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Manson, Harold, 1951-1952.

September 11, 1951

Mr. Harold P. Manson
Zionist Quarterly
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Harold:

You may recall that I mentioned some time ago to you the offer of Mayor Ben Uri, who is the son of Dr. Fritz Bernstein, to contribute an article to the Zionist Quarterly. I suggested to him that he send one on to you. I received the enclosed recently. See what you think of it.

I am also enclosing a supplement of the Maariv which speaks of the diary of Dr. Bodenheimer which diary the daughter of Dr. Bodenheimer is eager to have published in the United States. Perhaps the Zionist Quarterly would be interested.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc. 2

The Zionist Quarterly

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

September 14, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

This is the Glasser article, which continues the discussion of Israel's economy begun in the first issue by Peretz Bernstein.

An "issue" seems to be developing with regard to this piece. Glasser had sent copies of his first draft to the Jewish Agency's Economic Department, Oscar Gass, the Bond Drive people and others. He did this on his own, wishing to have his facts checked even by those who were certain to disagree with him. (I sent a copy to Bernstein, who wrote that, in the main, he agrees with Glasser's arguments.)

During the past week I have received a few phone calls from Agency officials. While they don't dare to use the words: "You can't print that," they say that the publication of this article would prove harmful to the Bond Drive, investments, etc. I told them that the decision about publishing the piece would be made by the Quarterly after we receive the final draft (which arrived today). I added that if we decide to publish it, and they disagree with the article, the pages of the magazine will be wide open to them, as it is our policy to give space to more than one point of view on such important questions.

Glasser met with Mrs. Halprin and the Economic Department people, but they were evidently unable to produce facts which would disprove his contentions.

Yesterday Browdy "innocently" inquired about my plans for the next issue. I reviewed the projected table of contents, deliberately leaving the Glasser piece to the end. (My hunch was right; he was quite impatient with my detailed description of the other articles). When Glasser's name was finally mentioned, he said, "That fellow doesn't know anything about Israel, and his reports are all wrong." He stated further that he wants to see the article before I do anything about printing it. I made a little speech about the importance of having editorial freedom in the Quarterly, but this clearly made no impression. He had evidently received a phone call from "headquarters."

I am therefore anxious to receive your early opinion -- as a member of the Editorial Board. (I shall speak to Marvin L. about this tomorrow).

Warmest regards,

Harold

September 16, 1951

Mr. Harold P. Manson
Zionist Quarterly
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Harold:

I am returning herewith Glasser's article which I read with a great deal of interest. His point of view that the quick improvement in the serious foreign exchange situation in Israel can best be achieved through the intensification and improvement of agriculture is dogmatically argued in this article, and is deserving of the most thoughtful consideration. It is, as you say, a continuation of Mr. Bernstein's discussion in the first issue of the Zionist Quarterly of the economic plight of Israel.

I can't for the life of me see how the publication of this article would prove harmful to the Bond Drive. On the contrary, the author argues (on page 23) that a great advantage of the Bond issue is that it provided unrestricted foreign exchange which the authorities can use to initiate investment projects. "Up to this time Israel had little foreign exchange of this character."

I am strongly of the opinion that the publication of this article would be a contribution to an intelligent discussion of what is the most pressing problem confronting Israel today.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

The Zionist Quarterly

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

September 19, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

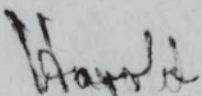
With regard to the Glasser piece - Browdy told me today that, while he thinks that the article is all wrong, I should go ahead with it if I feel I should do so. However, it turns out that Marvin Lowenthal is violently opposed to publication of the article in its present form. He challenges the accuracy of Glasser's statements on a number of crucial points (too numerous to list here) and is convinced that Glasser's recommendations regarding the type of agriculture in which Israel should be engaged are nothing short of ridiculous.

I believe that I could settle this entire question easily enough if Glasser were on the scene. Unfortunately, however, he left the country before the revised draft was delivered to me. In these circumstances, I had no alternative but to delay publication indefinitely - until the issues in question are resolved. I sent Glasser the attached letter today.

An editor's life is not a happy one.

With warmest regards, I am

As ever,


Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
cc: Marvin Lowenthal

September 19, 1951

Mr. Harold Glasser
King David Hotel
Jerusalem, Israel

Dear Glasser:

It was most unfortunate that you had to rush away before the revised draft of your article was delivered to me.

I distributed copies of the piece to members of my Editorial Advisory Board (which is a general procedure with regard to articles of major importance) and also made a careful study of the article on my own. Numerous questions have been raised, especially by Marvin Lowenthal, a Board member, and these have to do chiefly with your proposals regarding agriculture. There is a particularly strong feeling that your case for "simpler" methods in agriculture - "the mule vs. the tractor" - needs documentation and statistical evidence in order to be proved. Unfortunately you are not here to argue these questions.

If these were minor issues, which did not touch the very heart of your analysis, I would not take them too seriously. In the present circumstances, however, I feel that I would be performing a disservice to both the author and the magazine if I were to go ahead with the publication of the article before we have had an opportunity to subject the questions and the criticisms to our joint consideration. I shall therefore hold off on publication of the piece until we have been able to do so. If this situation makes you unhappy, I can only add that it makes me unhappier still - but, with you thousands of miles away and with me here and on deadline, I see no alternative.

I hope that you are having a pleasant and fruitful trip and look forward to seeing you upon your return.

With all good wishes and kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Harold P. Manson

THE ZIONIST QUARTERLY

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

Office of the Editor

MU. 2-3205

September 29, 1951

Dear Dr. Silver:

This is a rough (very rough) translation of the article on the Congress by Remba. I am re-writing and editing it. In the meantime, however, I imagine that you would wish to read the draft, notwithstanding its deficiencies (a first-class translator is not easy to find, especially with my small budget).

You realize, of course, that all hell will break loose after this article is published. It tells some important truths — and Truth is an unmentionable word in the movement at this time. Those who wish to kill the Quarterly will seize the opportunity to point out that the magazine is getting them into trouble with the Powers That Be.

Will you please: a) let me know whether you think it is worthwhile to go ahead with the piece — and the inevitable battle; b) make whatever corrections, deletions and additions you think are necessary in the manuscript — and return it to me (at my home address: 25 Tudor City Place) at the earliest opportunity.

Josie, who is scheduled to leave for Israel on Wednesday, joins me in sending warmest shana tova greetings to you, Mrs. Silver and the boys.

Compliments of

HAROLD P. MANSON

Best regards, Harold

October 2, 1951

Mr. Harold P. Manson
25 Tudor City Place
New York 17, New York

My dear Harold:

I am returning herewith the article on the Jerusalem Congress. It is a fair account of what took place at the Congress. It is how the Hebrew press in Israel, outside of the Mapai press, summed it up.

I should hesitate, however, to advise you as to whether it should be published in the quarterly or not. I am so much involved in the situation and in the article that I am afraid that I might not advise you altogether objectively. I would, therefore, suggest that you have one or two of the other editors read it - Lewinthal or Neumann - and be guided by them. The article will require, of course, as you indicate, considerable polishing.

With all good wishes for a very Happy New Year, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er
Enc.

copy

copy

E.P.Dutton & Co.Inc.
300 Fourth Avenue
New York 10,N.Y.

