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Zionist Organization of America, Committee for Progressive  
Zionism, 1948.



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## COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

WITHIN THE

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

HOTEL DIXIE

• 250 WEST 43RD STREET •

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

C O P Y

(Not for Publication)

May 25, 1948

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Mr. S. P. Benamy  
334 West Peachtree Street  
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Benamy:

My delay in acknowledging your letter dated April 29 is due to a long hesitation as to whether I should reply to it at all. I could not believe you had written it. Having known you for many years, and respecting your normally deliberate and temperate judgments, I could not associate the bombastic and occasionally vicious language of that letter with the reasonable and considerate Benamy that I have known.

The mystery of the letter was cleared up for me, however, when members of the Z.O.A. National Executive and Administrative Council began to receive copies of your letter. The postmark was "New York". Then I understood. Recognizing now that your signature and not your spirit was embodied in that letter, I continue to regard you with the same respect and affection as always. If you permitted your signature on that letter, it is, I am convinced, because you are not aware of what has been happening in the Zionist movement.

I should like to deal with some of the observations appearing under your name.

1. The Committee for Progressive Zionism actually had its origin just prior to the Z.O.A. Convention of 1947. It came into being formally in the latter part of 1947. Your letter is full of indignation about "stirring controversy". Apparently you failed to notice that the Committee for Progressive Zionism has been dormant. That was not because the activities of the Zionist leadership in this country had their uniform support -- but because they were more concerned with the fate of Palestine than with their personal views, however valid they are. The leaders of the Committee for Progressive Zionism carefully avoided any action that might have been used as a handle by the enemies of Zionism. There were many times when the Committee was stirred by what it regarded as inadequate or inept action. It refrained from criticism -- not out of fear of offending the Zionist leaders responsible but out of anxiety to avoid hurt to Palestine.

What the Committee for Progressive Zionism has done is unique in the annals of American Zionism. You know that is not how previous oppositions have operated.



It was only a few years ago when discussion on the competence of American Zionist leadership was not only public but violent. There was no hesitation in the airing of internal Zionist problems and policies that resulted in holding up the whole Zionist position to ridicule. And at that time the fate of Palestine was at stake. At that time there was an American Zionist Policy Committee. I remind you that the Chairman of that Committee was Charles J. Rosenbloom. Its objective was to bring Dr. Abba Hillel Silver into the Zionist leadership. It succeeded. I was among those who was strongly in support of that activity. It is my recollection that you were on the other side of that question.

Today, Charles J. Rosenbloom is Chairman of the Committee for Progressive Zionism. Was Charles Rosenbloom entitled to express his views in 1945 but not in 1948?

During the campaign of the American Zionist Policy Committee, there was no sparing of Zionist personalities. When anybody associated with Dr. Stephen S. Wise suggested that this endangered the Zionist position at Washington, alienated the State Department, undermined the relations between the Yishuv and Britain, he was branded as a timorous weakling who cared more for dignity than for Zionist ends.

When, at the last Zionist Congress, the Zionist leaders of America felt it necessary to cast down Dr. Chaim Weizmann from the Presidency, they had no hesitancy. There was no consideration of the fact that he was one of the few names in world opinion with which to conjure.

Please remember that I do not challenge the sincerity of the persons associated with all this activity. Nor do I challenge their right to have acted as they did. I merely assert that it is hypocritical at this time to try to stop an opposition to the current leadership by suggesting it would "hurt the cause."

2. Who are the people who compose the leadership of the Committee for Progressive Zionism? Are they upstarts who have only pride of opinion on their side? Are they people who have stood on the sidelines in so far as activity for Palestine is concerned? You know the opposite to be the truth. Examine the list of names thus far associated with the Committee. The list is limited, to be sure. That is part of the effort to reduce the area of discussion. Each of the names represents a history in Zionist activity. The overwhelming majority are men who are today playing an outstanding role in arousing American Jewry to the need for funds for Palestine. Many of them have themselves set outstanding examples in generosity. But whether men with some or with limited means, they have given added effectiveness to the name of Zionist. How do you explain the fact that these men, who represent strength in their own right and in what they symbolize, feel deeply that the present Zionist Administration must revise its policies and practices? Some of the members of the Committee have held office in the Z.O.A. Most of them are not men who care for office. They have only one objective: what is best for the interests of Palestine.

3. Now, as to the basis of the opposition. There are many aspects which I would like to go into when we next meet. I touch on a few here.

X It is a fact that the present Z.O.A. leadership has no access to the White House, the State Department or any other important governmental agency. Do you regard that as healthy when our Government must play so vital a role in the affairs of Palestine? You may say or believe that this leadership is responsible for the creation of the Jewish State. But I beg to remind you that the Jewish State came into being chiefly



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by virtue of the force of arms of the Yishuv and not the political strategy of only the Zionists of America.

Now, we face a critical era. The new State of Israel needs support from our Government, political support and financial support. Is there a proper atmosphere for this when the Zionist movement must use a strange assortment of emissaries rather than its own leaders to be the spokesmen for the cause in Washington?

One of the charges made by our group is that the present Z.O.A. Administration has excluded everybody who might express an independent opinion. It has placed a premium on uniformity and on obedience. It is the belief of the Committee for Progressive Zionism that all persons in America who have something to contribute to benefit Palestine should be utilized. The Committee does not aim to oust anybody. Its sole aim is to use everybody for the interests of Palestine. Exclusion of anybody from service to the Zionist movement, on grounds of personal differences or independence of judgment, is a luxury we cannot afford. It is our view that the Z.O.A. must again represent, as it once did, a synthesis of all views that prevail in the organization and that it should cease to be totalitarian in its insistence on regimented thinking and voting.

4. It is the view of the Committee for Progressive Zionism that the Yishuv must be free from interference, whether by alien governments or by Zionists from outside. The creation of the State of Israel must be accompanied by a recognition of its sovereignty even on the part of Zionists.

How, you may ask, can we American Zionists violate that sovereignty, when the State of Israel will create its own laws and manage its own affairs? The answer is to be found in what use is made of the World Zionist Organization from this point on and above all how we act with regard to funds raised in this country for Palestine.

The new State is desperately in need of funds and will be for many years. It is our hope that American Jewry, in so far as voluntary funds are concerned, will do its full part. But these funds dare not be used as leverage to influence actions of the State or people in that State.

It is a known fact that money raised in this country has been used to influence parties and individuals in Palestine. It has been used to line up other factions of the Zionist movement with the party line of the Z.O.A. I do not regard that as a valid use of American Zionist money or as a proper relationship between American Zionists and the Yishuv.

5. The Zionist Organization of America was, for decades, a liberal organization. The Pittsburgh platform of 1918 was the best expression of that. The Z.O.A. was always identified with a progressive interpretation of the social and economic problems of Palestine.

Suddenly the Z.O.A., in its public expressions but, even more, in its attitudes at Congresses, became the voice of economic and social reaction as far as Palestine is concerned. The Z.O.A. has been the leading instrument in building the General Confederation of Zionists, which today expresses the spirit of the former General Zionist B group of Poland rather than the traditional spirit of American Zionism. The Z.O.A. has become linked with some of the worst reactionaries in Palestine through the General Confederation of Zionists.



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Whom are we fooling? Are we really building a Palestine where men shall live on the same economic principle of dog-eat-dog that prevails in some of our less advanced economies? Or are we treating with the problem of those Jews whose requirement is merely a decent standard of living? That does not mean that the utmost encouragement should not be given either to the middle class or to the entrepreneur who has something to contribute to the economy of Palestine. But certainly we ought to recognize that Palestine's economy must be geared to embrace all elements of the population.

The peculiar thing is that some of the outstanding leaders now identified with the present Z.O.A. Administration have a liberal economic record in this country. Certainly Dr. Silver has always been identified with progressive social and economic thinking as regards the United States. It is indeed unfortunate that a handful of men, whom most of the Zionists of America do not know -- either by name or achievement -- are now twisting the Z.O.A. into an unrecognizable pattern which does injury to the whole lifetime position even of Dr. Silver. One can only assume that a distorted "party line," resulting from a contest for office, has diverted the Z.O.A. into this new and reactionary channel.

It is horrifying to hear a vice-president, and today one of the chief spokesmen for the Z.O.A., in speaking before the Administrative Council -- between conventions the highest authority in the Z.O.A. -- refer to the Yishuv as disciples of the Red Flag of Marxism. On the platform from which this statement was made was seated the President of the Z.O.A. and other leaders of the current Z.O.A. Administration, but none challenged or took exception to this defamation of the Yishuv. How does this aspersion differ from slanders of the British who disseminate news reports that immigrants entering Palestine are "Red agents"? This smear of the leadership of the Palestine labor movement within the World Zionist Organization may seem smart politics, but I think the responsible members of the Z.O.A. ought to be aware of the disastrous road along which we are being made to travel. How much real moral difference is there between members of the American Council for Judaism who brand Zionists as unpatriotic and Zionists who label Palestinian Jews as followers of the Red Flag of Marxism?

I feel certain that if you had given thorough study to the policies and actions of the present Z.O.A. Administration -- not as they are portrayed in publicity handouts in The New Palestine, which is now a house organ in the worst sense of the term, but as they truly are -- you would not have permitted your signature to your letter of April 29. I feel certain, in fact, that you would hasten to join the Committee for Progressive Zionism, which does not believe in purges of anybody who can serve Zionism.

Cordially yours,

(Signed)

Morris Margulies

P.S. In accordance with the style set by you, I am sending a copy of this letter to our Zionist friends. I would not want them to feel that you did not receive an answer.

M. M.



# ZIONIST ISSUES

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## EDITORIAL NOTES

### A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT

Now that the State of Israel has been proclaimed and recognized by the United States, Soviet Russia, and others; now that the new State is fighting heroically against invasion by the Arab States; tremendous changes are bound to take place, both in Jewish and Zionist life.

Traditional concepts will be revolutionized. The Zionist movement as a whole is ripe for reorientation. Its tasks will change radically in order to deal with new conditions.

What the Zionist Organization is to be in the days to come will require much deliberation and deep thought. Decisions cannot be retained within a limited circle of leadership, but will have to be participated in by representatives of all groups.

Obviously, restraints on the free discussion of our inner affairs will now have to be removed. Freedom of opinion will have to be the rule, not the exception. A democratic movement cannot rest upon policies handed down from above as "directives."

At the ZOA Convention to be held in Pittsburgh (July 2-5), these problems are to be presented to the largest convention the organization has ever had. Probably 2,000 delegates will be present. As yet, we fail to hear any voices, in or out of the organization, talking and writing about these matters. It is too much to expect the ZOA administration to have its ideas formulated so soon. All of us are in the midst of raising funds in the UJA campaign and in helping the war effort.

But when and where will the discussion take place?

The fact is that provision has never been made for discussions in advance of any ZOA Convention. In recent years, our Conventions have been auxiliary to large-scale political propaganda.

The Constitution does not provide that the administration shall submit, in advance, proposals it intends to make to the Convention. The important resolutions are prepared by the administration, handed over to a convention committee, which usually reports after a few hours' discussion. Most political resolutions are couched in formal, rhetorical language, and since they express sentiments to which all agree, there is no occasion for discussion in the plenum. In fact, the convention is not concerned with such discussions.

THE NEW PALESTINE is a "house-organ" by official designation. This is taken to mean that controversy or debate or criticism is out of order in its columns. Only by arousing an independent discussion, is it possible to reach the districts and regions, and from them, the delegates before they come to the Convention. This has never been to the liking of any ZOA administration. It is an implied criticism of

any independent thinking outside the limits of official "directives."

This Convention, however, cannot follow the old discipline. The problems are fundamental and too serious. As the State of Israel emerges, burdened with vital problems that are unrelated to ideological and verbal disputes, the future of the ZOA will have to be discussed in realistic terms.

Planning in advance is essential. Formal acceptance of slogans will not do at this time. The leadership of tomorrow must present qualities quite different from those sought for in the past. A vote must mean a free man's expression of his own opinion.

Democracy must not mean the absolute rule of a majority. The minority groups are entitled to a voice in government, as a matter of right, not of favor. No administration to be elected at Pittsburgh can afford to come to the Convention without a well-thought out program integrating the views of all elements in the organization.

We declare frankly that we plan to submit the present ZOA administration to severe criticism of its policies and practices. In case the substance of our criticism is not justly considered and integrated in decisions, it is our purpose to contest the reelection of some or all of the officers of the administration.

To that end, a number of us have formed a group, all of whom are members of the ZOA, to be known as the Committee for Progressive Zionism, in order to break the hushed silence within the organization, and to open the general debate.

ZIONIST ISSUES will give expression to the views of our Committee. Its contributors will express their own views. Out of the consensus of opinion, thus assembled, will be formulated the detailed program we shall advocate in Pittsburgh. It is our intention scrupulously to observe the interests of Zionist public relations. We hope that the ZOA administration will do the same.

### ONE STATE—ONE ARMY

Israel's Defense Army Order 1948, creating one united army, was gazetted on May 28 by the Provisional Government of Israel.

If national discipline is to have meaning, all dissident forces must now be dissolved, so that all citizens may fight together under one command for the one State.

A solemn commitment was signed by the Irgun Zvai Leumi prior to the establishment of the State. It was agreed that its separate force would be ended as soon as the State had been created. It is imperative that the striking power of the State be given the full effectiveness of a central, undebatable command.

