דער יון־ען זאל און שטימונגען ביי אידען, נאר זיי ההלטות — און רעזיגנירען, אויב ער פארשלאגען איינעם פון די צוויי פלע איז ניט מסכים. פרעיודיצירען בפירוש די קינפטיגע נער אָדער וועלכע־עס־איז אַנדער ליי־ באשלוסען פון דער ציוניסטישער בא דודיבן־גוריון איז זיכער בארעכי זונג, וועם אונוער באוועגונג האבעו וועגונג און פארלויפען איר דעם וועג. טינט צו האבען זיינע מיינונגען און א פולע געלעגענהיים צו באטראכטען קעמפען פאר זיי. קיינער וואלט אויף כן־נוריון רעדים אווי ווי עם וואלט זיי און כאשליסען אונזער שטעלונג צו נים עקויסטירט אויף דער וועלט א אים ניט געהאט פאראיבעל, ווען ער נייע פארשלאגען. טוט עם אויפין קאנגרעם אדער אין קאנגרעם, ווי סיווארט ניט גערארפט עס וואָלט געווען צום בארויערען, דער נעבסטער זיצונג פון אקציאנסי באלד פארקומען א סעסיע פון אקי לאוען איצט הערען פארשיירענע 12 און ווי ער אליין קאמיטעט. אדער ארויסטרעטען מיט ציאנס־קאמיטעט נונגען, וואס וואלטן אריינגעבראכט דערקלערונגען, וואס טראגען א האלב א צעטומלעניש אין די מוחות וועגען וואלט געהאט ראס פולע רעכט צו אפיציעלען כאראקמער, איז מעהר זוי דעקרעטירען די ליניעם פון דער ציור אונוער שטעלונג צו דער פראגע." לייכטויניגקייט. עם איז א פארזוך ניסטישער פאליטיק. אויב ער דענקט ראביי סילווער האם אבער נים געי אדער האנדעלט אזוי, מוז מען אים הארפט לאנג ווארטען, כדי זיך צו אנידערצושטעלען אונז פאר א טאטי זאך, שווער מאכען א פרייען באשלום רעכטצייטיג רופען צו ארדענונג, טא איבערצייגען, או דער צייטונגסיבאי פון רעם אקציאנס־קאמיטעט. קע אין די אינטערעסען פון דער זאך, ריכט האט ריכטיג איבערגעגעבען בן וועלכער ער דינט אזוי טריי. גוריונים ווערטער. עם זיינען פארביי־ 1.7 גענאנגען בלויז א פאר טעג און דער דער איצטיגער פלאנטער און סתי פארזיצער פון דער ציוניסטישער עק־ רות אין דער שטעלונג פון דער עקי צוריקקומענדיג פון ניו יארק, האט ועקוטיווע, רערענריג אויה א ויצונג זעקיטיווע נעמען זיך דערפון, וואס כן־גוריון פאריגע וואך געהאלטען א פון רעם יונענטליכען ארבייטער־ראט רער לעצטער ציוניסטישער קאנגרעס רערע אויה דער זיצונג פון אסיפת "עלמות" אין אונטערשטען גליל, האם נים נעהאם דעם מום צו זיין הנבחרים און פארלאנגט (איך ציטיר האָט ווידער געואַנט, אָז דער איינציי לאגיש און האנדלען אין דעם זין פון איטא") גער וועג צו לעזען די ארץ ישראל. לוים א באריכט פון דער זיינע באשלוסען. מען האט אנגענומען די באלדיגע גרינדונג פון א זעלבסט׳ דיגע פראגע, איז די באלדיגע גרינדונג, ראריקאלע רעזאלוציעם, געצוואונגען שטענדיגער אידישער מלוכה אין יענע פון א אידישער מלוכה אין דעם ווייצמאנים ריקטריט. אבער ניט דער טיילען פון ארץ נשראל. וואס זיינען גרעסטען טייל פון ארץ ישראל". ער פירט די ענדערונג צום לאגישען סוף. שוין באַזעצט פון אידען, ווי אויך אין איז אויך ארויסגעטראָטען געגען דעם מען האט אויסגעקליבען א שעטנד דעם נגב. דערכיי האט ער פארגען נעראנק פון א קאלעקטיווער טראסטי עקזעקוטיווע, וואס באשטעהט פון גע־ לייגט, אז דער בריטישער מאנדאט שים, ווייל אוא רעושים וואלט נעווען גענזעצליבע עלעמענטען, מענשען מיט זאל פארגעזעצט ווערען אין אנדערעו ערגער ווי דער מאנדאט־רעזשים פון פארשירענע אידייען. געגנער טייל פון לאנד. וואס איז נאך נים איין מאכט, דאס הייסט ענגלאנד. 112 חלוקה זיצען צוזאמען מים אנהענגער קאלאניזירט און ניט אנטוויקעלט. כן־ איצט האט שוין מעהר דר. סילווער פון הלוקה, געשווארענע ווייצמאנים גוריון האט זיך אויך ארויסגעואגט קיין שום צווייפעל ניט, או זיין קאלעי טען מיט געגנער פון אפיומענט און בעגען א פראוויזארישער טראסטישים גע האט א באשטימטע פאליטיק. -א פאליטיק, וואס איז נים גוםגעהיי- פשרה. אינעווייניג איז ניטא קיין פון. די פאראיינינטע פעלקער. פיט אנדערע ווערטעה: בן־גוריון סען געווארען פון דעם קאנגרעס, או (שלום אויף דער ראמאן זייש)

