

## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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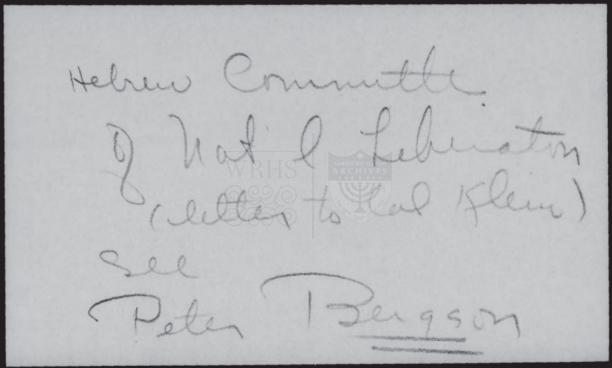
MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.

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

Reel	Box	Folder
10	4	215

## American Zionist Emergency Council, "H", 1946-1947.

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



June 14th 1946.

Dear Mr. Holman:

C O P Y

> I assure you it was a genuine pleasure to see you again after so many years.

Your prompt response to the cause with regard to which I called upon you - based, as it was, upon a thorough understanding and a genuine appreciation of the humanitarian problems involved - is the source of deep gratification to me. As one goes through life, he finds that it is to old acquaintance that he instinctively turns when in need of real understanding.

I have had pleasure in conveying to mutual friends here the fact that you are looking so well.

With best wishes, I am, as always,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Sidney L. Herold

Mr. Eugene Holman, President Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y. My dear Colonel Klein:

C O

P Y

I want to thank you for the very courteous and understanding reception that you gave Mr. Taubman and me last Tuesday.

It was a pleasure indeed to see you again, and to find you looking and feeling so well.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

(\$igned) Sidney L. Herold

Colonel Harry T. Klein, President The Texas Company, Chrysler Building, New York, 17, N. Y. Law Offices Slattery Building P.O. Box 1467

Shreveport, Louisiana

June 14th, 1946.

Honorable Allen Ellender, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

Dear Allen:

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Previously, on a number of occasions, I have written you at length respecting the legal status of Great Britain as the mandatary for Palestine. The terms of that mandate, granted to Great Britain at her request and principally for her benefit, imposed upon her, of course, certain definite obligations. It would be unthinkable otherwise that an agent should be vested with rights and not burdened with duties and legal responsibilities. An agency - a mandate never confers ownership.

In the Anglo-American Convention, proclaimed December 5, 1925 (44 Stat. 2184), the mandate was confirmed on the part of the United States by treaty, with ratification of course by the Senate. The first article of the treaty expresses the consent of the United States to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty "pursuant to the mandate recited above". This article 1 follows the text of the mandate set up verbatim in the treaty itself.

The terms of the mandate, therefore, constitute an obligation of Great Britain to the United States which, of course, under the terms of the Constitution, becomes the supreme law of the land. The mandate, in turn, is based upon the BalfourDeclaration, which itself is set out <u>in totidem</u> verbis in the mandate.

Under her promise in the Balfour Declaration, under her mandate from the League of Nations, and under her treaty with the United States of America, Great Britain is under positive obligation - not merely moral, but legal - to place Palestine

> "under such political administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home".

That national home, in turn, implies of course the right of Jews to enter, to acquire land and to live the lives of free men and women. That to which entrance may be denied at the whim of another person is, of course, not one's home.

Not one, but many representatives of the United States have reported to the President the conditions prevalent in Central and Eastern Europe. As one thoroughly cognizant of what is going on in the world, you are of course familiar with the terribly pathetic plight of the displaced Jews of those regions. You know - as the President himself has stated in more than one public pronouncement - that it is utterly impossible for them to live in the countries drenched with the blood of their families, and whose soil is contaminated with the virus of that hatred which was the essence of Nazism. Every investigator has reported to the President that these people, with a unanimity that is astounding, have expressed a very ardent desire to migrate to Pales-They express no alternative preference, except that tine. of death rather than return to persecution. They cannot much longer be kept in camps wherein their only change from Fascist conditions is more food, more clothing and a change of faces in the prison guards. Human beings cannot indefinitely thus remain. Prolonged delay in relief inevitably must bring the tragedy of mass suicides and worse.

To the insistent demands of President Truman that Great Britain, pursuant to her obligation, permit the migration of 100,000 of these unfortunates into a country where they will be taken care of by their more fortunate brethren, Great Britain proposed her usual dilatory tactics of a Commission to investigate. To investigate what? The answer is, to investigate what everybody in the world already knew. The purpose evidently was to secure a split report and, above all, for a delay which would result in the deaths of thousands and thus lessen pressure. We have the word of the American members of the Commission that, in the presence of the majority of the British Cabinet, Bevin told them, unequivocally, that any recommendations that might be the subject of a unanimous report would be promptly implemented. Now we find that, despite the insistence of the President of the United States, Great Britain is openly flouting this Government, her obligation to this Government, her obligation to the old League of Nations, and her obligation under her own promise of the Balfour Declaration - not to speak of Bevin's direct repudiation of his own promise in behalf of his cabinet.

It seems to me that the honor and dignity of the United States are involved. The insulting tone of Bevin's recent statement, which not only ignores the solemn request of the President of the United States of America but proceeds to insult millions of American citizens, is both a direct warning that he is putting British colonial policy above principle and legal obligation and the cause of humanity, and that there is no relief possible in this acute situation unless it be the result of positive action on our part.

There is tangible evidence that officials of the State Department bear a definite share in this policy of repudiation of obligations and of the demands of humanity. The situation in that Department calls for investigation,

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prompt and thorough. The situation also calls for prompt action by the Senate of the United States, in whom is vested the treaty-making power, and which body announces to the world the foreign policy advocated by the President.

As an old friend, I want to say to you, with the utmost sincerity and solemness, that there is no subject which, at the present time, has the call upon me - not merely my emotions, but my very being - as does this matter of giving life to the hundreds of thousands who are otherwise deprived of any hope or reason for living. I want to ask you to lend your influential aid to Senator Johnson of Colorado in mea sures which he proposes to introduce to give effect to the voice of the millions of Americans who solemnly back up the efforts of President Truman to secure the meager relief which he has demanded.

I shall always be grateful for such help.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Sidney L. Herold

Law Offices Slattery Building P.O.BOX 1467

June 15th, 1946.

Walter G. Dunnington, Esquire Dunnington, Bartholow & Miller, 1 Wall Street, New York, 5, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Dunnington:

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Of a multitude of literature that has come out pertaining to Palestine, I am inclined to think that the thorough survey of Dr. Lowdermilk, the results of which appear in his book "Palestine, Land of Promise", is perhaps the best objective study. This is the book that I mentioned to you in our conference last week. I am pleased to enclose a copy, as promised you.

It was a pleasure indeed to meet you, and I appreciate the opportunity afforded for the discussion we had of the Near East situation, particularly as respects Palestine. I am sure that you entertain a sympathetic knowledge of the plight of the displaced Jews who constitute the primary victims of Mazi persecution, and of the necessity - in the interest not only of humanity, but of duty - of provision for their rescue. That rescue and new life, I am thoroughly convinced, can be only in Palestine.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed)

Sidney L. Herold

SLH/mb

#### CHARLES T. HENDERSON CLEVELAND

August Sixth, 1946.

My Dear Rabbi Silver:-

I was about to answer a letter to me from a British friend of mine, in which he threw a phoney English fit about the recent hotel incident in Palestine, when it occurred to me that a note of encouragement to you, and loyalty to your cause, would be a much more sensible action on my part.

Please be assured of both. I will take care of the Britisher when I get around to it. He said, by the way, that he had written a letter to you which I judge to have been denunciatory. If so, I hope you didn't read it, and if you read it I hope you didn't answer it. Let me do that - for I'm going to do it anyway.

In thinking these things over a thought keeps running through my head that I am going to pass on to you: I read it in a letter, or little tract of some sort which comes to my home called "Unity". Here it is, as applied to you and that which you are doing: God is with you, and God can not fail.

I believe that, and I know you do. Be of good cheer.

yours sincerely,

Chorles Henterson

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver The Temple, Cleveland

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M. Haudler - report on Transfordam Report WBHS MARKEN M Transfordan 8-20-46





# FIRST NATIONAL BANK

Weekly analysis of economic developments and tendencies prepared by the staff of PRESS ASSOCIATION, INC. and made available through courtesy of

LOUISIANA'S ALPEST BANK

Washington



Vol. 25, No. 22 Thursday, August 22, 1946

**POLITICS:** With most of the primary results in, political observers can see certain unmistakable trends.

The least equivocal, apparently, is the swing in sentiment against the Truman Administration. Another trend is toward conservatism in the Republican party. Still another is toward growing independence and indifference to party labels among individual voters, perhaps among war veterans in particular.

The third-named trend is the one which will give political strategists most concern, both this fall and in 1948.

For example, there is one school of thought in the Republican party which holds that there is certain to be a change of administration in 1948, and that any Republican, the more conservative the better, can lead the GOP to victory. This is disputed by another school of thought in the Republican party, which holds that the GOP must be at least moderately leftish.

As the independent vote grows, politicians find it harder and harder to guess exactly which way the political winds are blowing.

**VOLUNTEER ARMY:** Officials in charge of military personnel procurement still don't know whether it is going to be possible to build an all-volunteer army of the peacetime strength desired. Some 900,000 men have enlisted since last fall. Since the permanent requirement, as now foreseen, is for an army of 1,070,000 men, there is optimism that the goal will be reached—provided enlistments or re-enlistments thereafter run to between 35,000 and 40,000 monthly.

The army's enlistment program has two phases. One is to meet the need for large numbers of able men, without regard to special abilities. The other, the second phase, calls for obtaining "able, alert and highly intelligent young men capable of handling scientific equipment and material of the new army of the Atomic Age."

**HOUSING:** The next Congress probably will be asked to approve a large program of public housing construction. The argument is that the present veterans housing program is woefully inadequate in results obtained, and that the government should build a very large number of low-rent apartments.

**ARMS APPROPRIATION:** Army and Navy leaders are convinced the search for and perfection of new weapons of war must go forward steadily in this country, on the theory that weapon-building will be a prime objective elsewhere as long as international affairs remain unsettled.

Since all this will take money—in large quantities—Army and Navy officials regret recent disclosures of graft and waste in war production. Congress, they think, may become more stingy with funds for the armed forces, reasoning that less money will go farther if graft and waste are eliminated.

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#### Foreign



MIDDLE EAST: In many quarters in the United States, the Palestine question is lightly dismissed as if it were of little consequence to the building of a stable world order in which the West will continue to have a voice.

Actually, the Palestine question, in the long view, is more important than the sum total of its parts. The availability of Palestine as a refuge for displaced Jews is a matter of tremendous urgency to the displaced Jews. To deny them a refuge does not accord with the conscience of most Americans. On the other hand, most Americans do not understand the politics of the middle east and the near east as the British do. At the risk of over-simplification, it should be stated that the contest for Palestine, while locally an issue between Jews and Arabs, is something entirely different in the perspective of world politics. It is a contest between the United States and Soviet Russia. The explanation is as follows: Militarily and economically, the world has been reduced to two great powers-the United States and Russia-and their satellites. Shocking as the conception may seem, Britain and the nations of the Empire are now satellites in the orbit of the United States. Their gains in political influence are our gains, and their losses in political influence are our losses. This can be more clearly understood when it is seen that their losses would strengthen the position of Russia. Ever since the days of Peter the Great, Russia has sought a warm-water outlet to the sea through the Dardanelles, the Persian gulf or both. In no area is Russia making greater efforts at penetration right now. Note the presence of British troops in Iran, opposite the Anglo-Iranian oil fields of southern Persia, and the reports of Russian military forces massing along the Soviet border of Iran. If British strength in this middle-eastern area diminishes much further, nobody doubts that Russia will fill the vacuum.