October 3,1951

Mr.Harold Manson,Editor
The Zionist Quarterly
41 E. 42nd Street
New York,N.Y.

Dear Mr. Manson:

I enjoyed talking with you and I am indeed pleased that you are going to consider doing the insert on the contribution of the American Jewry. I am sending you a copy today of the HISTORY OF THE JEWS by Paul Goodman, revised and enlarged by Israel Cohen, and you will note from Chapter 11 that the sections run approximately one or two pages at the most, from 270-550 words.

It was Rabbi Silver's suggestion that we get in touch with you as the best person to do this brief summary and in one of his letters he expressed the opinion that it should appear after Section 3 in Chapter 11. Israel Cohen has expressed in his letters a natural concern lest the proposed American section overbalance the other sections, and I am sure you will be able to arrange it so that this fears will be groundless. I think it will help considerably that you are already acquainted with him.

I do hope you will be able to write this one page summary for us, and would you consider a fee of \$50.00 as equitable? I shall be looking forward to hearing from you when you have had a chance to read THE HISTORY OF THE JEWS, which I hope will be fairly soon as Rabbi Silver's decision on writing the Introduction is contingent upon your summary and we are naturally anxious to get the book into production as soon as possible.

With best wishes,

Sherman Baker,Associate Editor
E.P.Dutton & COMPANY INC

cc. H. Stern

Mr. Benjamin G. Browdy

October 11, 1951

Mr. Harold P. Manson

In accordance with the procedure which you asked me to establish when the first issue of the Quarterly came out, I am submitting for your approval the list of contributors to the Fall issue, and the honorarium due in each case. In many instances the fee is less than the \$.05 per word average which we had agreed upon.

Rabbi Ben Zion Bokser	\$150
Israel Cohen	300
Louis Lipsky	100
Jacob Landau	225
Ruth Gruber	300
Abraham G. Duker	260
Arieh Gelblum	180
Isaak Remba	235
Marvin Lowenthal (Article \$280 ^{wish}) - (Editorial work \$40)	320
Meyer Levin (Editorial, re-writing)	30
Esther Tauber (Translation)	70
Alfred Werner (Article accepted for publication in future issue)	175
Leon Pessin (Line drawing)	15
Joel Goldblatt (Line drawing)	15

The total is \$2375. (This is \$1125 less than we spent in fees for the first issue, and \$2625 less than the amount originally approved for such purposes by our Editorial Board. There will be similar cost reductions down the line.)

I shall be grateful if you advise Mr. Stern to prepare checks which I shall forward to the above.

Warmest regards.

HBM/pm

THE ZIONIST QUARTERLY

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

Office of the Editor

MU. 2-3205

October 17, 1951

Dear Dr. Silver:

Rumors have reached me that a new attempt to kill the Quarterly is being organized, and that the wreckers propose to do this dirty work while I am away on my projected trip to Israel.

Margoshes, who has confirmed these rumors, tells me that he intends to put up a fight for the magazine if any effort is made to destroy it. (Browdy's attitude seems to be o.k. -- but one can never tell with that fellow.) In any case, Margoshes wished to have some figures with which to confront the "efficiency experts." I have sent him the enclosed memorandum. (You will recall that our Editorial Board had voted a budget of approximately \$60,000 per year. I am doing the job for about half of that amount -- but, of course, I am working without any assistance and, during these pre-publication weeks, with very little sleep.)

My attitude is: ~~they~~ ^{Compliments of} they will have to explain the action to the public, if they scuttle the magazine; I shall see to that. Also -- while our list of subscribers is by no means tremendous, it includes many influential persons who really value the Quarterly. ^{HAROLD P. MANSON}
I wanted you to have the Facts. Warmest regards, Harold

Dr. Samuel Margoshes - JNF

October 17, 1951

Harold F. Manson

You have asked for figures on The Zionist Quarterly. I agree that it is essential that you have such information, especially in view of my expected (and imminent) departure for my oft-deferred "summer" vacation.

According to my own records, the cost of the first issue (including printing, writers' fees, salaries for the quarter, mailing, etc.) was approximately \$10,000⁺. Anyone who is interested is invited to check the records in the Bookkeeping Department.

The total cost of the second issue will be considerably less, as per the attached copy of my memorandum to Mr. Browdy.

While I do not have a complete breakdown on the income from subscriptions, my rough estimate is \$3,000⁺ (For the First Quarter)

Warmest regards.

Harold F. Manson

HPM/pm
encl.

The Zionist Quarterly

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

October 17, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

The enclosed copy of a letter from Sherman Baker of the Dutton publishing house is self-explanatory.

I am trying to find the time to read Goodman's History and shall decide about doing the insert after I have completed the book. On the basis of a cursory reading of the last sections (Cohen's additions) I must say that I am not overwhelmed. The review seems to lack both depth and scope. This is a story which should be told, not by a miniaturist, but by a muralist (albeit one who does not overlook details). However, perhaps it is unfair of me to make these comments until I have finished reading the work.

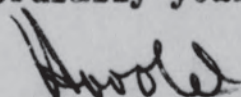
I also have doubts about the suggested procedure of making the story of American Jewry's contribution "an insert...approximately one or two pages." The actual events during the years of political struggle do not lend themselves to this sort of "departmentalization." What was happening in America was directly linked to what was taking place in Palestine and in London. - It is one and the same story. However, to convey this would require radical editing of Cohen's section - and, as Mr. Baker has implied both over the telephone and in writing, Cohen seems to be fearful that his own contribution may be "overbalanced" by the suggested additions.

Of course, it is better to get our story into even an inadequate history, rather than to permit the gap to remain - but tacking on two pages will not meet the situation. If I decide that it is worth a try, I shall first ask for more space.

Any observations which you may care to make will be most welcome.

With warmest regards, I am

Cordially yours,



Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm

The Zionist Quarterly

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

October 31, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

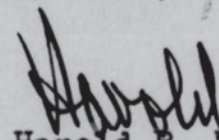
I neglected to tell you about the arrangement which I finally made with the Dutton people regarding the insert for Goodman's HISTORY.

Because I was unable to put my mind on this task during the rush period of the past few weeks, I have arranged to send in my manuscript from abroad. Mr. Baker was thoroughly pleased with this arrangement.

I shall, of course, forward a copy of the text to you and, if you should have any suggestions, there will be time to incorporate them after my return.

Again - my warmest regards to Mrs. Silver, the boys and yourself.

As ever,


Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm

[October 1951?]

THE ZIONIST QUARTERLY

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

Office of the Editor

MU. 2-3205

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have re-written the Remba piece in its entirety, and plan to go ahead with it. (Neuman read the original draft and said that it was a correct presentation of the picture).

I wired for the text of your speech because I would prefer to use your original words, rather than a translation of a translation. However, I must get this to the printer before the week-end - so all changes will be made on the galley's.

Compliments of

Ever best,

HAROLD P. MANSON

Harold

[October 1951?]

THE ZIONIST QUARTERLY

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

Office of the Editor

MU. 2-3205

Dear Dr. Silver:

Margoshes, who as you know is a member of our editorial board, objects violently to the paragraph in the Remba piece which mentions the report that "the American Zionists could not find place" for you. He says this is a canard. I wasn't in Jerusalem, so I don't know what the facts are. Unless I hear from you that the report is not false, I shall eliminate the passage.