פין מאיך גראסמאן 💳

האט עפענטליך געשטיצט דעם פלאוןער טראגט זיך ארום מיט איר. ווי פון חלוקה, די טיילונג פון ארץ ישראל. מיט דער תורה און פירט אן אפענע זיין דערקלערונג איז פארעפענטליכט קאמפאניע פאר חלוקה. געווארען אין דער וועלט־פרעסע און איז אויסגעטייטשט געווארען, מיט רעכט, ארם א ריקטריט פון דעם בילט־ מאָר פּראָגראָם און אָפּזאָג פון דער ערשטענס, וואָס פאר א רעכט האָט שטעלונג, וואס דער לעצטער קאַנגרעס בן־גוריון, אלס פאָרזיצער פון דער עקי האט אנגענומען נאך א שווערען איי נערליבען קאמף. אמת, אין דער דעי עפענטליבקייט מיט פארשלאנען, וועלי זאלוציע פון דער אסיפת הנבהרים כע האָבען הינטער זיך ניט קיין דעז ווערט מיט קיין ווארט ניט דערמאנט פיניטיווען באשלוס פון דער עקזעקוי הלוקה, אבער דער איינדרוק פון בן-גוריונים רעדע קאן נים אויםגעמעקם באשלום זואלם אפילו אנגענומען געי יועדען. ווארים, קיינער ווייםט ניט צי ווארען פון דער עקועקוטיווע, ווער עם איז געווען א פערוענליכע מיינונג האם באפולמעבטיגם רי עקועקוטיווע פון דעם פארויצער פון דער עקועקוי שיייע ארער אן אפיציעלע דעקלא 7.28.

> עם איז דעריבער פארשטענרליך געועלשאפטליכעןאון נאטירליך, או ראביי אבא הלי סילווער. פארויצער פון אמעריקאנער סעקציע פון רער עקועקוטיווע, האט נים געקאנם פארשווייגען אוא בא יכם.

אין זיין סטייטמענט צי דער פרעסע ואנט ער:

כיר איז שווער צו גלויבען אין. דעם אמת פון די דאזיגע באריכטען, ווייל די עקועקוטיווע פון דער אידי שער אגענטור האט קיינמאל נים גוטי געהייסען אַזעלכע פארשלאַגען, אין די עקועקוטיווע האט אפילו נים קיי אויטאריטעט צו מאכען אועלכע פאר שראגען.

