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American Zionist Emergency Council, Jewish Agency, 1943-1948.

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There Is Only One Answer...

DOROTHY THOMPSON





Issued by
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

There Is Only One Answer

IN NOVEMBER we celebrated the twenty-sixth anniversary of a historic moment in the long life-history of the Jewish people. We celebrated the historic acknowledgment by the world's greatest imperium that the Jews are a nation; the historic expression of intention to provide them with a homeland in the country of their national origins. Let us here discuss what Winston Churchill once called the "solemn undertaking" of the British Government to accomplish this purpose.

Palestine is not, nor ever was, "British." It is not a British colony or possession. It was mandated for administration to Britain by the League of Nations, following the defeat of the Ottoman Empire, of which it was a part. That Britain intended in Palestine to provide the first constructive solution in centuries to what both the Jewish and the Christian world acknowledged as a Jewish problem, lent the most powerful interest to the mandate.

But from the very beginning the trouble was that Britain was committed to two seemingly contradictory policies and promises. The one had been given to the Jews, the other to the Arabs, during the period when Britain was encouraging them to revolt from the yoke of the Sultan. Both promises were, therefore, given partly in exchange for services rendered to Britain against the Ottoman Empire in the last war. But both were also political decisions, and both were attempts to fulfill just and reasonable national ambitions of two peoples, without prejudice to the ambitions and interests of the British Empire itself.

The promise to the Jews was that there should be established in their historic birthplace "a *national home* for the Jewish *people*, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which prejudices the *civil* and *religious* rights of *existing* non-Jewish *communities* in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

Seldom, in so few words, has a policy been more clearly and unmistakably expressed.

It was not suggested that Palestine should be opened as a refuge for the persecuted; it was not suggested that immigration should be encouraged and

provided for, as it might be, for instance, to other sparsely populated places, such as Uruguay. Palestine was to be a *national* home, that is to say, the home of the Jewish *nation*. Acknowledging that it was a country also populated by Arabs, the promise was given to protect the rights of the *existing* Arab and other *communities*. In the one case the Jewish *nation* was acknowledged; in the other, the non-Jewish *communities*. Nothing was said about *future* Arab communities. Nothing was said about an Arab *nation* in Palestine. So, if the English language can be trusted in one of its most precise expressions, the promise meant: Jewry may erect in Palestine a national state, but must grant, in that state, equal rights to those Arabs who are already settled there.

The promise given to the Arabian world was that they would be encouraged to create an independent and sovereign Arabian nation, after they had been freed from Turkish subjection.

How the Promises Have Been Kept

Now, after a quarter of a century, both promises have been partly kept; neither promise has been fulfilled.

The promise to the Arabs was much the larger promise, and the one more difficult of fulfillment. It involved vast territories, variously governed—Saudi-Arabia, Hedjaz, Syria, and Iraq.

The development of these areas or countries was not identical. Saudi-Arabia became a quasi-independent state. Iraq became, first, a British mandate, and then a nearly sovereign state. Hedjaz remained an Arab state under British mandate after being partitioned from Palestine. All were kept strictly within the British sphere of influence, so that to call any one of them independent, in respect especially of foreign relations, is an error.

Syria, on the other hand, became a French mandate and virtually a French colony, though promised eventual independence, certainly with the tacit reservation that it would remain in the French sphere of influence.

In all developments the British interest played, and naturally, a dominant role. The British needed, they thought, supervision and control over the whole area under their mandate for strategic and economic reasons. Strategically the area covers the communication lines to India. Economically it is rich in oil. And, politically, the British had to take into consideration the large Moslem

populations in their other colonies, who sympathized with Arab national aspirations, and were able, in the ever-unstable colonial world, to create considerable trouble in times of crisis. In India, for instance, there were ninety million Moslem Indians who had repeatedly formed the backbone of British Far Eastern armies in the past, as in this war, and who, in the minds of those charged with British colonial affairs, could be, and have been, used to counterbalance the Hindus. Egypt constituted another vast Moslem bloc. Egypt's status hovers, also, between sovereignty and colonialism. Egypt is sovereign to the degree that she has not even entered this war, but she holds her sovereignty on the tacit but very real condition that no non-British or anti-British power may use her as a base of operations, in case of war, while the British and their allies may.

If we look, therefore, at the largest aspects of the British problem in the Moslem world, where do the Jews come in?

In grand policy, it is clear that the Jews are being used, on the one hand, to counterbalance too-strong Arab aspirations, threatening the power structure of the British in the Middle East, and with repercussions upon the British position in the Far East. The Jews have been used as a diversion. The Arabs, instead of directing their struggle against the British Empire—an eventuality which I should, with the British, strongly regret—have been diverted against the Jews in Palestine. This has given the British the role of mediators, the power to divide and rule. When the Palestinian Arabs, spurred on by nationalist agitators, revolted against the Jews, the Jews were protected by the British. When the Jews asked for increased immigration, the British sided with the Arabs.

