



## Abba Hillel Silver Collection Digitization Project

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

Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

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American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, 1941.

January 21, 1941

CONFIDENTIAL MEMORANDUM FOR DR. SILVER  
FROM LEO SACK

I have discussed this matter with Dr. Feuer and I am asking him to give you this memorandum because I understand he may see you over the weekend.

I met Senator Bennett Clark at the Capitol Thursday afternoon and he told me that he had been wanting to see me for several days to tell me how much he enjoyed his visit with you the other day and how profitable it was to him from the standpoint of his general information on Palestine. Of you personally he had some very lovely observations.

Bennett said to me, "What can I do, Leo, to help?" I told him that he could help me and all of us by arousing the support of his very close friend Arthur Vandenberg. "Leo, I do not have a closer friend in the Senate than Vandenberg. He is perhaps my best friend in Washington. I will do everything I can with him," Clark replied. I then asked him to see Vandenberg as soon as possible and to get him to assume the Republican sponsorship for the resolution in the Senate. In the meanwhile Bennette offered to introduce the resolution himself and I tactfully told him we were asking Wagner to sponsor it because he is the Chairman of the American Palestine Committee but we wanted a co-sponsor and Vandenberg was our choice. He wanted to take up the telephone then to speak to Vandenberg but I urged him not to do it over the telephone but to see him in person. I then told Bennett that when the resolution is introduced I wanted him to sell Tom Connally in order that he will give us more than "lip" service. I told Bennett that I wanted him to urge Tom Connally to get an expression from the State Department in order that



Senators would vote for the resolution without fear and trembling that they were conflicting with the sacred cow policies of the State Department, as well as not upsetting the relations with the Arabs. Bennett promised he would do so.

Subsequently in the course of our conversation Bennett told me that to his great surprise he was being charged out in Missouri with being anti-Semitic.

This amazed me. As I have told you I attended the University of Missouri in the same class with Bennett Clark. He was my friend back in 1907-1908-1909. He was my friend when as a youngster he was the Parliamentarian of the House of Representatives and one of the grandest men of his time, his father, was a Speaker of the House. He has been my friend all through the years. To the very best of my belief and to my personal knowledge in many ways there isn't a streak of anti-Semitism in Bennett Clark and for the Jews of Missouri, at this time of all times when Jews as Citizens should stand up and be counted and should play the political game for their own interest and salvation to get the impression that Bennett Clark is anti-Semitic is an outrage. May I, therefore, request of you that you write Rabbi Gordon, who, I understand, is the leader of the American Zionist Emergency Council in St. Louis, and tell him that this is not so and that a great injustice is being done to a friend of ours, who wants to be and will probably be more than helpful to us. I think in justice to Mr. Clark that Rabbi Gordon and other influential Zionists in Missouri should as soon as possible take every possible step to scotch this lie.



For your further information I told Bennett that when he is up for re-election next Fall it will be a matter of great personal satisfaction to me and a privilege to go out to Missouri to address Jewish audiences and tell them that it is not so. I intend to do this.

As a matter of fact, Dr. Silver, with the kind of fight that is now being waged against us all over the world I think our cause will be greatly served if our people stand up to reward our friends and punish our enemies. I feel deeply on the subject of our failure in self-defense to have been more vocal in the past.

Kindest regards.



LEO SACK

Dictated and not reread.



STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

STATEMENT SUBMITTED ON BEHALF OF A JEWISH DELEGATION  
TO HIS EXCELLENCY, THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR, WASHINGTON, D.C.

March 13, 1941

We have the honour, in the name of American Jewry, and in particular of those hundreds of thousands of Jews who are members of the Zionist and other organizations which we represent, to bid you welcome to this country, and to tender you our very warm good wishes for the success of your mission, undertaken at so critical a period in the history of Britain and of all mankind.

2. American Jews, in common with the very great majority of their fellow citizens, have followed with the keenest sympathy the struggle which the British people, with magnificent courage and resolution, are waging against a tyranny which would seek to dominate and enslave the world. They are eager to afford Great Britain every support in that struggle, on the successful issue of which will depend the fate, perhaps for many generations, of the principles of liberty, justice and brotherhood amongst men.

3. In a letter to the Prime Minister at the beginning of the war, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, gave expression to this desire of Jews everywhere to help Great Britain in her hour of need. We are glad to endorse and confirm the sentiments thus expressed.

4. Your Excellency will be aware of the very great interest of the Jews of this country in the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. That this interest in the Zionist cause is not restricted to Jewish citizens of the United States, but is widespread and active, may be inferred from the resolutions passed unanimously by both Houses of the United States Congress in 1922 in favor of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, from the statements of approval and support of successive Presidents of the United States - President Wilson, President Harding, President Coolidge, President Hoover and President Roosevelt; and from the similar pronouncements of many men in public life during that time. More than two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate have recently associated themselves with the American Palestine Committee, organized in support of the Zionist effort in Palestine, and in that connection have again endorsed the Resolution of 1922.

5. We in America have learned with satisfaction of the part which the Jewish community of Palestine, under the direction of the Jewish Agency, is playing in the prosecution of the war in the Near East. Close to 8,000 young Jews resident in Palestine have enlisted in the British Army and in the Royal Air Force, and are now serving in that area. With appropriate government support, this contribution could be greatly augmented, as is evidenced by the fact that as a result of a voluntary registration conducted in Palestine by the Jewish Agency, out of a total Jewish population of approximately half-a-million, no less than 136,000 men and women between the years of 18 and 50 declared their readiness for national service, most of the men being of military age and ready to serve as combatants. Jewish farmers and industrialists, further, are making every effort, with a considerable measure of success, to meet the urgent requirements of the armed forces for supplies of all kinds. It is our earnest desire that the Jews both inside and outside Palestine who may be free to do so, be enabled to make a maximum contribution in the struggle against the common enemy. To this end, we would urge, in conformity with the representations made by the Jewish Agency for Palestine,



that Great Britain avail itself to a fuller extent of the readiness of the Jewish people to help, by the establishment of a suitable Jewish military force for active service in that struggle and for the defense of Palestine, we would submit that such a force should enjoy a status similar to that accorded the forces of other Allies of Great Britain.