In this connection, it is unfortunate that the Palestine Defense Fund and the United Zionist-Revisionists of America still conduct campaigns to raise funds for Irgun in this

country. It is utterly fantastic that we in America should still finance private armies in Israel. There can be no surer way to further military chaos. The funds made available to the State must equip every single soldier enrolled in its ranks. No longer is there Haganah, Irgun or Stern—but only one Army of Israel, for whose success all of us must pray and work.

Do the United Zionists-Revisionists of America still regard itself as part of the Zionist movement in the United States? Under what assumptions or with what encouragement was it still—as of May 24, 1948—calling upon the public for funds for the Irgun?

In fact, the government of the State of Israel has labeled such fund-raising a "fraud." Here is the official statement:

After the promulgation of the Army Ordinance, the Fighters for Israel's Freedom duly carried out its dissolution and its members have already been absorbed by the army. Irgun Zvai Leumi likewise informed the appropriate authorities of the Provisional Government of Israel of its decision to honor its pledge to dissolve voluntarily and asserted that its members will be instructed to enlist in the defense army of Israel in accordance with current regulations. Both groups have delivered their arms to the appropriate organs of the defense army.

All sections of the defense army are financed from central funds and no question can arise of any section or group in the army claiming separate financial assistance for its maintenance or operational expenses.

Under these circumstances those purporting to collect money for the needs of Irgun or the Fighters for Israel's Freedom are guilty of a common fraud.

Moreover, whoever supports or tries to enlist support for dissident military activities in effect assists in violating the laws of Israel and in undermining its very foundations.

### Z.O.A. CONVENTION

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, Chairman of the Committee for Progressive Zionism, has sent out to ZOA Districts the following communication:

In connection with Fifty-First Annual Convention scheduled for the July 4 week-end at Pittsburgh, I earnestly hope that you will be represented by a full delegation. I am sure you realize that this will be a most important Convention, and every district therefore should be represented to its fullest numerical strength.

In the event, however, that you are not in a position to send all of the delegates that your membership entitles you to, I beg leave to respectfully suggest the Zionist personalities comprising our officers and Executive Committee who are prepared to go to Pittsburgh and serve as delegates from your district. (For names see page four.)



# HISTORY AND HISTORIONICS

By Louis Lipsky

There were great difficulties for the Jewish cause at Lake Success. There were serious set-backs and notable successes. During the entire period our cause was advocated by the Executive of the Jewish Agency with dignity and clarity, with force and skill. They deserve—and they are receiving—a great volume of acclaim. What they did has given deep moral satisfaction to all Jews. They have won the admiration of the non-Jewish world. Who of us was not proud of them!

It was not merely the public addresses. Behind the delegation stood a group of professional experts in various fields. Memoranda had to be written, information collated. Conferences had to be held with representatives of other countries, and what was to be said and done had to be discussed in advance. Information had to be given to the press—the communiques, the informal conversations, contacts with persons who could help us in this or that direction. It was the work of a well-organized collective.

The names deserve to be mentioned.

Jewish history will never forget the prepared addresses of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Mr. Moshe Shertok; in later weeks, what was said by Major Aubrey Eban. Dr. Weizmann made a profound impression, as always. The United Nations saw in him a symbol of a long struggle for Jewish freedom; coming to the end of the road weary and scarred. His words came with effort, but they were words of wisdom and faith. The indignation smoldering within him often escaped his great quality of understatement, and words of reproof came from his lips. He seemed like the father of a deeply wronged people.

The composition of Dr. Silver's addresses was admirable. His voice had the resonance of an organ. He was relentless in logic. His indignation often burnt the edges of his words, but did not consume their persuasive force. His appeal was to the Conscience. Justice was his reiterated plea. He held his passion in restraint with visible difficulty. They were addresses of substance and power.

Mr. Shertok appeared as the master of facts, bringing them all together with amazing memory to drive conclusions home. On a number of occasions, his indignation could not be controlled for, of all our speakers, his voice was native to the soil, was brushed with thoughts of kith and kin, of the whole community of Israel. Here, one felt, was a man no man on earth could challenge as alien to the land of Israel, to all that it signifies, its language and customs, its physical being, its hopes.

Major Eban became chief spokesman after the State of Israel had been proclaimed and recognized. In the first days, he was an expert

on Arabic relations; he was a draftsman. After May 16, he occupied the stage with remarkable self-assurance. He had the smooth elegance and arrogance of the British. With all due respect, his language was stylistically better than that of his British opponent. One felt in Major Eban's appearance the coming up of a new generation of leadership.

These occupied the center. The making of policy and decisions on tactics and strategy — always in contact with Mr. David Ben Gurion in Tel Aviv—was the responsibility of the whole Executive of the Jewish Agency, who spent exhausting hours and days in discussing the changes in the situation, the surprises and frequent dilemmas.

These were the members of the Executive: Wolf Gold, Nahum Goldmann, Hayim Greenberg, Rose Halprin and Emanuel Neumann. The chiefs of staff were: Eliahu Epstein, Arthur Lourie and Isaiah Kenen. Experts came from many lands to aid: Dr. Mordecai Eliash of Palestine, Moshe Toff of the Argentine, David Horowitz of Palestine and Michael Comay of South Africa. For economic problems, there was Oscar Gass, co-author with Robert Nathan of a great work on Palestine's economy. They had the co-operation of auxiliary bodies: The Nation Associates headed by Freda Kirchwey and Lillie Shultz, the American Zionist Christian Committee headed by Carl Voss.

It was not one man or two or three. It was a collaboration of a number of men and women, all working in harmony against powerful odds. The record given here may not be complete. The full story will be told later, when the historian will write of the first year of Jewish independence. What is here referred to has been compiled from the record of the past year and one-half. It can be found in the press. It was broadcast by commentators. It was spoken of at mass meetings. For the time being, let it stand.

What is the record, however, to be found in the offices of the Zionist Organization of America? There you will find a picture in black and white, lacking in vision, wholly inadequate, distorted with exaggerations, exclusions and false emphasis. There is an unawareness of the fact that here had occurred, to say the least, the most important event in fifty years of Zionist history; to say the most, the greatest event in two thousand years of Jewish history.

Here was a time for calm consideration of events, the truthful evaluation of what had happened. This was the time for the remembrance of the generations that had died that this cause might live. It should have brought to memory instantaneously, exclusively, the

pioneers in thought and action, the pioneers who had blazed the Zionist path in the Galuth, the victims who had died only yesterday by Hitler's hand. There should have been a generous outpouring of gratitude and high regard. This was the time to recall the poets who sang the national songs before the State was born and to repeat their yearnings and their hopes.

Nothing of this was manifest in the ZOA celebrations. It would appear that the turbulent agitation of the post-war years in the United States, the organization of the illegal recruits in Europe, the Haganah commandos bringing life to the Displaced Persons camps, the arming of the Haganah, the political efforts at Washington and throughout the country, *led by the whole Zionist leadership here and abroad and especially in Zion*, was an achievement of only two Architects who had planned and worked the miracle. The features of these two Miracle-Workers were photographed and enlarged so that large audiences would make no mistake as to their identity. Their claims to authorship were accentuated and elaborated in the official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, in its communications to districts and regions, in resolutions adopted at public meetings, in its official press issues.

Not a group bearing a collective responsibility, but two men taken out of the collective, not to be associated with others, became the objects of ZOA exaltation. The thought obviously was to black out the past as much as possible in order that the figures under the spotlight should be the better reflected and enlarged. The moment of glory could not be shared.

It would not be right to pass all this over as being merely an exhibition of bad manners or a temporary aberration due to great excitement. It is symptomatic of a sickness that prevails in the ZOA Administration. This sickness has always been present in some degree. It has had many manifestations in times past. It is tragic that it should have developed so rapidly to the point where it has become an ugly obsession just as the combination of all Zionist efforts has produced the fulfillment of Herzl's dream.

Now that the State is a reality, may it not be suggested that the time has come to remove these unworthy manifestations of competitive Zionist leadership, its self-glorification and arrogance, and to return to normal Jewish life, to the old Zionist traditions, to the old Jewish manners? Has not the time come for us in the United States to emulate to some extent at least the heroism and self-sacrifice of those who are now fighting Israel's battles and dying on its soil in order that it may be free? In the knowledge of what they are doing over there, should we not be more humble and magnanimous. It is not conceivable that all American Zionists have lost the feeling of piety.



# AGENDA FOR THE ZIONIST CONVENTION

By Henry Montor

THE State of Israel is freshly-born. Despite the centuries of longing for it and the decades of working for it, the State was projected so quickly that not all the issues relating to its birth have been grasped, much less resolved.

Some of these issues might well be on the agenda of the ZOA convention at Pittsburgh in July. If they are, it will be a tribute to sound and constructive planning of the convention program. If they are not, it will be understood by all those who have seen the Zionist conventions become less concerned with actual Palestine problems as the membership has mounted and sheer size has virtually destroyed the individual detail.

## Zionism and Israel

For over fifty years the Zionist Organization of America has been the principal guardian of the interests of Jewish Palestine in the United States. It has been the chief factor in mobilizing the political and financial resources of the American Jewish community for the implementation of the Basle Program. Throughout these decades, the charge of "dual loyalty" was voiced only by those who felt themselves personally insecure, either as Jews or as Americans. Nevertheless, from time to time, the charge was answered: either with the contempt which it deserved; or, as in the case of Louis D. Brandeis, with logic and documentation.

A new set of circumstances now exists. The Basle Program has been achieved. A sovereign State exists. Israel is independent. It has received recognition from major powers and will gain increasing recognition as the hard realities are appreciated by other nations. Israel, as a State with Jewish and also Arab residents, will expect discipline and loyalty from its citizens. It will have the same relationship to those citizens as prevails in any other nation.

What will be the status of the Jewish Agency for Palestine? of the World Zionist Organization? of the Zionist Organization of America—and, for that matter—of the various other Zionist groupings in the United States?

These questions are not theoretical. They press for early, if not immediate, answers.

The question may also be asked from another angle. What will be the relationship of the State of Israel to the Jewish Agency and to the World Zionist Organization? The questions have political, financial and international ramifications.

It is easier to ask the questions than to answer them. Fundamentally, the Jews of America want to retain their interest in the well-being of Israel. They recognize that its growth must be dynamic and not static, if it is to meet the Jewish situation in Europe adequately. Moreover, they are not insensitive to the fact that Israel must fight for its life. The declaration of Statehood has not automatically won it that immunity from international piracy which might well have been expected. Instead, great powers pursue

a cynical and even a viciously vindictive course that underlines the importance of maximum Jewish support, wherever it can be garnered, for the State of Israel.

Within the framework of that sympathy, certain definite changes suggest themselves.

Certainly, in the political field, the State of Israel will have its own independent representation in the United States, as in other countries. For many years, the Zionist Organization of America, and subsequently other bodies in conjunction with it, served in effect, "in the position of parent" for Jewish interests in Palestine. A reorganization of function will undoubtedly follow in accordance with the changed conditions.

It would be premature, however, to suggest that the Zionist Organization of America has no interest in the status of Palestine at Washington. The Jews of America will continue to keep a watchful eye on developments affecting Israel.

For the hysterically fearful Jews who see in that possibility a symptom of "dual loyalty" it might be pointed out that former Secretary of War Robert P. Patterson had no hesitation recently in forming a committee of distinguished Americans who battled hard to win nation-wide acceptance of the Marshall Plan. It was Mr. Patterson's view that he and his associates had a profound concern in what happened in Europe. It is beyond the stage of debate that what happens to the Jews of Palestine is of prime importance to the Jews of America.

Nevertheless, the change in the political relationship of Palestine to Washington is already evident. Aubrey S. Eban was appointed by Israel to serve as its delegate to the United Nations. He was not the appointee of any Zionist body. Eliahu Epstein was named Minister to Washington by Israel. He was not the nominee of any Zionist instrument. One can take it for granted that the Zionist Organization of America, and the other Zionist groups, will bring forward their concern with developments as the situation demands. But it will be Israel and its citizens, and they alone, who will initiate action and carry it through to completion. This will call for a reorientation of American Zionist expression and action.

## Financial Support For Israel

In recent years, the Jews of America have been the bulwark in providing public funds for the development of Jewish Palestine. It is inevitable that they shall continue to occupy that role. The support which they will provide will not be for the State of Israel as such but for the myriad activities which must be executed to root into the land those Jews who have entered, largely in the last decade or more, and to absorb the great numbers whose influx is now beginning.

Some of the instruments of fund-raising for Palestine in this country are antiquated. That they may have a history of ten, twenty or even fifty years is not a validation of their

efficiency or usefulness. It is difficult for organizations to diagnose their own arteriosclerosis.

It would, however, be helpful for the ZOA to perform that function. It must be taken into account that the whole emphasis of fund-raising for Palestine has shifted. It is not the responsibility of "Zionists" as such. It has become the accepted privilege of the total Jewish communities of America.

Any agenda for the Zionist convention might, therefore, consider these aspects of the financial relations of America to Palestine:

(1) The necessity of re-examining the structure of fund-raising for Palestine, so that out of the melange of competing, cross-purposed, inefficient organizations may be created a unified instrument to serve a purpose which has assumed new magnitude.

(2) The perfection of a relationship with a similarly unified institution in Palestine which will be outside the purview of the State and which will be concerned exclusively with the philanthropic interests of the Jews, in the highest sense of the abused word.

But even more urgent and important than these considerations is the use to which American Jewish money shall be put. Power corrupts. So does money. A situation ought never be allowed to develop where even a whisper of suspicion might exist that American Jews were using the dollars they were contributing for Palestine as a lever to influence action in Palestine.