In this situation neither Jew nor Arab can achieve their aspirations. The Axis powers, who, under anti-imperialist slogans, have sought to intervene against the British in this area, have followed exactly the same tactics. Their own intentions being totally imperialistic, they have posed as protectors of the Arabs against both the British and the Jews.

This is, in very condensed form, the history, as I see it, of what has happened to the Balfour Declaration. The mandatory power has considered chiefly its own interest, and I see no reason to hope that any such mandatory power, in any future, is likely to do anything else.

Consequently, both Arabs and Jews have tried to persuade the mandatory power that British interests coincide with their own.

The Jews have a very good case in such attempts at persuasion. They argue, and can certainly prove, that the loyalty of the Arabs has been, to say the least, dubious in this war, and that if the whole of Palestine had been settled by Jews, their military value would have been of the greatest importance for Britain and the United Nations. They further argue that the economic value of Palestine has been improved by Jewish labor and capital above the value of any other mandate. This also is indisputable.

The Arab princes, on the other hand, are sending emissaries abroad to prove that the Arab world can offer new and larger opportunities than the Palestinian Jews ever can, and that is also true, providing the Arabian world could deliver. And the Arabs, unlike the Jews, can hold over the British a real threat to the Empire. The Axis world would certainly offer the Jews nothing—nothing but extermination. The Axis world has offered the Arabs everything. The Axis world would keep its promise to the Jews. It would never keep its promise to the Arabs. But promises are sweet, in any case.

The Solution for the Arab-Jewish Problem

Now, I am forced honestly to say to you that I see no solution to this problem in the present pattern of colonial power and of League of Nations so-called mandates. A genuine League of Nations, which would regard the political education and the economic development of all politically and economically backward areas as the mutual task of mankind, to be carried out for the primary benefit of the areas in question, and for the mutual benefit of mankind, under the protection of a common protective system, and in preparation for the time when all nations and peoples might enter it, is the *only* eventual solution for *either* the Arab or the Jewish homeland problem, or both. None of these problems can be solved within the triangle of Jews-Arabs-British Empire. None of them can be solved except in the framework of a new world system. I say this with malice toward none, and least of all toward the British, for Britain has her own problems, of tremendous magnitude—problems which this war will not solve, and problems which require tremendous vision and immense capacity for adaptation if the structure which Britain has built through the centuries, and which for much more than a century has constituted the only integrating and

stabilizing force on a world-wide scale, is not to fall apart, atomizing and setting adrift uncontrollable forces.

Palestine is a very small part of the whole Middle Eastern complex and Arab world. Its loss for the Arabs would be negligible if they could really exchange it for their own security and opportunity for national development. And it could highly contribute to an economic and social regeneration and recreation of the Middle East, once the center of civilization, fallen back, then, through centuries of corrupt and dismal foreign rule and exploitation.

In my opinion, the first and minimum step toward disentanglement must be a clear-cut division of the political spheres of sovereignty of Jews and Arabs. In my opinion, that division was clearly implied in the Balfour Declaration. But, implied or not, it is obvious in practical politics that it is essential. Until that is done there *can* be nothing but strife, with the British continually mediating between contending interests. Until it is clear that here the Arab world stops and the Jewish world begins, there will be neither a Jewish nor an Arabian sovereignty anywhere in the Middle East, but only a British, *de facto*, if not *de jure*.

Now, to pretend that the British Empire, or, better, the United Nations, or even the Anglo-American powers alone cannot do this, is preposterous. They are taking over tremendous responsibilities, such as, for instance, to police and protect the globe against aggressive wars. To admit that, after this war, in which they will be victorious over all existing powerful enemies, they cannot draw a frontier and say: "Beyond this is Jewish—beyond that is Arab," is simply to admit that they cannot draw any frontiers or, indeed, deal with the colonial problem at all. The tactics of playing off one people against another and vice versa, and holding the balance, has not worked at all well since war flamed in the Far East, and it will never again achieve any stability anywhere. The most careful decisions must be made, and then these decisions must be adhered to, if the European peoples are to retain a vestige of prestige in the non-European areas of the earth.

And you cannot reverse history, either, without being guilty of the utmost frivolity, a crime for which history seldom knows forgiveness.

The Balfour Declaration and the mandating of Palestine to the British started an enterprise, and into this enterprise has been poured a fortune in

money, the lives of hundreds of thousands of people, and a whole world of hope. The question is no longer whether there should be a Jewish home and a Jewish nation in Palestine. There *is* one. It exists. It is a reality. For this, tens of thousands of teachers and students have unburied the language of the Bible and Talmud, exhumed it from the dust of antique books, and made it a living, spoken tongue. For this, tens of thousands of youths from the ghettos of Europe have broken their backs upon the stones of Palestinian roads, and under its burning skies lifted their songs. For this, colonies have been founded and governed in the very spirit of the Mosaic law, translating the ethics of an ancient religion into a modern cooperative economy. For this, the desert has been made "to blossom like the rose," and for this, the wasteland has become again a "land flowing with milk and honey." The question: "Shall there be a Jewish nation in a Jewish homeland?" has been asked and answered already. So let us be ruthlessly clear in our minds that this question is not to be raised again. It cannot be raised. The question now is not: "Shall there be a Jewish homeland?" The question is: "Shall the existing Jewish homeland be allowed to grow and thrive, or shall the existing Jewish homeland be destroyed?" It can be destroyed, of course, in one of two ways. It can be blotted out, as the Polish ghetto was blotted out by the Gestapo, or it can be allowed to die a lingering death.