6. We wish to emphasize that our stand in relation to the war in which Britain is now engaged is clear and unequivocal. We are anxious to assist in any way possible and to avoid any act or word which may add to her burden in this critical hour. But our very concern for the integrity of the British cause, which is also the cause of world democracy, induces us to direct your Excellency's attention to certain other matters affecting the policy of His Majesty's Government in Palestine, which have occasioned widespread concern in this country. We refer to the exclusion and deportation from Palestine of thousands of hunted and persecuted Jewish refugees, including, under circumstances of astonishing inhumanity, the refugees of the S.S. Atlantique after they had actually been landed in Palestine; we refer further to the unwarranted manner in which the Palestine Administration is administering the land transfer regulations, in this respect going beyond even the very restrictive legislation of May 1939; and to the misuse of the legitimate military censorship to stifle the proper expression of public opinion for political ends unconnected with the war. A considerable body of Zionist sentiment here has, moreover, been disturbed, particularly of recent months, by authentic reports from Palestine that the civil, as distinct from the military authorities, are so intent upon restricting the development of the Jewish National Home and so reluctant to accept the assistance of the Jewish Agency in the diverse war activities in that country, that the war effort itself is on occasion permitted to suffer. Facts of this kind, of which we are obliged to take note, produce a painful impression on the minds of people in this country and are particularly unpalatable to the friends of Britain who wish to believe them false but in the face of the growing evidence are unable to do so. Moreover, as was the case with the refugees of the "Patria", such happenings are liable to be exploited for their own ends by forces hostile to Great Britain. If we make specific references to these matters, it is in the hope that once brought to the notice of the proper authorities, the abuses mentioned will not be permitted to continue.

7. The fate and future of the Jewish people is bound up uniquely with the fate of the Jewish National Home, and after final victory has been won, Palestine alone can offer a constructive solution to the problem of the homelessness of hundreds of thousands of European Jews. Only by the establishment of the ancient Jewish homeland as a Jewish Commonwealth, will the dispossessed, the uprooted, the unwanted find a secure and permanent home within which they can rebuild their shattered lives as so many have already done. But we are deeply conscious too of the wider human problem with which is bound up that of our own people. It is our earnest prayer that out of the present struggle may emerge a world in which the consuming political and economic jealousies and conflicts of the past may disappear, and in which freedom and not force shall be the guiding principle. How close-knit the framework of such a system will be made will depend on many factors, largely unpredictable at present. But within such a system alone do we Jews, together with far-sighted men and women of all nations, see the possibility of leading the good life as individuals and as a people. Because we fervently believe that we share this hope and this conviction with enlightened statesmen both here and in England, we have come today to pledge to Your Excellency, as we did to your distinguished predecessor, whose untimely death we deeply mourn, our unflinching faith in and active help to the just cause for which the British Empire with its allies are fighting today; and together with this, to put on record our conviction that the spirit with which Palestine is to be governed must accord with the sanctity of international obligations for which Britain has drawn the sword, and cannot fall short of the ideals of justice common to us all.



September 3, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I don't know whether you have seen Albert Viton's article, "Palestine on the Brink", in the current issue of the Christian Century (Sept. 3, 1941). It is a scandalous and dishonest article full of lies and distortions. Because it appears in the Christian Century, an answer should be made covering Viton's misstatements one by one, and that should be done right away.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ANS:BA



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

September 4, 1941

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

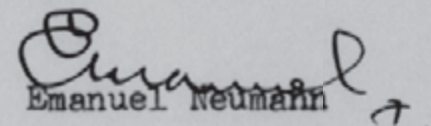
Thanks for calling my attention to Viton's article  
in The Christian Century.

The journal and the author are of a kind and  
both have been giving us trouble.

I am making an effort to have the article answered  
probably over the signature of Prof. Ralph Harlow of Smith Col-  
lege, to whom I am writing today.

As ever

Yours,

  
Emanuel Neumann



COPY

AHS File

re: American Zionist  
political action

SEPTEMBER 19 1941

NLT

KAPLAN  
JEWISH AGENCY  
JERUSALEM

UNANIMOUS OPINION ALL GROUPS INCLUDING NEW ZOA EXECUTIVE CIRCUMSTANCES  
REQUIRE GREATLY EXPANDED INTENSIFIED EFFORT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE YEAR  
FORTYONE FORTYTWO REACHING AGREEMENT PRINCIPLE PROVIDE ONEHUNDRED  
THOUSAND DOLLARS THROUGH UPA APART ADDITIONAL SUMS TO BE RAISED OTHER  
SOURCES CONFIDENT YOUR VIEWS COINCIDE



WISE LEVINTHAL LIPSKY GOLDSTEIN SILVER

Charge Emergency Committee - 41 E. 42nd Street



SEPTEMBER 19 1941

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KAPLAN  
JEWISH AGENCY  
JERUSALEM

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WISE LEVINthal LIPSKY GOLDSTEIN SILVER

Charge Emergency Committee - 41 E. 42nd Street



September 26, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am returning herewith the documents which you sent me. I read them with the keenest interest. It is interesting to note how closely Hexter's and Wolf's statements, last night, followed the line of Merton of the Daily Telegraph.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK  
Enc.



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

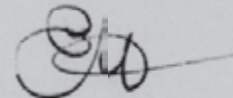
October 17th, 1941

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple, Cleveland, O.

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing herewith a draft memorandum on a program for public relations and political work in accordance with the decision of the Executive Committee at its last meeting. I am anxious that you go through it carefully and return it to me with your comments. I should not like to present it to the next meeting before I have the benefit of your views.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

encl.



MIAMI UNIVERSITY  
Oxford, Ohio

Department of History

October 30, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

I need not tell you how very grateful I am to you for the splendid package of materials which came to me today from your office. They will all be very valuable in the preparation of my study. I would be especially happy to have any materials which you may have dealing with the position of Dr. Judah L. Magnes on the Palestine problem.

You have asked as to the nature of my study. I am preparing a volume to be entitled: AN AMERICAN EXPERIMENT IN PEACEMAKING; THE KING-CRANE COMMISSION. Perhaps you may recall this Commission as a group which President Wilson sent out to the Near East in the spring of 1919 to investigate conditions for the Peace Conference. It so happens that during the past year I have fallen "heir" to practically all the papers of this Commission, and have recently completed my research in the Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress. I hope to have the manuscript ready for publication before the end of this year. Incidentally if you have anything bearing on the King-Crane Commission and the Zionist attitude toward it, I would be glad to have it.

I may tell you that I am trying to approach the problem with detachment and objectivity, with the feeling that the interests of all parties concerned may be adjudicated fairly and a just settlement achieved. I know, of course, that this can be done only through an American-British-Allied victory over the forces of Nazi-Fascist barbarism. Certainly I intend to write or do nothing which would give aid or comfort to our enemies foreign or domestic.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Harry N. Howard

17 East Spring Street



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REFUGEES DO=

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

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CALLS

ABBA HILLEL



October 21, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Thank you for sending me the draft of your enlarged program for public relations and political work. As you know, I am in complete sympathy with the program. We need speedy, large-scale and effective public relations work in this country. We have an uphill fight ahead of us.