It has been British strength in the middle east and the near east which has kept the far east in the orbit of the western world. If Britain should lose the middle-eastern bastion guarding the Suez route to Asia, a political and economic vacuum would result in southern Asia. Communist agents already are extremely active in India, in Tibet, in Burma, in Afghanistan and in Indo-China. If the middle east should fall into Russian hands, the Indian ocean would become largely a Russian lake. The lands of southern Asia would become easy prey for Russian management, and noncommunists probably would have to give up the ghost in China. The non-communist world would be excluded, probably, from the entire Eurasian land mass and left to hold advance positions in Japan, the Philippines and Australia.

Because Palestine is the strategic key to continuation of British, and therefore American, influence in the middle east, all of the above factors are involved in the thorny Palestine problem.

**ITALY:** Many diplomats at the Paris conference consider it unfortunate that Italy is to be deprived of her African colonies. Italy's biggest surplus is labor. The British General Platt, writing on the east African campaign of 1941, has related that his troops suffered from bad communications—until they reached Ethiopia, seized by Italy five years before. General Platt then made this observation: "In Ethiopia the bankrupt nation of Italy had, in the space of five years, constructed many hundreds miles of tarred and beautifully graded roads, rising at points to 9,000 feet above sea level, capable of use by the heaviest of traffic in all seasons and in all weathers."

It also is an historical fact that when Emperor Haile Selassie returned to his Ethiopian throne, he invited Italian colonists to remain. Many diplomats think Italy should be left with African land to develop, even though they are penalized in some other way to remind them that they lost their war.

CHINA: Although the hinterland is wracked by civil war, Shanghai is making a bid for greater Chinese industrial activity. The China Industry and Finance Corporation is being formed, chiefly to buy machinery, equipment and raw materials abroad.

August 26th, 1946.

PERSONAL.

Mr. Walter B. Jacobs, President First National Bank, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Dear Walter:

As an old friend of yours, and an old customer and friend of the First National Bank, I cannot refrain from expressing my feeling of resentment over the propaganda circulated by your bank in "Trends" of August 22nd, 1946. I am referring, of course, to the article on the Middle East with particular reference to Palestine.

The hand - or rather, the pocketbook - of the British Foreign Office, and of two oil company, The Texas Company and the Standard Oil of California clearly appears here, as it does in numerous columns published in various papers throughout the country. The simple fact is that our State Department has degenerated into an office boy for the decaying British Empire.

The exercise of any intelligence must, of course, convey to your mind at once the idea that the Arab Kings and leaders are offering to the world a most colossal bluff when they talk about Russian aid. As was pointed out in the report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry - unanimous, by the way - the Arabs are devoid of any feeling of nationalism. They know no state as we know the idea of a state. Their rulers are absolute: the common or ordinary Arab has no voice whatsoever in the control of his own destiny, or even of his own livelihood, nor does he have the slightest comprehension of government. These Kings, Chiefs, Sheikhs, etc. would no more welcome Russian aid than they would take poison. The reason for this is simple: Russian aid would mean Communism. Communism would mean an end of their feudal Bedouin rule, just as it would to their personal fortunes.

The British opposition to fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, of British obligation as mandatary, and of her treaty obligation to the United States, proceeds from two things: first, Jewish settlement of Palestine is fast bringing about western civilization and culture, industrialization, and the raising of living standards generally. Britain logically fears the infiltration of these ideas into the Arabic population of the Middle East and of India. For, of course, if the status of these people should be advanced economically and educationally, the British Empire would crumble. Second, Britain is having to move out of Egypt. She wants to convert Palestine into a fortress for the protection of British interests in the East.

Not long ago, I suppose you saw a statement emanating from the State Department as to the necessity of the American production of oil in the Middle East, and its importation into the United States to take care of what was asserted to be the fast-disappearing oil resources of the United States. I am sure you saw Major Hardey's very intelligent answer, in which he points out the utter falsity of the statement as to the dwindling of our production, and of the deleterious effect of the importation of foreign oil upon the oil producers of the United States.

Where else could this propaganda - false in fact and harmful to us economically - have found its source except through the British control of certain departments in Washington?

I am getting thoroughly sick and tired of this propaganda: aimed at alienating the American people from its

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traditional policy of helping the persecuted and oppressed, and of demanding the performance of international obligations. Certainly, the six American members of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, headed by a conservative Jurist like Judge Hutcheson, know a whole lot more about the situation in the Middle East than the unnamed Editor of "Trends".

Very truly yours,

SLH/mb

### PRESS ASSOCIATION, INC.

Affiliated with The Associated Press

#### EXECUTIVE OFFICES

50 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA . NEW YORK 20, N. Y.

September 6, 1946

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Mr. P. J. Hebard, Assistant Vice President, The Continental Bank & Trust Co., 30 Broad Street, New York 15, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Hebard:

We are always glad to have the views of TRENDS readers, particularly when they are as thoughtfully expressed as in the letter from Mr. Herold. I am returning it to you and am giving you herewith some information which may help in framing your reply.

Mr. Herold writes frankly, albeit in a way which--if we were thin-skinned about such things--tends to cast discredit upon us and upon the way we gather our news. We do not take offense, but at least we may be pardoned if we express ourselves as positively about the things we <u>did</u> <u>not</u> say in TRENDS, things which Mr. Herold implies, doubtless in all sincerity, that we did say.

We said nothing about the Arabs' talking about Russian aid; we said nothing about the morality, motives or ethics of the British in respect to treaties; we said nothing about the indispensability of Middle Eastern oil to U. S. industrial economy. Yet, if one were to judge from the third, fourth and fifth paragraphs of Mr. Herold's letter, he apparently is taking us to task for views we have expressed in TRENDS on these subjects, when actually we have expressed no such views.

What we did do--and in doing so we admitted it was possibly an oversimplification--was to put aside for the moment the conflict between the Arabs and the Jewish people and to take a broader view of the dispute as it involved world politics. Certainly the record shows many justifications for the belief that Russia wants to strengthen her position in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean basin. She wanted control of Tripolitania, she is making strong demands on Turkey, she has thrown her weight around in Czechoslovakia, Romania and Iran. Can anyone deny that Britain has interests under those circumstances and, since she does have interests, that they logically may be considered in any objective appraisal an observer might make of the possibilities?

I have read many of the stories from the several on-the-spot AP

#### Mr. P. J. Hebard

September 6, 1946

reporters in Palestine and I have an idea that if Mr. Herold had known that The Associated Press is the source for the news we use, he would have left out what he said about propaganda. I do not know anything about the activities of the oil companies or the State Department in that connection and so we can leave it to you to tell Mr. Herold whether or not we are good or bad, conscientious or venal observers and reporters. Please assure him, in any event, that we welcomed this frank expression of his views and that we hope his eventual conclusion is that we are not half so bad as he pictured us.

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With kindest regards,

Sincerely yours,

WWDuson:dm Enc. SAMUEL HAUSMAN 10 EAST 32ND STREET NEW YORK

September 9th, 1946

Doctor Abba Hillel Silver The Temple Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Doctor:

Enclosed kindly find a copy of the letter which I sent to Mr.Abraham Goodman on July 29th, in response to your note to me from your vacation. Since I have not received any reply from Mr.Goodman directly, I thought that perhaps he might have written to you either from New York or Miami. Will you be good enough to let me know whether you have heard from him?

If you haven't, I should be most happy to discuss your request at the forthcoming meeting of the Board of Directors of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund, since any note from you, as you know, will always receive first consideration.

I look forward to seeing you on your next visit.

My kindest personal regards.

Cordially. 1ana

SAMUEL HAUSMAN

SH: SS

# THE CONTINENTAL BANK & TRUST COMPANY

M Jacobs Rozro

OF NEWYORK

FOUNDED 1870

# **30 BROAD STREET** NEWYORK 15

September 10. 1946

Mr. Odell O. Rogers, Assistant Vice Pres. The First National Bank of Shreveport Shreveport 87, Louisiana

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Following up my letter to you dated September 4th, I am enclosing a letter addressed to me from the Press Association, in reply to Mr. Herold's letter to your bank.

When we entered into an agreement with the Press Association originally, they agreed to supply us with information and up-to-date news as it came to them from the cables and wires all over the world. The information contained in TRENDS concerning the Middle East situation is compiled from news received by the Associated Press in New York from its correspondents scattered throughout the world, and in no way should be considered as propaganda. The Associated Press as you know, enjoys an enviable reputation as a news gathering association and I am sure that the writer of TRENDS writes his articles based entirely on the news that he receives from day to day. I am sure that he does not inject anything personal in TRENDS articles and after talking with the General Manager yesterday, I am firmly convinced that they would not be a party to propaganda of any sort.

I have read Mr. Herold's letter carefully and the thoughts contained are indeed well put and well thought out. However, I repeat that at no time would TRENDS be used as a medium for spreading propaganda of any description, but that it will continue to publish the news as news items only, obtained directly from the vast facilities as represented by the Associated Press.

Hoping that the enclosed letter and its explanation will satisfy Mr. Herold as to our position, I am,

Yours very truly,

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P. J. Hebard, Assistant Vice President

PJH:vmf



#### FIRST NATIONAL BANK

SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

September 13, 1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold Slattery Building Shreveport, Louisiana

My dear Sid:

Enclosed is letter from The Continental Bank & Trust Company of New York, from whom we get our rights to send out the pamphlet TRENDS, together with a letter from the Press Association, Inc., who write the paper.

Most sincerely,

malter

W. B. Jacobs

Herold Cousin & Herold

Law Offices Slattery Building P. O. Box 1467

Shreveport Souisiana

September 14th, 1946.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I thought you might possibly be interested in the enclosed correspondence, which is in line with conversations we had in Washington respecting British propaganda, and our failure to propagandize our cause.

With best wishes,

July Theres

Sincerely yours,

SLH/mb

S.S.Herold Sumter Cousin S.S.Herold Jr: R.E.Halliburton

Herold Cousin & Herold

Law Offices Slattery Building P. O. Box 1467

Shreveport Louisiana

September 14th, 1946.

Mr. Walter Jacobs, C/o First National Bank, Shreveport, Louisiana.

Dear Walter:

Thanks for your letter of September 13th, enclosing letters from the Continental Bank & Trust Company, and from the Press Association, Inc.

Regarding the latter letter, and particularly the statement "I have an idea that if Mr. Herold had known that The Associated Press is the source for the news we use, he would have left out what he said about propaganda": Mr. Duson is entirely mistaken in his thought that I would hold anything sacrosanct because sponsored by the Associated Press.

If Mr. Duson has collowed the Associated Press dispatches relative to Palestine, he will note in them continual reference to "illegal" immigration; whereas, the only illegality is the British so-called law purporting to restrict immigration, which "law" is not only violative of the Balfour Declaration, of the mandate from the League of Nations and of the Anglo-American Convention, but has been expressly declared invalid by the Mandates Commission of the League.