As a lover and admirer of the greatness of Britain, I do not want to see her behave like a spoiled and whimsical old woman. Britain has greatly contributed to set into motion a chain of events. She cannot keep on changing her mind and intriguing that her own policies should come to nothing. For, if she does, one of these days the world will say, "The old lady is cracking up. Too bad, but perhaps it is just as well." No one in this country less desires to see this happen than I.

The Nationhood of the Jews

It is deeply to be regretted that, in this truly heroic struggle to re-create the Jewish nation, the Jewish communities in all countries are not united. It is curious, to me, that the nationhood of the Jews should be denied by Jews themselves. It is un-understandable to me that, with their people hounded and persecuted through so large a portion of Christendom in a recrudescence of anti-Jewish feeling that recalls the Middle Ages, many Jews should still deny that there is

a "Jewish problem"—a Jewish problem for both the Jews and the non-Jews. I have even encountered Jews among my own acquaintanceship who maintain that to acknowledge that there is a Jewish problem is in itself an expression of anti-Semitism. This flight into illusion is understandable among a people whose sufferings have, in this epoch, been so hideous that they prefer to avert their eyes. Yet self-imposed blindness is not the means of finding the path to light.

The problems of the Jews are, to my mind, all traceable to a single phenomenon: They are a nation curiously afflicted by being without the tangible and visible expression of nationhood—a nation without a country. Out of this fact arises the nameless fear that lies at the roots of anti-Semitism. The Jewish story is a ghost story, and therefore full of bogey-men. It haunts the mythology of primitive-minded Christians. What, to the average man, can be more awful than to be "A Man Without a Country"? If the Jews are a people without a country, doomed to wander the face of the earth, must that not be a punishment for some dreadful sin? Did not the Jews of the Sanhedrin crucify Christ? For that they are punished through endless time! So runs the myth, nor stops to think that Jesus of Nazareth was born in the very womb of Jewry, descendant of the great religious and philosophical line of Amos and Isaiah; nor that the Roman governors, who also understood how to divide and rule, sacrificed a dangerous Jew—in their terminology—to another set of Jews, and all for the glory and interest of Rome.

But the myth exists, and nothing is more difficult to eradicate than a myth. It does not yield to reason, for it stands outside of reason, in the sub-conscious and unreachable regions of primitive emotions.

It is said, "But the Jews are no nation"—said by Jews. What, then, are they? Why do those who deny their nationhood call themselves Jews? We are, they say, a religion. But of what is that religion the expression? Can any Jew who celebrates the festivals and rituals of his religion deny that his is the religion of a specific people, whose ethos, practices, prohibitions, and laws have grown out of a specific and unique experience? Judaism is the religion of the Jews. That is its very name! It does not call itself "Mosaicism," as "Christianity" calls itself by the exalted name of its founder. What are a people if they are not a nation? They are a minority deprived of nationhood. What does a

minority deprived of nationhood do? It attempts to retain its cohesion through inner-group controls, or it passes entirely out of history. No nation, not one, has shown such remarkable tenure of life under the most disadvantageous of circumstances as have the Jews. Where are the contemporaries of the childhood of this nation? Is there an American Babylonian Congress in New York? Or an American Babylonian Committee, asserting that they are not Babylonians? Is there an American Phoenician League? Is there a Chaldean Association? These peoples and nations have passed. They have assimilated or have been assimilated. Why have not the Jews passed?

And there is only one answer, only one conceivable answer, unless one is to accept the bogey-man myth of the religious anti-Semites, that God kept them alive on this earth to furnish a horrible example of original sin. They are alive today because they remembered Zion. From the time when, by the waters of long-extinct Babylon, they sat down and wept, yea, hung their harps upon the willow and wept because they remembered Zion, they have remembered, and remembered without a break. Remembered through the Spanish Inquisition, remembered through the ghettos of the Middle Ages, remembered through the pogroms of Tsarist Russia, remembered through the inquisition and the new ghettos of Nazi Germany. They have remembered on every Sabbath in their synagogues, and remembered in their festivals. And how any Jew can divorce his religion from his nationhood is beyond my powers of comprehension.

The Jewish State and the Jews Outside It

The fear exists that the recognition of this nationhood will prejudice the status of Jews as citizens of other countries. I hold that to be an exact perversion of the real situation. All people change their citizenship and nationhood, as individuals, from time to time. This country is wholly composed of persons who have done so. They have naturalized themselves from their own nation to another. The Jews, on the contrary, naturalize themselves from no nation of their own to any other. Hence, in the non-Jewish mind, they must carry their nation with them, no matter where they go. And in a very real sense this is true. My father, as I have said before in illustration of what I mean, was born an Englishman; my great-grandmother was a French woman. My father became an American, transferring his entire loyalties from one nation to another. But

he left his own nation behind him. He was not wrecking it by leaving it. The problem of Jewish assimilation will, to my mind, disappear with great rapidity when the life of the Jewish people as a whole is normalized to the life of every other people. The Jewish people do not need a country capable of receiving all the Jews on the face of the earth. There happen to be more Irishmen in this country than there are in Ireland. No one doubts their rights as Americans, but no one finds the slightest discrepancy between this and the right of a free Ireland to exist.