My one suggestion would be that you try hard not to build up a costly and cumbersome bureaucracy, office apparatus, regional organizations, etc., etc. This involves not only wasted money but wasted energy. It is far more important to obtain and subsidize a few important individuals (they need not all be Jews) to do our contact work wherever such work is necessary. Personalities rather than machinery should, in my judgment, be the approach, and the cultivation of persons and groups who occupy decisive positions rather than large-scale mass agitation (although this latter is not entirely excluded).

It would be, in my judgment, tremendously helpful if we could procure the full time services of one or two prominent Americans (not necessarily Jews) who have certain standing and reputation to help us do our political work in Washington and elsewhere, even if this involves the outlay of considerable funds.

I shall probably be in New York before very long. We may then have an opportunity to talk over this thing further.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

ANS:BK



October 22, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am afraid that neither Nahum Goldmann  
nor McDonald will do.

I note that you have a very impressive list  
of speakers for the New York meeting and you certainly  
don't need me. I will come some other time.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. I forgot to mention that Cleveland is planning  
Balfour Day celebration on November 2nd and  
that they want me to speak.



AHS File

## EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

41 East 42nd Street  
Room 1121  
New York CityRe: Amer. Zion.  
political  
action

October 23, 1941

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am grateful to you for your letter of the 21st, with your critical and constructive comment. It has given me food for thought and I shall take your suggestions fully into account when revising my memorandum.

The trouble is, of course, that our discussions as to method and details are theoretical, as long as there is no definite assurance of even a minimum budget. Every few weeks we have had to stare into an empty treasury and wonder whether we would be able to pay the stenographers. It is a wretched way for the movement to deal with the whole subject.

To our cable to Palestine there has been no reply, nor did I expect any. We have not written them because we could not explain in a letter certain details which would be read by the authorities. But we did convey full oral messages. Their silence seems to say pretty clearly: "we won't take the responsibility of voting you the funds, neither will we take the responsibility of voting you the funds, neither will we take the responsibility of denying them to you". "Cut tacent conclamant".

Now the situation has been further complicated by the fact that Judge Levinthal, supported by Morris Rothenberg and Szold, has been insisting that the Emergency Committee must clear itself of the imputation of being the agent of foreign principals within the meaning of the Act requiring the registration of such agents with the authorities in Washington. The stigmata of such agents are:

- (a) Acting on the instructions and under the direction of a foreign principal, and
- (b) Receiving funds from a foreign principal.

We accordingly discussed the dissolution of our Committee and the organization of a new committee with the same individuals as members, under the name of "American Council for Zionist Affairs". On further discussion Levinthal and Szold have offered a new suggestion: that the present Committee be not dissolved, but that it adopt a resolution substantially along the lines of the draft which I am enclosing.



Apart from various other questions and implications involved, it is clear that the Emergency Committee would not and in any case could not henceforth appear to receive its funds, as it were, from abroad. Last night, at the meeting of the ZOA Executive Committee, I brought this home to them sharply and pointed out that the adoption of the resolution suggested implies at once the need to assure of a minimum budget of the Emergency Committee by the United Palestine Appeal. However, the attention of Judge Levinthal and others is engaged by the legal-political question, almost to the exclusion of the practical problem of maintaining the Emergency Committee and its work. So that in effect we have made virtually no progress with regard to the Emergency Committee budget.

At the same time, both Wertheim for the Poale Zion and Gellman for Mizrachi, assured me that their people would favor and support the idea of an allocation for the Emergency Committee by the United Palestine Appeal (in the councils of the Jewish National Fund and Keren Hayesod), provided the plan had your support.

I am giving you all this by way of background, because you will, of course, be called upon to deal with this matter very soon.

I congratulate you upon the comparative success you had with the Allotment Committee and on the report I have heard indicating that the United Palestine Appeal would have a net income this year about \$500,000 in excess of the figures for 1940. Thank heavens for that!

With warmest regards, I am, as ever

Yours,

Emanuel Neumann



WHEREAS, the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs has been in existence for over two years and its status and functions have altered from time to time, and it has no constitution or by-laws, and it is deemed desirable to clarify its status, purpose and functions,

NOW, THEREFORE, be it

RESOLVED, (1) that the name of the Committee be American Council for Zionist Affairs; (2) that a committee be appointed to formulate a simple set of by-laws; (3) that a committee be appointed to consider and report on incorporations of the Council; (4) that the Council shall carry on in this country such Zionist activities of a general character more particularly in the field of public and political relations as are of common interest to the Zionist Organization of America, to Hadassah Women's Zionist Organization; to the Poale Zion Organization; to the Mizrachi Organization of America, and to any other American (Zionist) groups admitted to membership as may be specifically agreed to by them, it being of course understood that this committee is not an agent or representative of any foreign principal or under the direction of any foreign principal and receives no subsidy from any foreign principal; (5) for the time being and until such time as the Council shall otherwise decide, all existing offices and committees shall continue to function as presently.



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Folders: Emergency Committee

MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121

NEW YORK CITY

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With warmest regards, I am, as ever

Yours,

Emanuel Neumann

en.sb



October 28, 1941

MEMORANDUM

TO SSW  
FROM EN  
RE Brandeis Memorial

I regret infinitely that I shall be in Chicago tomorrow and unable to attend your committee meeting. I would therefore appreciate your presenting my point of view in my absence. Briefly, it is as follows:

- I. The usual form of memorial - tree planting, naming a colony, etc. while admissible, would not meet this particular situation.
- II. It is vitally important to perpetuate Brandeis' intellectual and spiritual influence in America, particularly among the educated classes of Jews and non-Jews, in relation to the Jewish problem, Zionism and Palestine.
- III. All aspects of the movement, intellectual, political and practical, were close to Brandeis' heart, but due weight should be given to the circumstances of the hour, of the period in which we are moving. In this period special importance attaches to the political phase, using the word in its broadest meaning.
- IV. It would therefore seem that the Brandeis Foundation, if it is created should, so far as it operates on the American scene, make provision for such things as:
  - (a) Zionist work in academic circles, more particularly to inform and win scholars and specialists in international law, political science and related fields;
  - (b) Establishing Zionistically useful relations with committees and organizations dealing with foreign affairs, post-war reconstruction, etc.;
  - (c) Establishing a Brandeis Chair in Zionism and Palestine Affairs in one of our leading universities (Harvard??);
  - (d) Publishing books and other serious cultural material through the efforts of distinguished specialists and literary men;
  - (e) Establishing research fellowships on Zionist and Palestinian problems, on subjects directly related to our practical problems.
- V. Such a program need not rule out activities in Palestine, such as a Brandeis Chair at the Hebrew University; perhaps a Chair in American History, Civilization and Law.
- VI. A large part of the work of the Foundation in this country may be carried on under the name of and through a Brandeis Institute, which will tend to cultivate various activities. Personally, I should like to call it the Brandeis-Herzl Institute.
- VII. The list of activities mentioned is by no means intended to be exhaustive, but rather typical of what I have in mind.
- VIII. I think it would be a profound mistake to limit the work of the Foundation to Arab-Jewish Relations, or to make that subject too conspicuous in the announcements, but I fully agree that it is one of the fields which should be dealt with.
- IX. The Foundation should be established and organized by and through the Zionist Organization of America, with the cooperation of Hadassah, if an agreed program is arrived at. The trustees of the Foundation should be named by the Zionist Organization of America (and Hadassah, if it joins in). We should avoid the mistake of again creating an institution over which eventually the Zionist Organization may have no control or influence.