Warmest regards,

Compliments of

HAROLD P. MANSON

Harold

For Dr. Silver
Please check for accuracy
The Americans and the Congress
~~The For. and Congress~~

^{Fifty-five}
 For ~~five and fifty~~ years - since 1896 - we had been knocking at the gates of the nations of Europe, seeking permission to hold our World Zionist Congresses. We begged the Swiss and the Dutch, we pleaded with the Germans and the Austrians, we implored the Czechs and the British, ever dreaming of the ~~glimpse~~ glorious day when we would no longer need the favors of others, when we would be able to hold our Congress in Jerusalem, the Eternal Capital. This dream could not be realized in the "National ~~Home~~ Home" days, for the British looked askance upon us and would not permit Zionist Congresses to meet in Jerusalem.

Now, at long last, our dream has become reality. The Twenty-third World Congress was the first to be held in Jerusalem.

Heartswelled with emotion as Dr. Isidor Schalit, secretary to Dr. Herzl since the days of the first Congress in Basle, rapped the gavel. Every eye shone with happiness. This was the day for which we had worked, hoped and waited. But, alas, it would seem that dreams are more beautiful than reality - for the feeling of bliss soon faded. The atmosphere typical of former Congresses, which never failed to weld hearts together, was not entirely there. Paradoxically enough, there was more of "the spirit of Israel" at Congresses held abroad than at the one taking place on the soil of Israel.

I

The auditorium in the Convention Center, where the plenary meetings took place, was attractive. Though still incomplete, the décor, executed with skill and artistry, lent the hall a handsome aspect. But it was too small for such gala occasions as the opening and closing ceremonies and other important sessions. Moreover, there were no rooms for committee meetings and consultations. Such meetings had to be scattered

throughout the city.

It will be recalled that in the Swiss and other cities where former Congresses were held, there were always restaurants or cafes in the neighborhood - cosy places which were ~~most~~ conducive to intimate chats in a friendly atmosphere, where political opponents could meet for informal inter-party parleys (often so valuable in ironing out serious problems and frequently more effective than weighty and grave deliberations). There were no such places in the vicinity of the Jerusalem Convention Center.

There were deficiencies in the opening session which marred the general picture and caused considerable vexation. The President, Dr. Weizmann, did not attend, and it is regrettable that no attempt was made to ~~make~~ ensure his presence. Although he is not in the best of health, the President occasionally appears in public when ~~his presence~~^{it} is essential. This occasion would, undoubtedly, have ~~afforded~~ afforded Dr. Weizmann great spiritual satisfaction, for his is the privilege of witnessing what was denied to Herzl, Nordau, Brandeis, Ussishkin, Jabotinsky and others. Had he sat in the hall, even without taking part in the proceedings, he would ~~not~~ no doubt have ~~not~~ felt very gratified - and his feelings would have communicated themselves to the vast gathering. The President's written message was but a poor substitute. It was read without emotion and warmth.

The "diplomatic gallery" which graced other Congresses was absent on this occasion. It is said that failure to invite the foreign diplomatic corps was ~~not~~ no accident - that the Government of Israel was reluctant to put them to the test: would they or would they not recognize Jerusalem as the capital of Israel? This may have been an error in judgment, for on this occasion the Jewish Agency, and not the Government of Israel, would have been the host. We recall the efforts exerted in the past to secure the presence of state representatives at the opening ceremonies. Every endeavor was made to elicit from America or Britain even the slightest token of sympathy with Zionist aspirations. And now that ambassadors of almost all the nations of the world reside in the Jewish State they should have been invited to share this happy occasion with us. Surely

some of them would have had the good grace to accept an invitation extended by spokesmen of world Jewry.

The opening speeches were quite long. Consequently the audience was denied the refreshing experience which would have been afforded by a few words of greeting from Dr. Isidor Schalit, Prof. Joseph Klausner and Dr. ^{Mayer} ~~Wolfe~~ Ebner, who formed the only living link with the epoch-making First Congress, and who were on the dais. Instead of listening to superfluous lectures on the history of Zionism, the delegates could have seen that history come alive.

In addition to these drawbacks, objective factors conducive to the bridging of political gaps, the removal of controversies and the easing of tensions were sadly lacking at the Congress.

II

The Americans were the pivot on which the whole Congress turned from first to last. They gave the tone to the general debate. This was not only due to the fact that, with the destruction of European Jewry, the center of gravity of the Zionist Movement had shifted to the United States, but also to the preeminent leadership which stood at the head of the American delegation. It is therefore not surprising that, from the very first day of discussion, before the issues were crystallized, Israel speakers could not refrain from focusing on the American phenomenon. For example, Yaacov Hazan, a leader of Mapam and a founder of Hashomer Hatzair, created quite a stir when he eulogized Dr. Abba Hillel Silver for his independent spirit and referred to him as a defender of Israel's sovereignty against the domination of any foreign power. Itzhak Gruenbaum, one of the Movement's veterans, whose hobby it has always been to wage war on "Jewish clericalism," found an appropriate "job" for Dr. Silver: the organization and leadership of the Reform Rabbinate in Israel.

Later, when the Congress atmosphere became tense, and when a number of the Israelis wished to deliver "interesting" ~~and~~ addresses, they sought to ensure their oratorical success by indulging in polemics with the Zionists of America. This tone may have been introduced by Mrs. Golda Myerson, Minister of Labor of the Government of Israel.

but there was in general a noticeable tendency to point the accusing finger at "the Americans" and to find fault with them. This applied not only to important and fundamental questions, with which all, including the American delegation, were grappling, but also to trivialities. Thus, one speaker - a member of the Knesset and a person of considerable stature in his party ~~Mapai~~ (Mapai) - charged American Zionists with failure to adopt Hebrew names. He forgot that one must not "behold the mote ~~in~~ in his brother's eye and not consider the beam in his own eye." Had he but glanced at the dais he would have noticed that many of the Israel leaders themselves continue to bear non-Hebrew names. We would not mention this trifling episode were it not symptomatic of the attitude that prevailed towards the ~~Americans~~ ^{U.S. delegates}.

It would seem that when speaking of "the Americans," the Israel delegates - particularly those of Mapai - had in mind one particular section of ~~American~~ ^{U.S.} Zionism. After all, Americans were represented in each of the parties. They sat on the Mapai benches and even constituted some of the "big guns" there (Hayim Greenberg, Baruch Zuckerman, Louis Segal and Rabbi Heller - the latter having left the General Zionists and joined the Poale Zion, to the great satisfaction of Mapai). Americans were also prominently represented in the ranks of Mizrachi, Hapoel Hamizrachi, and the Revisionists. However, at this Congress, ~~the word~~ "Americans" obviously referred exclusively to the Z.O.A. delegation, at which Mr. Ben-Gurion aimed most of his darts both during his stay in the United States and in his opening address here. The Mapai had a score to settle with them - their ~~attitude~~ ^{sympathetic attitude towards} the General Zionists of Israel - and this was the opportunity to settle it.

III

The first and foremost issue in the debate was: Is the World Zionist Organization obsolete, or is it destined to fulfill great new tasks, for the accomplishment of which the Government of Israel must afford it appropriate conditions for work?