די שטעלונג פון דער אירישער, אַגענטור איז אָפיציעל דערקלערט גע־ וואָרען דורך אירע פארטרעטער ביי די יונייטעד ניישאנס, צווישען וועלכע עס האָט זיך אויך געפונען דור־בן־גוריון. זינט דעמארט איז ניט פארגעקומען קיין שום ענדערונג אין דער פאליסי פון דער ציון עקועקוטיווע. די ועלבע שטעלונג מיט מעהר פרטים און מיט מעהר האקומענטען וועט אהן צווייפער אויך פארגעבראכט ווערען פאר דער

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פראגען : אנטשטעהען צוויי Dy זעקוטיווע. ארויסצוטרעטען אין רער מיווע ? אין, צוויימענס, ווען אוא צו האנדיען אין דירעקטען ווידער שפרוך צו די באשלוסען פון דעם ציו ניסטישען קאנגרעס ? וייט ווען האט רעם ביקטמארי DERGATER 120 פראגראס, אין דער אייסארבייטונג, פון וועלכער בן־גוריון אליין האט זיך באטייריגט ?

כיוועל שוין נים רעדען וועגען דעם. אז ריין טאקטיש איז בן־גוריוניס האנרלונג א שווערער פעלער, א פרי צייטיגער ריקטריט פון א פאזיציע, וואס דער ישוב און די באווענונג האי בען אנגענומען. ווער הויבט עם אן א באליטישע אקציע דערמים, וואס מען זאגט זיך אם פון דער עיקר תביעה ז כאאס פון ווידערשפרעכענדע רער רערקלערונגען מאבען אונו פשוט לע־ בערליך אין די אויגען פון דער וועלט. שוואכען אם אונוער פאזיציע.

עם איז אויך א שווערער ברוך פון דיסציפרין און פון גוטע מידות, ווען א פארויצער פון רער עקועקוטיווע, און רוקא א מעניש, וועלכער האט ליב צו רערען וועגען ארדענונג און דיסציפי כין, רייסט זיך "ארוים פון די האר לאבליעם" אין פראקלאמירט פאליטוי שע ליניעס, וועלכע קיינער אויסער אים האבען נים אנגענומען.

בן־גוריון איז זיכער ניט געקליבען געווארען אין רער עקזעקיטיווע אויפין סוד פון זיין נייעם פראגראם, הנם

די פרוכט פון א שעטנו- אייסגעשלאסען דריי פארי סאאליציע

(שלום פון דער עדיטאריעליזייט)

שלום און נים קיין געגענוייטיגע פארי שטענדעניש. איינער איז הושד רעם צווייטען. באשלוסען ווערען אנגענו־ צווייטען. באשלוסען האייטען. א מען מים קליינע מינדערהייטען. א מען מים קליינע איינצולאדען דר. 8 איינצולארען ער זאל זיין דער 18 ווייצמאניען, ווארטואגער ; א צווייטער טייל האלט אוא שרים פאר א ברוך פון קאנגרעסי באשלוסען.

אוא עקועקוטיווע איז פאר׳משפט צו מאכען פעהלערען אדער ארויסי טראגען דעם אינערן סכבוך אין דרויי דערמים אַפּשוואַכען די שלאָג־ כען און קראפט פון דער ציוניסטישער פאליי טיק. עם איז ניט קיין אויפריכטיגע ניט פון פערואָנען און קמאליציע --נים פון פראגראמען. עם איז א צוי נויפגעקלעפטע קאמבינאציע. וואס מוו צעפאלען ביי דעם ערשטען שטורעם און רענען.

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ציוניסטישער קאני דער לעצטער גרעם, וועלכער האָט שארף געענדערט די ביז־איצטיגע ציוניסטישע פאָלי־ טיק און געצוואונגען דר. היים ווייצי צוריקצוטרעטען, האָט געהאַט מאניען דריי ברירות ווי אזוי צו שאפען יו כייע עקזעקוטיווע: וויילען מענשען. וועלכע זיינען געווען פאר דער טיי לונג פון ארץ ישראל און שאפונג פון אירענשטאט דארטען קליינעם 8 אויסקלייבען אן עקועקוטיווע, וואס זאל קעמפען פאר א מאקםימאלען פראגראם. וואס מיינט אויפבוי פון א אידישער מלוכה אין די היסטארישע גרענעצען פון לאנד און אַפענער קאמף געגען ענגלאנר ; אדער, למען שלום, אחרות און איינהייטספראנט. וויילען א לייטונג, אין וועלבער עכ זאלען אריינגעהן אלע פארטייען אהן לבל אויסנאם און אויף אוא אופן, דעמאנסטרירען דער THE הפהות, וועלם די אירישע איינהיים.