I speak as a Christian who dreams an ancient Jewish and Christian dream: that the nations of man may one day be gathered into a single fold, as free men and free nations of men, acknowledging the sovereignty above them all of a single law under God. I conceive the world of the future, if we are not all to perish at each other's hands, as a hierarchical structure, a House of Many Mansions, in which all will be securely at home, as individuals, as persons, as families, as nations. Each nation will have its own room in that house, and its own garden to tend as it will, only provided that it does not abuse the earth and its resources. People will be free to move about in that house, and change their rooms as suits them and the other tenants. But before that can come about, everyone must have the status of a room. There must be no people who have no room of their own at all.

I know there is room on this earth for everybody. And I know that those who hog rooms that they cannot or will not keep clean, and gardens that they cannot or will not cultivate, will lose them eventually to those who will and can. For such is the justice of history.

In the words of the great European nationalist and internationalist, Mazzini: I love my country because I love the idea of country. What I covet for myself, I covet for all other men. Because I demand and insist upon a spot on this earth where my race and my people, my culture and my nation, recognize themselves and are recognized as sovereign and at home, I demand and insist upon the rights of all others to the same.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

CONFERENCE - FEBRUARY 17, 1947

HOTEL STATLER - WASHINGTON, D.C.

<u>STATE</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>DELEGATES</u>
ALABAMA	Birmingham	James L. Permutt
CALIFORNIA	Los Angeles	Mr. Weinrod
	San Francisco	Jack Verdi
CONN.	Bridgeport	Philip Cohen, Mrs. Curley, Sam Eisenberg, Mrs. Krause, Rabbi Nelson, David Ringelheim, Charlie Weingarten
	Hartford	Joseph Klau, Samuel Hoffenberg, Samuel Rivkin, Mrs. Samuel I. Kaplan, Mrs. Morris Cohen, Zev Segal, Esther Glassman, Herman Salvin, Theodore Shotten, Col. Milton Richman, Judge Jacob Schwolsky
	Meriden	Charles Harris
	New Britain	George Gans, Mrs. Gans, Judge Samuel Googel, Dr. Morris Dunn, Harry Levine, Sidney Kirshnit
	New Haven	Louis Sacks with three others
	Norwich	Dr. Harry Cohen
	Stamford	Martin Corn
DELEWARE	Wilmington	Harry Ehrlich, Harry Rubenstein, Philip Cohe, Rabbi Herbert Droege
D.C.	Washington	4 delegates
GEORGIA	Atlanta	Rabbi Harry H. Epstein, Julian Bohen, Mrs. Jake Abelson
	Savannah	Rabbi Abraham Rosenberg
ILLINOIS	Chicago	Rabbi Morton M. Berman, - 9 delegates
	Peoria	David Citron, Rev. William J. Arms
	Rock Island	Ad Estees, Abe Halpern, Louis Spector
INDIANA	Indianapolis	J.A. Goodman, Rabbi William Greenfeld, Mrs. Ruth Pallar
	South Bend	Samuel Brown
	Terre Haute	Maier M. Levin
IOWA	Davenport	Rabbi Abram V. Goodman
KENTUCKY	Louisville	Rabbi Benjamin Brilliant, Rabbi Solomon Roobman
		Eric Hansen
LOUISIANA	Alexandria	Abe Caplan
	Shreveport	Six 1 delegate
MAINE	State Deleg.	Frank Golding and others
MARYLAND	Baltimore	20 delegates including Isaac Potts, Samuel J. Keiser, Dr. Abraham Shusterman, Dr. Moses Gellman, Adolph Fram, William Braiterman, Joseph Allen, Mrs. Wm. Saxon, Morton Deutsch