The State of Israel is entitled to all the ramifications of opinion that exist in any other land. There is a right and a left and a middle, with innumerable variations on these. When there was a World Zionist Organization, which had a powerful, in fact decisive, impact on decisions affecting the internal life of Palestine, it happened that groups in the United States tried to strengthen their opposite numbers in Palestine. But if such a development should occur now, it could only be regarded as an infringement on the sovereignty of Israel. The playing off of one group against another in Israel by dangling money that might be offered from America would be resented and rebuked by the contributors in the United States. More important, it could only contribute to the deterioration of the discipline of the State and perpetuate a type of party politics that was conceivable in the old days but intolerable when a State exists. One may assume that the Zionist Organization of America will take the lead in assuring that no such development will ever take place.

## Jewish Agency and WZO

It is inevitable that Zionists in the United States will have a continuing interest in the upbuilding of Palestine. That will be true of Jews in other lands. They will want to retain an identification with each other. If it happens with Rotarians and Chambers of Commerce, the right of Zionists to such union is no less valid. What should be the form of their organization? Should the Jewish Agency for Palestine, extended in 1929 to include "non-Zionists," continue? Or should it be abolished as unrealistic and unrepresentative, with the World Zionist Organization resuming its original role as the Jewish Agency?

(Continued on Page 4)



## FEAR OF DISSENSION

"Come to dinner," said Don Pedro to his friend Buenavento, in the old Spanish story, "but do not bring Miguel. He has such decided opinions, and that spoils my appetite."

It is some such fear of the draft of ventilating views that isolates the present ZOA leadership and sets it apart from all other regimes in previous Zionist history.

Due to the march of historical events and to our own efforts, the membership has grown greatly, but in curious reverse proportion the governing circle has shrunk to miniature, if not minute, size, manifesting all the signs of autocracy and arbitrary control. Only autocracy displays such acute fear of divergent opinions and the free play of ideas.

And this congealed state of mind is, strangely enough, made most evident at the time of the triumph of the Zionist ideal which, more than anything else, vindicates the free and untrammelled expression of the Jewish spirit, and of free Jewish thought.

With the birth of the new political Zionism of 1897 came the invigorating and revivifying surge of ideas, thoughts, opinions, various aspects of Jewish national philosophical conceptions, broadening the Jewish outlook and laying the foundations of the basic beliefs of our movement.

To be sure, differences had to be adjusted; a consensus of opinion or approximate synthesis ultimately resolved itself into the required majority control and direction, but majority rule never meant *cherem* or excommunication for the minority. On the contrary, the minority was not only given representation but an honored place in the movement. Its leaders and spokesmen were always sought out for advice and consultation, and the Zionist press and Zionist platform were always open and accessible to those of the minority or of differing opinions. In time the minority became a majority, and somehow the movement survived it! This would seem very strange to the ZOA leaders of today who either forget or reject the past and act as if there never had been a free, tolerant and hospitable Zionist movement in the world.

What appalling fear of change, movement, intellectual commotion of any kind pervades the sixth floor of 41 East 42 Street! The slight breeze of ideas is regarded as a storm; the slightest whiff of mental wind is feared like a tornado. As to the thought of an opposition—that is frightening as a veritable earthquake!

—B. G. R.

## ZOA CONVENTION

(Continued from Page 3)

One of the first thoughts to occur as a reflex to the creation of the Jewish State is the desirability of an organization in the United States that does away with the fragmentation that may have had validity before but little if any now. For years the idea of a Federation was projected at World Zionist Congresses. Certainly now one big Zionist Organization in the United States seems logical. Whether the individual bodies will continue to feel that their function has not been changed by the events in Palestine or whether they will have the imagination to pool their resources to meet the new responsibilities is in the sphere of prophecy.

Is it too heterodox to suggest a broadening of such a Zionist Organization, perhaps even to envisage a different complexion, in view of the fact that the function of the Organization is now so different? Many had predicted various names for the new Jewish State. On May 14, the State announced itself as Israel. Some were startled. It had not been anticipated in the predictions. But it was understandable and agreeable. The present ZOA, within the framework of an even broader Zionist Organization in the United States, might consider the initiative in choosing a designation that would embrace every self-respecting Jew in America.

If the base is broadened for the inclusion of every Jew, it is possible that the designation "Jewish Agency for Palestine" may have greater effectiveness than World Zionist Organization. However, the form of representation, as between "Zionist" and "non-Zionist" will have lost all real meaning. Therefore, what would be involved would be a function and not constitution. The perpetuation of both a Jewish Agency for Palestine and a World Zionist Organization would seem to have lost all significance and usefulness.

Whether it be called Jewish Agency or WZO, the body would need a complete reorganization of its purposes. No longer could it deal with the internal affairs of Palestine, with problems of colonization, of education, of economic development—except insofar as there was general theoretic discussion of the problems of a land in which a profound interest will continue to exist and to be expressed. The constitution of the WZO will need to be completely revamped.

These, and many other, problems have not yet been considered, because of preoccupation with the struggle to meet the daily issues. But the disentangling of the lines between America and Israel is of crucial urgency. The new State must be allowed to develop

in the fullest reliance upon its internal democratic machinery. We, on the outside, shall help with our moral, material and political support to strengthen its existence. But our role must be as friends and not as arbiters of the destiny of that land.

## NO MILITARY WEAKNESS

The decision by the Israel government to accept the cease-fire order was not motivated by military weakness, Moshe Shertok, Foreign Minister, declared on June 9th.

"The Jewish state is spreading its roots fast and deep," he said. "Time, for once, is on our side. There is no question here of a compromise, territorial or otherwise."

He said Arab aggression had recoiled "with truly terrible consequences." Attempts to wrest territory from the partition state had failed. The Arabs had lost 200 villages and most of their important towns in Palestine, and Jewish forces "under the impact of aggression" had driven deep into Arab Palestine.

"If the truce does turn out to be the cooling-off period hoped for," Mr. Shertok said, "if the Arabs draw up a realistic balance sheet of their gains and losses, at long last an element of sanity may enter their calculations."

## Zionist Issues

Published by

### COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM

within the

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
250 WEST 43rd STREET NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

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June 15, 1948

Atlanta 3, Georgia  
334 WEST PEACHTREE ST.

Mr. Morris Margulies  
Committee for Progressive Zionism  
Hotel Dixie  
250 West 43rd Street  
New York 18, New York

Dear Morris:

Your five-page document of May 25th proved to me beyond a shadow of doubt that the shells I lobbed into your camp on April 29th hit a great, big, beautiful bull's eye, landing right smack on the pop-guns by means of which you seek to make the present Z.O.A. administration uncomfortable.

Only one who has been hit in the most vulnerable spot, could moan the way you do or go into such frenzied research in an attempt to show that I am wrong.

Like you, I have been debating with myself whether or not I ought to make reply. I hesitated for two reasons: 1) The "arguments" which you advance are so threadbare that even your balabatim can easily detect the hollow ring. They are intended to confuse and not to clarify. It is on confusion that the opposition to the leaders of the Z.O.A. battens. 2) I did not wish to give you an opportunity to publish another "White Paper" with a resultant increase in confusion and complete burial of the real issues. And so I found myself in a real quandary.

On careful reflection, however, I came to the conclusion that your "brochure" had to be answered. Not so much because of the pilpul which decorates the last four pages, but on account of the political capital you seek to make out of the fact that my circular message bore a "New York" postmark.

This is the "itch" you could not resist. Since my missile had landed square in the center of vulnerability, you were looking for a chance to make a diversionary attack which would take people's minds off the real tachlis. The New York postmark was precisely the thing the doctor ordered. If people could be made to believe that Benamy was just a front man for the Administration; that he affixed his signature to a poisonous concoction that was brewed in the offices of the Z.O.A. - then it would not matter what the issues actually were; the Administration would be indicted and convicted by the tactics it used.

This supposedly clever strategy, of course, could not be consummated without receiving the widest possible publicity. And in order to justify a course of action which, in order to be carried out, involved casting serious reflections



June 15, 1948

on S. P. Benamy in writing, exposing him to ridicule before a rather large mailing list, an ingenious approach was devised. You very kindly explained that the only reason for circulating the "reply" was because Benamy had caused the attack on the Committee for Progressive Zionism to be distributed - without mentioning, of course, that my letter confined itself to the issues, whereas yours contained insinuations against Benamy that made it highly improper for publication. The blow was cushioned, of course, by your assurance of personal esteem and affection. However, I am not easily duped, as you seem to think.

Now, this matter must be cleared up. And while my criticism of your Committee was mailed out from New York, I wish to categorically affirm that it was my letter and not written or composed in New York; that it represents my firm convictions on this subject; and that you are assuming quite a lot when you imply that "the reasonable and considerate Benamy whom you have known" could not possibly have written what he considers a well-deserved denunciation of your Committee.

With this observation I would like to stop, but I cannot resist the temptation of lifting some prize plums out of the compote you shipped me and making you eat them. However, I will be brief because I want this to be read.

It is interesting to learn that the Committee has been "dormant" since 1947, because Zionism until now was threatened by enemies. Since your group is now stepping into the bright spotlight of full-scale warfare against the Administration, it follows - if one were to endorse your line of reasoning - that the dangers are over and we can all dance in the streets. This is not in line with the news which every headline and radio commentator blares forth; nor is it consistent with your own statement as to the purposes for forming the Committee.

YES, I WAS OPPOSED TO THE AMERICAN POLICY COMMITTEE FOR THE SAME REASON THAT I AM OPPOSED TO THE COMMITTEE FOR PROGRESSIVE ZIONISM. I held then, as I do now, that the place for airing controversies is within the constitutional councils of the Z.O.A. and not through "private armies". It makes no difference to me what personalities are involved in the application of the principle. I never questioned Mr. Rosenbloom's right to express himself in 1945, 1948 and, God willing, in 1960. I am opposed to the method he uses and which I consider harmful to the movement.

Nobody is trying to stop opposition, or the discussion of personalities or what have you. The fact that you are using this particular twist shows how hard up you are for breath. There was nothing in my letter which even remotely implied anything of the sort. I happen to know that your group was invited several times to come to the meetings of the Administrative Committee and air its grievances. It did not do so. Why not?

It matters not to me who the men are who compose your group. There are some illustrious names, to be sure. But why bewail their hard luck? This particular paragraph of your letter points the real reason for your Committee.



June 15, 1948

These men are now "out" and the Silver-Neumann group is "in". I have no objection to the leaders you mention getting back their seats at the warm fireplace. But let them come in through the front door and not by the backstairs.

Your reference to "access to the White House" is a corker. May I remind you that it is not so much the access that counts as the results which one achieves with the access. Think that over. And since, as you say, the part of American Zionism in the creation of the Jewish State is negligible, why worry about whether S.S.W. or A.H.S. orate to the occupant?

Just three more observations and I will have to call it a day.

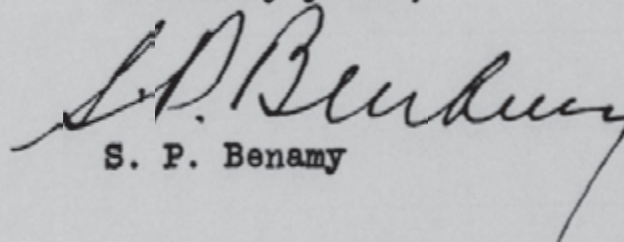
The Z.O.A. leadership, as presently constituted, is a nest of reactionaries who will sell the State of Israel to capitalistic interests, according to you, if they have their way. You will have to adduce a lot of good, substantial evidence, before the rank and file of the membership can be hammered into accepting the idea that the men who guide the organization are economic royalists, eager to enslave the little man of Israel. As I look over the distinguished list of your officers and executive committee "in formation", I would not bet on a single one of them voting for Henry Wallace. What do you think, Morris?

As to the "interference" in the internal affairs of Israel, I would refer you and your dear ones to Dr. Neumann's statement, published on the top of page 3 in the Sunday issue of "The New York Times" of June 6th 1948.

And as to the vice-president who did some red-baiting on the floor of the Administrative Council, surely you would not suggest that a "liberal" and "progressive" group like yours would want to muzzle him? After all, you do believe in freedom of speech! You are horrified that no one challenged him or took exception! Evidently neither you nor your group - and you have adequate representation on the Administrative Council, including Z.O.A. vice-president Charles J. Rosenbloom - were there.

Honestly, you would not expect me to "hasten and join you", would you?!

Cordially yours,

  
S. P. Benamy



# The American Jewish World

*The Northwest Jewish Weekly News Magazine in English*

PALACE BUILDING MINNEAPOLIS 1

L. H. FRISCH  
EDITOR

June 21, 1948.

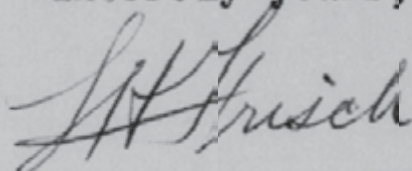
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
American Zionist Emergency Committee  
342 Madison  
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I thought that the enclosed copy of my reply to Morris Margulies in behalf of the Committee for Progressive Zionism may be of interest to you.

With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



LHF/r  
Enc.



COPY

June 19, 1948.

Mr. Morris Margulies  
Suite 315  
Hotel Dixie  
250 W. 43th St.  
New York 18, N. Y.