He will note continual reference to "terrorism" and to "terroristic" activities, but none

S.L.Herold Sumter Cousin S.L.Herold Jr: R.E.Halliburton none whatsoever to the brutal acts of the British police and military authorities in their carrying out of the illegal acts of the British Government.

Mr. Duson will note continued reference to Haganah as an underground illegal army, when it is a matter of historical fact that Haganah is purely a defensive organization, was relied upon as such by the British Government in the Iraq uprising and in the Vichy activities in Syria, and was the very backbond of Montgomery's army at El Alemain.

In fact, if Mr. Duson will look into the Associated Press dispatches, he will find that from beginning to end, the blame has been put upon the Jews for all troubles in Palestine, and Britain attempted to be placed in the position of the enforcer of law and order. This, in face of the fact that the Jews who have gone to Palestine have gone there under the promises of International Law, and that the disorders have all resulted from the attempts of the British Government to prevent the immigration into Palestine of the Jewish victims of Nazism who have every right, under International Law, humanity and common decency, to make their homes in Palestine.

The Associated Press certainly deserves no credit for its consistent conduct in this matter.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours 2. July

SLH/mb

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Mr. S dney L. Herold Slattery Building P.O. Box 1467 Shreveport, La.

My dear Friend:

Thank you so much for your thoughtfulness in sending me your correspondence which developed as a result of the article which appeared in "Trends" issued by the First National Bank of your city. I read the correspondence with extreme interest and I am happy that you followed the matter up. Have you considered telling the story in the form of an article which could then be given wide publicity in an effort to counteract this sort of propaganda?

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS: BK

P.S. Would you like me to return the correspondence, or have you copies of it? Mr. Samuel Hausman 10 E. 42nd St. New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Hausman:

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of September 9. I do not recall receiving any letter from Mr. Abraham Goodman in connection with your correspondence with him of July 29.

Because of the proximity of the High Holidays, I do not know that I will be able to get to New York much before the end of the month. The ZOA, as you know, closes its books for the year on October 1st. If we are to come to the Convention without any deficit, it is of importance that all commitments which were made to the Expansion Fund by the various districts and regions should be paid in before that time. There has been considerable activity in connection with this Fund during the past month and we have received substantial contributions from various parts of the country. But we are still far from the goal of \$500,000 which last year's Convention set, and on the basis of which the ZOA proceeded to carry on its activities.

Whatever you and the Metropolitan Zionist Fund can do in this regard would be deeply appreciated, I assure you.

With all good wishes for a happy new year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

LAW OFFICES MILTON HANDLER

50 BROADWAY, NEW YORK 4

October 17, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver Dr. Stephen S. Wise Co-Chairmen, American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, New York

Dear Sirs:

On several occasions at recent meetings of the Executive, I have expressed my dissent from the current program of action which is now being carried on. Finding myself in such complete disagreement with many of my colleagues, I feel obliged in all good conscience to submit herewith my resignation from the Council.

I am deeply pained to find it necessary to bring to an end a close association and collaboration in a cause which commands my deepest interest and noblest hopes.

I wish you and the Council the greatest success in the attainment of our fundamental Zionist aspirations.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

# Dr. E. C. Rieber, O. D.

Optometrist 629 TEXAS STREET SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

October 17,1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold President, Shreveport Zionist District Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Herold:

After reviewing the events of the past year, and after careful study of the attitude of Great Britian towards the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and with an earnest desire as an American and a Zionist to contribute in a positive manner towards the heroic **providence** which has been shown by our fellow Jews in Palestine, I am faced with the sudden realization that we do not have a positive . program that we can present to our fellow Jews and to the world at large. Therefore, I wish to state in a few short sentences the basis of a positive aggressive program for the Zionist Organization of America.

1. Palestine is the land of the Jewish people.

2. To facilitate the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, Great Britian was entrusted with the Mandate.

3. During the past quarter century, Great Britian has deliberately failed to carry out a program for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. therefore

4. Great Britian must evacuate the land of Palestine.

5. The further administration of Palestine shall be entrusted to the United Nations or some other suitable body which will have for its declared purpose the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine with the immediate provisions for immigration of Jews to the country Dr. E. C. Rieber, O. D. Optometrist 629 TEXAS STREET SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA 2.

under the administration of the Jewish Agency or some other recognized Jewish body.

The above are the bare fundamentals of a concrete definite program on the part of American Zionists. We cannot be content with merely protesting the actions of Great Britian in her deliberate hostility to the aims of the Jewish people. We must realize that we can no longer deal with Great Britian. The British must evacuate the country if there is to be any peace or progress in the Land of Israel. We must insist that Palestine is a Jewish country and that if Jews are to continue to come into the country the Jewish community in Palestine must be in charge of such immigration.

I fully realize that this program may not be realized either immediately or ever, but we must show faith and courage inour own ability to administer a country without the "help" of the British.

I respectfully submit that this program be considered by the National Convention for action. The mere declaration of such a program on our part will give courage and strength to our brethren in Europe and in Palestine and will make us strong, too.

Respectfully,

Els, Breber O.D.

Dr. E.C. Rieber, O.D.

Shreveport Zionist Bistrict Zionist Organization of America

Shreveport, Louisiana

October 18th,

1946.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. The Temple. Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

The enclosed letter from Dr. Rieber, who has been elected as one of the delegates from Shreveport to the Zionist National Convention, suggests a most interesting program.

In the past, we have had many plans: The Biltmore Plan, and others. Each of them covers much territory. But analyzing all of them, do you not agree with Dr. Rieber that the termination of British control lies at the core of every solution of our problems?

Under every rule of civil, and of international law, Great Britain has forfeited her agency by her deliberate and long carried out flouting of her obligations as mandatary. The present situation cannot continue.

As firmly convinced as I am that the removal of the British armed troops would not jeopardize the position of the Jewish people, would it not be infinitely better to undergo the possibility of Arab control than to continue the present morbid state of conditions?

I do not know how, in Zionist politics, this idea would fare, but I respectfully submit it for your consideration. Sincerely yours, Werker Ducy herder

SLH/mb

#### DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHI NGTON

COPT

October 21, 1946

My dear Dr. Silver:

Acknowledgment is made of the receipt of your telegram of October 9, 1946 addressed to the Acting Secretary, concerning the issuance of a visitors' visa to Dr. Noshe Sneh, a member of the Jewish Agency Executive.

The matter of issuing a visa to Dr. Such has been under consideration in the Department and you will now be glad to know that the Embassy at Paris has been authorized to issue a visitors visa to him.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Ley W. Henderson Ley W. Henderson Director, Office of Near Hastern and African Affairs

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, American Zionist Emergency Council, New York, New York.

Loy Heiderson

meeting between Nenderson + L. Sock 11-2-46

see folder

Leo Sack

Mr. Sidney L. Hereld Shreveport Zionist District Zionist Organization of America Shreveport, Louisiana

My dear Mr. Herald:

Please pardon the delay in answering your kind letter. The ZOA Convention necessitated my being away from Cleveland, and my correspondence has accordingly lagged.

I read with much interest your letter and that of Dr. Rieber. The subject raised in his letter came up for discussion at the ZOA Convention. Resolutions were adopted which, while not fully carrying out the line of Dr. Rieber, do convey the conviction of the Zionists of America that Great Britain, by her conduct and actions, has forfeited its moral and legal status in that country, and that the British officers and troops in Palestine can no longer be considered as being there in a lawful capacity but must be regarded as the agents of an occupying power, whose control of Palestine is exercised in its own selfish interests and based on sheer naked force. You will find the complete text of the Resolution in the forthcoming issue of "The New Palestine".

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS: GR

Mr. Milton Handler 50 Broadway New York 4, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Handlers

Please pardon the delay in answering your letter of October 17. I have been away from the city most of the time in connection with the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America and other duties. Hence my correspondence has lagged.

I was sorry to read that you are tendering your resignation as chairman of a committee which has cooperated with the Executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I trust that you will reconsider your decision because your services to the movement have been very valuable in the past, and we have need of them in the future.

The program of political action which was carried on by the Emergency Council was, as you know, fully discussed and fully approved by the Council in spite of the fact that there was some difference of opinion. It is important in these critical times that differences of opinion which inevitably exist on method and procedure should be resolved democratically, and that we abide by such decisions. Else any effective work becomes impossible.

Personally, I believe that the decision was a wise one and that we have built up strength as a result of it.

I shall be very happy to hear from you that you have reconsidered your decision.

with all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours.

AHS: BK



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

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1262 12= SHREVEPORT LA 13 424P DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CARE THE TEMPLE= EAST 105 ST AT ANSEL RD=

YOUR SPECIAL DELIVERY LETTER JUST RECEIVED. HAVE CONFERENCE WITH TAUBMAN FOR TOMORROW= SIDNEY L HEROLD. 2315 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N. W. COPY FOR DR. A. H. SILVER WASHINGTON 8, D. C.

הועד לשחרור האימה

HEBREW COMMITTEE OF NATIONAL LIBERATION

November 21, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Goldmann,

Today's newspapers carry an Associated Press despatch from Jerusalom stating that Jewish Agency spokesmen have announced that they have taken certain measures to combat the Palestine Resistance Armies and that the Agency has re-established contact between the Haganah and the British military authorities.

The above report is the latest in a series of similar reports which we have discredited as a British effort to provoke internal strife among the Hebrew people in Palestine and as effective British propaganda. How-ever, the fact that 's Jewish Agency spokesman" is direct-ly quoted by such a reputable news agency as the Associated Press causes us to be deeply disturbed by the gravity of this report, and we therefore urgently request that it be denied by you.

We believe it is your duty to issue a clarifying statement which would make it unmistakably clear that the Jewish Agency will not serve as an informer to the British occupying forces.

In the face of the brutality of British occupation in Palestine, in the face of the inhuman callousness to the suffering of the Hebrews in Europe who are prevented by British guns from entering Palestine, in the face of the second bitter European winter since liberation, which already is taking scores of innocent lives of people who could have been happy citizens in Palestine - in the face of all these tragic realities, the Jewish Agency could at least remain neutral in the inevitable struggle by the Hebrew people against British aggression and attacks upon them.

Your failure to make a statement concerning this reported action, which, regardless of the intentions of its perpetrators, is tantamount to an act of betrayal of the Hebrew people by the Jewish Agency, could only be interpreted by us as a confirmation of the report, incredible and tragic as it is.

#B-PORKS

E HA DER

Yours very truly,

Michael Berchin Acting Secretary General

22.

13.35

Room 5600 30 Rockefeller Plaza New York 20, N. Y.

November 20, 1946

Dear Mr. Herold:

Your letter of the seventeenth has arrived during Mr. Rockefeller's absence on a brief trip out of the country. However, it will be brought to his immediate attention upon his return in December, and I know he will appreciate your writing him.

Sincerely,

Latradies S. Gispill

Katharine S. Crispell

Mr. Sidney L. Herold Herold, Cousin & Herold Slattery Building P. O. Box 1467 Shreveport, Louisiana

Herold Cousin & Herold

S.L. Herold Sumter Cousin S.L. Herold Jr

Law Offices Slattery Building P.O. Box 1467

Shreveport Souisiana

November 26th, 1946.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

As explanatory of failure to write you earlier concerning Mr. Rockefeller, I am enclosing letter I received from his secretary.