31 + DC

39 +

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<u>STATE</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>DELEGATES</u>
	Bethesda Ellicot City Hagerstown	I. S. Turover I. H. Taylor Rabbi Wm. A. Buchheim
MASS.	Boston Lowell Pittsfield Springfield Winthrop	Rabbi Isidore Passow and delegation Bennett Silverblatt Henry Alperin, Leon Mohill, Isadore Goodman Harry Ehrlich Maurice Maren, Joseph Hirsch
MICHIGAN	Detroit Flint Grand Rapids	Rabbi Leon Fram Rabbi one will try Rabbi Jerome Folkman
MINNESOTA	Duluth Minneapolis	Rabbi Rubin Siegel Irving Frisch, Dr. Moses Barron, Rabbi David Aronson,
MISSOURI	KANSAS CITY St. Paul	L. H. Frisch, Melvin Meisel one will attend
NEBRASKA	OMAHA	HENRY MONSKY
NEW HAMPSHIRE	Nashua	Dr. Morton J. Robbins and one
NEW JERSEY	Asbury Park Belleville Bloomfield Bradley Beach Caldwell Camden Elizabeth Jersey City Lakewood Montclair Morris Plains Essex County Newton Nutely Passaic Perth Amboy Plainfield Union City South River Toms River Trenton	David Goldstein, Charles Frankel, Rabbi Ario S. Hyams, Dr. Nathan Frankel, Benj. Terry, Jos. Resnick, Wm. Rediker, Nathan Kessler, Abe Klitzman, David Braslowky, Harry Millberg, Sam Monastersky Rabbi Herman Schwartz Rabbi Sidney Kosofsky, David Gould Mrs. Nan M. Giller Rabbi Morris K. Werb. Jacob Solomon, Emanuel Goldblatt Ellis Goodman, Ben Zion Steinberg, Dr. Harold Berlin, Philip Fox, Rabbi Naftali Riff, Rabbi Philip Lipis, Norman Heine, A. David Epstein, George Aaron, Wm. Greenberg, S. Arthur Levy, Rabbi Max Weine Harry Weltchek Henry Goldman, Meyer Pesin Delegation Sam Gansberg, Rabbi Joseph Katz and one Edward Hart Nathan Brodsky, Jacob T. Friend, Leo Yanoff, Abe Mayer, Joseph Lerner and delegation Max Churgin, Rabbi Emanuele Applebaum Rabbi George Bamrind Rabbi Max Zucker Morris Margaretten Harry Herzog Samuel Harber Daniel Golden, Moe Schlechter Delegation Rabbi Isacchter Levin
NEW YORK	Bronx	Max Cohen, Dr. Hyman D. Silver, Rabbi Herschel Schacter, Jack Podell, Mr. Peter Brandt, Rabbi Israel Miller, David Moskowitz, Arthur Levenson, Emanuel Halpern, Moses Robinson, Abe Lenzer, Jack Fisher, Leo Wilson, Rabbi David Hollander, Mitchell Fligel

<u>STATE</u>	<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>DELEGATION</u>
	Brooklyn	Rabbi D. Bernard Stoper, Jack Zager
	Manhattan	Joseph Sykman, Leon Kohn, Joseph Schickler, Sam Siedenberg, Charles Wolf
	Cedarhurst	Rabbi Edward Sandrow
	Flushing	Mrs. Jules Blankfein, Wm. Sadoff, Rabbi I. V. Kirshblum
	Long Beach	Milton Popper
	Ozone Park	Morris Heller, Rabbi Newlander, Mrs. Lena Rogoff, Mrs. Heller
	Rego Park	Aberaham Banner
	Buffalo	Ernest Freudenheim
	Cortland	Edward Suben, Edward Cherkas
	Ellenville	Ben Miller
	Elmira	Rabbi Charles Shoulson
	Glens Falls	Joseph Saidell
	Mount Vernon	Robert Lagunoff
	New Rochelle	Ben Margolis
	Niagra Falls	Rabbi Melvin Kieffer, Dr. Harry Wittlin
	Ossining	Rabbi Mortimer Rubin
	Peekskill	Rabbi Max Kleiman, Sol Ganeles
	Poughkeepsie	Rabbi Morris Korman delegation
	Rochester	Irving S. Norry, Albert Goldman, Sol Linowitz
	Rye	Louis Cohen
	Schenectady	Benj. Eisenstein
	Syracuse	B. G. Rudolph
	Utica	David H. Lurie
	Watertown	Rabbi J. Schimelman
	Yonkers	Arthur Pekelner
NORTH CAR.	Ashville	Rabbi Judah J. Seidler, Rabbi
	Wilmington	Rabbi Sam. A Friedman
OHIO	Akron	Mr. Subring, Marvin Perelman
	Canton	Joseph R. Frafield
	Cinn.	Dr. M. S. Schulzinger, Sol Luckman, Maurice Chase
	Cleveland	Saul Danaceau, Rabbi Armond Cohen, Charles Auerbach, Mrs. Regina Lowenthal
	Columbus	Rabbi Harry Kaplan
	Dayton	W. W. Marcus
	Lorain	William Goldberg
	Toledo	Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
	Warren	Jake Krull, Rabbi Herman, Jack Frank
	Youngstown	3 or 4 delegates
OKLAHOMA	Tulsa	Emby Kaye
PENN.	Allentown	Rabbi William Greenburg
	Bethlehem	Rabbi Morris Goldfarb
	Brownsville	Jack Greenfield and 4
	Easton	Norman Seidel, Arnold Kowitz, Rabbi Trachtenberg
	Harrisburg	Phillip D. Bookstaber
	Johnstown	one will try
	Lebanon	Rabbi Charles Weinberg, Abe Grosky, Sam Batt, Henry Levin, Hyman Kaplan
	Lewistown, Rabbi M.	H. Bleich, Harry L. Siegel
	Norristown	Rabbi Harold M. Kamsler and one
	Phila.	Mrs. Rose Bender and delegation
	Pittsburgh	large delegation and Alex Lowenthal