Dear Friend Morris:

I was indeed very glad to hear from you and to note that you are again taking an active part in Zionist organizational affairs.

While I do not see eye to eye with you and your committee, I am heartily in favor of an opposition group to keep those in power on their toes. I especially approve of the procedure followed this year but, as things stand now, I am inclined to feel that Dr. Silver's leadership is still needed.

I am hoping to be able to come to Pittsburgh and, in that event, I am looking forward to meeting you for a good Schmoos and some enlightenment.

Sincerely yours,

LHF/r



# ZIONIST ISSUES

Vol. I, No. 3

NEW YORK, N. Y.

July 2, 1948

## YOUR ATTENTION, DELEGATES!

Fellow Zionists:

We greet the delegates to the Fifty-First Convention of the ZOA. You are fortunate in participating in a Zionist Convention within a few weeks after the objectives of the Basle Program have been realized as public fact. You are also fortunate in being strong and determined at a time when strength and determination are urgently required to help defend and maintain the new Jewish State.

Of you great deeds are expected. You represent the largest Zionist organization in the freest Jewish community in the world. You are the invincible wall of reinforcement of Israel's fight against aggression. You stand with the people of Israel against the aggression of its neighbors. You stand against the more insidious aggression of that great Empire which, instead of retiring from the field in shame, returns with mercenaries to further plague the people it has wronged. You, American citizens of Jewish nationality, are in a position to give tremendous help for the defeat of Israel's enemies.

It is your responsibility here at Pittsburgh to consider the strengthening of the ZOA as an effective instrument for new tasks. It is to be regretted that the forms of the ZOA Convention interfere with the free exercise of your influence as delegates. You are cabined and cramped by precedents. If the Convention is a Parliament for discussion and decision, the absorption of its agenda in demonstration and propaganda—desirable and necessary as these purposes may be on other occasions—retards your dealing with that program which the Convention should give thought to. We regret that the program of the Convention is a mass meeting in several sessions with a long list of distinguished speakers whom Zionists are always glad to hear. The question arises, *when are the delegates to speak?* They have not been informed as to the nature of the problems. *When is such information to be given and when are the discussions to be held?*

It is conceded that what we say here in Pittsburgh on a public platform is said under the scrutiny of sensitive public relations. Not one of us wishes to mar these relations. But there are certain questions that are artfully being held under cover by the Administration of the ZOA and that are not presented frankly and clearly. There are certain practices of the Administration already congealed into policy, which are being persisted in without regard for the democratic rights of the organization as a whole, which should be given an opportunity to express its views. These practices affect the future of the organization vitally; they affect our relations to the State of Israel intimately; and in all fairness should be brought to the attention of the delegates at the earliest possible moment through the printed word or in committee or in plenary sessions.

In all probability, however, the Pittsburgh Convention will have to run its prescribed course. It will be a grand demonstration and rally of American Zionists, and all of us will go home greatly cheered and stimulated. But it will not be able to do what has been babbled about in the official Zionist press. There are technical difficulties. It may be suggested, however, that there are certain matters which can be taken up in spite of the frozen agenda laid before us.

Let no Zionist be deceived by formal or glib utterances. The most serious problem in the life of the new State is that of defense and the integrity and authority of the State. The struggle with the dissident forces of the Irgun—an army with political objectives—has been going on for many years. Many controversies have arisen and many truces were made. Many great wrongs were committed in the name of the dissident group. There were many pardons and a forgiving spirit. The problem of the Irgun reached its climax with the beginning of the functioning of the State of Israel. A truce had been agreed to between the Haganah and the Irgun. That truce was only partially lived up to by the Irgun, but no complaint was made. With the acceptance of the United Nations truce by the Government of Israel, the Irgun—regardless of the international obligations of Israel's Government, regardless of its own pledges to the Government—endeavored to land on the shores of Palestine a ship loaded with ammunition and refused to obey the command of the Government to halt its movements and to obey legitimate military instructions. A battle ensued—a number of Jewish lives were lost—and the Irgunists were overcome and defeated. Their threats and underground preparations now trouble the State of Israel in the midst of preparations for the active renewal of the defense against the aggressors, which may now be expected at any moment.

What has taken place in Israel is deplorable and humiliating. But it is a fact that the greater part of the material and moral support of the Irgun has come from the Jews of the United States and, we do not hesitate to say, also from certain Zionist groups in our own midst.

More than that. By their silence and equivocation over a long period, by the tacit approval of the conduct of the Irgun on the part of official ZOA leaders, by their making it appear that they were reluctant to condemn, by their voting in Zionist bodies together with groups allied in sympathetic support of the Irgun, the impression has been made all over the Jewish world, as well as in the United States, that the present leadership of the ZOA gives its tacit though not official approval to the activities of the Irgun—their activities in Palestine and their activities in the United States. Every aspect of the present situation in Israel and in American Zionist circles de-

mands that there be an end to this equivocation, indirection and double talk.

*This Convention would be untrue to the highest Zionist ideals and traditions if it failed to indicate in forthright language its condemnation of the disloyal practices of the Irgun as well as of those Zionists who give aid and comfort, either secretly or openly, to the forces seeking to impair the authority of the Jewish State in these difficult days.*

A generality has been given utterance to by high authority in the ZOA that in the days soon to come we should not interfere with the affairs of the Government of Israel nor should that Government intrude upon American Zionist affairs. Each will have to stay in its own corner. This is a phrase that easily disposes of what is going to be a complicated problem that will vex Zionist life for some time to come. There are Jews in Palestine and Jews in America. Over and above government, relations between the two will have to be maintained. The question cannot be settled merely by saying that we shall not interfere with the affairs of the Government of Israel.

But before this severance between Galuth and Zion takes place it is important that we create no false impressions. The State now free to act out its destiny—the State we are wishing God speed—is not expected to cancel the basic ideas of its present foundations. It is not expected that the Galuth will rush in with plans and means to create in Palestine a replica of a country in which gold has just been discovered, that they will be interested and stimulated in competitive capitalist enterprise which will take quick possession of the undeveloped resources of the country.

This fantastic thought is in direct contradiction to what Zionists have been thinking since those days in 1918 when the ZOA, under the leadership of Louis D. Brandeis, adopted the Pittsburgh Program.

These are the principles adopted at that time:

"To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity, we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control of the land and of all natural resources and of all public utilities by the whole people.

"The cooperative principles should be applied as far as possible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial and financial undertakings.

"The fiscal policy shall be framed so as to protect the people from the evils of land speculation and from every other form of financial oppression."

This is the kind of a community which we, together with all other Zionists, have helped to create and which we have handed over to the free State of Israel as the custodian of the

(Continued on page three)



## SIDELIGHTS ON THE NEWS

### Mrs. Myerson To Moscow

The thousands of Jews who have met Mrs. Golda Myerson on her two visits to the United States this Spring will feel a personal pride in hearing that this distinguished Israeli leader is now her government's representative to the Soviet Union. The firmness with which the State of Israel is conducting its foreign policy is reflected in this appointment. Mrs. Myerson is *persona grata* to Moscow for many excellent reasons, but none of them includes espousal of the Communist doctrine. Mrs. Myerson has been notable in Palestine politics for the vigor and continuity of her rejection of that creed.

The Israel Government and the Jews of the United States owe much to her. This debt was greatly enlarged in the past five months, during which she twice visited this country. Both times she came to arouse this country to an appreciation of the dire position of the Yishuv. Laboring within the framework of the United Jewish Appeal, she projected a superbly dramatic and impressive plea that made history in hundreds of communities. Tens of millions of dollars poured forth in response to the story she presented. She enabled Israel to meet a crisis. She stimulated America to appreciate its own stature.

She is calm under fire. She has a doubly valuable background for her mission to Moscow. She symbolizes a proud, self-respecting Yishuv. She understands the temper of world Jewry. She may be counted upon to add to the prestige of Israel. Whatever accrues to the dignity of that State cannot but inure to the benefit of American Jewry.

### I. R. O. Says "No"

The International Refugee Organization recently announced from Geneva that it would not pay for transportation of Jews to Palestine because of "political conditions." The IRO is under obligation to use its resources for resettlement, to the extent that its funds permit. That ample funds are available for the purpose of helping Jews to go to Israel is not denied. Moreover, the bulk of the funds which support IRO come from the United States Government, which gave \$71,000,000 last year and the same amount this year.

When the IRO was being formulated as the successor to UNRRA, it was argued that an international organization was essential because it would be supra-national. It would not be bound by the political inhibitions of any single member. It would be guided solely by humanity and justice. It is odd, therefore, that Mr. William Hallam Tuck, Director of IRO, should have taken a position which is not warranted either by the facts or by the law governing IRO. If, then, political considerations govern, it is fair to ask whether the United States Government, and President Truman, are willing to let the IRO use Amer-

ican funds to send DPs to any country on earth—except Israel. It is to be hoped that closer examination of the significance of his actions by Mr. Tuck will persuade him that the best interests of IRO and international agencies in general will be served if immigrants are allowed to go where they wish.

### Who Is Guilty?

"The bill discriminates in callous fashion against displaced persons of the Jewish faith." Thus wrote President Truman in his reluctant approval of the displaced persons bill. A series of hurdles was erected in the bill which makes it extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any substantial number of Jews to enter the United States. It is a measure which does not reflect credit on Congress. It is a measure which is in violation of every cardinal principle of America. President Truman expressed the hope that when Congress reconvenes it will take the necessary remedial action.

The whole episode ought not, however, be allowed to evaporate in a blast of invective against members of Congress. Jews are themselves as much at fault as any other factor. A Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons was formed. It had the leadership of an outstanding humanitarian, Earl Harrison. It had the membership of the various creeds. In truth, however, a number of Jews were responsible for the program to call attention to the plight of displaced persons abroad. Most of them had no purpose other than the decency of the project. A number of others, however, were fed by animus. They deliberately wanted to divert attention from Palestine. They wanted to overshadow the repeated newspaper reports that Jews in the DP camps of Europe wanted to go to Palestine.

But people who think by indirection act by indirection. They always miss the bull's eye. Thus, a strange strategy was devised in developing public opinion behind the Stratton bill, which was the original measure to bring 400,000 refugees in a four-year period. The publicity, the speeches repeated one theme, in essence: "The DP problem is not a Jewish problem. On the contrary, 80% are Catholics and Protestants. Truly, believe us, the Jews are an unimportant, small segment of the whole. Don't be misled by those who say this is pro-Jewish legislation. Jews will hardly benefit at all. This is a 'humanitarian' measure. If Jews will benefit, it will be only by accident." Catholic and Protestant organizations naturally pleaded for their respective constituents. Jewish support was disguised as "unselfish humanitarianism."

The charge can properly be made that those who guided the Jewish aspect of the Citizens Committee policy are guilty that now very few Jews will be admitted into the United States. There was not a fair and unrelenting pressure based on the fact that the Jews, far more than the Catholics and Protestants, were

deserving beneficiaries of the Stratton bill. If the fine spirit reflected in President Truman's statement accompanying his signature, in his recognition of the Jewish aspect of the measure, had animated the Jews behind the bill, the present monstrosity would never have emerged. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent by Jewish backers of the bill. Their failure to understand that the Jewish case needs to be presented on its intrinsic merits, instead of under the false colors of "universalism," has brought about the first anti-Semitic measure ever to emanate from the Congress of the United States. From this time forward, some responsible forum of Jewish public opinion ought to focus revealing shafts of light on the activities of these benighted citizens so that they will remain within the borders of their very limited relationship to Jewish life and away from such vital activities. Their selfish interest carries danger for all American Jews.

### U. S. Representative

There could not be any misunderstanding as to the position of James G. MacDonald as a friend of the State of Israel, to which he has been accredited by the United States. From the time that he resigned as High Commissioner for Refugees, an abortive post offered to him by the League of Nations, he has ceaselessly urged the need for Palestine as the only place to absorb the masses of homeless Jews. It may be assumed that Mr. MacDonald will find every opportunity to encourage relations between Israel and the United States. If it was not inappropriate for President Truman to name Mr. MacDonald during the truce period, it should be equally valid to transform the present *de facto* into *de jure* recognition of the State of Israel. It is only under such circumstances that a fully-fledged Minister may be appointed, a loan be considered, and other necessary official action taken.

### The Republican Plank

The American Zionist Emergency Council and Dr. Silver are to be congratulated on their labors in connection with the insertion of a plank on Israel in the platform adopted by the Republican Party at its Philadelphia convention. Planks in a platform are frequently quite meaningless. It cannot be said that the planks adopted by the Republican and Democratic parties at their 1944 conventions did much to speed the building of the Jewish State, despite their profuse verbiage. One phrase in the current plank is subject to careful inspection. "Subject to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, we pledge to Israel full recognition, with its boundaries sanctioned by the United Nations, and aid in developing its economy." It is to be hoped that Governor Dewey, the Republican nominee, who has been consistently explicit in his espousal of the Jewish cause, will help accelerate favorable American action to aid Israel in the months that lie ahead. It is what Governor Dewey and his advisers will do that will interpret the plank.



## EDITORIAL NOTES

### Cut This Cancer

Aid to Irgun is treason to the State of Israel. That should be the keynote of an organized campaign by the Zionist Organization of America to educate American Jewry in the consequences of dissidence in Israel. What happened last week, first at Kfar Vitkin and then on the Tel Aviv beach, was the most serious threat that the new State had faced since its birth. A sigh of relief will go up from all friends of the State that it had the firmness and the vision to suppress what was nothing less than a revolt against the State.