I am also enclosing copy of resolution which I introduced at the Southwest Region meeting of the Zionist Organization in Ft. Worth yesterday, and which was there unanimously adopted.

May I express the hope that the great good fortune might come to our people of the selection of Abba Hillel Silver as head of the Jewish Agency.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Long & Therder

SLH/mb

MEMORANDUM OF LUNCHEON CONFERENCE BETWEEN DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AND MR. LOY W. HENDERSON, COMMODORE HOTEL, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1946,

Present also was Leo R. Sack of the Washington office.

The conversation reiterated many of the points previously developed at the conference in Washington between Mr. Henderson and Mr. Sack, about which Mr. Sack has previously written a memorandum, Henderson particularly repeated circumstances pertaining to the Ibn-Saud conference with Franklin D. Roosevelt. Turning to the most recent Presidential statement, that of October 4th, Mr. Henderson declared that Mr. Truman's statement "was very carefully drawn and I know this because I sat in on the conferences."

"It wasn't a campaign document in any sense of the word, " he went on. "We were determined to avoid this impression. This statement was, in effect, our crossing of the Rubicon. It is definitely our policy from here on. There was one paragraph in the statement which was subject to some criticism. That pertained to the failure (to openly) endorse partition as was proposed by the Jewish Agency. It will be recalled that two government agencies of the United States had previously opposed partition and the President had endorsed those recerts. The statement, therefore, was written in such a way as not to indicate that the Government is not prepared to support the Agency plan, but rather to prevent embarrassment of the President and to prevent leaving him out on a limb." Mr. Henderson declared that the State Department had sent telegrams to all of its personnel overseas to clearly indicate that the Truman statement of October 4th "was not a campaign document but does represent official policy." This procedure was in direct contrast to Roosevelt's letter to Senator Wagner read at the Atlantic City Convention in October, 1944. This communication, the State Department now admits, was intended as a "campaign statement" and at no time did the President indicate to the State Department that his letter to the

Atlantic City convention should be regarded as Government policy. To the contrary, when the Near East Division made inquiry as to whether this letter was to be regarded as policy, the White House advised that it was not. On this subject Mr. Henderson confirmed the statements previously made to Mr. Sack.

Mr. Henderson said that Secretary Byrnes and the Department, as well as himself, are using "all measures to persuade the British to accept the Agency plar" but that "the Department has not yet reached the point that we can use sanctions, nor is the Department clear in its own mind as to what possible sanctions it can use."

He pointed out that there is a difference in the use of sanctions on a "small power" and on a "great power." He repeated that the Department is now very deeply concerned over the Palestine problem, not only from the humanitarian standpoint, but from an international as well as a domestic political standpoint. He agreed with me (Silver) that the situation is entirely too dangerous and dynamic to be permitted to drift. He asserted that "a solution should be speedily found and we are using our very best efforts to convince the British of this necessity." Mr. Henderson disclosed that just today, in fact just previous to his conference with me, he had spoken on this subject with Secretary Byrnes. "I urged upon Mr. Byrnes," he said, "the necessity of getting the British to indicate that they will accept the principle of partition."

Mr. Henderson advised me that on at least two occasions Mr. Byrnes has discussed this subject with Foreign Secretary Bevin, not in a formal manner in the presence of representatives of the British Foreign Office and of our State Department, but in the informal manner that Mr. Byrnes is employing so frequently during the United Nations Conferences, and Mas he used to negotiate while a

- 2 -

member of the United States Senate. Mr. Byrnes' impression, Mr. Henderson indicated, is that the British are not yet prepared to accept the principle of partition and that Mr. Bevin feels that he should be advised further on the subject by his Government. Mr. Bevin was represented as feeling that even if the forthcoming World Zionist Congress does not authorize its Executive to attend the London Conference, they, the British, will meet with the Arabs anyway, and that following the British Conferences with the Arabs, the Zionists will find a way of contacting the British. Mr. Henderson suggested that I call upon Lord Inverchapel to indicate to him, so that he, in turn. could advise Mr. Bevin of the real significance of negative action on the part of the Congress. Mr. Henderson advised me that Dr. Nahum Goldmann was not departing immediately for Switzerland but that he was remaining to watch developments in the conversations between Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin. Mr. Henderson immediately recognized that it would be better if information on these conversations were conveyed to Goldmann, that identical information be conveyed to me to consider the possibility of "exaggeration" on the part of Dr. Goldmann. He promised to find a way to keep me adequately informed.

During the course of the conversation, Mr. Henderson expressed to me his great regret that there has not been more personal and informal conversations in the past year between he and I and other top Zionist leaders. I explained to him that through an unfortunate set of circumstances there has always appeared a wide chasm between the Near Eastern Division and ourselves, instead of the close intimacy which should exist between two groups striving towards the same objective. He agreed with this and expressed the hope that closer associations will prevail in the future.

LRS:SR

- 3 -

November 29, 1946

Mr. Sidney L. Herold Slattery Building P. O. Box 1467 Shreveport, La.

Dear Mr. Herolds

Your letter of November 26 arrived after Dr. Silver's departure for Switzerland to attend the Norld Zionist Congress. I shall be pleased to refer your letter to Dr. Silver when he returns to Cleveland.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

Secretary to Dr. Silver

BJK

HEROLD COUSIN & HEROLD LAW OFFICES SLATTERY BUILDING PO BOX 1467

SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA

December 27th, 1946.

Mr. Eliahu Ben-Horin, American Zionist Emergency Council, 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ben-Horin:

I know that you will pardon my apparent negligence in answering your recent letter, when I tell you that I have been busily engaged in the trial of important litigation in the Federal Court which did not permit me previously to attend to my correspondence.

I am delighted that you have returned, and trust that I may have the pleasure shortly of seeing you in person and discussing with you matters of mutual interest respecting Palestine.

It so happens that I am just today in receipt of a letter from our mutual friend, Herman Taubman, which, without any previous conference, clearly expresses my views. Like him, I feel that matters have taken a turn for the better since the Jersey Company's acquisition of an interest. With that thought in mind, and without consulting anyone, I have written my old friend Holman, as per the enclosed copy which I trust will meet with your approbation.

I shall resume the trial of the litigation to which I referred next week, and will probably be enmeshed in it for the balance of January, after which time I shall be happy to respond to any call that may be made.

Sincerely,

/s/ Sidney L. Herold

SLE/mb cc Hr. Herman P. Taubman.

COPY

HEROLD COUSIN & HEROED LAW OFFICES SLATTERY BUILDING PO BOX 1467

> SHREVEPORT, LOUISIANA December 27th. 1946

Mr. Eugene Holman, President Standard Oil Company of New Jersey 30 Rockefeller Plass, New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Holman:

COPY

I have noted with much interest the press confirmations of the many rumors I have heard that your company has purchased an interest in the Saudi-Arabia concession, which has hitherto been owned exclusively by the California and Texas companies, and accordingly that you will participate in the projected pipeline.

It is with genuine pleasure that I recall our conversation of some months ago which led to the conference which you arranged for me with Hr. Rockefeller respecting anti-Zionist propaganda conducted by representatives of the American-Arabian Oil Company. The fact that the Jersey Company is now interested in the concession is consequently most pleasant news to me, as I feel confident that neither you nor the other officials of the company would countenance the practices which have heretofore prevailed. What has been done through these agencies has been most instrumental in subverting the hopes and plans of the persecuted Jews of Europe for a home in Falestine, wherein they could live free lives and establish genuine democracy in the Middle East.

ever,

With best wishes to you and yours for the holiday season, I am, as

Sincerely,

SLH/mb

THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC.

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

February 4, 1947

lease: DROP EVERYTHING & READ

HERE IS HOW we will celebrate Hadassah's 35th ANNIVERSARY (which you know begins on Purim, March 6) in every community where there is a chapter.

THE NEWS: YOU WILL SHORTLY RECEIVE A 35TH ANNIVERSARY CERTIFICATE, a beautifully printed statement with space for the signature of the outstanding doctor, public health or welfare administrator in your city. The CERTIFICATE will reveal that Hadassah, to mark its 35th anniversary is going to collect the signatures of top-ranking medical men from some 600 cities in the United States. These signatures will later be transferred to microfilm, and enclosed in a silver cartridge WHICH WILL BE PLACED IN THE CORNERSTONE OF OUR NEW TUBERCULOSIS HOSPITAL.

you are a proup or Division PRESIDENT ...

do NOT take separate action. Only one outstanding medical man in each city where we have a Hadassah chapter should be asked to sign. Otherwise there will be confusion. Group and division presidents should get in touch with the CHAPTER PRESIDENT and work with and through her.

- START NOW: YOU WILL SHORTLY receive a kit to help you stage your ceremony, but do not wait for it to arrive. Call your chapter board together at once. Decide whom to approach for the signing. Decide, too, when the ceremony is to take place and where. Then SEND OUT THE MODEL LETTER which we attach. Be sure to ask for an appointment and prepare to call upon the person you select to discuss the invitation. Do this so that you will not run the risk of a swift turn-down through the mails!
- SIGHS ?

OUNDER

DO NOT BE CONTENT with any but the best signee. We are not seeking just any popular physician. We want your HEALTH COMMISSIONER, the HEAD OF YOUR BIGGEST HOSPITAL...a well-known specialist or medical research man...the ranking officer of your BIGGEST HEALTH ASSOCIATION... the president of your MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, if you can secure him.

TREASURER -

> MORE

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

ACTIVITIES IN PALESTINE: I. Newest Project: Administrative health arm, Jewish Agency for Palestine Immigrant Medical Services Department; 2. Countrywide hospitalization, public health, child welfare, vocational education programs. Headquarters: Rothschild-Hadassah-University Hospital which is part of Hadassah Medical Center, Mt. Scopus, Jerusalem; 3. Joint sponsorship with American Friends of the Hebrew University of a campaign for funds with which to erect the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School; 4. Reclamation and afforestation of land in Palestine through the Jewish National Fund; 5. Education and maintenance of Jewish refugee children brought to Palestine through the Youth Aliyah movement of which Hadassah is the official American representative.

OBJEC

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

JOINT ACTIVITY WITH Maintenance of Henrietta Szold School of Nursing; Junior Agency for Youth Aliyah. SENIOR HADASSAH:

# FANNY E. HOLTZMANN COUNSELLOR AT LAW

VANDERBILT 6-4488 CABLE "FANHOLTLAW"

Bar Building 36 West 44th Street. New York

February 6th, 1947

Dear Dr. Silver:

I thought the enclosed copy of my letter to Francis Williams would interest you. I have sent a copy to Dr. McCall, Mr. Bevin's physician who told me he likes to keep Mr. Bevin informed.

> ngu My best wishes and kindest regards,

incerely,

FEH:CT via airmail enclosure

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver c/o The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

VANDERBILT 6-4488 CABLE "FANHOLTLAW"

FANNY E. HOLTZMANN COUNSELLOR AT LAW

-----

Bar Building 36 West 44th Street, New York

February 6th, 1947

Mr. Francis Williams 10, Downing Street London, S.W.1. England

Dear Francis:

You have probably seen the American newspapers featuring the front page stories from London that (1) the British have ordered the evacuation of British women and children in Palestine and (2) the British have delivered an ultimatum to the Jews in Palestine that they turn "Informers". With the State Department assurance that Americans are safe in Palestine, a wave of ridicule for the British "tactics" has resulted since each newspaper dispatch emphasizes the fact that even the most extreme terrorist disclaims any intention of harming women and children. Jews are notoriously considerate of women and children.