At the ~~beginning~~ ^{beginning} of this ~~discussion~~ discussion, Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the World Confederation of General Zionists, reviewed the contributions made by

American Zionism toward the establishment of the Jewish State. He declared that the Zionists of America would still be needed in the tremendous task of achieving Israel's political and economic consolidation. At the same time he refrained from engaging in polemics with Mapai, which did not regard the head of the General Zionist Confederation as a political "enemy."

Dr. Emanuel Neumann's approach was different. He ~~did not hesitate to deal~~ directly with the contentions advanced by the Mapai leadership. Referring to Berl Locker's statement that the time for "declamatory" Zionism is past, Neumann asked whether all of Zionist ~~history~~ history since the days of Herzl - the entire political struggle which brought Israel into being - was merely "declamatory" Zionism. He also took note of the strange statement by Mr. Ben-Gurion that the Zionist Movement would be called upon to give "unconditional" support to the State of Israel, and asked: ^{"When and where did Zionists ever lay down 'conditions' to the State or Government of Israel?"} ~~Since when have Zionists placed "conditions" on their work in Israel's behalf?~~ Have they not always done their duty with the greatest devotion and loyalty? Who would have imagined that, ^{ago that} ~~within three years of Israel's establishment~~, the man who stood at the head of the ^{World Executive} Zionist Movement ^{for many years} and ~~was~~ now heads the Government of the Jewish State, would ^{deliberately} ~~carefully~~ avoid mentioning ^{of} the ~~word~~ word "Zionism" ^{in his public addresses in} ~~during a visit to~~ the United States. Neumann concluded with the emphatic assertion that Israel's only true friend in the world, East or West, is the Jewish people, with the Zionist Movement at its head.

Dr. Silver's appearance, on the following evening, was generally considered the highlight of the Congress. This address was impatiently awaited and was a chief topic of ~~conversations~~ conversation throughout the country. Many came to Jerusalem from other cities and the traffic around the Convention Center was unusual. It was common knowledge that relations between ^{Mr.} Ben-Gurion and ^{Dr.} Silver were strained. It was recalled that on the occasion of ^{Dr.} Silver's visit to Israel last May - on the eve of the Prime Minister's departure for the United States, ^{Mr.} Ben-Gurion did not extend either a personal or an official invitation to the distinguished visitor. The tension was therefore considerable.

^{Dr.}~~However~~, Silver did not mention a single name in his speech. He called for the strengthening of the ties between Israel and the Diaspora. He expressed satisfaction over the fact that his opponents had now come to the conclusion that the authority and scope of the Zionist Movement should not be restricted. ^{He declared that}~~the time~~ has not yet come for these tools to be laid down ~~he said~~, we still need them for the upbuilding of the State and nation. ^{- that} The light of ^{the} Movement must continue to shine, though the sun has already risen in Israel.

^{He criticized}~~Silver pointed out~~ the faulty logic of those who believe that, with the birth of the state, reliance for the solution of Israel's problems ~~should~~ should be placed, not in the World Zionist Organization, but in the presumably better hands of non-Zionists. He recalled the dismal failures of that chapter in the history of the Movement known as The Enlarged Jewish Agency (enlarged by the inclusion of non-Zionists). He pointed out that it was a strong Zionist Movement which averted many a failure whose consequences would have proved tragic to the Jewish State. He challenged the conception of "unconditional" support for Israel, asserting that it is devoid of realism. One applies the term "unconditional" to the surrender of a defeated foe, he said, but not to a friend and partner in a great enterprise. Every assistance rendered by world ~~Jewry~~ Jewry to the State of Israel is naturally influenced by satisfaction with what is happening in Israel. The moment the Jews of the world are dissatisfied, their support will decrease automatically, ^{he warned}.

Mutual constructive criticism would be a blessing both to Israel and the Zionist Movement, ^{Dr. Silver} ~~he~~ added. Sincerity should be welcomed by both sides with a view to ^{achieving}~~creating~~ improvements wherever possible and advancing the common cause.

Benjamin G. Browdy, President of the ZOA spoke in ^{the same} ~~similar~~ spirit of ~~enthusiastic~~ devotion to ~~Israel~~ ^{the Movement}.

A complete victory was scored by the advocates of ~~a~~ a powerful and influential Zionist ^{Organization} ~~Movement~~ - an issue, which was the subject of a bitter two-year controversy and which had brought about the resignations of ^{Dr.} Silver and ^{Dr.} Neumann from the Jewish Agency Executive. The Congress unanimously voted that the Knesset be

called upon to "grant status to the World Zionist Organization as the representative of the Jewish people in all matters that relate to the organized participation of Jews the world over in the development and upbuilding of the land and the rapid absorption of its newcomers." This was the long-standing Silver-ZOA position.

Nevertheless, the ~~American Zionists~~ ^{ZOA Delegate} were far far from playing the dominant role. At the Twenty-second Congress in Basle the General Zionists proved to be the most powerful party. This time the Mapai unquestionably occupied first place. The weakness in General Zionist ranks lay in two causes: a) the boycott of the Congress elections ~~declared~~ by Israel's General Zionists; b) internal relations within the World Confederation which were ~~not~~ ^{not} too ideal. The decline of ~~influence on the part of the~~ ^{influence} General Zionist party, which for many years formed the backbone of the World Zionist Organization, was very noticeable. ~~It~~ was reflected in the atmosphere of the Congress and in its final outcome, and was fully exploited by the Mapai.

It was close to midnight when ^{Dr.} Silver finished his speech, but the session was continued. Mrs. Myerson rose to deliver an immediate reply. She had a threefold advantage over her opponent. She spoke Yiddish - the language understood by the whole gathering, especially the gallery, which was filled to capacity - whereas Dr. Silver spoke English, which does not evoke the same response in Jerusalem as in New York. She is a woman - and the public always has a soft spot for a woman, especially in an encounter with a strong man. She was fighting on her own ground, where she enjoys great popularity and where the title of Minister adds glamor to her personality.

But this time her advantages did not stand her in good stead. Following Dr. Silver's dignified and restrained statement, she launched a violent and sarcastic personal attack. But ~~personal~~ invective does not make a good speech. Mrs. Myerson did not refute Dr. Silver's arguments. She sought weak spots, not in his reasoning, but in his personality. She sought to disparage the value of the work done by the ZOA. She tried to pin the lable of "enemy of the workers" on the ZOA. She stressed trivialities and by-passed the essentials.

The members of her own party were none too happy with her performance.

but she had "roused the ghost." A number of her colleagues followed suit and the atmosphere ~~was~~ was such as to ~~cause~~ cause ZOA President Browdy to deliver a dramatic statement in reply to the acrimonious campaign against his organization:

"The Zionist Organization of America has been the subject of a bitter and unfair attack at this Congress. We don't mind criticism. We are aware of our shortcomings and lack of perfection. But we resent calumny, and we shall not permit it to go unanswered.

"The ZOA submits its 54 year-old record for scrutiny, and challenges the allegations and insinuations ~~xx~~ made against it from this platform, particularly the assertion that we are a do-nothing body, an ineffective organization, and a reactionary, labor-baiting one to boot.

"I wish to make this categorical statement: The ZOA, with its more than 800 Districts in 47 states, has been the backbone of every Zionist endeavor in America for over ~~half~~ half a century...