The Irgun has had its greatest strength in America, not in Palestine. If the State almost went up in the flames of civil war last week, a number of American Zionist leaders could have claimed a good share of the credit for the result. By evasion, omission, silence, a number of the foremost leaders of the ZOA, over the period of the last two years, gave the Irgun in Palestine the impression they could count upon support from America. It is true that the financial front of the Irgun in this country carried such names as Peter Bergson could devise in his fertile imagination. But Menahem Beigin, leader of the Irgun, somehow seemed to feel that moral support was forthcoming from other quarters as well.

Because no persistent, informed educational campaign against the Irgun was carried on by either the ZOA or the American Zionist Emergency Council, sympathy for the Irgun spread in the United States. If a young boy shot a soldier in the back that was glamorized into heroism, on the ground that the killer was a youth and the Jews were receiving a raw deal anyway. If banks were robbed, merchants terrorized, opponents kidnapped, it was all shrugged away in the bitterness that Great Britain, by her vindictiveness, had distilled among American Jews. Every evil abomination of "Christian civilization" was tolerated when practiced by the Irgun, on the theory that the end justified the means.

It is not easy to undo overnight the results of connivance in political savagery and moral debauchery. It is not strange that some Jews, fortunately not many, should be startled at the action taken by the State of Israel in preventing the landing of a cargo of arms, in broad daylight in defiance of the United Nations truce and in obvious imperilment of the pledged word of the State of Israel to the United Nations.

Peter Bergson wanted to make a grand entrance into Palestine. Like a legendary hero, he saw himself as the liberator stepping off a gangplank on the Tel Aviv jetty, hailed by the whole city as a Napoleon who had brought rifles and dynamite from America. Peter Bergson has made a career out of mockery of organized Zionism and its leaders. He has persistently tried to undermine Zionist forces, in the United States and Palestine as well. In this most recent situation, he was once again the center of a "publicity stunt." But the whole destiny of the State of Israel, as a responsible government, rested on executing the truce into which it had entered.

That was of no concern to Peter Bergson or his master or ally, Menahem Beigin. They have been accusing Jewish leadership so long of "weakness" and "supineness" that they assumed the State would not "dare" to halt this treacherous cargo. The State did act. It is stronger than ever. It must be—if it is to meet successfully the war, political and military, which is in the offing.

There should be a lesson in this for the Zionist life a shoddy interpretation of Gen-  
erated by a Jew here to any Irgun-front organization, regardless of its high-sounding sponsorship, will buy a stilleto to stab—not Ben Gurion or Shertok: but the State of Israel itself.

We have a double task now: Support the State of Israel in fullest measure. Expose to the fullest glare of public opinion every traitor to the State of Israel in the United States—whether he be in the Zionist Organization of America or outside of it.

### Your Attention, Delegates!

(Continued from page one)

ideals and destiny of the Jewish people. What the leadership of the ZOA has been saying for the past two years through the Confederation of General Zionists has not reflected these ideals at all.

What has kept us of the ZOA devoted to the building of the Jewish National Home if not the kind of a national home our pioneers were building? It is that which has given spirit and enthusiasm and distinction to American Zionist endeavor during the period when the foundations were laid, when the first cooperative colonies were organized, up to the very last days when the national home became the Jewish State.

There has been introduced into American Zionist life a shoddy interpretation of general Zionism which has no kinship to the noble principles of the earlier days. General Zionism has become a party. It was conceived as a catalyst of parties. General Zionism has become the opponent of Zionist labor, when it was always imbued with sympathy and appreciation for labor's ideals and its achievements.

The Pittsburgh Convention of 1948 is the occasion for American Zionists to reaffirm the principles of the Pittsburgh platform adopted in 1918.

Let's add one more item to the Convention agenda. Has it not become clear that the policy of majority rule to the exclusion—nay, the proscription—of the minority affects the intellectual and moral vigor as well as the good repute of the ZOA? The ZOA is not a party, but a free association of Zionists whose loyalty is to the central idea of Zionism. But the practice prevails of classifying ZOA members as good members and bad members. The good ones say "yes;" the bad ones, "no." This division extends from the rank and file of the oldest and most experienced. He who says no to the "line"—half the time you don't know what the "line" is—is for all practical purposes non-existent, except as a common laborer in Zion's vineyard.

Probably this has happened before in mod-

eration, but never to the ruthless extent as it has been practiced in recent years. Never before has a small group of men set out so determinedly to take "power." Never before has the idea of "leader" connoted absolute obedience and discipline. Never before have punitive measures been worked out so effectively and so brutally to eliminate minority opinion.

It hurts one's pride in the ZOA to say these things at this time; but here it must be said with restraint. It would be well at this Convention, the first since the State of Israel was proclaimed, to turn over a new leaf, to discard these practices and to forget the past.

We have a long way to go to reach our ultimate goal. We here—and the fighters and workers over there—are all part of an unbreakable chain of rebirth. *Has not the time come for a ZOA Administration—instead of purging others—to purge itself of personal ambitions and rivalries, of intolerance and prejudice.*

\* \* \*

The idea that Zionism will go off on an endless vacation with the rise of the State of Israel is, to say the least, a hasty and juvenile conclusion. Zionism was never merely a dream of a Jewish State. Zionism was freedom and renaissance. It was the calling into life of a free creative people for whom their ancient homeland was the indispensable need. There is much of the baggage of the Galuth which freedom in Israel and Jewish freedom everywhere must retrieve. The cultural and religious heritage lost on the Galuth road must be recovered. The Zionists were the advance guard of renaissance, and the renaissance was not limited only to those who returned to the Sanctuary.

So today American Zionists are to be not merely the providers for the new State. Those who will have to remain in the Galuth—caught by their own personal fate—will not be derelicts lost in the Galuth, but they will have to become the symbols of the new life, the symbols of the new creation. Just because the State is a fact and although hundreds of thousands of Jews within the next ten years will return home, the Zionists of America are called upon to raise themselves to the heights of national service not only with their gifts but through the fact of their being of the same quality, the same dignity, maintaining the same high standard of conduct, which we anticipate those Jews who bear the proud title of citizens of the State of Israel will maintain in the home which has been created. They are to be citizens of no mean State *nor are we to be any the less proud as the kinsmen of the citizens of that State.* Our organization is not to drag after others. It is not to be petty and vulgar. Our educational processes are not to be inferior to the education of others. We are to be in the vanguard where intelligence and character and pride are essential. Our manners are to be comparable to the manners of the ancient leaders of Jewish life, humble in their relation to their fellow-men, magnanimous in their conduct and pious in their behaviour. To be a Zionist in the days to come will mean to be the elect among the chosen people.

*Let us begin new Zionist history here in Pittsburgh.*



# THE DANGER FROM WITHIN

By David Ben Gurion\*

Prime Minister of the State of Israel

Upon establishment of the Jewish State it was resolved to let bygones be bygones. Every citizen, without exception, was to enter a new chapter of equal partnership and equal rights and responsibilities in the building and defense of the State of Israel. On May 26 a law was promulgated for the formation of the Defense Army of Israel. This was not merely a routine measure as in other States but a matter of life and death for the existence of the State and for the hope of the people of Israel. For even before our State came into being we were already under attack by desperate gangs. With the establishment of the State we were faced with invasion by the armed forces of the Arab states. To defend ourselves and our country against this invasion was and still is our foremost task and aim.

## Agreement Signed By Irgun

The fourth clause in the Defense Army ordinance prohibits the formation or maintenance of any other armed force outside the framework of the Army. In our case this was a particularly necessary and decisive factor for our defense. The enemy without can only be repelled by a united military force subject to the authority of a single Government and a single command. Under the law we could have and perhaps should have disbanded the separate military organizations but we preferred to make it easier for them and create a better atmosphere by enabling them to join the Defense Army of Israel voluntarily. One of the dissident organizations, the so-called Stern group, dissolved of its own accord and its members were inducted into the Army. The other, the Irgun, attached several conditions to their incorporation and the Government, intent on achieving the desired result with the least friction, arrived at the following agreement with the head of this organization:

"Members of the Irgun will join the Army and swear an oath of allegiance to the State. All their equipment and war material will be handed over to the High Command of the Army. They will cease to exist and operate as a military group in the State of Israel. They will no longer purchase or acquire arms or war material as a separate group."

## How Irgun Violated Agreement

These undertakings by the Irgun were only partially fulfilled. Over a thousand of their members joined the Army as special units. They handed over, however, only a small part

of their arms. They failed altogether to fulfill the other two principal pledges. The Irgun continued to carry out separate operations. They continued to effect separate arms purchases. Against the background of these gross breaches of their promises and while our State is still in the throes of its struggle for survival, there occurred in the past three days the unhappy events at Kfar Vitkin and Tel Aviv. In defiance of the laws of the State of Israel and in repudiation of their freely offered pledge, the Irgun brought to Israel a ship with an arms cargo. Even if there were not a truce under the auspices of the United Nations this would be a very grave matter; for no state can tolerate individual persons or organizations bringing into the country, without permission, even the smallest quantity of arms, let alone large quantities of rifles and guns as the Irgun has done. It is all the more dangerous since this constitutes a breach of our undertakings to the United Nations.

When we learned of the approach of the ship, instructions were issued ordering the Irgun to place the vessel at the disposal of the Government. The Irgun refused and submitted conditions to the Government. Again the Government acted leniently, perhaps too leniently. We did not insist on unimportant formalities but demanded simply that the ship be placed at the disposal of the Government unconditionally and that the Irgun men be prevented from unloading the arms. The Irgun refused and my duty was clear.

## Consulted Prior To Action

After consulting with the Government it was decided to concentrate the required military forces on the spot in order forcibly to prevent the Irgun from unloading the arms.

I regret to say that a number of Irgun soldiers serving in the Army deserted from the ranks and fled to Kfar Vitkin to fight against the security forces of the State. The Irgun forces at Kfar Vitkin were overcome and surrendered, handing over their arms and equipment, and undertook in writing to obey the commands of the Government. This operation was completed with the maximum effi-

ciency and the minimum loss of life. It was agreed that Irgun officers and soldiers, after giving their names and signing the undertaking, could return to their bases and the vehicles they used were returned to their owners. Prisoners taken by both sides were released.

This brought to an end the Irgun incident at Kfar Vitkin. At the same time, however, the ship slipped away from Kfar Vitkin and approached Tel Aviv. It disobeyed the Israeli Navy's order to leave Tel Aviv and place itself at the disposal of the State. Again a special meeting of the Government was called at which it was decided that the ship and the cargo must be handed over. The ship refused the order and a salvo fired on it by the Army hit the vessel and set it afire. The Irgun then asked the Army to help them take the wounded off the ship. Our soldiers helped rescue their men.

## Bitterest Blow

After our terrible test of battle in the war against the Arab armies who attacked the Yishuv before it became a State and then attacked the State itself, this is the bitterest blow our State has yet faced. The danger is no less because it comes from within.

The incident may be closed but the danger hasn't ended. It will not end merely by the imposition of military strength. Such occurrences always derive from support which it may have been possible at one time to explain although difficult to justify. Now it is impossible to explain, for our State is still in danger. This is only a truce, not the end of the war. Arab armies are still in our land and Jerusalem is surrounded by the Arab Legion and its guns. The road to the Negev is still held by a large Egyptian force. Mishmar HaYarden is in Syrian hands. The invaders are as strongly entrenched in the country as they were before the truce and larger forces stand ready outside the country. At this moment the danger of a rising of armed gangs threatens something that is more important than the existence of the State, and that is the defensive capacity of the Jews of Israel for their future and the future of their people. Unless this danger is fully realized by the citizens of the State as well as Jews abroad, our entire war effort is threatened with failure and survival of our State is menaced.

## To All ZOA Delegates

You are cordially invited to attend the caucuses sponsored by the Committee for Progressive Zionism which will be held at the Hotel Henry on Friday, July 2nd and Saturday, July 3rd.

The first meeting will be held on Friday evening at 9 P. M. and the second will convene on Saturday afternoon at 3:30 P. M.

We urge you to attend these meetings which will discuss the critical issues before the Zionist convention. Please note that on Friday evening the speakers at the Committee's caucus will be Louis Lipsky, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Charles J. Rosenblom, Harold J. Goldenberg, Joel Gross, Ezra Z. Shapiro and Rudolf G. Sonneborn.

The Hotel Henry, where both meetings will be held, is located at William Penn Way and Fifth Avenue, opposite the Kaufmann's Store.

\* This is from the text of the statement by the Israeli Prime Minister to the Council of State on June 23rd. The Council, at this session, voted to approve "the Government's action in preventing the Irgun Zvai Leumi from bringing arms into the country without the consent of the Government, thereby violating the Government's authority, its sovereignty and the agreement into which the Irgun Zvai Leumi had entered with the Government on June 1st."



# THE NEED FOR CHANGE

By Joel Gross

A friend has written to me:

"I see you are Secretary of the Committee for Progressive Zionism. What do you aim to accomplish? Life is hectic without controversies. Why is one necessary at this stage? It had seemed to me that you were busy enough in your own career and in general and Jewish communal activities to occupy your time more than adequately."

It was in answer to this challenge that I tried to reduce to paper some of the considerations that influenced me to affiliate myself with the opposition to the prevailing policies in the ZOA.