The press here is making the most of what is termed this latest move in the "war of nerves" being waged by Whitehall. One commentator stated that the evacuated families would be the best propagandists for the Jews of Palestine.

As for the "Informer" ultimatum, admiration has swept the country for the Jews who are emulating the Rebels of 1776. At that time, the Colonists refused the demand of the British that they turn in the names of the participants of the Boston Tea Party. This has been grist for the mills of the radio commentators, columnists and editors. All have as their theme that the Jews have no traitorous Benedict Arnolds in their midst; instead Palestine Jewry is prepared to follow the example of the great American hero, Nathan Hale, who, before being executed by the British in the War of the Rebellion, made the immortal statement at the gallows that his one regret was he had but one life to give to his people and their cause.

The newspapers state that the Colonial Office is contemplating terminating recognition of the Jewish Agency as the official spokesman of the Jews of Falestine. If martial law is imposed and the Jewish Agency is no longer recognized by Britain, it would indeed be the severest blow - both to the Jews and to Britain. One need not be a prophet to see what will happen in Falestine and in Washington. Mr. Francis Williams, Esq. - 2 -February 6th, 1947

History will be repeating itself as it did in Ireland - the moderates who now look to the Hagana for protection will become extremists. As the Jewish Agency is divested of authority, the people will be forced to turn to the Irgun, with whom the British Government will ultimately have to deal.

As for the effect in Washington, it will mean that the Jewish Agency will have to invoke the aid of their friends in Congress. And their friends in Congress are legion. It must be borne in mind that in very rare instances does our Congress vote unanimously, as they did on the Zionist issue. The leaders of both the Democratic and Republican parties have repeatedly stated that this country is bipartisan on every issue but the Palestine issue. The best proof of this is the action of Congress in 1922 under a Republican Administration when the Fresident and Congress unanimously voted for recognition of Falestine as the Jewish Homeland, and also under a Democratic regime in 1945, when Congress unanimously resolved "that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development of Falestine as the Jewish National Mome.."

If the Jewish Agency is refused recognition and martial law is imposed on Palestine, it will be the signal for the anti-British legislators in Congress to launch attack after attack against Britain. The statement of the Secretary of the Treasury protesting the alleged violation of the British Loan will be pounced upon. It portends all sorts of ill forebodings. Up to new it has been Dr. Silver, as I have repeatedly told you, who led the vanguard of opposition to a boycott of British goods. One remembering the Mari boycott, can well visualize the "Don't Travel British", etc., slogans which spread disaster. Incidentally, such a cempaign helped to ruin the German economy in the United States.

It is certainly to Britain's advantage to continue the recognition of the Jewish Agency as the official spokesman. Lord Inverchapel has the confidence of Dr. Silber and his colleagues who have been most helpful in halting public demonstrations against the British. All this should be weighed before severing relations with this organization and turning it into a powerful enemy in the United States.

Before closing, I might add that in discussions with your people here, as recently as this morning, they assured me that your Government would be willing to empty the Cyprus Camps if the Jewish Agency would undertake to halt terrorism and illegal immigration. As I cabled you a few weeks ago after seeing Dr. Silver, the Jewish Agency would agree to this if you permitted about three shiploads of Jews to be taken from the Displaced Persons Camps in Europe and sent them to Palestine on boats to be provided by our State Department. I am confident the United States would consent Mr. Francis Williams, Esq. -3-February 6th, 1947

to cooperate further by arranging for immigration here on our unused quotas at the same time, thus starting an exodus from the Displaced Camps. I make this statement because one of our leading statesmen assured me this could be done if England would agree to this plan. Again I repeat that the voices which are ready to rise throughout the land in denouncing Britain's inhuman conduct, would be happy to applaud instead Britain's traditional kindness to refugees.

England's prestige has hit a new low. It will continue to sink. The present Labor Government can, by availing itself of the State Department's offer to transport the refugees, turn public opinion overnight.

I arge that you place before the Cabinet all these considerations before His Majesty's Government carries out the reputed plans which may well prove as estastrophic for the British - as did the events of 1776.

With my kind personal regards, Sincerely, any E. Holtzmann

FEH:CT via airmail FANNY E. HOLTZMANN COUNSELLOR AT LAW VANDERBILT 6.4488 CABLE "FANHOLTLAW"

Bar Building 36 West 44th Street. New York

February 27, 1947

Francis Williams, Esq. 10 Downing Street London, W. I., England

Dear Prancis:

Mr. Bevin's latest speech on Palestine has served to unite all important sections of American life behind the Zionists, as today's press indicates. Nothing could have been better calculated to change President Truman's role from that of a Zionist sympathizer to an active protagonist for the speedy attainment of Zionist objectives. In a very real sense, Mr. Bevin has rendered a great service to the Zionist movement. His charges were so unsupportable that almost all of our nation has reacted angrily. They say, in effect, that Mr. Bevin's statements were compounded of deliberate distortions designed for home consumption - to "save face" for his failure to bring about a settlement of the Palestine problem.

Mr. Bevin's further derogatory reference to "New York Jews" gives credence to the persistent charge that the present trend in England is to encourage anti-Semitism.

In talking to your people today, they told me

that they have received a great number of <u>telephone</u> calls praising Mr. Hevin's speech. That surprises me no more than does the solitary public statement of praise for Mr. Hevin uttered by poor Hamilton Fish, whose approbation invariably means the kiss of death. These telephone callers represent an infinitesmal small minority here, and what is more important, they evidently do not dare to express their view in any other manner than in private conversations with British officials. They know what the public reaction to open endorsement of Mr. Bevin would be.

Coming as it does when the newspapers are replete with stories of Britain's economic collepse and bankruptoy, her probable default on the July payment and subsequent appeals for a fresh loon, Mr. Bevin's speech is doubly unfortunate. Lunching at one of the Wall Street clubs the other day, I heard talk to the effect that the British Empire is finished, that England is no longer a first class Power but must henceforth be regarded as of less importance than Prance etc. These statements were not made in emotional outbursts, but soberly and sadly by some of Britain's highly placed friends in the financial world.

The Bevin blunder came as I was preparing to depart for California on my first boliday since I left England. After

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a discussion with Hill, I have decided to remain here for the time being and continue to report to you what the situation is in America. Hill urged that I do not desist in my efforts to bring the British and Zionists together despite the present hopeless cutlook, so I conferred with the Zionists.

My friends in British circles had expressed the opinion that the Jews would regard placing of the Palestins issue before the United Nations as a disaster. I was therefore surprised to find the Zionist leaders in a more optimistic mood than ever before in recent months. I questioned them about the British decision to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations. They explained to me why it is more self-delusion on the part of the British to feel that this is a blow to the Zionist cause. The Zionists pointed out:

(a) That they cannot be any worse off than they are today under British unilateral rule in Palestine.

(b) That the Mandate for Palestine which assured free Jewish immigration into Palestine and a Jewish Mational home was not a British project; it was a project conceived internationally by the nations of the world in the League of Mations; that Britain would not have received the Mandate for Palestine if the United States as well as influential members of the League of Nations had not backed up Britain's desire to have the Mandate.

3.

(c) That the United States, in view of its past record of non-partison support for the Lionist cause, and the present mood prevailing throughout the land - in the white House, Congress, the Main Streets of America - will undoubtedly continue to uphold the cause when it comes before the United Nations. This means the support of the "American Bloc" which includes Latin American countries, who follow the United States when the vote is taken.

4.

(d) That, on the whole, the Zionists have nothing to lose and everything to gain by having the issue brought before the United Nations and vigorously fought out in the open, so that the public can follow every move closely.

As one who has been vitally interested in the success of United Nations since I participated in its launching in San Francisco, I am much concerned that the first real offensive should be directed against Great Britain. The British have much at stake - it will be the first time that the two countries, the United States and England, will split on a major issue. To those of us who have devoted our time unstintingly throughout the years in promoting Anglo-American friendship, it makes one shudder to think what will happen if the issue comes before the United Nations under the present circumstances. Aside from those supporting the Jews, such as the Americans who are bound to criticize Britain, there will be others to make Britain the target for attack in different directions, which she can ill afford. Realizing the catastrophic results which the present policy will produce on the Empire unless a new orientation is made at once, I pass on to you the following program, which my talks have convinced me would ease tensions all around:

1. Britain must not expose herself further to the charge that she is stalling on the vital questions of life and death involved, pending adjudication of the constitutional questions - whether there will be a Jewish State now or partition, etc.

There must therefore, be substantial immigration into Palestine at once. The emptying of the Cyprus camps, which I have long urged, would seem to be the most urgent first step.

(2) Following the closing of the Gyprus camps, the present trickle of 1500 immigrants a month must be increased to permit large numbers to be removed from the DP camps in Burope immediately. In this connection, I would refer you to my previous cables and letters in which I suggested that the co-operation of our State Department can be obtained. I believe Washington will not only provide the ships, but cooperate on a plan that will accelerate entry of displaced persons generally into our country and elsewhere. Britain could inaugurate the general exodus from the DP camps.

(3) The present land laws in Palestine, which Americans regard as racial discrimination, should be ended.

5.

The situation is desperate - one must be realistic and face facts. England connot chance a rift with the United States over the Palestine issue. She cannot chance being the target of attack in the United Nations, by Russia for example, who is not likely to let the opportunity pass without criticizing present British policy - and this policy is certainly vulnerable to such attack.

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I therefore strongly urge that pending a final settlement, which Mr. Bevin indicated was still possible, the foregoing action be taken. Then we can really start working on rebuilding British prestige in this country - where she needs it so desperately. The Jews of the world become ardent ambassadors of good will for the Emitish Empire, as they always have been, rather than the bitter critics and detractors which they are today because of Britain's Palestine policy.

Sincerely,

FEH:eac

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Care of or Apt. No. WALDORF ASTON	RIA HOTEL	
Place	WRHS AMERICAN JEWISI A R C H I V E	
I WAS DELIGHTED TO	HEAR OF YOUR RETURN AND TO	READ YOUR SPLENDID
MESSAGE. I AM EAGE	R TO SEE YOU FOR A FEW MOME	NTS IN CONNECTION WITH
MONDAY AND I WOULD	BEFORE YOU LEFT FOR EUROPE BE GRATEFUL FOR AN OPPORTUN	ITY TO TALK TO YOU ANY THE
TIME DURING THE DAY.		NDEST REGARDS.
	ABBA HILLE	- PIPAEU

Sender's name and address (For reference only) Sender's telephone number

# FANNY E. HOLTZMANN COUNSELLOR AT LAW

VANDERBILT 6-4488 CABLE "FANHOLTLAW"

Bar Building 36 West 44th Street, New York

February 28, 1947

Dear Dr. Silver:

I know the enclosed copy of my letter to London will interest you.

You were quite right about the error in my letter - of course that condition applied only to the attendance at the London conference.

Every good wish.