"We have come here from America to assist and share in the great and heroic enterprise of building and safeguarding the Jewish State. We have come with good will in our hearts and a burning desire to cooperate wholeheartedly with all constructive forces bent on the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland. However, our good will has not been matched with good will. Instead we have found ourselves attacked and maligned. This I submit is hardly the way to ~~an~~ aid in the mobilization of all the resources of American Jewry in support of that great undertaking in which we are all so profoundly interested...

"We wish to return to the United States in a state of mind that will be conducive to a maximum effort on behalf of Israel. We ask of this Congress to permit nothing that would reduce or destroy our usefulness as the staunchest supporters of our great cause. Let us be done with party bias and bickering, and let us concentrate on what unites us all, on our common goal - a strong and prosperous and happy Israel."

Later, when the "Jerusalem Program" controversy came to the fore, American Zionists were again attacked - this time for their failure to immigrate to Israel in large numbers. As an Israeli I feel that this was ~~in~~ the Achilles heel of the American delegation, and here is the root of ~~the~~ ^{our} thorniest ~~of our~~ problem - the relationship between Israel and the Diaspora. We must face the fact that since the War of Independence many Israel citizens, especially of the younger generation, have adopted a scornful attitude towards Jews living abroad. This ~~sixteenth~~ is, of course, a wholly unreasonable - and dangerous - sentiment. It has already produced a number of alarming symptoms, such as the creation of a small group of ~~fixxx~~ firebrands calling themselves "Canaanites," who disclaim all ties or relations with the Jews of the Diaspora. Fortunately this group has found no response among the general public here, and it is hoped that it will pass into oblivion.

This attitude began to develop in the days when thousands of young men and women ~~immigrated~~ ^{were staking} their lives in the fight for independence. "We give our lives," they ~~claim~~ ^{say}, "while you discharge your obligations with money." This also accounts for the lack of interest in the Congress on the part of Israel's youth. They were conspicuously absent from the crowd which assembled daily outside the Convention Center in an effort to gain admission. These were largely non-~~sabras~~ who arrived in the country relatively recently, or Zionist workers. Some were merely curious spectators, come to see the new building. But the generation which redeemed Zion with its blood does not show great interest in - or respect for - the Zionist preachments of its elders. Every boring lecture in a kibbutz is derisively dubbed "Zionism."

It is against this background that one should view the strong opposition of the Israeli delegates - of all parties - to the Americans' stand with regard to ~~the Jerusalem Program~~. ^{this} In projecting ~~the Jerusalem~~ program and the issues involved in it - the ^{the} "ingathering of exiles" and the "self-fulfillment" of American Zionists - Eliahu Dobkin surveyed the ~~topic~~ situation in Jewish communities throughout the world. ^{He} ~~pointed out that~~ the sources of Jewish immigration into Israel would soon dry up. Soviet Russia is hermetically sealed and over two million Jews - splendid human material - are cut off, without any chance of reaching Israel within the foreseeable future. Rumania allows the

exit of only 5,000 Jews per month. There is no emigration from the Western countries - America, Britain and France. Furthermore, ~~Dobkin pointed out~~, the only human reservoir from which we now draw is the Jewry of the Moslem countries. But there, too, the fount is not ~~ex~~ inexhaustible and within a year or two, the immigration of Jews to Israel will cease entirely unless the Jews of the West bestir themselves. This is not a matter of quantity alone. The elements comprising the present immigration from Arab countries are not of a high modern standard. There are no professional classes or intelligentsia among them. There is an acute dearth of intellectuals and scientists in the ~~the~~ state, and whence are these to come if not from the West? Mr. Dobkin asked.

It would be sheer fallacy to blame American Zionists for lacking the spirit of chalutzit. ^{Mr.} Dobkin had the courage to state openly that the absence of chalutzit is to be attributed to the World Zionist Executive, and, above all, to the old Yishuv, which never sought to imbue American Jewry with a deeper Zionist consciousness. American Jewish youth was never called upon for "self-fulfillment." To the Yishuv, America was only a money bag, and nothing beyond monetary contributions was ever demanded of the Jews of New York or Chicago.

Dr. Nahum Goldman^h elaborated on this point by saying: We asked the American Jews for money and they gave it to us; we asked for political support and we got it. We never asked for chalutzit. This cannot be produced by the wave of a hand. A generation of training and education must go into it.

Mr. Dobkin ~~pointed a gloomy~~ ^{was gloomy indeed.} picture of present-day Zionism. He related that those few American youths who turn to chalutzit do so in the face of serious opposition on the part of their parents and against the whole trend prevailing in ~~the~~ American Zionism. Zionist parents shudder at the ~~idea~~ very idea of their children going to Israel, he said.

^{initial} [The phrase in "The Jerusalem Program" which defined the aim of Zionism as "the ingathering of the exiles" ^{was the center of this discussion.} ~~provoked a heated discussion.~~

What does galut mean? Numerous interpretations was offered. ^{Mr.} Ben-Gurion, ¹ desirous of helping assimilated Jews in the United States to an understanding of

Israel, defined the golah as a place where Jews live in poverty and oppression, whereas a country where Jews enjoy ease is tfutseh (dispersion). ~~That~~ These definitions were eagerly snatched up, especially by the ^{delegates} ~~ladies~~ of Hadassah.

While Zionism's primary objective was to provide a solution to ~~Jewish oppression~~ ~~according to the formula of Herzl~~ the persecution of the Jews -- ~~it is~~ according to the formula of Herzl -- it is nevertheless a fact that ~~oppression~~ oppression ~~was~~ was not the only factor which drove the Jews to their national revival in their historic homeland. The men of "Bilu" who left their homes in Russia seventy-five years ago, the many students, both men and women, who left their universities to wrestle with a barren, wasted land -- they were not compelled to exchange their comfortable, sheltered life for one of extreme hardship and sacrifice. They were not obliged to risk death ~~from~~ from malaria. ~~They were driven~~ They were driven only by the ideal of Zion.

^{Because of} ~~Knowing~~ this, Israelis were angered ^{by an excerpt from} ~~an address delivered three~~ ~~years ago in San Francisco by Mrs. Rose Halprin, which was read~~ at the Congress, in which Mrs. Halprin told the women of Hadassah that they, their children and their grandchildren shall live forever on American soil. Israelis ^{hold that} ~~think~~ even though the Jews of the United States enjoy full civil rights and are not discriminated against, they should not exempt themselves from working in Zion for the full realization of the Zionist ideal which has already captured their hearts.

Dr. Silver and Hayim Greenberg ^{expressed themselves} ~~spoke~~ beautifully on the nature of galut. It has been imposed upon us by the Gentiles, ^{Dr.} Silver said, and they define its meaning for us by their actions. We are therefore unable ^{to} /define for ourselves the nature and meaning of our galut. ^{Mr.} Greenberg described each galut as a night; ~~But~~ there is a night which is pitch-black and there is a moonlit night -- still they are both nights.

The American delegates, of ~~all~~ different parties, were united in their determination to keep the proposed "Jerusalem Program" from replacing the original Basle Program. Pressure was also brought to bear on the Congress by the American non-Zionists, headed by Jacob ^{Mr.} Blaustein, who warned Ben-Gurion against the adoption of a program which might imply

that American Jews are ~~also~~ also called upon to go to Israel within the scheme of "the ingathering of the exiles." Mapai did not press the point, and ^{Mr.} Ben-Gurion yielded to ^{Dr.} ~~Dr.~~ Silver, Mrs. Halprin and Baruch Zuckerman. No new program was adopted; only the tasks of the Movement were defined.