The Zionist life of all of us has had as its target the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine. Now that it has been established against great odds and under heavy attack, the State must be protected in its sovereignty. That has both negative and affirmative aspects. It means that we must refrain from doing anything that would compromise that sovereignty. It means that we must do constructively everything we can to enable the State to chart its own destiny. I want the practices of the ZOA from now to square with the recent pronouncements of some of its leaders that there will be no interference, directly or indirectly, with the State of Israel. There have been too many instances during the past year of variation between public promise and private action.

## Control of Funds

It is assumed that some form of international federation will continue to exist so that support in every form may be given for the great numbers who will come to Israel. The greatest problem with which Israel will have to deal will be that of the hundreds of thousands of Jews who will enter. That problem cannot be met by the State alone. It is a responsibility in which world Jewry is eager to share. Therefore, funds will be a principal concern of the State. We in America will meet our obligation. I do not wish to see a handful of officers of the ZOA exercise control over those funds in relation to Israel, as though their personal labors were responsible for the raising of the money or their individual genius is best calculated to determine how it should be spent.

Together with thousands of men and women throughout the country in the last decade or so, I have worked and given to the best of my ability to the United Jewish Appeal. As a leader in some of these campaigns, I have realized that the total community, and not any particular section of it, is responsible for the raising of this money. At the present time, the ZOA names the controlling group on the several corporations which govern the funds intended for Palestine. With all due regard to the sincerity and labor of all such appointees, there are many who are in no wise entitled to serve in the capacity

to which they have been named. They neither work nor give in accordance with their capacities, if at all. They do not even have the moral right to occupy their offices. They do not have the administrative experience. They have little, if any, knowledge of the communities which raise these funds. They are, unfortunately, appointees who vote on any issues, not in accordance with their own convictions, if they have any, but by order of a central, remote, politically-motivated headquarters corps.

It is tragic, indeed, to see the names of some of the people who presumably represent American Jewry at international conferences, in Palestine or elsewhere, to discuss financial support of Israel from the United States. This condition must cease. There are too many outstandingly gifted and capable men within the Zionist Organization of America, giving of their energies and resources with abandon, to permit the party hacks to keep offices which are handed out like political plums in a ward. The financial future of Israel is too important to entrust its guidance, insofar as America is concerned, to men who do not represent the very best in the ZOA.

## U. S. Political Action

We in America will have to continue to raise our voice in defense of Israel. But the how and the when should be made clear. The State has its appointees. It will have others. It will formulate policies in its capital. They will apply to the United States as to other countries. Our very first principle must be that nothing shall be done which will impede the sovereign operations of the State of Israel. I have heard one of the leaders of the ZOA say: "We are giving the money here. We know this country better than the Palestinians do. We'll have to guide them. In fact, we'll tell them." It's to combat just such an attitude that the Committee for Progressive Zionism is justified. There are moral reasons, but there are also legal reasons why the Zionists of America will have to learn to keep their hands off the political affairs of the State of Israel. The sooner the official leadership of the ZOA makes that clear to its membership and in its actions, the happier will be the adjustment to the new state of affairs.

But that does not mean that our help is not important in ways that are proper. The existence of a State in Israel does not deprive the citizens of this country from making representations to their Government, whether it be in advocacy or in criticism. Certain recent incidents come to mind: the seizure by order of the State Department of passengers in a New York port who were Jews; failure of our government to protect the rights of the American Jewish passengers seized by Lebanon; discussion with our government of possible inclusion within the European Recovery

Program benefits of the Jewish DPs in Europe or to assist in their rehabilitation in Palestine. There will be many such issues in the future.

We must be equipped to deal with them on a quite different basis. Most of our political activity in relation to our own government has been conducted in recent years from public platforms rather than face to face. We seem to have been satisfied to garrot a man with public invective rather than to convince him of our point of view in a personal interchange. I do not think that the diplomacy of any other people is conducted on this tub-thumping basis. It may be a relaxing outlet for our embittered emotions. It is, however, an expensive luxury when the fate of so many hundreds of thousands of Jews depends on what we do rather than on what we say. I do not think that Republican officeholders, any more than Democratic officeholders, will relish being denounced as "shysters" by Zionist leaders who have not had the courage or the capacity to discuss the issues in straightforward negotiation.

It is because the ZOA is the key factor in the American Zionist Emergency Council that its conduct in this field bears examination. During the past year, the most serious issues were being resolved by our government. This necessitated some knowledge of, some influence upon, the activities of President Truman, Secretary of State Marshall, Assistant Secretary of State Lovett, Defense Secretary Forrestal, U. S. delegate to the United Nations Warren Austin and various other principals affecting the fate of Palestine. The fact is that the Zionist Organization itself had no direct contact with these persons or their aides when the most crucial steps were being taken. It makes a virtue of an evil to score these officials of Government as venal or anti-Semitic. But the fact nevertheless remains that these persons do have the power to determine vital issues. One wonders what their thinking or action might have been if they had been reached with the facts as Jews see them.

So much of our political contact has taken the form of blasts from rostrums or in publicity releases to the newspapers. This may be good tactics to impress the general public with the energy or the devotion of Zionist leadership. It is not calculated to achieve the essential end. The attainment of political objectives is at least as much the result of influence upon individuals as it is pressure upon the mass. But the ZOA has not been conspicuously successful in the former area. Has it never occurred to other members of the ZOA to wonder why our political influence at Washington seems to be in inverse ratio to our steady growth in membership? It is time that we examined our own ineptitudes, our own lack of energy in making friends and influencing people, our own skill for the "grand boner."

Those in charge of our political relations should be trained specialists, who think in terms of what needs to be accomplished, not of their personal reactions.

(Continued on next page)



## THE NEED FOR CHANGE

(Continued from page five)

### A Sham War

The ZOA should return to its original role as a catalyst in American Jewish life. It has tended, in recent years, to set itself up as just another party, concerned only with its own prestige. It has even attempted to create an ideology which, by word and attitude, has tried to be a counterfoil to the Histadrut in Palestine. There has been a great deal of talk of aiding "the middle class." Being a member of that class in this country, I can appreciate any concern exhibited toward me. But I cannot forget that Israel is and ever will be established on the men and women who must earn their livelihood with their own hands, whether as white collar workers, farmers or artisans. Some of the ZOA expressions have made it appear that a class war is in the making, with the ZOA determined that the "middle class" should win out against the "lower economic class" in Palestine. I wonder how many members of the ZOA really subscribe to such a philosophy. My own conviction is that the overwhelming majority have one aim: to help the destitute masses who are coming to Israel to become free, self-sufficient, creative workers. Let's say that, then, to the people of Israel. Let the ZOA officials who have been fighting a sham war put down their weapons.

### ZOA Publications

Until the State of Israel is solidly established, there will be need for a vigorous Zionist movement in this country. To be effective, its membership will need to be informed. It cannot be said that the publications of the ZOA are designed to add to the factual knowledge of the membership. Certainly the official organ is no place now in which to find any intelligent discussion of the many problems which face Israel and to some of which we here may contribute solutions. One gains the impression that the publications are media for the building of personal reputations and that the editors depend for their jobs on the cumulative sycophancy that they can practice. Surely achievement will be recognized without all the Barnum & Bailey fanfare.

### Capital Market

Economic strengthening of Israel can come from the United States. This will consist of voluntary funds, of public and private loans, of encouragement of economic enterprises by American business men. There is every danger at the moment that chaos may engulf this potential. The ZOA is itself projecting a series of enterprises which have no State sanction and which are in direct competition with other programs sponsored by other parties. Building the economic future of Israel is not the business of the ZOA, the Mizrahi, the Poale Zion or any other individual group. It is the business of a coordinated American Jewry intent on the best for Israel, not the selfish interests of any individual or Zionist party. One may hope that the State of Israel will set up an Economic Office in its American delegation. That Economic Office alone

should have the power to determine what economic enterprises Palestine needs. The ZOA should take the lead in assuring the State of Israel that it will cooperate with and through such an Office. Unless this is done, American Jewry will be saddled with a variety of competitive efforts, many of which will be failures; others of which will inevitably be fraudulent. One will feel sorry for the losses to American investors; but one will feel even sorer for the damage that will be done to the capital market for Israel in the United States.

### "Outs" and "Ins"

Some opponents of the Committee for Progressive Zionism have said that it all boils down to the "outs" wanting "in." If by that is meant, I want to do much more for Israel than I have already done, I gladly plead guilty to the charge. As it happens, however, I personally was never "ousted" from any office. I withdrew, over great objections. Most of the members of the Committee that I know are rendering extraordinary service to Israel, without titles in any organization. I think I could afford to match their service with that of any title-holders. There are included in the Committee a number of people who have held office in the ZOA. With an isolated exception, they do not play an active role in the Committee for Progressive Zionism. But I wonder what inverted sense of values makes the ZOA feel that it is enriched because it does not have the active support of such men as Louis Lipsky, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Louis Levinthal, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Robert Szold. Did they really hurt Zionism so terribly in their lifetime? It would seem to me that any organization would try to examine its own conduct to discover why, with one exception, every former president is unsympathetic to its current policies. Can all these men be such enemies of Zionism, such sinister, self-seeking hobgoblins as the publicity spokesmen of the ZOA portray?

There are some members of the Committee for Progressive Zionism who even now occupy offices in the ZOA. Well, then, it is said, why don't they speak their minds within the confines of the organization. One must be personally familiar with the framework of the ZOA to appreciate why, after the first, third or fifth try, an independent voice must be stilled and seek refuge either in silence—or, aroused to the point of fruitful action—share in establishing a vocal opposition. In the past few years, a rigid party system has been established. Hands go up. Hands go down. Those whose hands go up at the wrong time soon learn that they are eliminated from any share in decisions. When crucial issues are involved and the one or two primary leaders have spoken, any one who disagrees is showered with such execration that he is made to feel a vandal or an assassin. Discussions are on personal levels, not on an objective, dispassionate plane. If the leader or leaders have voiced their view, any one who rises to dispute that view is at once the focus of horrified, resentful eyes. "He has dared to challenge the leader!"

The way to correct such a situation is to restore to the Zionist Organization an open forum for free discussion, so that out of a common, uninhibited interchange may come decisions based on the best thought of the group. This is infinitely better than a system which depends on the intuition, however psychically valid, of any single person or persons.

It is always easier to let things drift as they are. One retains all friends (assuming they are worth keeping). One's personal life is untarnished by acrimony. However, I happen to believe that the fate of Israel is important to me and my family. I can stand by and make cynical observations on the decline of the ZOA or I can determine that the way to improve a situation is to deal with it. That is why I have joined the Committee for Progressive Zionism and why I hope its principles will become the principles of the ZOA.

## ORGANIZED CHAOS

At the ZOA convention, according to an announcement of the World Confederation of General Zionists, plans will be submitted for "investments for housing, industry and agriculture." There are rumors that a program involving \$100,000,000 is to be initiated by the Zionist Organization of America. The Mizrahi Organization has issued publicity along similar lines. At its recent New York convention, it decided to build 100,000 rooms. At the same time, reports have appeared of a \$10,000,000 bond issue to be floated by the AMPAL (American Palestine Trading Corp.), which is generally regarded as a Poale Zion project.

On a lesser level, there has been parallel party activity. There is an organization called "Materials for Palestine," which was first in the field. It is a combination of purchasing mission and agency to receive free supplies needed today in Israel. The Zionist Organization of America, too, has launched a nation-wide effort to obtain supplies and materials, ranging from bandages to tractors. Hadassah, no less ambitious, is also eager to acquire supplies. Needless to say, the Poale Zion and the Mizrahi are no less remiss in their duty.

What does all this spell: chaos! The Jews of America, if they are not already in that state, will soon be fed up to the ears with all the competitive claims that will be made upon community manpower and resources. While party machines will be making grist for their private vested interests, the prestige of the State of Israel itself may easily suffer. In the effort to be successful, each party will make representations. More rather than less often, they will be exaggerated or even untrue. In the scramble for party prestige, no one will worry about the prestige of the one institution that should matter most: the State of Israel.

Let the ZOA take steps to restore sanity in this field. Let it show the statesmanship which should derive from its numerical strength and its qualitative power. Let it demand that there be centralized economic support for Palestine from the Jews of the United States, in which the only criterion will be the needs of Israel.



# OUR OFFER TO SERVE

The Committee for Progressive Zionism is animated by the desire to enlarge and strengthen the forces serving the Zionist movement. If an opposition group has been created, it is because the opportunities for free discussion within the present framework of the Zionist Organization of America have not existed. However, the aim is not to establish an opposition as such but to bring pressure to bear upon the ZOA so that its current restrictions on personnel and its pressures against opposite views may be lifted.

As a result of a decision of the Executive Committee of the group, two of its principal officers met in New York on Wednesday, June 23rd with Mr. Emanuel Neumann. They were Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, Chairman of the Committee for Progressive Zionism, and Mr. Joel Gross, Secretary. In a prolonged discussion of many hours, they reviewed the problems confronting the Zionist movement in America and the situation in Israel. The officers of the Committee submitted a series of specific requests and proposals. The amicable tenor of the conversation and the broad principles presented are reflected in a letter which Messrs. Rosenbloom and Gross sent to Mr. Neumann the following day. The letter reads as follows:

"June 24, 1948

"Dr. Emanuel Neumann  
"President  
"Zionist Organization of America  
"41 East 42nd Street  
"New York City

"Dear Dr. Neumann:

"We would like to thank you for the opportunity we had yesterday of discussing Zionist problems with you frankly and comprehensively. We do hope that as a result of these conversations, steps will be taken to bring about the coalition that you and we felt was desirable in the interests of our common cause. We shall be awaiting word from you on the several proposals that we presented.