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STATE	COMMUNITY	DELEGATES
	Pottsville Scranton Sharon Uniontown Washington Wilkes-Barre	Michael Hanin, Harold Leisowitz Sidney M. Weiss will try Rabbi Robert M. Syme Lester Cohen David H. Weiner one delegate
R. I.	Pawtucket Woonsocket	Rabbi Aaron Goldin Arthur I. Darman and 5
SOUTH CAR.	Charleston Columbia	Macey Kronsberg, Meier Triest, Louis M. Shimel L. Meyerson, Rabbi Solomon D. Goldfarb Ben Arnold
TENN.	Chattanooga Memphis Nashville	Rabbi Walden, Mr. A. Zuckerman Abe D. Waldauer will try Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg
TEXAS	San Antonio	Rabbi David Tamarkin
VIRGINIA	Arlington Danville, Norfolk Portsmouth	Rabbi Ira Sud, Mrs. William Arkin, Mrs. Samuel Lubin, Dr. Nathan Becker Rabbi Mack Kapustin delegation and Dave Freedman delegation
WEST VA.	Bluefield Charleston Clarksburg Fairmont Wheeling	delegation Harry Winston Rabbi Israel Goodman Emil Hirsh delegation
WISCONSIN	Appleton Green Bay Milwaukee	Rabbi David Herson Meyer Cohen Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow

ORGANIZATIONS

- Federation of Palestine Jews - Rabbi Joseph Gabriel, Isaac Berman, Rabbi Hirsh Kohn, N.M. Cohen
- Hapoel Hamizrachi of America - Dr. Federbush, Moshe Kalcheim, Rabbi Zev Segal, David Telsner, Abraham Reiss, Max Hagler, AvRutick, Rabbi Israel Schorr, Dr. Raphael Gold
- Mizrachi - Rabbi Max Kirshblum, Rabbi Bernard Poupko, Solomon Kerstein, Rabbi and Mrs. Akibah Predemsky, Mr. & Mrs. A.M. Stavisky, Rabbi Benj. Morgenstern, Mr. Mosheh Green, Mosheh Krone, Rabbi Dr. Abba Abrams, Mr. Gedalis Bublick
- Mizrachi Women's Org. - substantial delegation
- Nat. Council of Orgs. - Harold O.N. Frankel, Abe. Hollander, Joseph R. Apfel, Frank Simon, Louis Gilgore, Samuel E. Kratzok, Arthur I. Rosenberg, Henry Cron, Herbert Sussman, Samuel Stern, Max Ogust, Dr. Mordecai Soltes, Dr. Nathan Balber, Judge Adolph Stern, Morris I. Goldman

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1/29/48

DISTURBING REPORTS WIDELY CURRENT HERE THAT EFFORTS ARE BEING MADE IN WASHINGTON TO ACHIEVE BIPARTISAN AGREEMENT TO SCUTTLE UN DECISION ON PARTITION TO WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT NOW STANDS COMMITTED STOP FIND IT DIFFICULT CREDIT SUCH REPORTS STOP YOU AND OTHER LEADERS REPUBLICAN PARTY HAVE STRONGLY SUPPORTED SOLUTION WHICH IS ONLY POSSIBLE ONE IF PALESTINE IS NOT TO BE THROWN INTO CHAOS STOP DELAY IN IMPLEMENTATION UN DECISION IS DANGEROUS AND ENCOURAGES VIOLENCE HERE ON PART OF THOSE WHO HOPE TO FRUSTRATE DECISION OF UN STOP AM RETURNING US EARLIER THAN I EXPECTED IN HOPE AVERTING TRAGIC BLUNDER ON PART OF OUR GOVERNMENT IF AFOREMENTIONED REPORTS ARE TRUE STOP STRONG STATEMENT FROM YOU ON SENATE FLOOR OR IN OTHER WAYS WHICH SEEM BEST TO YOU WOULD BE ENORMOUSLY HELPFUL AT THIS TIME WARME REGARDS

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



the Light

OFFICIAL BULLETIN OF CITIZENS' COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS

RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

HERBERT H. LEHMAN
41 E 57TH ST
N Y CITY

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New York, N.Y.
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TO SECURE EMERGENCY LEGISLATION PERMITTING THE UNITED STATES TO
ADMIT ITS FAIR SHARE OF EUROPE'S DISPLACED PERSONS

1948

39 EAST 36th STREET, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Murray Hill 9-2440

No. 17

March 15, 1948

SENATE DP BILL, S. 2242, INTRODUCED: RESTRICTIONS SCORED

On March 2, 1948, Senator Alexander Wiley (R. Wis.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, introduced a bill into the Judiciary Committee entitled "The Displaced Persons Act of 1948." Its provisions embody the recommendations contained in Senator Revercomb's report on displaced persons. Dean Earl G. Harrison, chairman of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, in a statement to the press, scored the bill as an "unsatisfactory solution" and "insufficient".