V

An episode which cast a shadow over the proceedings and ~~caused considerable agitation~~ involved a report by Dr. Shmorak, the ~~Chief~~ Chief Auditor of the Jewish Agency.

For many years there had been urgent demands for the appointment of a Chief Auditor who would watch over the vast financial and economic setup of the Agency which involves many millions of dollars. Two years ago, ^{the} Dr. Shmorak, ~~veteran Zionist leader~~ and former head of the Zionist Movement in Eastern Poland, was chosen for the post. Dr. Shmorak happens to be a General Zionist, but no one ever thought of charging him with ^{being motivated by} party prejudices. ~~It is generally admitted that~~ ^{he} has performed his task with great devotion and to the best of his ability. He visited all countries where offices of the Agency exist and carried out a survey of all institutions under the Agency's aegis. He found, ^{much} ~~of course~~, evidence of excellent ~~work~~ accomplishments and of loyal staff work. But the ~~main~~ purpose of an Auditor is to bring to light inefficiencies and/or improprieties. He found some, ^{of these, too, and stated as much} ~~which he submitted~~ in an extensive report submitted to the Jewish Agency Executive.

Unfortunately this confidential document fell into the hands of an Israel newspaper, which gave it wide publicity. Dr. Shmorak declared categorically that neither he nor his office had released the report to the press. But the attitude of the Agency Executive was startling in the extreme: it subjected ^{Dr.} Shmorak to scathing criticism and censure, told him that "he didn't understand what he ~~was~~

had seen," and ~~that the Agency would~~ in the words of Berl Locker, Chairman of the Jerusalem Section -- "yet draw its ~~own~~ conclusions."

This attitude of the audited institution towards ^{its accredited} Auditor ^{created a} storm at the Congress and throughout the entire country. Several of the parties insisted that ^{Dr.} Shmorak be given an opportunity to ~~present~~ state his case.

~~His remarks contained no revelations -- or charges.~~

His remarks contained no revelations -- or ~~charges~~. He merely objected to the Agency's incorrect treatment of his report and asked ^{that} for an enquiry commission of the Congress ^{should determine} whether he had erred. ~~The reply~~ The reply to this statement was delivered by Levi Eshkol, Treasurer of the Agency. ~~It was a personal attack on Shmorak,~~ ^{Dr.} whom Eshkol chided for "lack of auditing abilities." The contrast between this outburst and the moderation and composure displayed by ^{Dr.} Shmorak ~~has~~ greatly increased the audience's sympathy for the ^{Auditor} latter. Mapai sought to ~~have~~ bring about the immediate appointment of a new, ^{Dr.} Auditor "more able" Auditor, but this effort did not succeed. Nor ^{was} ~~did~~ a renewed attempt to oust ^{Dr.} Shmorak more successful at the first meeting of the new Actions Committee. He will remain at his post ~~until~~ at least until December 1, by which time the finance committee of the World Zionist Organization shall have examined his report ~~and~~ to ascertain whether ~~his~~ charges or not his charges were justified.

VI

In the matter of the composition of the Movement's executive and policy-making bodies, a tolerant attitude was sadly lacking on the part of the largest party, Mapai. Not ~~as~~ long ago there was an almost general feeling that the Presidency of the World Zionist Organization was due to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, whose merits in the political struggle for Israel's independence are so great. However, in order

to withhold this honor from ^{him} ~~Dr. Silver~~, the view was expressed in Mapai circles that the President of Israel serves, in effect, as the President of the World Zionist Organization as well -- and the question of an election therefore does not arise. Obviously ~~Such a contention~~ cannot stand up under analysis; it was merely one of the poor excuses invented to ^{exclude} ~~block the way of~~ a man who has ^{at the least} ~~earned the gratitude of the Movement.~~
~~rationally acceptable service to the Movement~~

The Zionist world had expected that, at the very least, the Congress would call upon Dr. Silver to assume the Chairmanship of the World Zionist General Council (Actions Committee) and thereby ~~responsible for the success of the Movement.~~ ^{put forward} place his unique talents at the service of the Movement. However, Mapai was ~~determined~~ determined to keep this post in its own hands and named Joseph Sprinzak, Speaker of the Knesset, who was of course elected.

Considerable astonishment was occasioned by the omission of Dr. Silver's name from the ~~list of~~ Actions Committee ^{list} members. Conflicting interpretations ~~have~~ of this fact, as well as of ~~his~~ ^{Dr. Silver's} departure from Israel before the Congress closed, have been featured in the Israel press; ~~the one version is that the American Zionists themselves "could find no place" for him; the other is that Silver "declined the honor."~~

~~Such~~ Harrow-mindedness on the part of Mapai was also shown in the behavior towards the Revisionists. The decision not to include the Revisionists in the new Zionist coalition was reported to have been ^{Made personally by Mr.} ~~the personal ruling of~~ Ben-Gurion, whose dislike of the Jabotinsky-party is well known. Delegates of other parties labored in vain when ~~they sought~~ to persuade Mapai of the need for the widest possible coalition at this time. Even the personal intervention of Mrs. Halprin and Dr. Goldmann could not budge the leader of Mapai. ^{The Revisionists are out.} The Jewish Agency will ~~surely~~ surely not derive any advantage from this.

The first Congress since Israel's establishment ~~was therefore~~ did not meet

the challenge of the hour. ~~At a time when the~~ During these great ~~and difficult~~ ~~days~~ ~~we must~~ but difficult days the ^{complete} /unification of ~~the~~ the Zionist Movement's forces is of paramount importance. But the Twenty-third Congress failed to ~~rise~~ ~~show~~ overcome the old habits of petty partisanship.

There is one bright ray, however. The Congress ~~affirmed~~ affirmed the continued and vital and need for a strong ~~and vital~~ Zionist Organization, ~~it~~ made it unmistakably clear ~~it~~ such a that without ~~an~~ ~~active~~ ~~Zionist~~ Movement, the State of Israel will be unable to maintain itself and ~~there~~ develop. And it ~~again~~ again focused attention on the decisive ~~role~~ role that must be played by the Zionist leadership in the United States, the greatest center of world Jewry.

WRHS
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The Zionist Quarterly

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

December 19, 1951

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed please find my insert for Paul Goodman's HISTORY OF THE JEWS. The copy of my letter to Mr. Baker provides additional details.

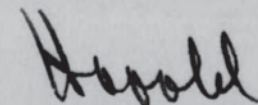
The review does not contain the developments between the U.N. decision and the declaration of the State. Their inclusion in the place designated for the insert would have destroyed the continuity of the rest of the chapter. In any case, my piece is somewhat longer than Mr. Baker's specifications.

I borrowed liberally from my historical notes in VISION AND VICTORY.

I doubt whether I shall be able to break away from New York on Sunday, December 30 - much as I would like to be with you on that occasion. However, I shall try to get to Cleveland at the first opportunity.

Warmest regards to Mrs. Silver, in which Josie joins me, and, of course, to yourself.