"The developments in Palestine make doubly imperative a statement by the ZOA on the relation of American Zionists to Irgun. The ZOA itself should make unequivocally clear that it will not tolerate undermining of the State of Israel through fund-raising for Irgun in the United States. At the same time, the ZOA should use its influence in the American Zionist Emergency Council so that that body, speaking for all the Zionist parties, should be no less forthright in condemning an activity in this country which is calculated to jeopardize the sovereignty and even the existence of the State of Israel. We feel that this issue is a matter of life or death for the new State and that is why we plead with you to act quickly and effectively so that prompt guidance may be given to the membership as to the stand of the leaders of the ZOA.

"In our discussions yesterday we tried to make clear in great detail the views we hold on various aspects of Zionist activity in this country. Basic to the whole discussion, how-

ever was our offer to you of the devotion, the ability, the manpower of all those associated with the Committee for Progressive Zionism. We have no thought but to serve the Zionist cause and to strengthen the State of Israel through our common labors. We recognize that in any movement there are differences of opinion. But differences cannot be resolved through exclusion but through mutual consideration.

"We believe that a coalition administration of the Zionist Organization of America is essential. Every individual in this country, whether he be Zionist or non-Zionist, whatever his private opinion or public stand in the past, should be enlisted for the new phase of support that must be extended to the State of Israel, that it may prosper and welcome ever more Jews to its shores.

"There is need for unity, so that we in America may help to repel the foes that surround the State of Israel. We do not, however, seek unity at the price of suppression of conviction. We urge upon the ZOA a unity that cannot possibly be mistaken for uniformity. If there is tolerance for points of view; if there is respect for difference, by whomever or against whomever expressed, the ZOA can be one well-knit, efficiently functioning organization.

"As we emphasized yesterday, we seek no 'revolution.' All that we ask is that those who have service to give should be integrated into the ZOA. We cannot afford the luxury of 'ins' and 'outs.' All Jews have a contribution to make. Let us welcome all those who want to share in our undertaking.

"There is one point in particular that we wish to repeat and underline. One of the chief pillars for growth in Israel in the coming days will be material support from this country. Those who work toward that end must be recognized for what they are doing and must be encouraged. Thus, all those throughout the United States who play a pre-eminent role in the United Jewish Appeal, which has been the backbone of strength for Israel's development, must be permitted a vigorous and creative role in the ZOA.

"We have submitted a number of specific requests. We shall look to your reply.

"Cordially yours,

"CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM  
"JOEL GROSS"

## WHY I OPPOSE THE ADMINISTRATION

By Emanuel Neumann

(The Committee for Progressive Zionism within the ZOA has received a number of communications expressing regret at the appearance of an opposition to the present administration. The reasons for regret vary from the belief that opposition is untimely to the charge that it is malevolently inspired. It is in connection with such criticism that the following is published.)

"The Zionists of America are today divided into two opposing groups, one of which sup-

ports the Administration of the Zionist Organization of America in the present controversy, the other supporting the leaders of the World Zionist Organization. The group representing the side of the American Administration has had a certain advantage in presenting its 'case,' inasmuch as all the machinery of the Organization has been placed at its disposal. Even 'The New Palestine,' the official organ of the Organization, originally devoted to the furtherance of the Palestinian work, has for many weeks past been filled with *ex parte* statements and strongly-colored accounts of the events that have taken place. It has been carrying on, in fact, a systematic and energetic campaign for the Administration—refusing, at the same time, to publish statements made by other groups of Zionists, presenting the facts as they saw them.

"Tons of literature have been sent out to all parts of the country, paid for out of funds contributed by the Zionist membership, either for work in Palestine or for constructive Zionist work in this country. Indeed, the offices at 55 Fifth Avenue have been virtually converted into a great propaganda machine, for the purpose of molding public opinion, and winning support for the present policies of the Administration.

"So unrelenting have been the attacks directed against the World Zionist Organization and the Keren Hayesod, and, to such an extent have the minds of many unsuspecting Zionists and Jews been influenced by these one-sided statements and reports, that it has become necessary for those who stand for the integrity and the honor of the World Zionist Organization to speak up in order that elementary justice may be done."

The man who is now the President of the Zionist Organization of America wrote the above words—in the *New Maccabean* of June 1, 1921. In those days there was a deep rift in the Zionist Organization of America. On one side were Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Prof. Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver—all of them pre-eminent names, all of them people with the best of motives toward Palestine. On the other side were other people, Emanuel Neumann among them, who had convictions that differed. They battled hard and publicly.

In those days, the *New Maccabean* was a publication issued by the minority in the Executive Committee of the ZOA. Mr. Neumann, on the eve of the Cleveland convention that breached the ranks of American Zionism for years, wrote an article entitled "Causes of the Conflict." It was an excellent analysis of the record. It gave a vivid outline of the causes of the conflict. It framed the issues to be considered by a democratic Zionist Convention. The first three paragraphs of that article, reprinted above, described the handicaps under which the controversy had to be conducted by the minority, of which Mr. Neumann was then an active participant. History seems to be repeating itself, except that Mr. Neumann has changed places. He is now the Administration and not the minority.

This might be kept in mind by defenders of the present Administration of the ZOA when they deplore the expression of views by those who differ.



# THE AUTHORITY OF THE STATE

By Hon. Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

It is a source of pride to Americans that in the months of battle that preceded the present truce, Israel held back the aggressors of seven Arab States. Israel proved, with the force of arms, that it is able to support its sovereign position. All those who predicted that large international armies would be necessary to implement the United Nations decision on partition have proved wrong. The Jews said they could do it themselves. They did.

But a new crisis arose in Israel during the past week. It was a crisis, the outcome of which would determine whether the State could control its own citizens. Knowing that the State must still stand great trials in its relation to other powers, it is gratifying that Israel was able to solve its own crisis internally, with swiftness and firmness.

Because, in a degree, the Jews of America are involved in the crisis which was resolved in Israel this week, I would like to analyze it further.

Prior to May 15, when the State of Israel was established, there was a force called Haganah. It represented the majority of the Jews in Palestine. But there were also other groups. Whatever may have been the views of any of us on the various military groups before May 15, we recognized that when the State was established, there could be only one military force. Anything else would mean chaos at a time when the infant State needed a strong, central command to resist the enemies surrounding it on all its borders. Subsequent to May 15, one Army was established and all the groups were enrolled in the forces of Israel.

When the State of Israel accepted the truce which the United Nations had voted, the State and all its citizens were obliged to respect it. On faithful fulfillment of that truce depends the future relations between the State and the United Nations. The nations of the world, many of whom must still decide whether they will recognize the State of Israel, are watching to see whether there is a State in Israel, able to speak with authority for all its citizens.

Therefore, when the Irgun attempted to land arms in violation of the truce and in

complete disregard of the State of Israel, it was doing more to shatter the authority of the State than all the preceding attacks from the Arab League.

I fully realize that Israel is in great need of arms. We appreciate the zeal and even the selflessness of people who want to give their all for a Jewish Palestine. But we must also appreciate that the one thing above all others that a State needs to justify its existence among the nations of the world is: AUTHORITY. If that authority can be challenged internally, then it is weak and helpless externally. If the State of Israel had not acted as it did, its relations with Count Bernadotte, with the United Nations, with the United States itself would have been immeasurably weakened. For the inference would have been that the State was not strong enough to keep any commitment it made. I take this opportunity to congratulate the State for the brilliance of its political and military effort and for the firmness with which it exercised its authority this week.

But what happened in Palestine is not exclusively an internal matter, although certainly it should be.

Let us face the facts. There is in this country a body of people, small to be sure, which, either out of sincerity or false heroism, is supporting the dissidents in the State of Israel with funds. Whatever may have been the virtue of this activity before May 15, we should recognize that now such financial support, intended to weaken the internal authority of the State, is a stab in the back of Israel.

American Jewry has been one of the powerful pillars on which the Jewish community of Palestine has leaned. It would be tragic indeed if from the midst of American Jewry there should come the forces which would weaken the State for which so many centuries of Jews have dreamed and labored.

Whom the Jews of Israel choose for their leadership is their responsibility. But surely when that leadership has been chosen—and as it exists today in the State of Israel—none of us wants to encourage treason against the State with financial support from here. It is, naturally, sorrowful to see Jew arrayed against Jew. But it is inevitable that the State of Israel will find itself in the same position as any State, when it must exercise its powers to enforce its laws and its majesty.

## Zionist Issues

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\* This is from the text of a speech by the former Secretary of the Treasury and General Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal at New York on June 27.

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## FASTS and FEASTS

Overheard on the Drive — By ABE GORDON

"Your bearded friend seems to be sick. He looks pretty pale."  
"His sickness would do you some good, Joe."  
"I thought that you were a friend of mine, Professor!"  
"That's why I said what I said. A day's fast wouldn't do your waistline any harm. The gentleman in question will never get fat."

"Time marches on. It couldn't be Tisha B'Av, Professor?"  
"It couldn't, Joe. It is the seventeenth of Tammuz. Only the really Orthodox observe it."  
"I never heard of that Fast, Professor. What is its significance?"

"The walls of Jerusalem had been breached on that day by the Romans. The sages combined the earlier breach on the ninth of Tammuz when the Babylonians prepared for the destruction of the First Temple, with the result that my friend is willing to go hungry today."

"That's what I call long range patriotism. Imagine fasting because the walls of a city fell some two thousand years ago."

"Add another five hundred for the First Destruction, Joe. But that's what kept us alive. This day also introduces the Three Weeks of Mourning."

"A bit more enlightenment, please."

"The three weeks which elapsed between the breaching of the walls and the destruction of the Temple. Orthodox observant Jews abstain from meat and wine during these weeks."

"A grand excuse for boycotting the butcher or rather the meat tycoons."

"So far as my budget is concerned, I began my boycott some time ago, Joe."

"Isn't it strange how fasts have disappeared in America, Professor?"

"Holidays and fasts have to be spaced properly. How were the ancient rabbis to know that they would interfere with our vacations?"

"That's right, Professor. I remember only one Tisha B'Av observance in a country hotel some

two years ago. As for today's fast, I never heard of it. Had the rabbis known, they would have scheduled them for the winter."

"Then they would interfere with Florida trips, Joe."

"I guess more than one holiday must have gone by the wayside, Professor!"

"Most definitely, Joe. We lost Lag Baomer, the bow and arrow picnic day."

"Sounds unfamiliar, Professor."

"Next on the list is today's fast. I am not very sure that the Ninth of Av isn't a lost cause too."

"A pretty shaky patient, Professor."

"Then the New Year of the trees or Arbor Day, Joe."

"That was given a winter shot in the arm by the Sunday schools, Professor. My kids told me about that holiday."

"Of course, we lost the first days of the new months."

"I wouldn't know a Jewish month from a Turkish one, Professor."

"That goes for many more, Joe. On the other hand we gained a lot of holidays, such as Christmas, St. Valentine's."

"Some of us are doubtful about these gains, Professor."

"The business world has no doubts about the Father's and Mother's Days."

"You didn't know about the latest fashion of visiting graves of parents on these days, Professor?"

"What did I tell you some time ago, Joe? Every man a social scientist! That's the first time I heard about it. Looks like the month of Elul, the customary period for such visits, is joining the list of the lost."

"I have to check a reference in the Bible, Joe. It states somewhere that after the Redemption four fasts are to be abandoned. I believe that today's is among them."

"With the Israelis doing so well, I am just heading that biblical reference, Professor."

"The Bible student wins this time, Joe."

## American Jewish History

The Constant Reader

PUBLICATIONS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, Number 37, New York, 1947, 513 pp., \$7.50.

was devoted to the subject of American Intercession on Behalf of Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1840-1938, at least until 1933 a record of decency and protection, with Cyrus Adler and Aaron M. Margalith as authors. The same issue was republished by the American Jewish Committee in 1946 under the title *With Firmness in the Right* and with an additional chapter dealing with the War Years, 1939-1945. In contrast to the earlier chapters based in the main on archival materials, the new chapter is mainly based on official statements and polite organizational memoranda. The reader would never suspect from this coverage the collusion of our own State Department with the British Foreign Office's silent collaboration in Hitler's extermination policy. For instance, the Evian Conference and the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees are represented at their face value. Slightly more critical are the parts dealing with that fake Bermuda Conference. The authors' preferences for sticking to the documents under the guise of objectivity, only serve to cover up the U. S. Government's most doubtful war-time role so far as Jewish rescue and Zionism are concerned.

Of course, the earlier chapters are exempt from this condemnation, in spite of some shortcomings.

The reader will therefore easily surmise that we take more delight in reviewing the 1947 volume. We only wish that we did not have to wait so long for the appearance of these most valuable publications in American Jewish history. The volume's contents are varied, nor can we spare the space for comment on all of them. Over a 100 pages are devoted to an article by the late lamented Benjamin Rabinowitz on the subject of "The Young Men's Hebrew Association (1854-1913). The first of these, the Young Men's Hebrew Literary Association saw the light in 1850, in Philadelphia, a year before the organization of the Y. M. C. A. The movement grew most rapidly in the 1870's and 80's, thus laying the foundation of the settlement house of yesterday and the Jewish center of today. Mr. Rabinowitz has done a most competent job, utilizing the press and local institutional publications. In turn, the Jewish Welfare Board has done well by reprinting the article in book form in 1948 with the addition of an index. One of the least cultivated fields in American

Jewish history is that of the national organizations and movements. We are glad that the foundations have been laid for the history of the Center movement by a leader in this field, Dr. Eliezer Greenbaum.