Juar Sincerely

Dr. A. H. Silver c/o The Temple Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosure

FEH:eac

March 6, 1947

Miss Fanny E. Holtzmann 36 West 44th St. New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Holtzmann:

May I thank you for your thoughtfulness in sending me a copy of the letter which you sent on to London dated February 27. It is an excellent statement of facts and of the situation as it is.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS: BK

# MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN LEO SACK AND LOY HENDERSON WASHINGTON - March8, 1947

Mr. Henderson to Mr. Sack: "We don't think we can engage in a lot of chit chat until the British say what they want us to do. We want them to definitely formulate a policy before we start further investigations. And what are we going to investigate? All they had said so far is 'Don't you think we ought to have committees thinking about this?' Thinking of what, we say.

"They have not said that they want the United States to take over. They had not said that they want to give up the Mandate. They had not said anything. We don't know what they want to do."

At this point I interrupted Henderson to say that this is the (idea ?) of Emanuel Neumann who spoke with you the other day. He says that the British don't know what they want to do. I assume that Emanuel made that same point to you.

"Mr. Neumann did say this," Henderson replied. And he gave us the idea." "We want to know definitely whether the British mean business. Why sould we do a lot of work for nithing. We want to know definitely what they really want us to do. Our views have been transmitted by the British Ambassador, Mr. Cardagon, to London.

Mr. Henderson expressed the opinion that the British will not stay in Palestine. His thought, he said, was based purely on the financial situation. He asked, "How can they continue to finance 100,000 troops in Palestine if they cannot keep up payments for the maintenance of 10,000 men in Greece." I suggested that that same thought was concerning a lot of people on the Hill, and the question would probably be raised when debate on the Greek situation is launched in Congress.

Mr. Henderson said: "I have no doubt of it whatever." Then he told me that Mr. Shertok in his conference with the Secretary, the other day made a "fine impression." Henderson was present at the time.

Next he said that **if** the statement made by Ibn Saud's son in Cairo concerning Mr. Truman and his alledged devotion to the Arabs is "untrue". Mr. Henderson said in so far as he knew, Truman did not discuss Palestine unless most casually in passing with Ibn Saud's son at all.

But before concluding the conversation he again reverted to the fact that the United States wants a full bill of particulars from England with reference to what it wants accomplished by and at the United Nations.

Herold Cousin & Herold

Law Offices Stattery Building P.O. Box 1467

Shreveport, Louisiana

March 13th, 1947.

Honorable Joseph C. Hutcheson, United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Houston, Texas.

Dear Joe:

After sitting in the Federal Court every day for six weeks in a hotly contested trial made necessary by a remand by your Court, I was pretty well work out and decided that perhaps a trip to Mexico might measure the energy which I fondly ascribed to fatigue, instead of to its true source: the ravages of time.

I have just returned, and with what is really a feel-ing of deep emotion have finished reading the talk which you delivered to the Houston Committee on Foreign Relations.

A reading of your talk provokes the thought that it is one of great credit to your mind, hart and soul. No one could have so reacted to what he saw and experienced overseas who did not possess both a deep love for humanity and that sense of liberty and justice which should pervade all peoples.

I fully subscribe to the idea that chauvinism and xenophobia are the bane of mankind. Ultra nationalism, I agree, is an evil. Nationalism in the true sense - that is, civilized patriotism and love of country - is, you agree, properly rooted in the normal soul. War, of course, is an evil. There may be, and are, times when it is proper and even necessary. Litigation, with which civilized men settle their disputes, has been for ages decried, and there is even scriptural authority (Luke 11:46) which, if carried out, might deprive both you and me of our livelihoods.

S. L. Herold Sumter Cousin S.L. Herold, Jr. R.E. Halliburton As a judge of great experience, both in trial and appellate matters, you of course look to the facts of a case to apply your legal conclusions. The law is not drawn out of what the French call "plein air". The act of living, like a law suit, is a pragmatic affair. General principles may not control, except as they apply to the facts of a case.

So, while I fully agree with you in your philosophy, and in your clear statement of what is demanded of humanity, I am going to tell you just where, and why, I disagree with you in respect of - not your abstract reasons, - but the decree which you would write under the facts disclosed by historical record.

### The record.

In the report of the Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry appear certain significant findings of fact, all of which are borne out by the events of a cruel history of two thousand years. In the comment in Chapter I, under Recommendation No. 2, in referring to the Jewish survivors of the Nazi terror, the Commission says:

> "We know of no country to which the great majority can go in the immediate future other than Palestine. Furthermore that is where almost all of them want to go. There they are sure that they will receive a welcome denied them elsewhere. There they hope to enjoy peace and rebuild their lives."

This short statement is pregnant with affirmation of the impossibility of the survivors continuing in Europe, where not only would their neighbors be the mulderers of their dear ones, but where anti-Semitism - or, as I prefer to call it, Jew hatred is so deeply impressed upon the majority of the population as to prevent these survivors - even if they wanted to - living lives free of that fear which means life-long misery. It is pregnant also with confirmation (a) that they want to go to Palestine; (b) that they will be welcomed in Palestine, and (c) that in Palestine alone they can enjoy peace and live the lives for which God has destined them.

Further quoting from the report of the Commission, in Chapter II, it is said:

"10. There can scarcely be a Jew in Europe who has not suffered in greater or less degree either himself or herself or by the loss of relatives. \*\*\*

11. These Jewish survivors have not emerged from their ordeals unscathed either physically or mentally. It is rare indeed to find a complete Jewish family. \*\*\* In Germany and in Poland \*\* a Jew may see in the face of any man he looks upon the murderer of his family. It is understandable that few find themselves able to face such conditions.\*\*

12. In Poland, Hungary and Roumania, the chief desire is to get out, to get away momewhere where there is a chance of building up a new life, of finding some happiness, of living in peace and in security. In Germany also \*\*\* there is a similar desire on the part of a large proportion of the survivors to make a home disewhere, preferably in Palestine. \*\* The vast majority of the Jewish displaced persons and migrants, however, believe that the only place which offers a prospect is Palestine. \* \* \*

15. We were deeply impressed by the tragedy of the situation of these Jewish survivors in the centers and by the tragedy of their purposeless existence. \*\*\* We consider that these men, women and children have a moral claim on the civilized world. \*\*\* It seems to them that the only real chance of rebuilding their shattered lives and of becoming normal man and women again is that offered by the Jewish people in Palestine. Even though many might be glad to join relatives and friends in other countries, the doors of those countries at present appear to be closed to them." ---- (Despite the humanitarian recommendation of the Commission, and those of the President, you and I know, as practical men, that Congress is not going to widen the doors for immigration: the "nativism" and "zenophobia" of which you so eloquently speak, would rather close the doors entirely. The same is true in all of the other English speaking countries.) ----- "They wait with growing impatience for the time when they can go to the only friendly place they know."

From these findings of fact, your Commission unanimously concludes, in effect, (a) that the White Paper should be abrogated, with the consequent removal of restriction of Jewish immigration and land purchase; and (b) that Jews and Arabs should be given equal authority in all governmental matters in Palestine, regardless of the relative proportion of the population of each group.

It is only in respect of the latter conclusion that I disagree with you. May I briefly state my reasons, based also upon facts.

In the beginning, I want to repeat to you my deep-seated conviction, in agreement with you, that that form of ultra nationalism which we euphemistically style "menophobia" is one of the curses of mankind. Man will not be wholly civilized until the evils of racial and religious prejudice disappear from the face of the earth. But we are not fractical men if we do not realize that they are here: here in a most intense degree; here in the sense that there is no reason for our doubting that they will last long beyond the lifetime of you and of me. So, here again, we must be pragmatic.

When I was younger - at the time of the beginnings of the Zionist movement, and even at the time of the Balfour Declaration -I was opposed to the idea of a Jewish state. I was even violently opposed, and as late as 1919 made a number of speeches throughout the Southern states in opposition. At that time, I was filled with Wilsonian ideas, and a believer in the ability of the League of Nations to establish universal peace and good will. In other words, I was still a believer in Santa Claus.

Moreover, my background fitted into that pattern. My father was a Union soldier; my maternal grandfather was one of those unreconstructed Rebels who moved to Mexice after the defeat of his army. Thus, it seems to me I represent a cross-section of American life. So, deeply grounded in American philosophy, and filled with the Utopian ideas belonging to that period in my life, I fondly believed that what we call "anti-Semitism" would disappear, and that the Jewish people of Europe and of Asia would soon be treated as human beings, with the same rights as those possessed by their neighbors of different religions.

I had another background, too. During the Dreyfus case, my father and I read antidly both French and New York papers each day, and the final overthrow of the reactionary forces and the reestablishment of a free democratic government in France had made such an impression on my youthful mind that I am sure that their psychological effect had fertilized my mind for those thoughts which I have styled "Wilsonian".

More mature, however, and thoughtfully digesting the sad facts of then current history in connection with those of the past, I am incluctably drawn to the conclusion that the only possible avenue of escape for the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe was the establishment of a free and independent Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. From that conclusion, I see no escape. The reasons therefor are so cogent, and indeed to my mind insupemble, that I mm going to ask you to give them careful study and thought.

### \*\*\*\*\*\*

Jewish emigration from Palestine into the Western world led into two different channels: giting rise to the erroneous idea that, instead of being homogeneous, Jews belonged to two different divisions: the Sephardim and the Ashkenazinm.

The first group, the Sephardin, began their immigration into North Africa and Spain probably in latter Biblical times; some earlier, in all probability with their neighboring Philistines who settled Carthage. In any event, the Jewish population in Spain was a very large one, more than one thousand years before Columbus. The Jews of the Iberian peninsula were thomoughly integrated into Spanish and Portuguese life. They held high positions in the state, and were among the leaders in the diffusing of whatever little light there was in the dark ages, through their exposition of Hebraic, and particularly of Greek philosophy. A thousand years is a long time, and these people considered their position safe. Along in the latter part of the fifteenth century, they suddenly found that their choice lay between repudiation of their religion, burning at the stake or becoming as are the DPs today - penniless fugitives from what they considered their homes.

After the Roman conquest of Judea, and the final Roman victory over the Jewish guerills forces which operated for a generation in the hills of Palestine, what remained of the Jewish population of that country was practically all taken by the Romans and moved into the Rhine country: there settled among the savage and zenophobic Teutons. Despite the hardships which they entured, they made their homes there, and considered themselves, as did their brethren centuries later, one hundred percent Germans.

#5.

The horrors of Hitlerism no more than duplicate what these people were compelled to endure throughout the several Crusades.

As many of the survivors of this "religious" ordeal as could manage it, escaped to Poland, where, for the time being, the light of religious liberty was being kept alive. These former Germans are the ancestors of that great Polish Jewish population which was all but totally exterminated by the Nazis. There in Poland it was not long before they suffered new horrors. The massacres in the seventeenth century by the Cossack hordes of Chmielnicki burned, raped, tortured and murdered every Jew why could not hide higself in cave or forest.

From Poland, and from the Balkans, thousands of Jews immigrated into Russia, there to meet over the course of the centuries one pogrom after another, even into our own times. The same was true in Roumania. You, yourself, know the condition of the Jews in Austria, and the situation that there prevails. France, too, has its tragic history of Jewish persecution, of expulsion, of recall, of robbery, and of expulsion again.

It would take too much of your time to go over and to catalogue all the misery growing out of the attitude of the continental European toward the Jew - from whatever source that may arise, or however it may have been inculcated.