I am not going into the technique of raising the funds, which is a matter of importance to be dealt with as soon as there is clarity as to the purposes.



MINUTE OF MEETING WITH MEMBERS OF  
AMERICAN PALESTINE LEGION

October 23, 1941

On behalf of the Office Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, Mr. Wertheim, Mr. Neumann and Mr. Lourie met with three representatives of the Executive of the Jewish Legion (Mr. Marche, Mr. Ginsburg and one other) at their request. The following points were made by the Legionnaires:

1) The Legion is anxious to be given a specific job of work to do. They feel that this should be in connection with the proposal for a Jewish army. They are anxious to cooperate with the Emergency Committee and feel that use can be made of their name and associations with Palestine to further the army idea. They urge that the demands for a Jewish Army should not be kept within the sphere of "Cabinet discussions" but that there should be a wide-spread public campaign.

2) Another suggestion made by the Legion and which commended itself to all present was that in view of the fact that next March would be the 25th anniversary of the establishment of the Legion, a national convention of Jewish veterans should be organized to which leading public figures should be invited and wide-spread publicity given to the affair.

3) The Legion representatives also expressed their interest in the training of air pilots, and urged that steps be taken to merge the existing schools into a central organization with more effective backing by the leadership of the movement in this country.

It was agreed that the results of the discussion should be communicated to the Office Committee.

A.L.



October 24, 1941.

To: The Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

From: Vaad Bitachon

It was at the end of May, that the telegram came from the Jewish Agency, requesting a renewal of activity on behalf of the Vaad Bitachon. The Emergency Committee shortly afterwards requested the existing Vaad Bitachon Committee to commence its activity. The work really began in June, and has been carried through during the months of July and August, within the scope set up by the Vaad Bitachon Committee from its inception, namely, a quiet inner action mainly among Zionists.

From the very outset, the various Zionist parties in the United States gave the Vaad Bitachon wholehearted cooperation. Hadassah has promised a contribution of \$25,000, contingent upon the Vaad Bitachon Committee raising \$75,000. Labor Zionist promised \$15,000. Mizrachi gave the Vaad Bitachon a note for five months for \$5,000.00.

Of these sums, the Vaad Bitachon Committee has to date received from Hadassah \$10,000, from the Labor Group \$6,325.00, from the Mizrachi \$1,000 first payment of their five-month note; \$2,5000 from Mizrachi Women's Organization; \$1,000 from Junior Hadassah, in all a total of \$20,825.00.

From other sources, almost entirely from the general Zionist group, the Vaad Bitachon has raised in these two months also about \$20,825.00.

The response has been very warm, and it is our experience that the rank and file Zionists have been eager to participate in this action. Miss Udin was present at the Convention in Cincinnati, where a Vaad Bitachon meeting was arranged, and throughout the Convention, there was evidence of interest in the work, and desire to participate in it. The Zionist Convention has also formally passed a resolution, making the Vaad Bitachon one of the projects for its Districts.

There has arisen some confusion due to the fact that the Hechalutz Campaign for Hechalutz and Haganah, was conducted at the same time, and it was difficult for the layman to distinguish between the Vaad Bitachon and a campaign run along very much the same lines, although the Committee has held at all times that there could not be a united campaign, due to the very approach and function of both Vaad Bitachon and Hechalutz.

We are, of course, not completely satisfied with the present results, but considering that the Vaad Bitachon Committee has been inactive for about a year, it was gratifying to see the immediate response to the Vaad Bitachon call.

There are still large communities in the midst of their work, such as Chicago where we have about \$5,000 outstanding; New England, with \$10,000; Milwaukee with \$2,000; Detroit with \$2,000; Cleveland with \$1,000; Los Angeles with \$1,000, etc.

Summing up, the present situation stands thus; Vaad Bitachon has about \$30,000 outstanding from various Zionist groups, about \$22,000 definitely pledged by local Zionist groups, so that we are hopeful to have available shortly, the \$100,000 set as our immediate goal.



1 File: UPA - USA 1941-1942  
Folder: Emergency Committee

MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

October 24, 1941

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

\* Copy attached.  
You will recall that on September 19 a telegram was sent to the Executive in Jerusalem signed by Dr. Wise, Judge Levinthal, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky and yourself.\* To this cable no reply has been received, but in the interval a new factor has developed regarding the status and character of the Committee.

Following discussions at meetings of the full committee and of the Office Committee, and on the recommendation of a sub-committee of legal experts, it was decided to reconstitute the Committee in such a way as to eliminate the need for registration of the Committee as an agent of a foreign principal. I attach a copy of the resolution adopted at yesterday's meeting of the Office Committee which is to be submitted for confirmation at a meeting of the full committee on Thursday, November 6.

The definition of the term "agent of a foreign principal" contained in the 1938 AOT includes "any person who receives compensation from... a foreign principal". In view of this provision, the Committee, (subject to certain reservations on the part of Dr. Goldstein) was of the opinion that we could not look to the Executive in Jerusalem for funds, but that an allocation should be sought from the UPA. Presumably, therefore, the matter will be raised at the next meeting of the UPA Administrative Committee.

The Emergency Committee, which has been hobbling along for some months now with no definite budgetary allocation, is in urgent need of monies to conduct its normal activities. It was accordingly resolved at yesterday's meeting of the Office Committee, to request the UPA to advance to the Emergency Committee \$25,000 on account of any grant that may eventually be made. It would be possible of course for us to continue once again on a week to week basis with a smaller advance, but in order to plan our program for a few months ahead with any sense of security, we would urge that an advance of the amount named should be made available.

It is sincerely hoped that you will be able to give your kind help in this matter.

Kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

*Arthur Lourie*

Arthur Lourie:

al:re



COPY

AHS File

EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

41 East 42nd Street  
Room 1121  
New York City

October 24, 1941

*Re: Amer. Zionist  
political action*

Rabbi A. H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

You will recall that on September 19 a telegram was sent to the Executive in Jerusalem signed by Dr. Wise, Judge Levinthal, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Lipsky and yourself, copy attached. To this cable no reply has been received, but in the interval a new factor has developed regarding the status and character of the Committee.