The determination of American Jews to cling to Orthodox religious places is traced by Jeremiah J. Berman on the basis of 19th century news items dealing with demands for shohetim and mohelim as well as with the status of Sabbath observance. The author, known for his excellent volume on Shehitah, fails to present before us the other side of the medal. His data is nevertheless most important for the history of the Jewish communal functionaries in this country. Hans Lamm presents a good case for Doan's authorship or editorship of the oft-cited "Letter of a German Jew to the President of the U. S." (1783), suggesting the settlement of German Jews in this country and generally attributed to Moses Mendelssohn. Isaiah Sonne has some interesting data on the Indian Ten Tribes theory, while Menashe Vaxer delves into the history of Jewish names, using as a springboard the naturalization roll of Jews of New York (1740-59). Vaxer also solves a minor puzzle of the Baltimore "Hebrew Volunteers" in the Mexican War of 1846.

An interesting sidelight on Jews in higher education is furnished by Abraham Goodman's story of the admission of the Jews to Brown University, while Isidore S. Meyer, the Society's librarian, publishes a Hebrew oration delivered at Columbia's commencement in 1800. (We've gone pretty far since, and in the wrong direction at that). Meyer also brings to light a letter by John Adams (1808) which includes the statement that the Hebrews "are the most glorious Nation that ever inhabited this earth." Of course, that was before the Jews ever thought of the double loyalty accusation. Leo Shapell gives a useful bibliography of items pertaining to Jews in publications of state historical societies, while Moshe Davat lists the publications of Sabata Morais. Leonard Greenberg discusses some antisemitic publications of the end of the 19th century. Lee M. Friedman brings up the interesting trial of Aaron Lopez, whose ship was seized in 1778, as well as several minor items. The late Ismar Elbogen discusses our community's aid to Palestine in 1877. There are also contributions by Max Baym (on Emma Lazarus), Max Grunewald (on Franklin's "Parable on Brotherly Love"), several items by David de Sola Pool, as well as articles and notes by Henry P. Silverman, Harold Korn, Harold B. Perlman and J. Solis Cohen. Dr. Obituaries and presidential addresses complete the volume.

Our readers ought to become members of the Society and thereby support its work and derive the inducement for engaging in some research themselves. The Society's address is 3080 Broadway.

Abraham G. Duker.

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# REVIEW OF THE WEEK

## Focus Jerusalem

While Count Bernadotte was continuing his negotiations on the demilitarization of modern Jerusalem with its 100,000 Jewish population, the Israeli Government proclaimed New Jerusalem as Israeli occupied territory last Monday. On Thursday Foreign Minister Moshe Shertok stated that Israel may demand the city's inclusion, called for changes in boundaries and for reparations from Arab states for damages to both Jews and Arabs.

## Israel's Jurisdiction

This move, which may set up a barrier to the demilitarization plans and put Israel in a strong position to object to any other radical change of the city's status, was in conformity with a previously announced principle that any territory occupied by Israeli forces would come under the state's jurisdiction.

## Demands And Threats

On Sunday night, the Arab League Secretary General announced that the Arabs had agreed to Bernadotte's proposals to disarm Jerusalem under the condition of prohibition on Jewish immigration, return of the Arab refugees and ban on arms import to Israel. He threatened that failure to meet these conditions would force the Arabs to resume fighting regardless of the consequences. Four Arab delegates were nominated for the Jerusalem demilitarization talks.

On Monday, the Truce Commission started in Jerusalem to study the Security Council's plan to disarm the city and put it under UN's supervision.

The plan, worked out by Bernadotte and accepted by the Arab League's Political Committee, contained among others the demand for removal of all arms from Jerusalem, and the evacuation of all members of any armed forces. This would affect over 20,000 former Hagannah members. An "additional" Arab demand was to prevent these Jews from joining Israeli units in Israel territory.

"Israel," it was authoritatively declared in Tel Aviv, "would not agree even to discuss such a demand."

Soviet effort to raise the Jerusalem problem at the U. N. Trusteeship Council which is supposed to plan for the City's UN administration was outvoted at Thursday's Trusteeship meeting.

Israel's Representatives

President Truman received on Thursday Eliyahu Epstein, Israeli's representative to U. S. and

conveyed to him his best wishes for the progress, prosperity and success of the Jewish State.

Eliyahu Epstein, Israeli representative in Washington, made on Monday his first formal call on Secretary Marshall, at the State Department.

Mrs. Golda Mayerson, recently named Israel's first Minister to Moscow, left New York for Israel on Monday on her way to Russia.

Israel Barzilai, Israel's first Minister to Poland, is expected soon in Warsaw.

Bernadotte "Hopeful"

After his conference with Azam Pasha in Beirut, Count Bernadotte discussed with Mr. Shertok in Tel Aviv procedure for a final settlement, and, for the first time, spoke in terms of "armistice" rather than of truce.

Between the two conferences, Bernadotte said that he hoped to have a Palestine settlement, satisfactory to both Arabs and Israelis, ready to submit to the next UN General Assembly in September in Paris.

## Arabs Attack Convoy

Tuesday night, a Jewish supply convoy enroute to outposts in the Negev was heavily attacked by Egyptian forces, an Israeli government spokesman said in Tel Aviv on Wednesday.

Israeli forces repelled with attacks on Egyptian communications near Falujah.

On Wednesday, Arabs and Jews complained to the UN Truce Commission in Jerusalem on truce violations.

An Israeli spokesman said that the Arabs attacked Jewish positions on Mount Zion in Jerusalem, killing one soldier and wounding 12 in dynamiting a Jewish building. The Stern group newspaper Mivrah said that a member of its staff was killed by an Arab sniper in the Jewish quarter.

Col. Moshe Dayan, Palestine-born son of one of the founders of Nahalal, was appointed by the Israeli Government Commander of the Army's 6th Brigade, the Jerusalem garrison. Dayan is replacing David Shaltiel, who is believed to become Israel's military governor for Jerusalem.

Syria Defeated

At Lake Success, the Security Council on Tuesday rejected a Syrian resolution to divide the Palestine issue before the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Argentina, Belgium, Chile, Columbia, Great Britain and Syria voted in favor, the Ukraine voted against and Canada, France, the U. S. and Russia abstained.

Yakov A. Malik, Andrei Gromyko's successor, termed the

Syrian effort "a belated and ill-matched attempt to turn the clock back on the Palestine question."

He charged that the proposal was "a British plot to pigeonhole the General Assembly's partition plan and to maintain instability and confusion between Arabs and Jews."

Observing the 44th anniversary of the death of Theodor Herzl (20th Tammuz) as "Nation Day," Battle units of the Jewish Army, Navy and Air Force, representing the various fronts they had defended since the war began, paraded on Tuesday before 120,000 cheering Tel Avivians in the first public display of the formations and equipment of Israel's striking force.

While fighter-planes overhead and Israeli naval units fired rockets in Tel Aviv harbor, Jewish infantry, artillery and armored platoons including Palmach (shock troop) men and girls, moved through three miles of the capital's central thoroughfares. Brigadier Yaakov Dori, chief of the Israeli General Staff, received their salute.

Three Jews were wounded in Beirut by a hand grenade thrown into the Jewish quarter on Tuesday.

Open Gates

Moshe Shapiro, Israel's Immigration Minister, announced on Wednesday that since the creation of the state about 25,000 immigrants have been admitted, the majority on Israeli ships.

## Investigation

Secretary Marshall has ordered an investigation of charges against John Bernard Faust, U. S. Consul at Beirut, Lebanon, accused of having made antisemitic and anti-Negro remarks to the arrested U. S. Jews.

The 8 man crew of the war surplus B-17, flown by Pilot Irving R. Schindler to the Azores, was brought back to La Guardia airport. Schindler was arrested and is now released on a \$1,000 bail.

Poor Innocents

I. G. Farben directors were acquitted by U. S. military tribunal in Nuremberg of war plot accusation; nine out of 24 were found guilty of war crimes.

Famous First

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver received "Special Visa No. 1", from Arthur Lurie, Israel's Consul General in N. J.

PEOPLE

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STATE OF ISRAEL

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We urge that the United States take the lead in calling for economic and diplomatic sanctions against nations guilty of or abetting aggression against Israel.

DISPLACED PERSONS

The Progressive Party calls for the repeal of the anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which permits the entry into the United States of Fascists and

collaborators. We call for the enactment of legislation to open our doors to the true American tradition to the victims of Fascist persecution.

We support the prompt extension to Israel of generous financial assistance without political conditions.

We oppose any attempt to interfere with Israel in its sovereign right to control its own immigration policy.

We call upon the United States Government to provide immediate shipping and other facilities for the transportation of Jewish displaced persons in Europe who desire to emigrate to Israel.

We support within the framework of the United Nations the internationalization of Jerusalem and the protection of the holy places.

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## Israel and Political Pressure

Afterthoughts :: By BEN ASHER

Judging by the flood of postal cards sent by Italian Americans to their relatives in Italy before the recent elections there, we cannot agree with some of the spokesmen who have been advocating the idea that Jews outside Israel have no "political" interest in what is going on inside the Jewish state.

We referred to the Italian postal card campaign initiated with the blessings of our own State Department and fully backed by the press because Jewish spokesmen favor disassociation of Israel's politics from those of American Jewry are prompted mainly by community relation considerations stemming from the fear of the accusation of divided loyalty. The Italian-Americans evidently did not have such fears when they were so ardently interfering with Uncle Sam's blessings in domestic Italian politics.

We do not usually like to engage in day dreaming, but supposing our State Department were to fall into a sudden state of panic at the theoretical threat of the ascendancy of the pro-Soviet Hashomer Hatzair in Israel. The word would then go out to American Jews to grab hold of their fountain pens and start addressing these postal cards to their relatives in the Holy Land urging them to vote Mapai or General Zionist in the parliamentary elections. We can bet a blood transfusion for the Red Mogen David to a Council for Judaism propaganda tract about the DP's, that the same gentlemen would install mimeographing machines in their homes for that purpose.

What is Political?

All of which comes to prove that politics is a much abused term. Much of the lack of clarity concerning the word "political" is due to its association with other manifestations, particularly economic. To illustrate. By helping the Histadruth campaign, we support political laborite trends. Our friends from the Right support their own parallel ideological groups by investing in General Zionist institutions and undertakings. Of course, we are all helping to build up the state of Israel, but let us not fool ourselves by maintaining that we are not influencing political life there through our investments or contributions.

Moreover, the disassociating thinkers remind us of the "unhygienic" pre-1939 mentality. The war against the Jews all

over the world has just entered its virulent post-Hitler phase. "Former" and actual Nazis are being placed in the saddle in Germany. War criminals are getting away with murder. DP pogromists are preferred in the U. S. Britain and our own State Department are building up a genocidal Moslem front in the Near East. Reaction is a threat at home. We therefore refuse to disassociate Israel from the position of Jews in other countries. While hoping that we shall not be in need of such steps, we expect Israel some day to act as a bastion in the legal protection of the Jewish people against anti-semitism, at least on the battle arena of the UN and similar international platforms, if and when needed. Moreover, there is no telling when Jews in many so-called free countries may require Israeli passports for protection or refuge. The fact that the Jewish state may not be able to rescue all the threatened Jews will not be Israel's fault. It lies with Christian, you may even call it if you wish, with Judeo-Christian civilization, and to a lesser extent with the trembling Israelites (not Israelis).

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver made a revealing statement some time ago about his view on the role of the State of Israel in the life of the Jews everywhere. In his impromptu speech delivered before the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Dr. Silver stated, (we are quoting from the National Jewish Post), that:

"Israel is intended for the Jewish people in all parts of the world, including this part of the world. He also declared that his reading of the coming economic struggle led him to believe that world Jewry would undergo many tribulations and that they would not be limited to any one area of the globe."

Delusion Still With Us

Dr. Silver impresses us as one of the very few American Jewish leaders who have emancipated themselves from the emancipational philosophy of the majority of the American Jewry, whose spokesmen, themselves immigrants but yesterday, having tasted a bit of prosperity, proclaim the theory of American exceptionalism for American society and American Jewry. The same kinds of theories of German super-civilization, Austrian gemutlichkeit and what have you, were finally dropped only after bitter experience.

Elit Joshua Friedman, 31, of Salem, Mass., a lawyer, is fighting a court campaign by several people named Forbes to prevent the change of his name to Forbes. Friedman argued that the change was necessary to distinguish him from his business partner Theodore L. Friedman.

May be so, but why insist on the name Forbes?

ACTIVITIES

The Illegals, Meyer Levin's epic motion picture of the Aliyah Beth, the "illegal immigration," is still showing at the Ambassador Theatre, 49th St., near Broadway.

The Palestine Galleries, Inc., of 60 East 68th Street, will market Israeli made art objects. It operates under the sponsorship of the Keren Hayesod.

The Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati will offer courses in Jewish subjects to 25 students attending the University of Cincinnati. They will have the privilege of residence in the HUC Dormitory. High School graduates or university transfer students may apply.

Rabbi Max J. Routtenberg of Reading, Pa., is now executive vice-president of the Rabbinical Assembly of America, (Conservative). He is replacing Rabbi Bernard Segal, now assistant to the president of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

Today, over the Eternal Light radio hour, "Special Performance," about the first circus performance for DP children.

## SIDE GLANCES

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