Enough to say that the history of the Jew in Europe is one long, almost unmroken tragedy.

So much for the so-called Christian lands - never Christian in the sense that they followed the teachings of Jesus. And may I say here what I have so often said, that it is my firm comiction that if the Gentile world became a Christian world, we would see no persecution of Jew, nor of anyone else. If the teachings of Christ really animated those who inspire the sentiment in what calls itself the "Christian world", we would have Utopia indeed.

Now, as to the Moslem world: here, the situation of the Jew for centuries has paralleled that in Europe. During Moorish domination of Spain, until the rise of Mohammedanism, the equal right of the Jew was recognized and respected. In mediaeval Turkey, at the time of the expulsion from Spain, the Jew was welcomed and his rights recognized infull. The persecution of the Jew in Spain was practically coincidental with the expulsion of the Moors, and it did not take long for the Turk to begin his persecution. In other Moslem countries, the Jews have been, for all practical purposes, slaves for centuries: as, for instance, in Yemen. In Iraq, and in Persia, in Morocco and in Algeria (before the advent of the French), not only has the Jew not been given the rights of a free man, but his life has been led in a perpetual state of fear of rebbery and of Massacre.

It is difficult for an American to realize this situation; almost impossible. But it is one of the cruelly sad facts which may not be ignored any more than the law of gravity.

If the Jews of these countries could be given equal rights with their fellow human creatures, all would be well with them. But what has been illustrated time, and time, and time again over the centuries of European and Western Asiatic history may not be ignored. Nor the certainty that these events will recur in those countries as long as Jews are there subject to the domination of those who would profit by their persecution.

Immigration to the free countries- countries free of the age-old hatred - would be ideal. But you and I are too old not to realize that this can never occur in view of our political situations. "Never" is a long word, and perhaps I should not have used it. What I mean is that it can never occur within that period in which it would be pecessary to save these lives.

### \*\*\*\*\*\*

Where, then, does this lead us? You, and the Commission of Inquiry, have already decided that they should be permitted to immigrate into Palestine.

In Palestine, they would be a minority: with a Moslem majority.

To shut our eyes to this danger is to be blind to the facts of history. For, unless the Jews in Palestine may be given the control of their own destiny through the possession of governmental powers, with its requisite sanctions, inevitably the time will come when oppression, with its concimitant tobbery, rape and murder on the part of the Moslem majority, will ensue. I am not afraid for one moment of the Jews of Palestine not being able to take care of themselves, if given the powers of government. I do deeply feel that, otherwise, they are translated from a pseudo-Christian into a Mohammedan ghetto, with the tragic consequences that inevitably will follow.

# \*\*\*\*\*\*

It is hardly necessary for me to point out what you have observed in Palestine, and there recorded: the increase in the Arab population since the beginning of Jewish settlement. That seems to me to speak volumes for the humanitarianism and sense of justice of the Jewish population. A Jewish nation, in which the rights of the Arabs are protected by an international Bill of Rights, should completely serve the ends of justice. The Jews in the surrounding Arab lands have no Bill of Rights: no measure of protection.in Egypt, in Iraw, in Iran, in the Arabian kingdoms and in the fake kingdom of Trans-Jordania, Jews live, more or less, by sufferance, mostly afraid to express themselves with respect to their fellow religionists in Eretz Israel. How different would be the situation of the Arab in the Jewish country, enlightened with Western ideals, in which the rights of the Arab population were fully and definitively protected by adequate

# \*\*\*\*\*\*\*

I shall not be legalistic. If I were, I should talk about the forcible expulsion two thousand years ago, and of the continued adherence to the principle that the land of Canaan, promised by the Lord Himself, still remains the property of the Jewish people. It is a universal principle of the law of possession that the intention to retain possession negatives any loss by abandonment. That intention has never departed in the two thousand years of forcible expulsion.

But let's forget legalism, particularly because from the time of the expulsion of the Saracens by the Seljuk Turks just a few years ago - about the time William the Conqueror came into England - Palestine had never been an Arab land. It was Turkish when the victorious Allies took it in 1918, with a few scattered Bedouin families, and the land - once flowing with milk and honey - converted by Turk and Arab into a rocky and arid waste. Now, they are flocking back in: attracted by the opportunities furnished by Jewish capital, Jewish industry and Jewish lives and Jewish fervor and Jewish enthusiasm.

Let's not forget, moreover, that the Jews who have gone into Palestine have settled there in reliance upon a solemn promise: a promise, moreover, supposedly implemented by the acceptance of a mandate in which the mandatary specifically obligated itself to a good faith performance of that promise.

The Uewish people were the promisees. Their acceptance has been exemplified in the most realistic manner - by the offering of their lives, their fortunes, their hopes, and those of their families. There could be no clearer acceptance of an offer. On the other hand, what as to the Arabs who have come into Palestime? They came there with knowledge of the legal obligation of the mandatary - in the teeth of it. Their equities may not rank higher than those of a purchaser <u>pendente lite</u>.

Between the two, i. e. the direct obligee and the purchaser, with knowledge, pending a suit for specific performance, where could a chancellor hesitate?

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The displaced Jews have no gate open to them unless it be that of Palestine. However we might wish for more liberal points of view, however our idealism may make us demand admission into the free lands, we find ourselves faced with a blank wall of xenophobia which has no gate - or, at least, one as narrow as the needle's eye, within which the camel of common humanity finds it impossible to enter.

It is only in Palestine where they may live free and natural lives. The Arab, on the contrary, has vast areas in Asia and in Africa.

In balancing rights as you have to do in your judicial capacity, you daily have to take note of relative equities. In order to give these homeless people a home, in order to give these people, bereft of hope, that normal life to which men and women are God destined, it seems to me that no escape may be had from the conclusion that they must be vested with the power to control their own destinies: which means the governmental power that would insure to them the right of free immigration by their brethren, and the protection of life, liberty and property against any other group, whether majority or not.

And if such sanctions be vested by international law, with adequate protection of the rights of the Arab population, why then would it be inconsistent with human and Divine justice: particularly when, in Arab countries, Jews must necessarily live under Arab majorities and hence Noslem government?

It is not necessary to go further, as did the platform of the Labor Party - so unscrupulously scrapped - in demanding the emigration of Arabs from Palestine. They can, and should live there: in amicable cooperation with their Jewish neighbors.

But if the Arabs are unwilling to live under a Jewish government - what then? Whence do they come? From the great Arab wastes #10. of North Africa and of Western Asia: from a <u>one million</u> one hundred thousand square miles of land, compared with the tiny ten thousand square miles of Palestine. One hundred to one: Where would be the injustice in saying to these people, if necessary - but it is not necessary - "the Jews have the first claim to this land. You have an area more than one hundred times as large. Why did you leave it? You may live here as free men, with full protection to all those rights which free men naturally possess; but if you do not want to live in a Jewish country, why not go bak among your brethren? Why not, as did the Jews in Palestine, restore the ancient fertility of your own soil? Why not put in irrigation systems, as the Jews have done? Why not remove the rocks? Why not plant trees? Why not rid yourselves of your antiquated feudal systems, and become free men and women, educate your children and give them conditions of health and sanitation approximating that of the Jews of Palestine?"

In this world, there is no such thing as absolute justice. Justice, like everything else in the universe, is relative. To deny to the Jews of Palestine the justice that is theirs, because a minor injustice might be done to some Arabs, would still be human justice.

But there need be no injustice to the Arab. He has gone into Palestine because of what the Jew has done for that country. He has gone there voluntarily. He may continue there to live, with full protection of all of his rights: of person, of conscience and of property. But if this is not satisfactory to him, can he not return to the land of his ancestors, as the persecuted Jew has done, and there build up his own civilization?

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*\*\*

I am deeply impressed, too - perhaps I may more literally say oppressed - with the deep conviction that the present situation is directl playing into the hands of the Communists. Nothing can possibly breed communism - nothing can afford as fertile a ground for the growth of communistic totalitarianism - like extreme poverty, want of sanitation, disease and illiteracy.

It is among oppressed peoples, peoples kept in the miserable subjection in which the common Arab peasant finds himself from bitrh to death, that the missionaries of communish find their readiest converts. Naturally this is thue, for the poor wretch finds nothing in life as it is, and has been for centuries, cut out for him; and the roseate promises of the agitator create for him a light to which he will repair.

You have seen for yourself what the civilization brought to Palestine by the Jews can do for the Arabs. Cannot the democratic powers, intent upon stopping the spread of communish, do for the Arab in his homeland what the Jews have done for him in Palestine?

Would not a modicum of those things that go to make life worth living to the fellahim do more to correct the spread of communism in the Neur East than would diplomatic or armed manoeuvers?

And if a fair portion of the tremendous royalties now going to the harems of the feudal overlords should go instead to the improvement of the condition of the common man, would we not see world-wide benefit, instead of power politics, growing out of the oil concessions?

#### \*\*\*\*\*\*

I have made this letter probably too long. If I have, please pardon it. I simply felt, after reading your speech, that I had to lay my soul open to an old friend and classmate, so that I might give my views for his inspection and consideration. If they do not meet with your acquiesence, I am sorry. But they represent the fruits of twenty-five years of most serious thought, and I stand on them.

\*\*\*\*\*\*

# Before closing, may I add a personal word.

On my paternal side, my people were among those who had been free men in the Iberian peninsula for a period longer than that from King Afred to the present day: back in the days when the Teutons were semi-naked savages, roaming the woods of northern Europe and drinking mead from the skulls of their enemies. Suddenly, my people found themselves helpess fugitives, inwilling to save their lives at the cost of base betrayal of their faith. Only one country in Western Europe carried a beacon light. By some means or other, they reached Holland. None of the surrounding countries would afford a safe haven to a Jew. Only after the French Revolution, and its awakening of the peoples of Europe, did the Jew become an emancipated human being -and the effects of the French Revolution, we have seen, are fast disappearing now in the darkness that the past two decades have cast over the continent of Europe.

In any event, after the French Revolution and because of it, my father's grandfather was enabled to move up the Rhine and to settle with his family on its western bank. In less than two generations, the cloud of the Hohenzollern despotism began to cast its shadows over that section, which had enjoyed a short period of peace and liberty. As soon as my father could graduate, he came to this country, whose traditions became as much a part of his religion as did those handed down by his biblical ancestors. What I am thinking of is this: in 1926, I visited the village where my father was born. I met with a real show of apparent hospitality, and of that <u>gemutlichkeit</u> with which the German masquerades his innate hatred of others. I was completely fooled by this show: and my eyes were only opened when I heard directly from an acqueintance in the village that this particular locality had been the scene of the most brutal and cruel outrages toward Jews that could have been witnessed anywhere in Germany. My correspondent later perished in a murder camp.

If my father had not had the intelligence, the ambition and the will to come to this free country, and I had been born, I would certainly have perished in the torture chambers of Buchenwald, and my children and grandchildren in the gas chambers of Maidenek and Auschwitz. Surely I would be less a man, and less grateful to the Almighty, if I did not fervently wish for those less fortunately situated than I to be given the surroundings and the sanctions that would assure to them the dignified, free and happy lives to which God's creatures are entitled.

So, Joe, when you see that when I realize it is only by the grace of God that I am a free American, an imprint is made upon my soul that may not be eradicated. And with it, a realization that those who may be saved by transplantation to Palestine can be saved permanently only if into their hands be placed the machinery and power of protecting and governing themselves.