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It is sincerely hoped that you will be able to give your kind help in this matter.

Kindest regards.

Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Arthur Lourie



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

October 30, 1941

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

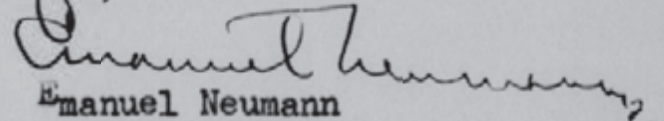
Dear Abba:

I am enclosing copy of a letter from Prof. Harry N. Howard about which I spoke to you. As I told you, I have written to James Heller about it.

I would be grateful for any suggestions as to how we might handle this matter. It worries me terribly.

With kind regards, I am as ever

Yours,

  
Emanuel Neumann

Enc.

(Oxford, Ohio is 38 miles from Cincinnati, I was informed).



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY


November 5, 1941.

Dr. Abba H. Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am not sure whether my memorandum on  
the Brandeis Memorial has been seen by you, and I am  
therefore sending you a copy.

Sincerely yours,

  
*Emanuel Neumann*  
Emanuel Neumann

enc.



COPY

November 9th, 1941

GMQSE W3972 LONDON 69 7 1745

NLT LOURIE

41 East 42nd St. NEW YORK

WE SAW ANTHONY (DE ROTHSCHILD) AND FRIENDS SEPTEMBER NINTH FOR DISCUSSION SIMILAR  
LINES STROOCK GROUP STOP DISCUSSION SHOWED GENERAL AGREEMENT PREMISES PROBLEM  
STOP WE SUBSEQUENTLY SUBMITTED MEMORANDUM OUTLINING REASONS FOR OUR SOLUTION ANTHONY  
REPLIED AGREEMENT PREMISES NOT AS GENERAL AS WE ASSUMED OUR MEMORANDUM NOT AFFORDING  
BASIS AGREEMENT THEY PREPARING STATEMENT THEIR VIEWS PROPOSALS AS BASIS FUTURE  
COOPERATION STOP THEY MAY BE CONSULTING STROOCKS GROUP

BLINTON



MEMORANDUM

November 12, 1941.

To: Members of the Office Committee

From: Arthur Lourie

1. With reference to the plan reported recently in the New York Times for a permanent settlement of the Palestine question, it was felt, on the basis of previous experience, that a direct inquiry to the Executive would probably be held up by the censorship. Accordingly, a request for further information was sent via Falcor, to which the following reply was received:

"PLAN SPONSORED EXCERTAIN JEWPERSONALITY TIS  
ALLEGED SUPPORT CERTAIN ARAB INTELLECTUAL SOURCES  
BUT MEASURE SUPPORT COMMANDED BY PLAN IN WIDER  
ARAB CIRCLES UNCERTAIN PROTEM UNSPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE  
ATTACHABLE NUMEROUS SIMILAR CONVERSATIONS PLACETOOK  
PAST YEARS WITH NO TANGIBLE RESULTS "

2. I have received the following letter from Mr. Robert Szold:

November 7, 1941.

Dear Mr. Lourie:

I hereby resign as Treasurer of the  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

Very truly yours,

(Signed )

ROBERT SZOLD

\_\_\_\_\_

3. I attach copy of a "Memorandum for Congress of American Zionist Youth".



November 25, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Dr. Newman, Head of the Dropsie College, was in Cleveland yesterday, and in a conversation with him he told me that he had met Bullitt in Washington in connection with a project of his, and that he found him most friendly to Zionism. In fact Bullitt volunteered his opinion, which impressed Dr. Newman greatly. I believe that this should be followed through. Bullitt may become a great source of strength to us in Washington.

He also said that Professor Albright had told him that although he had been indifferent to Zionism in the last twenty years, he has finally come around to the conviction that it is the only solution. Albright of Johns Hopkins, as you know, is a very important man and should be cultivated.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. Dr. Newman is trying to arrange some conference, the scope and purpose of which I am afraid is very vague and may be fraught with unforeseen complications. He is planning a conference of Mediterranean peoples to stress particularly the democratic motif in Islam. That is as near as I can get to it. It may be worth your while to look into it.



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

November 27, 1941

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Abba:

Many thanks for your letter of the 25th.

The information about Bullitt is most valuable. I spent all day yesterday in Washington in connection with the Bullitt matter. FF is seeing him and perhaps also Dr. Wise and others, unless he leaves immediately.

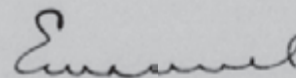
Albright I had seen about a fortnight ago, and spent an evening with him. He told me, too, that he had been a cultural Zionist but had come to accept the full program and is quite ready to be helpful. He was most enthusiastic about the idea of a quarterly on Palestine and the Middle East, which I discussed with him.

I am going to contact Dr. Newman about the Mediterranean conference.

Thanks once more.

As ever

Very cordially yours,



Emanuel Neumann

en.sb



November 27, 1941

Dr. A. A. Newman  
Dropsie College  
Philadelphia, Pa.

Dear Dr. Newman:

I was delighted to hear from Abba Silver what you had reported concerning Bullitt.

Regarding Albright, I had spent a delightful evening with him two weeks ago and found him ready to be helpful in every way. He is particularly interested in the idea I broached of publishing a quarterly dealing with Palestine and the Near East.

Silver has also said something about your interest in a Mediterranean conference. Curiously enough, I have been interested in the idea of a Mediterranean League or Federation in which Palestine may be linked. The conference you have in mind may have important political bearings. As the person charged with political affairs, I should like very much to discuss the matter with you, preferably before the ideas mature into definite plans.

Do you come to New York, and if so, when do you expect to be here? I am due to speak in Philadelphia a week from Sunday (December 7th) but I would not like to defer our talk unduly, especially if you will be coming to New York before then.

Could you drop me a line and let me know what the possibilities are?

Very cordially yours,

Emanuel Neumann



November 28, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am enclosing herewith a letter from Rabbi Julius Gordon of St. Louis who has been appointed chairman of the Palestine Committee which was appointed by the Central Conference of American Rabbis. He wants guidance for the committee. I believe that it would be very helpful if you would get in touch with him. Tell him that I wrote to you, and indicate to him wherein the Central Conference of American Rabbis can be helpful.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever,

AHS:BK



copy for Dr. Silver

December 5, 1941

Rabbi Julius Gordon  
Congregation Shaare Emeth  
6830 Delmar Boulevard  
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Rabbi Gordon:

My good friend, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, has drawn my attention to the fact that you are Chairman of the Palestine Committee of the Central Conference.