As ever,



Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm
encl.

cc: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

December 19, 1951

Mr. Sherman Baker
E. B. Dutton & Company, Inc.
300 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Baker:

Enclosed please find the insert on the contribution of American Jewry for Paul Goodman's HISTORY OF THE JEWS. I tried to keep it as short as possible. Even so I had no alternative but to omit numerous events of importance.

In accordance with Dr. Silver's suggestion, which you communicated to me, the insert will appear after Section 3 on page 273. Permit me to propose that Section 3 be concluded with the sentence: "Finally, on 29th November 1947, the General Assembly adopted the partition plan by 33 votes to 13 (more than the requisite two-thirds majority)." My insert would then appear as Section 4. The new Section 5 - End of Palestine Mandate - would begin with the words: "It was agreed that the Jewish and Arab States should come into existence on 1st October 1948..."

I believe that this would be the most logical arrangement.

I trust that my insert will prove satisfactory to all concerned.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm
encl.

#4. Role of American Jewry. The historic events culminating in Jewish Statehood were the direct outcome of concerted efforts on the part of Jewish communities throughout the world. The largest of these, in the United States, assumed unprecedented tasks in the Zionist political and fund-raising spheres, particularly during the crucial years, 1943-1948. American Zionist political action grew out of the conviction that the Jewish people could no longer rely on Great Britain in seeking to achieve national rebirth, that the center of the political struggle would be in the United States, and that large-scale organization of public opinion would be imperative to win the support of the American Government.

This policy characterized the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council which, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, launched a nationwide program of public relations designed to convert official Washington from an attitude of indifference to one of sympathetic support. In the summer of 1943 the inaugural gathering of the American Jewish Conference - the first democratically-elected body representing the totality of American Jewry and entitled to speak on its behalf since World War I - voted overwhelmingly in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth. With the Jewish community thus on record, the Council next sought non-Jewish aid for its program. The activities of the American Christian Palestine Committee, representing large numbers of churchmen and educators, and the cooperation of the American labor movement served to project the question of a Jewish State into U.S. public life as a chief issue of the day.

Nevertheless, the Department of State persisted in supporting the British White Paper policy. Early in 1944 the Wagner-Taft Resolution on Palestine

was introduced in Congress. Despite strong endorsements of the Resolution by leading Senators and Representatives of both major parties and by the press, the Administration brought about a postponement of action through the intervention of the War Department, which argued for delay on military grounds. It was nevertheless apparent to the Administration that a large section of American public opinion was deeply concerned with the matter and, on March 16, 1944, President Roosevelt issued the first clear-cut expression of sympathy with Zionist aims to come from a leader of any of the great powers since the beginning of World War II.

In the summer of 1944 the Republican and Democratic parties, at their National Conventions, included planks in their respective platforms favoring the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Subsequently, on October 15, 1944, President Roosevelt gave his support to the plank in the Democratic platform and stated: "I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and, if re-elected, I shall help to bring about its realization." However, this declaration was not followed by corresponding action on the part of the Executive branch of the government.

The Palestine Resolution was re-introduced late in 1945. Although the opposition of the State Department under President Truman was no less vigorous than it had been under President Roosevelt, Congress was determined to act, and the measure was overwhelmingly adopted on December 19, 1945.

Following Mr. Bevin's refusal to act on the 100,000 Jewish refugees whose transfer to Palestine had been recommended by the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry, a Cabinet Committee was appointed - on June 11, 1946. The product

of the discussions between the deputy members of this Committee and a corresponding British group was the Morrison-Grady Report, which was actually the British Foreign Secretary's scheme for the federalization of Palestine. Acting in response to an indignant public opinion, President Truman rejected the plan. On October 4, 1946 Mr. Truman declared that "substantial immigration into Palestine cannot wait a solution to the Palestine problem and...should begin at once." On October 28, he released the text of a letter to King Ibn Saud, in which Jewish immigration into Palestine and "the upbuilding of the Jewish national home" were firmly espoused.

When the Palestine question was finally referred to the United Nations, the American Section of the Jewish Agency, under the chairmanship of Dr. Silver, was charged with the task of presenting the Jewish case. American Zionists were again chiefly concerned with convincing their government that it should take the lead in support of the Jewish position, in pursuance of the clearly expressed wishes of the American people. Such leadership on the part of the American delegation was demonstrated on November 29, 1947, when the United States warmly urged other nations to follow it in voting for the partition plan.

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E.P.DUTTON & CO. INC.

300 Fourth Avenue

New York 10, N.Y.

January 18, 1952

Mr. Harold P. Manson
The Zionist Quarterly
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Manson:

Thank you again for your contribution to the revision of Paul Goodman's HISTORY OF THE JEWS. I think that this is an excellent example of compressing a voluminous and difficult subject; but our editorial group are of the opinion that it may meet with some opposition from Mr. Cohen because of its length. We are therefore sending your copy on to our co-publishers, Dent and Sons, to secure Mr. Cohen's approval. As soon as we receive word from him we will get in touch with you; and I do hope that we can prevail upon Rabbi Silver to do the introduction, as I know he will approve of your copy.

Sincerely yours,

Sherman Baker
Associate Editor

The Zionist Quarterly

January 21, 1951

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter which I received today from Sherman Baker of Dutton's.

I really don't see how my manuscript can be shortened without making this Section appear somewhat ridiculous. However, we shall wait and see what Mr. Cohen has to say.

I thought that you would be interested.

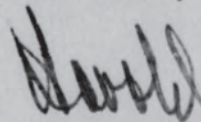
I was both impressed and stimulated by the fine paper you delivered at the Histadruth Ivrit Dinner. (I had to rush away immediately after your address, and so had no opportunity to say hello to Mrs. Silver and goodbye to you.) What do you think of the idea of publishing your manuscript as an article in The Zionist Quarterly? Unless the Histadruth is planning to publish the address for its own purposes, I would like to carry it in the magazine.

If you agree to the suggestion, I wonder whether the article should not appear in the Spring issue, rather than in the number which is now being prepared. Your piece should, of course, be the lead article; but I have planned to lead off with the Goldmann-Schechtman debate because of the timeliness of the German reparations issue.

I shall welcome your opinion on this matter.

Josie joins me in sending warmest regards to Mrs. Silver and yourself.

As ever,



Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm

AIRMAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

January 29, 1952

Mr. Harold P. Manson
The Zionist Quarterly
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

My dear Harold:

Replying to your letter of January 21st, if you wish to use my paper which I read before the Histadruth Ivrit, you may have it. As you know, it has been printed in the Hadoar and abstracts of it have appeared in quite a number of papers. A good bit of the paper was abstracted from the address which I delivered before the Central Conference for American Rabbis in 1950 and which appeared in its Year Book. If, after taking all this into consideration, you will wish to publish the article, you may, of course, proceed.

With warmest regards to you and Josie in which Virginia joins me, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS:er

The Zionist Quarterly

February 13, 1952

OFFICE OF THE EDITOR
41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 2-3205

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

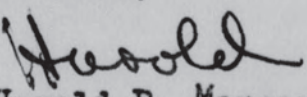
Dear Dr. Silver:

As the enclosed copy of a letter from Mr. Baker of Dutton's will indicate, the matter of my contribution to Paul Goodman's HISTORY OF THE JEWS has been settled in a satisfactory manner. The few insignificant changes made by Mr. Cohen are, of course, perfectly acceptable to me.

I assume that you will now wish to contribute the introduction to the American edition.