Provisions Analysed

Here are some of the provisions which make the Wiley bill dangerously defective:

1. The Wiley Bill provides that 50,000 displaced persons be admitted each year for two years. The bill is so worded that there can be no carry-over from the first year to the second in the event that the full number cannot come here the first year. Since the first year starts on July 1, 1948, it will require almost superhuman efforts to get administrative machinery rolling to obtain entrance for the full number, particularly in view of other provisions which make administration extremely difficult.

2. No displaced person may be considered eligible unless he is assured in advance of arrival of suitable employment and decent housing which will not displace anyone else from a job or a home. There is no doubt that adequate housing and job opportunities exist for displaced persons. But to insist that an individual 3,000 miles away can be employed and housed sight unseen, is to pose an enormous difficulty. Multiply that difficulty 100,000 times, and the task of administration becomes formidable.

3. Perhaps the most objectionable provision of the Wiley Bill is that which states that to be eligible a displaced person must have entered the American, British, or French zones of Germany, Austria and Italy between September 1, 1939 and December 22, 1945. December 22, 1945 is the date on which President Truman directed that visas for the Central European countries be used for displaced persons. The State Department has since changed that date to April 21, 1947 to include later arrivals who qualify in all other respects as displaced persons. To revert to the December 22, 1945 date means that both the Jews who fled anti-Semitic terror in Poland early in 1946, and refugees from Communism in the last two years, are excluded from admittance to this country.

4. At least 50% of the visas granted must be to displaced persons formerly engaged in agriculture. This provision means that if each DP farmer brings one dependent with him, the entire quota is used by farmers and their families. As farming represents but one-eighth of the useful occupations of displaced persons, this is a clearly discriminatory clause.

5. Another preference, operating independently of the agricultural preference, is that at least 50% of the visas must be given to persons whose place of origin or country of nationality was "annexed by a foreign power". This is equally discriminatory, for it gives to a minority of the DPs who come from the Baltic States and Eastern Poland half the visas. But it has an even more far reaching effect - it recognizes the annexation of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Eastern Poland. Since it is this country's established foreign policy not to recognize these annexations, the Wiley bill contravenes our country's foreign policy.

(more)

In short, the Wiley bill discriminates against displaced persons on grounds of religion, nationality and occupation. If such a bill were passed, we would be in effect telling the world that we may give lip service to democracy but we do not care to practice it. In passing such legislation, we would give Soviet Russia even another weapon in the cold war. She would remind the world that such a bill is worse than no solution at all.

Amendment Possible

Congressional supporters of constructive displaced persons legislation have assured the Citizens Committee that when the Wiley bill comes on to the floor of the Senate, they will make vigorous attempts to amend it to see that it permits the entry of a fair share of displaced persons without discrimination. They explain that it was necessary to approve the bill in its present form in order to get it out of Committee. Once on the floor of the Senate, the bill has a chance of being amended until it is suitable legislation. The New York Times, commenting on this possibility in an editorial March 6 said:

"Now the Senate has the chance for full dress action. It must act upon this problem out of the highest human motives - by amending the bill to reflect America's true "fair share" and by throwing out the jokers. Anything less would be a mockery and a betrayal of the DPs."

It is this betrayal which the American people must forestall. For a betrayal of the DPs means a betrayal of American standards and American principles.

DP RESOLUTIONS PASSED

The following organizations have passed resolutions in favor of resettling a fair share of displaced persons here: The Moravian Church, through the Provincial Elders' Conference, Northern Province; The Episcopal Diocese of Michigan; The Rhode Island Congress of Parents and Teachers. Both the Nation Board of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and the National Board of the Catholic Daughters of America have reaffirmed their stands in favor of emergency DP legislation.

LITERATURE AVAILABLE

Two excellent pieces of editorial comment on the Wiley bill are the editorial in the New York Herald Tribune of March 3 and one in the New York Times of March 6. The Citizens Committee has reprinted these editorials for use as background material by discussion groups, clubs etc.

LOOK Magazine will carry a story on the resettlement of a DP family in its issue of April 13th which will be on the newsstands March 30th. This article was prepared in cooperation with the Citizens Committee.

SPECIAL EASTER SHOW DISTRIBUTED

A special Easter radio program entitled "The Golden Door" has been distributed to 400 independent radio stations. This 15-minute dramatization stars Arnold Moss, Raymond Edward Johnson and Will Greer. On the reverse side of the record is a 15-minute dramatized show "I Am a DP". It is the story of a young DP who has just come to this country to begin life anew as a college student. These scripts, which can be used as dramatic presentations at club meetings, in schools, etc., can be obtained by writing to the Publicity Department of the Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons.

EARL G. HARRISON, *Chairman*
CITIZENS COMMITTEE ON DISPLACED PERSONS
39 East 36th Street
New York 16, New York

I want to join in support of the efforts of the Citizens Committee to secure emergency legislation permitting the United States to admit its fair share of Europe's Displaced Persons.

I enclose \$..... for this purpose.

Name..... Organization.....
(PLEASE PRINT) (FOR IDENTIFICATION ONLY)

Address.....

City..... Zone..... State.....