Dr. Silver has furthermore requested me to write to you in order that contact might be established between you and our Committee, as well as the American Palestine Committee. I quite understand that it would not be possible to proceed as if the Central Conference is an official Zionist organization, which of course it is not. The same question arose, more or less, in a somewhat different form, when the American Palestine Committee, headed by Senator, was organized. Its approach to the subject was via the problem of Jewish refugees, as you can see from the literature of the American Palestine Committee, which I am sending you. Nevertheless, in substance, the American Palestine Committee supports the Zionist program, the Jewish National Home, etc., and is strongly opposed to curtailing Jewish rights in Palestine; to the restriction of immigration; to the White Paper of 1939, etc.

Dr. Silver has asked me to make certain suggestions to you as to the manner in which your committee might be most helpful and effective. I should very much like to do so in this letter, but find that the matter requires careful thought and study. With your kind permission I would therefore like to return to this subject in a subsequent letter.

In the meantime, I would appreciate any information you may be able to give me regarding your committee. If its composition is not confidential I should like to have a list of its members.

Very sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

en.sb



MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

December 8, 1941

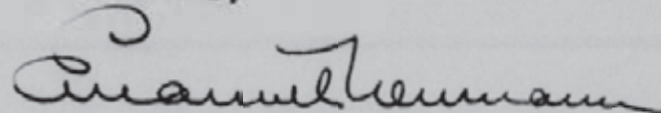
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

In accordance with the suggestion contained in  
your letter of November 28th, I have written to Rabbi  
Julius Gordon, as per attached.

With kind regards, as ever,

Yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN:IF  
Encl.



December 10, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

With reference to Rabbi Louis Schweifel --  
I agree. I would suggest, however, that you  
talk it over with Mr. Montor.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



## Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

December 11, 1941

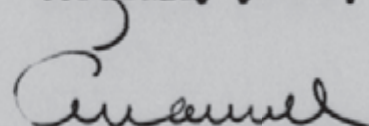
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

1. Thanks for your prompt reply to my letter regarding Schwefel.
2. Montor yesterday told me about the difficulty he has been experiencing in getting important speakers for the U.P.A. Conference and also showed me a memorandum of his conversation with Mr. Hayter at the Embassy. Montor said he would be grateful if I could help. I am, of course, most anxious to help and only regret that I had not been consulted previously with regard to various persons approached in Washington. I am not saying this by way of criticism or complaint but for the sake of the future. It is well known that by this time I have many contacts in Washington and elsewhere and that I am the officially designated representative of the Emergency Committee in public relations on political affairs. As a matter of fact, even the conversation I had with Montor yesterday was on my own initiative. The result of our discussion was <sup>that</sup> Montor asked me to try Senator Vandenberg, Prof. Albright and Lawrence Steinhardt. I took action immediately and already have an acceptance from Albright. I expect to have Senator Vandenberg's answer possibly tomorrow and am working on Lawrence Steinhardt. *(Have since spoken to Steinhardt and he may come accept)*
3. As you know, I have refrained from giving publicity in this country to Prime Minister Smuts' excellent address on the Balfour Declaration, pending the arrival in America of the recording which was made by the Ministry of Information at Pretoria and dispatched to us by air. I was hopeful of getting an American, or Americans, of high position to go on the air on the same program when the recording is here. It has now occurred to me that it may be desirable to have Smuts' speech given at the U.P.A. Conference, to be heard by the delegates and to be simultaneously broadcast over a national hookup. It would take about fifteen minutes. As you have probably noticed, his speech created something of a furor in England: questions in Parliament put to Winston Churchill and others; discussion in the House of Lords; and favorable editorial comment in newspapers. What do you think of the idea? I am enclosing a copy of his speech, though I think I sent you one some time ago.

With kind regards,

Cordially yours,

  
Emanuel Neumann

EN:BP  
Encl.



December 12, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Thank you for your letter of December 11. I am glad that you have gotten Professor Albright for our annual Conference and I hope that you will succeed in getting Senator Vandenberg and Lawrence Steinhardt. It would be especially helpful if you could get the Senator. Your suggestion about broadcasting Prime Minister Smuts' address is an excellent one. Please have Montor make the necessary arrangements. I read the address. It is better than anything that I have read on the subject from Jew or non-Jew.

Now is the time for a confident and aggressive advocacy of a Jewish Palestine!

Most cordially,

AHS:BX



File: UVA-USA-1941-1942  
Folder: Emergency  
Committee

MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
ROOM 1121

NEW YORK CITY

COPY FOR DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

December 24, 1941

TO: THE MEMBERS OF THE OFFICE COMMITTEE

FROM: MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

SUBJECT: POLITICAL WORK IN WASHINGTON

Yesterday Mr. Ben-Gurion communicated to me his decision to take up his residence in Washington for the next few months in order to carry on conversations with important persons with the advice and cooperation of our Washington friends. He stated that he intended to carry on this work and to speak not on behalf of American Jewry or American Zionism but in his capacity as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency and speaking on behalf of the Jewish Agency and the Jewish people it represents. Included in his program is a certain amount of research work to be done for him and a certain minimum amount of office work will be required.

It will be recalled that we have had under consideration for some time the establishment of a political bureau in Washington, or at least the engaging of a permanent representative there. Our plans also envisaged my dividing my time between New York and Washington, directing the general public relations activities here, and carrying on political work in Washington. The execution of these plans was delayed, first by budgetary considerations, and then by the entry of America into the war and the discussions arising from the new situation.

Mr. Ben-Gurion's program does not necessarily conflict with the plans which the Emergency Committee has had under consideration. It must be frankly recognized, however, that the possibility of duplication of effort exists. No difficulties arose in connection with Dr. Weismann's activities in Washington last Spring; Dr. Weismann was in Washington only for two brief periods: the first was 10 days, and the second only 4 or 5, and all of his appointments in Washington were arranged by me. The present situation is different in that Mr. Ben-Gurion is contemplating a systematic and intensive activity over a period of months and carrying on quite independently.

I am setting forth these facts not by way of criticism but solely because I feel it is my duty to the Committee to present the situation clearly and squarely. Personally, I have no objection, as indeed I would have no right to raise objections if I had any, but I feel I must express my view that for me to attempt to carry on political activity in Washington concurrently may lead to duplication or complications which should be avoided at all costs in the interest of the cause. In so delicate and highly responsible a matter as political activity, it is essential to avoid even the appearance of overlapping or lack of perfect coordination. I would therefore propose that henceforth my function should be limited to the work of public relations to be carried on chiefly in New York, leaving to Mr. Ben-Gurion the conduct of political activities in Washington in his capacity as representative of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Such a clearcut division will avoid any and all duplication of effort. Since Mr. Ben-Gurion plans to begin his activity in Washington at the beginning of next



week, I respectfully submit that a decision on my proposal is called for at once.