With warmest regards, I am

As ever,


Harold P. Manson

HPM/pm
encl.
airmail

copy

copy

E.P. DUTTON & CO. INC.
300 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

February 12, 1952

Mr. Harold P. Manson
The Zionist Quarterly
41 East 42 Street
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Manson:

We take pleasure in enclosing our check for \$50.00 in payment for the material for the HISTORY OF THE JEWS. I know you will be pleased to learn that Mr. Cohen has read and approved of it with very minor changes. In the first sentence he has changed "the direct outcome of" to "powerfully furthered by." In the third line from the bottom of page one, "since World War I" is changed to "since the First World War." On the next page, "beginning of World War II" is changed to "beginning of the Second World War." On page three, "Mr. Bevin's refusal^{to} act on the 100,000 Jewish refugees" is changed to "refusal to agree to the admission to Palestine of 100,000 Jewish refugees."

These are very minor indeed, and we think you are to be congratulated.

I am writing today to Rabbi Silver, and I hope you will urge him also to do the Introduction now that the American Zionists have been given their due.

With very best wishes,

Sherman Baker
Associate Editor

THE ZIONIST QUARTERLY

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

Office of the Editor

MU. 2-3205

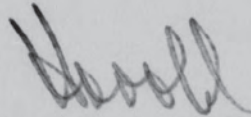
CONFIDENTIAL

March 24, 1952

Dear Dr. Silver:

You may be interested in seeing a copy of the statement I prepared for Irving Miller in connection with the address which he is scheduled to deliver tonight. He says that he plans to use -- and release -- it.

Cordially yours,



Compliments of

HAROLD P. MANSON

CONFIDENTIAL

Statement by Irving Miller
Drafted by HPM

The recently-concluded meeting of the Jewish Agency Executive in Jerusalem has served to underline the desperately serious situation of the Zionist Movement today. Vague reports have been released concerning a new "compromise formula" which will presumably govern the relationship between the Zionist Movement and the State of Israel. The very vagueness of these new pronouncements contrasts sharply with the unambiguous resolution adopted unanimously in Jerusalem only six months ago by the Twenty-third World Zionist Congress. That resolution called for the granting of status to the World Zionist Organization "as the representative of the Jewish people in all matters that relate to the organized participation of Jews the world over in the development and upbuilding of the land and the rapid absorption of its newcomers." One cannot escape the unhappy conclusion that leaders of the Government of Israel have chosen to ignore the wishes of the Congress and that some members of the Jewish Agency Executive are now prepared to substitute a "face-saving device" for the clearly-stated policy of the entire Movement.

~~These~~ Reports of the new ¹¹formulation ~~which~~ were accompanied by indications that leaders of the Israel Government are insisting on the enlargement of the Jewish Agency by the inclusion of non-Zionist bodies before the Agency can be accorded any "status" with respect to Israel. It goes without saying that this would be wholly in opposition to the letter and spirit of the Congress' resolution and could represent a final blow to the existence of a vital World Zionist Organization. ⁹ These most recent developments on "the status problem" are important chiefly as ~~revealing~~ disclosures of the general attitude of Israel Government leaders towards the future of the Zionist Movement. It should now be clear to all concerned that the process of "whittling down" is being continued unabated, and that the Zionist dilemma is, very simply: "To be or not to be." ←

This question will not be answered by clever "formulas" which pay lip-service to the continued need for Zionism while the very heart of the Movement is being torn out. If the Government of Israel will not ~~now~~ reply in the affirmative, then Zionists

themselves must do so — by the revitalization of their membership through their own efforts, and by elevating their own standards of organization and leadership.



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HAROLD P. MANSON

~~The Great Reversal~~Browdy vs. Browdy

In his report to the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America on May 21, President Benjamin G. Browdy declared that he intends to call upon the forthcoming 55th Annual Convention of the ZOA to define the role and character of the organization as "without ties, alliances or identification with any other group of Zionists, either in the United States or in Israel."

Mr. Browdy's declaration of policy possessed the virtue of frankness -- a quality which has not always been present in his previous dealings with this subject. This time he left nothing to the imagination. He pointed out that he had made this statement in Israel at the inauguration of the ZOA House in Tel Aviv, and that he intends to make it again at the ZOA Convention. He made it unmistakably clear that his Administration is scuttling the ZOA's official stand on General Zionism, which had been arrived at democratically, and that the Administration has bowed to the dictates of the Mapai and the wishes of the "Progressive" minority.

This is the same Benjamin G. Browdy whose presidential report to the last ZOA Convention -- held less than one year ago -- contained the following significant words:

" We are no isolationists. We do not believe that we can do our job either on the American scene or in the World Zionist movement without aid or without consultation with others. For years the Zionist Organization of America has been cooperating with the General Zionist groups throughout the world in an effort to maintain a joint General Zionist line. This time-honored procedure has been followed under the present administration. We have been in constant contact with our sister organizations in many countries in all parts of the world -- in Canada, Latin America, South Africa, Europe and Israel, where, for obvious reasons, special significance attaches to the role and work of our comrades. Cognizant of the division that exists in the ranks of General Zionism in Israel and the great hurt that it has brought to the General

Zionist movement, we have repeatedly appealed for peace and understanding, which would heal the breach and reconstitute the General Zionist party in Israel as one great fighting and constructive unit in the State of Israel... However, pending the success of our efforts to bring about unity~~xx~~ where today there is only strife and discord, we found that we could not, without doing violence to our own convictions and damage to the whole General Zionist movement, turn our backs on the General Zionist Party in Israel, with which bonds of friendship and solidarity have tied us for these many years. After a long, open and fair debate, the Executive Committee of the ZOA adopted a resolution outlining ~~xxxx~~ our relationship to the General Zionist Party in Israel, affirming, in effect, our old connection with our sister organization in Israel. To this position, which we have taken after a great deal of deliberation, we shall continue to adhere."

How will the Browdy Administration -- and its candidate -- justify this amazing reversal of policy? Who authorized the Administration to speak and act in direct opposition to the letter and spirit of the resolutions adopted by the ZOA's National Convention and Executive Committee? What deliberative body decided that the organization has changed its official policy on General Zionism?

Clearly, Mr. Browdy's action was not only inconsistent with his own previous stand, but undemocratic. We are not impressed by the lame excuse which is being circulated: that the Administration's reversal is in accordance with the "non-identification" resolution adopted last summer by the World Confederation of General Zionists. That resolution had to do with future statements of identification, and did not constitute a repudiation of the ZOA's previous policy on General Zionism. In any case, only the ZOA itself, acting through its own democratic institutions, can enunciate policies for its membership.

What motivated the Administration's unwarranted about-face? Why did Mr. Browdy feel that he must make his declaration in Israel even though Mr. Ben-Gurion had just launched the most violent of his tirades against the General Zionists? Was Mr. Browdy's statement the price the ZOA had to pay in order to secure Mr. Ben-Gurion's attendance at the ZOA House banquet in Tel Aviv? And if so, was the price worth paying? Was this why Mr. Browdy's speech in Israel made it appear as if Mr. Ben-Gurion alone was responsible for the Jewish State, and why the name of Abba Hillel Silver, or of Emanuel Neumann, or the role of American Zionism in general were not even mentioned by him?

The membership of the Zionist Organization of America should have honest answers to these questions.