Sincerely,

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נרבתה

נרבתה, יום אי ה-30 במקיף המען ; נרבתה דואר כרכור, סלפון פרדס חנה 42y

Healerth Hazan (Katety)

לכבוד הד"ר אבא הלל סילבר, נשיא ההסתדרות הציונית בארצות הברית, חבר הנהלת הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל, קליבלנד .

7. 5. L . .

הננו מאשרים בתודה עמוקה את קבלת מכתבו מיום 27.3.47 -בו הבטיה כבודו נשמנה לעזור ולתמוך חומרית ומוסרית בפעולתנו במפעל הנצחת הצנחנית חביבה רייק - ז"ל, בארצות הברית.

אנו אמונה ותקוה שכבודו יעשה במיטב יכולתו להצלחת מפעלנו זה ותודתנו העמוקה מובאת לכבודו למפרע.

בכבוד רב ובתודה

מזכיר: and cer חיים כפרי.

Herold Cousin & Herold

Law Offices Slattery Building P. O. Box 1467

Shreveport Souisiana

April 5th, 1947.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, The Temple, East 105th Street, Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thank you for your letter of April 3rd.

I know you will be interested to learn that I am informed that Judge Hutcheson is going to Dallas next week to start a drive on behalf of the Christians of Dallas for active participation in fund raising for the UJA.

Sincerely yours, Louder

S.S.Herold Sumter Cousin S.S.Herold Jr: R.E.Halliburton

SLH/mb

(COPY)

## UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA GAINESVILLE

University College

202 Buckman Hall

April 25, 1947

Mr. Benjamin Akzin American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Akzin:

Your letter of the twenty-third came this morning and I am taking the first opportunity to give you my reactions to your memorandum.

I am in full agreement with the basic assumption on which your memorandum is constructed -- that a pro-Zionist solution is today most unlikely. I have just concluded work upon an article in which I have written:

"In reality, whatever its advantages or disadvantages, the Zionist program for Palestine lies today almost purely in the realm of theory. The Great Powers are not prepared to support such a future for Palestine as the Biltmore Program envisaged. The British Government has shown over and over in the last two years that it is convinced the only safe course to pursue in the Middle East is one of collaboration with the existent Arab leadership. In the face of a potential Russian advance, it is not prepared to jeopardize the Empire's remaining power in that area by antagonizing too seriously the Palestine Arab leaders and their fellows in the other Arab lands. The British will go far to meet the Arab demands. The United States Government is subject to Zionist influence, particularly before elections, but it is also concerned with American cultural and economic interests, including oil concessions, in the Arab countries and with the Russian Communist menace in the Near and Middle East. The Americans are likely to seek a compromise, not to adopt the Biltmore Program as their own. Russia has not clearly revealed its position on the Palestine issue, but the Soviet Union has traditionally frowned upon Zionism as a tool of British imperialism, an undesirable type of nationalism, and a movement inclined toward moderate, gradualist, and therefore ineffective socialism. Russia has a large Moslem population and its expansion in the Middle East would presumably be based upon cooperation with the Moslem peoples. The Soviet is most unlikely to endorse the Zionist program. Lacking the support of at least one of the Big Three, the Jewish State solution of the Palestine problem is not likely to be accepted by the United Nations nor, even if it should be accepted, to be enforced. ....

"Adoption of the Arab solution of the Palestine problem, despite its disadvantages, is, unlike adoption of the Zionist solution, quite within the realm of possibility. The British Government, in its adherence to the White Paper of 1939 and and its apparent acceptance of the theory that the safeguarding of British interests in the Middle East depends upon an alliance with the present Arab leadership, has shown itself ready to favor a pro-Arab policy if it can escape with any grace from its promises to the Zionists. The current American determination to resist the extension of the Russian sphere of influence into Greece, Turkey, and the Arab lands will give pro-Arab groups in the government grounds for arguing that the United States too must seek the friendship of the Arabs by abandoning its support of Zionism. The Communist parties of the British Empire, which probably reflect Soviet policy, have adopted a program favorable to the establishment of an independent, democratic, Palestinian state, a proposal which might be harmonized with the Arab demands. The Arab States represented in the United Nations and the Latin-American Republics generally worked together in a small state bloc at the first meeting of the General Assembly. It is not entirely inconceivable that they might continue to cooperate on the Palestine issue.

"A solution, heralded as a compromise but only slightly removed from the Arab position, could therefore result from the United Nations deliberations. Such a scheme might call for a brief period of trusteeship, possibly five years, some restricted Jewish immigration during that period, and elaborate constitutional safeguards for the security of the Jewish community. Such a program would be, in effect, merely a delayed acceptance of the Arab plan. ....

"The compromise solutions will also be considered. The adoption of one of them, most probably partition, by the United Nations is within the realm of possibility. Compromise always has its attractions. The strong Zionist movement in America will probably attempt, under present circumstances, to commit the United States to sponsorship of a generous partition plan. It might succeed. Britain, if assured of American support for the British position in the Middle East as a bulwark against Russia and if able to place the prime responsibility for a partition program upon the United States, might agree to such a solution, for the Jewish State would be prepared to grant naval and military bases to the British. The Arab States will reject any compromise which breaks the unity of the Arab world and places an economically aggressive and, as they fear, potentially expansionist state in Palestine, but they might not be able to carry with them the votes of the Latin-American states, many of which have in the past shown sympathy for Zionist aspirations and which are amenable to American influence.

"A partition proposal, though less likely of adoption than a more pro-Arab solution, may yet result from the United Nations consideration of the Palestine issue." If I am correct in my evaluation of what the Zionist Organization has sought to have the United States Government do, I assume from the tone of your memorandum and particularly paragraph 2, that the government is not willing to sponsor a "satisfactory" partition proposal. In that case the last two paragraphs which I have quoted from my analysis may be disregarded and my position closely approaches your own.

As a non-Zionist, I so desire to see a clear-cut decision with regard to Palestine that I hate to look forward to the delays and halfmeasures which will result from an effort to prolong the life of the mandate and to appeal the issue to the International Court.

As a sympathizer with Zionist objectives, however, and insofar as I can put myself into the frame of mind of a Zionist, I should agree fully with your Memorandum. Appeal to the Court offers some chance of a limited victory. Even delay and uncertainty leave the door of hope open. A clear-cut pro-Arab decision, which seems so likely otherwise, closes the door to development and probably means the liquidation of the National Home.

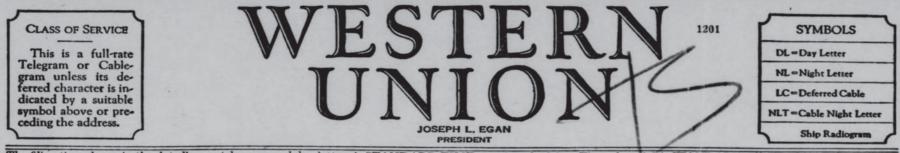
I trust that this hurried and all too long letter will be of some use to you and, if you desire to show parts or all of it to them, to the members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency.

Sincerely yours,

(sgd)

Paul L. Hanna

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The client 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 NA 8 97 PD=SI NEWYORK NY 9 439P

DR A H SILVER=

THE TEMPLE CLEVE

BRITISH FRIENDS CONTINUE PRAISING YOUR SPEECH. CONGRATULATIONS FANNY HOLTZMAN.

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Henderson, Lorj meeting with ambassador austin sel Custin (may + 1947). meno Z H. Crossman M. Halprin



75 WEST STREET . NEW YORK 6. N Y. . WHITEHALL 4-9000

June 2, 1947.

Dear Dr. Silver,

I learned of your kind and generous letter to Mr. Thackrey only' today and I do want to thank you. It isn't very often that a reporter on an assignment as difficult as this one receives such a reward. I shall, I assure you, always prize it highly.

Looking forward to seeing you again in the fall at the General Assembly, I remain,

Faithfully,

John Holenberg

Hall, Colonial Sec'y

Sel

Weizmann & uterview ang 15+16,1947

[undated]

## EXTRACT FROM WHO'S WHO, 1946-1947

## CHARLES EVANS HUGHES, JR.

lawyer; b. N.Y. City, Nov. 30, 1889; s. Charles Evans (retired chief justice of the United States.

Editor in chief Harvard Law Review, 1911-12; admitted to N.Y. bar, 1913, and began practice at N.Y. City; with Byrne & Cutcheon, 1912-13; law sec. to Justice Benjamin N. Cardozo, 1914; with Cadwalader, Wickersham & Taft, 1914-16; mem. Hughes, Rounds, Schurman & Dwight, later Hughes, Schurman & Dwight.

Solicitor general of the United States June 1, 1929-Apr. 1930 (resigned upon appointment of father as chief justice of the United States). Director N.Y. Life Ins. Co., 1930-34.

Member N.Y. City Charter Revision Commission, 1935-36; Gov. Lehman's Preparatory Committee on State Constitutional Convention., 1937-38. Chairman War Committee of Bar of City of N.Y. since 1942. Chairman Mayor's Committee on Unity since 1944. Trustee Brown University and Teachers Colleg, N.Y. City. Member American and N.Y. State bar associations.

Office: 1 Wall Street, New York 5, N.Y.

The Southwest Region of the Zionist Organization of America, in annual session convened in the city of Ft. Worth, Texas, solemnly expresses its conviction that in the formation of the Jewish Agency, and such other bodies as may function in behalf of Palestinian Jewry, representation be accorded to Americans in at least the proportion of the importance of American Jewry in respect of Palestinian affairs.

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This demand is in no sense based upon the financial contribution of American Jews, but upon the impregnable base that the welfare of Eretz Israel rests so utterly upon the Jews of America, now the largest and most important sector of the Jewish population of the world. This Conference asks that note be taken of the fact that it is only in America that complete freedom exists in respect of our action toward Palestine, and that only here and in Palestine are Jews free of the spirit of defeatism, pessimism and despair that hangs like a cloud over the whole continent of Europe.

This demand is not only that America have adequate representation on the Agency, but an insistence, moreover, that American Jews receive cabinet posts therein. Dear Mr. Henderson:

I telephoned to Dr. Silver yesterday the information that Secretary Marshall will be pleased to see him at 2:30 P.M. on Thursday, June 19, and that you would like to see him at 2:15. Dr. Silver was very happy with these appointments.

[undated]

I also conveyed to him the information relative to the subjects to be discussed. Dr. Silver will of course present to the Secretary the views of the Jewish Agency which will also be incorporated, at your suggestion, in a memorandum which he will leave with him. Dr. Silver is eager to give information, but he isalso anxious to receive information for the guidance of the movement. Dr. Silver is particularly desirous of learning what is in the mind of our own Government and along what lines the thinking of our Government is proceeding. In order that the interview may be mutually helpful and constructive, a frank and full discussion, more definitive that heretofore, would be most desirable. Some further exposition of the declared policy of our Government as announced on October 4th and 28th, 1946 is now indicated.

Dr. Silver realizes that our Government may not be prepared at this time to make any public declaration as to its ultimate position. Nevertheless the hour of decision is upon us and we must now be thinking in terms of solutions concrete and specific rather than in generalities. The orientation of the Jewish Agency would be clearly helped by a fuller definition of the policy of our Government. What is sought is not commitment, but guidance.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,