Make checks payable to Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons
(Contributions not deductible from taxable income.)

Copy

CHINESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1948

My dear Senator:

I appreciated your phoning me on Thursday and, as I promised, I at once telegraphed to Nanking and to the Chinese Delegation in New York. I have just received a reply from the Chinese Foreign Minister informing me that he has cabled new instructions to the Chinese representative on the Security Council to do everything possible to help in promoting a satisfactory solution of the Palestinian question and upholding the prestige of the United Nations.

With esteem and regards,

Yours sincerely

/s/ V. K. Wellington Koo

Honorable Robert A. Taft
The Senate
Capitol Hill
Washington, D. C.

MEMORANDUM

TO: Members of the Executive

June 10, 1947

FROM: Mr. Toff

With reference to the memorandum of Miss Dorothy Adelson of June 4th, circulated to members of the Executive, I find it necessary to call attention to the fact that coordination of the activities of the World Christian Committee in Latin-America must be regarded as the exclusive responsibility of the Latin-American Department. For this purpose the Department maintains close contact with the Latin-American Secretariat of the World Committee, with the Liaison Officers of all these countries, and also with the Pro-Palestine Committees of Latin-America. To all of these it suggests the necessary steps to be taken in accordance with the resolutions and the policies of our Executive.

The Latin-American Department also takes charge of all Spanish publications and of their distribution. In our plans for printed material for Latin-America and for their representatives in the United Nations, we always have in mind the requirements of the World Christian Committee.

We have likewise been coordinating and directing such political action as may have been undertaken through the medium of the Pro-Palestine Committees, either by direct representations to the governments of the respective countries or otherwise.

This method of procedure has proven very adequate, and it would be unfortunate if its efficient functioning were to be affected as the result of the intervention of others.

I must add my surprise that in her memorandum, Miss Adelson refers to the tasks which she states will be undertaken by Dr. Bruges Carmona, who has just been appointed Latin-American Secretary of the World Committee, in view of the fact that his program of work for same has not as yet been determined; she also refers to the publication of books that have in fact not yet been printed; and to regional conferences of Pro-Palestine Committees as part of a "Plan of Work for Jewish Agency United Nations Department", when in reality, these conferences come actively within the scope of the general plan of activities of the Latin-American Department in association with the World Committee for Palestine

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל
THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE
16 EAST 66TH STREET, NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

RHINELANDER 4-4200

Cable Address JEVAGENCY

June 10, 1948

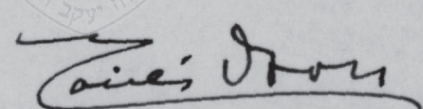
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Ave.
New York, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

According to your letter of May 28th, we sent a message to the Sociedad Bne Israel of Santiago, Chile.

With all good wishes, I remain,

Most cordially yours,


Moises A. Toff, Director
Latin American Division

mat:ej

Washington
2210 Massachusetts Ave., N.W.
Washington 8, D. C.

London
77, Great Russell Street
London, W.C. 1

Paris
143, Avenue de Wagram
Paris (17e), France

Jerusalem
Post Office Box 92
Jerusalem, Palestine

ישראל
הממשלה הזמנית

PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT OF ISRAEL

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR
LATIN AMERICAN DIVISION

16 EAST 66TH STREET
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

July 29, 1948

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
16 East 66 Street
New York City

Dear Dr. Silver:

August 5 is the 25 anniversary of the newspaper "Mundo Israelita" at Buenos Aires. A committee of intellectuals and distinguished personalities of Argentina have been appointed to commemorate this event in honor of the newspaper and its director, Leon Kibrik. A special number of the "Mundo Israelita" will be published to commemorate this event.

The "Mundo Israelita" is the most important Jewish publication printed in Spanish, and it has a very large circulation in the principal countries of the continent. On various occasions, articles written by you have been published in its columns and widely circulated. Therefore, your ideas have been widely disseminated by means of this publication.

The committee in charge of this, of which Dr. Moises Goldman is the president, have been very insistent in requesting by letter and by telegram, a message written by you for this occasion. Taking into consideration the importance of this publication which has always cooperated with us, I should appreciate very much your writing the said message and delivering it to us at the earliest possible moment so that we will be able to send it to Buenos Aires in time.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Moises A. Toff

Moises A. Toff

MAT/rmc

August 2, 1948

Mr. Moises A. Toff
Provisional Government of Israel
16 East 66th Street
New York 21, New York

My dear Mr. Toff:

I received your letter of July 29th. As you know, I am leaving the country on Wednesday. I am rushed with endless last-minute tasks. I am wondering, therefore, whether you would not write the message for me and send it to the "Mundo Israelita". You know, I am sure, what I should like to say. You may take a few sentences from any one of my recent published utterances, perhaps the last paragraph or two of the address which I delivered before the Pittsburgh convention of the Z.O.A. which you will find reported in the New Palestine.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

C
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Y

CHINESE EMBASSY
WASHINGTON

May 29, 1948

My dear Senator:

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With esteem and regards,

Yours sincerely

/s/ V. K. Wellington Koo

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