In conclusion, I would add that I make the above proposal the more readily, since I find myself in hearty and complete agreement with the views of Mr. Ben-Gurion on all major political questions.





MURRAY HILL 2-1160

## *Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs*

41 EAST 42<sup>nd</sup> STREET  
ROOM 1121  
NEW YORK CITY

December 29, 1941

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing a copy of a letter which I addressed to Montor with regard to my participation in the United Palestine Appeal conference.

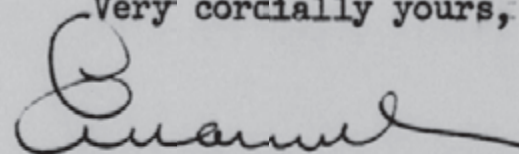
I think I understand Montor's dilemma. I am not a "celebrity" to be put on the regular program, nor does he feel that I am quite a non-entity, to be entirely ignored; so I am in the twilight zone. But I mean what I say in that letter.

If it is deemed advisable to have me make a statement at the conference, I would be glad to make it, and I believe that I could make it impressive both in content and in form. If not, I could be left off the program, just as I was last year and two years ago - and no hard feelings.

It does seem to me, frankly, that the political work looms so large now that this occasion ought to be used. Of course, I suppose you will have Ben-Gurion on the program and probably Nahum Goldmann, not to speak of Wise, Lipsky and the rest, who will undoubtedly endeavor to cover the political situation.

With warmest greetings, I am, as ever

Very cordially yours,



Emanuel Neumann



December 29, 1941

Mr. Henry Montor  
United Palestine Appeal  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City

Dear Mr. Montor:

I acknowledge with thanks your invitation to participate in the Saturday afternoon session of the United Palestine Appeal conference, on January 17th.

Before accepting your kind invitation, I should like to know something more about the "panel discussion" which you are planning. As I recall last year's conference, there was not much of a panel discussion, but rather a few brief addresses were delivered.

If I can be of help in connection with the conference, I will be glad to do so, but I would like to know more clearly what I am expected to do. If, for instance, it is desired that I should present a review of the political situation, I would be more than glad to do that, and to make careful preparation. If, on the other hand, it is a case of finding some spot where I could "figure", I assure you it is entirely unnecessary. I am no prima donna, and my "feelings" need not be considered here at all.

With kind greetings, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

en.sb



*Dr. Silver*

December 29, 1941

Mr. Emanuel Neumann

Henry Montor

I recall that at the last National Conference of the United Palestine Appeal, the Emergency Committee suggested certain resolutions that might be adopted. You also wished to participate in the wording of them. Will you please let me know within the next few days what resolutions you would like to suggest for submission to the National Conference and indicate which of these your office would prefer to prepare.

HM:EE





Duplicate  
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS  
41 East 42 Street  
New York City

AHS File  
re: British policy

Date? (1941?)  
Purpose +  
utilization of  
memo?

PALESTINE AND THE ARAB WORLD

A recent statement of the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. Anthony Eden, which touched on peace aims contained two implied promises addressed to the Arab peoples and obviously intended to counteract Axis propaganda among them. The first prospect held out is that of an independent Syria, the second that of a more unified Arab world. Military operations and Mr. Eden's statement have brought the Middle Eastern question more sharply than ever into focus. It is a matter of interest not to Britain alone but to all who appreciate the strategic importance of the Middle East both in relation to the present struggle and to a stable world order in the future.

2. The point need hardly be labored that the fate of this region—and more particularly of the countries lying close to the Suez Canal—is of concern to all nations whose welfare depends upon the freedom of the seas and of the narrow waters which connect them. It has been pointed out repeatedly that the Suez Canal is one of the most vital links in the world-embracing chain of maritime communications. The future of the countries which flank it and command the approaches to the Canal, is, therefore, not a local question but a world question. Ultimately, there can be no freedom of the seas unless such major arteries of trade and commerce are placed beyond the danger of recurrent attack. The domination of the Canal and its neighboring lands by aggressively expansionist and predatory forces would constitute a serious menace; for it is a pass through which surface raiders and submarine craft may make their way from European waters into the South Seas, the Pacific Ocean and the territorial waters of the Western Hemisphere.

3. The importance of these facts and of the outcome of the struggle in the Middle East is, of course, fully appreciated in official circles in Washington. Some weeks ago The New York Times reported an allegation emanating from Iraqi sources to the effect that the American Government had attempted to mediate between them and the British by holding out the prospect of the incorporation of Syria into the Kingdom of Iraq. This rumour was promptly disposed of by an official denial in Washington. But there can be no doubt that the American Government is following political developments in the Middle East with keen interest; and it must be assumed that in the present state of affairs the British Government would make no pronounce-



ments or commitments involving serious changes in the status quo without previous consultation with the American Government.

4. Under the circumstances, it is proper and pertinent to consider briefly the significance of Mr. Eden's statements regarding the future status of Syria and the unification of the Arab world. What do they mean and what do they imply?

5. So far as the open encouragement of Syrian aspirations is concerned, the matter is relatively simple, at least in theory; although the existence of divergent sectional and group interests within the Syrian State offers complications. But far more important is the larger issue raised by the reference to the pan-Arab idea. Mr. Eden referred to this subject in cautious terms, and spoke of furthering the cultural, economic and political cooperation between the Arab states. This might mean much or little—anything from a tenuous "good will" pact to a confederation of Arab states or even a united Arab kingdom. Taken, however, in the circumstances in which it was made and its obvious purpose to satisfy in a measure certain pan-Arab groups, it may be assumed that the intention was to hold out the prospect of some kind of Arab federation, however loose or rudimentary in character.

6. Such schemes for unification of the Arab world assume the existence of a united Arab nation, an assumption that is a wish rather than a fact. Despite a common tongue, racial and religious differences between Arab countries are pronounced and have always militated against a really effective union through voluntary coalescence. It is conceivable, however, that federation could be imposed on these states from without by a great power or a combination of powers.

7. The phrase "Arab world," in its broadest sense, might mean all the countries inhabited by Arab-speaking peoples irrespective of racial stock—from the Persian Gulf to the Nile and across North Africa to the Atlantic—an enormous expanse, millions of square miles in extent, and embracing more than a dozen countries. It might include not only Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, Palestine and Transjordan, Saudi Arabia and more remote corners such as Yemen and Oman, but also the countries of North Africa: Egypt, Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. A "unification" of all these countries in any substantial sense would mean the creation of a new empire almost as vast as that carved out during the Middle Ages by the sword of Islam—a project obviously beyond the realm of practical politics today.

It must, therefore, be assumed that Mr. Eden was speaking in more limited



terms, most probably of the more strictly Arab countries situated on the continent of Asia.