דאס איז נים געשעהן. -JSP דער גרעם האט ניט געטאן ניט ראס ערשי טע, ניט דאָס צווייטע, ניט דאָס רדיי -782 טע. די איצטיגע עקועקופיווע אייני מאנט ניט די נויטיגע אינערע היים און שטארקיים. זי ווערם צווא־ מענגעהאלמען ריין מעכאניש, מחמת איין חלק האָט מורא פאר דעם צוויי טען. דערפאר פעהלט איר די אויסגע־ האלטענע ליניע. זי רערט גלייכצייטיג פארשידענע שטימען. סיפעחלט מים הארמאניע. און מיר צאלען דער איר פאר שווער.

111 ווען עם איז נויטיגען מער זיך אין קלארקייט. געהט מען 720 מיז מען וויסען אין מלחמה, רעם צוועק און פאר וואס מען פירט וי. איז מען גריים אנצונעמען די סיילונג פון אונוער היסטארישער טעריטאריע. דארה מען עם זאגען אין געהן דעם וועג. וואס פירט דערצו אמשנעלסטען. האלמען יעדי יענע, וועלכע אבער א טויטקלאם צו אונזערע הלוקה פאר נאציאנאלע אספיראציעם, קאנען נים זיצען צוזאמען און ארבייטען צוזאמען מיט יענע. וועלכע האָבען שוין, אויפ־ געגעבען דעם קאַמף. אַ קאָאליציע קאאליציע לשם קאאליציע איז א שכות, בפרט א קאאליציע, פון וועלכער עם גיינען

אויכגעשלאסען דריי פארטייען, כמעט

1

אין א פאר וואכען ארום דארף ענד ליך אַפּגעהאַלטען ווערען די וויפיל מאָל אָפּגעליינטע הערען די וויפיל ציאָנס־קאָמיטעט. איר אויפגאַבע איז נים בלויז צו באשטימען מים וועלכען פראגראם מיר געהען צו דער יויען. אויםפארשונגסיקאמיסיע, נאָה אויך - מאכען אן אינערן שנוי ברענגען י עק ארדענונג אין דער באוועגונג. ד זעקוטיווע דארף זיין איינהייטלין פארטרעטען איין פאליטיק, איין ליי ניע, איין מעטארע. שעטנו פירט צו עבירות, צום ברוך פון גוטע באציאונ־ דיסציפלין 2"IN I'N 8 1.% .153 - פאלקסיבאוועגונג איז וויכטיגו 118 בין דערמיט איינפארשטאנען, 1.8. מוז דער כלל זיין ג׳לטיג פאר אלעמען פאר רער עקועקוטיווע אלם קער ---פערשאפט אין פאר איר פארויצער, בפרט.

## אויסכעסערונג :

אין מיין ארטיקעל "ניין, גארניט אזוי גוט", האָב איך געשריבען, אז דער סטייטמענט. וועלכען ראבאי אבא הלל סילווער האָט געמאכט געמאכט אין דער פאליטישער קאמיסיע פון יו־ען, איז נים געשריבען און פאר פאסט געווארען פון אים און דער נים די גאנצע ער ריבער טראגט פאראנטווארטליכקייט. ראבאי סיל ווער האט מיר געמאכט אויפמערק־ זאם דערויה, או די דאויגע באהויפר טונג איז נים ריכטיג. די רערע איז געשריבען געיואָרען פון אים אליי .1 די ערשטע געלעגענהיים. באנוץ איך כדי צו פארריכטען דעם פעלער, וואס קאן פירען צו א היסטארישער פארפעלשונג. איך וואלט נט וועד לען. או מיין גומע כוונה צו שיצען ראבאי סילווער, זאל זיין באזירט אויה א פאלשער הנהה. . . . . .

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