8. In this connection, special note should be taken of the position of Egypt, numerically and otherwise the most important of the so-called Arab lands. While Egypt occupies a prominent position in the Arab and Moslem worlds, it has consistently shown a marked aversion to any idea of its incorporation in a larger, pan-Arab unit. With increasing insistence its people proclaim themselves to be Egyptian rather than Arab, and their zeal for a separate and distinct national existence as Egyptians is so intense as to preclude their voluntary coalescence with Arab-speaking peoples whether of Africa or of Asia.

9. For all practical purposes, therefore, the countries to be considered as material for a Middle Eastern union are Sa'udi Arabia, Iraq, Syria-Lebanon and Palestine, including Transjordan. One might add Yemen and Oman and, for that matter, lesser principalities on the fringes of the Arabian Peninsula, but they are of distinctly secondary interest. Of these, Sa'udi Arabia is the largest, having a territory of some 800,000 square miles with a population of some 4,500,000. It is an independent state ruled by a self-made, powerful absolute monarch-King Ibn Saud. To the south of Sa'udi Arabia lies Yemen, an independent state with 75,000 square miles of territory and a population of 3,500,000. Another independent state in treaty relations with Great Britain is Oman on the Persian Gulf with 82,000 square miles and a population of 500,000. Iraq has a territory of 116,000 square miles with a population of about 3,500,000 and has the status of an independent state in alliance with Great Britain. Syria-Lebanon are French mandated territories, some 58,000 square miles in extent and with a population of about 3,500,000. Transjordan, which is the eastern part of historic Palestine, is a British mandated territory nominally ruled by the Emir Abdullah, with 34,000 square miles and a population of about 300,000. Finally there is Palestine, under British rule with 10,500 square miles and a population of about 1,500,000.

10. In most of these countries a long internal struggle has proceeded over many years between the nomadic elements, destructive of civilization, and the settled population, struggling to build up a more stable and more civilized life. Progress has been slow and the factors making for a modern, progressive civilization largely lacking. The people are overwhelmingly illiterate, their economy extremely



backward, their social forms and social organization largely primitive. They are, therefore, on the whole not ready for establishing and maintaining stable constitutional regimes in the Western democratic sense of the term through their own efforts. Such relative stability as exists has been produced either by the establishment of an absolute monarchy through conquest, as in the case of Sa'udi Arabia; or by the strong hand of European powers establishing and supporting quasi-constitutional regimes. The alternatives, therefore, seem to be these: either the extension of the rule of a powerful autocratic monarch over additional territory, or a confederation of several states set up, directed and maintained by a strong European power.

11. Two small spots - the smallest of all these countries - stand out as notable exceptions in this general picture. One is Lebanon with a strong Christian element, and the other is Palestine with a strong Jewish element. The Lebanon has been the longest exposed to Western influences, having been under French protection for many decades; and it has made relatively greater progress in education, trade, industry and all other aspects of civilization. Though part of Syria, it has come to regard itself as a separate nation and many of its people tend to associate themselves historically with the descendants of the ancient Phoenicians. Ever since the atrocities of 1860, the Christians of the Lebanon (largely Maronites) have consistently opposed the imposition of any political order which would place them under the domination of the Syrian Moslems. They have, therefore, insisted upon the recognition of the Lebanon as an autonomous republic and looked to France or other Western powers for protection as well as political and cultural orientation. For these reasons, the Lebanon, with its 800,000 population, has been like an island in the turbulent waters of the Arab-Moslem world.

12. The second exception has been Palestine, which though small in area has made the greatest and most rapid progress in population, in economic development and in civilization due, primarily, to the influx of Jews under the terms of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. With a community of some 550,000 they now constitute roughly one-third of the population; yet it is no exaggeration to say that in every other regard, culturally, economically, industrially, in the trades and professions, in scientific development, in social organization, they constitute the preponderating element in the country. So large do Jewish achievements and activities loom in Palestine, that from that point of view alone it cannot be



regarded today as simply another Arab country like Yemen or Kuwait. It is rather a land in which the Jewish and Arab elements are both of weight and importance, with a continuance of its remarkable progress dependent upon continued Jewish immigration and settlement. Added to these considerations is the geographical and strategic position of Palestine, of immense importance from the broad international point of view. It is in a sense the bridge of three continents, the bastion of the Suez Canal and a vital link between east and west.

13. The relation of Palestine to any such project as a united Arab kingdom or a confederation of Arab states must, therefore, be considered realistically with due regard to the factors which have been briefly enumerated. The same holds true, in a somewhat different sense, with reference to Christian Lebanon. For better or worse, the Lebanon and Palestine are bound by many strong ties to the Christian world and to occidental civilization. No political settlement in the Middle East can be wise, stable and constructive which fails to take these important facts into consideration.

This does not imply that the Zionists in Palestine or the Lebanese would necessarily reject any form of association with their neighboring countries and peoples. The Zionists, for their part, have repeatedly declared that they recognize and respect legitimate Arab aspirations, including the ideal of Arab unity, however difficult its early realization may prove to be. They are prepared to cooperate with the Arab countries and peoples on terms which would fully safeguard the interests of the Jewish National Home. The Lebanese would probably be equally prepared to collaborate and contribute toward a more effective regional organization of the Middle East, provided their physical security and cultural and religious freedom could be adequately safeguarded. They have lived for generations in fear of attack and in dread of Moslem domination; nor have their fears been allayed by the wholesale massacre of Assyrian Christians in Iraq only a few years ago. The measure of the danger to which they may be exposed is also the measure of the protection they must seek.

14. In the case of Palestine, the Jews cannot accept any settlement which will fail to guarantee two fundamental rights: first, security; and secondly, the unfettered growth of the National Home through immigration. These two basic demands are mutually related. The stoppage or sharp curtailment of Jewish immigration to



Palestine would be the complete negation of the very idea of a National Home, and would shut the only door through which the persecuted and disinherited Jews of Europe may enter the one place on earth they can call home. But continued immigration on a substantial scale is also the most important means of insuring the safety of those who are already there. Jewish Palestine can not in the long run live under the military protection of Britain or any other Western power. It must be sufficiently strong numerically to discourage in the future the repetition of the attacks it has suffered in the past. There is at least relative safety in numbers.

15. Once the validity of these considerations is recognized, the way may be found to a peaceful and constructive settlement of the Middle Eastern question. A program for the gradual and progressive unification of the purely Arab countries may be pursued without affecting the freedom of autonomy of the Lebanon with its preponderating Christian element; or of Palestine, with its developing Jewish Commonwealth and its spiritual importance to the Western world.

Whatever shape the Arabia of the future may take, it will fail if it rejects the contributions of western civilization. The extensive territories they now occupy are on the whole underpopulated, underdeveloped, and weak, a fact which excites the recurrent ambitions of political adventurers. Backward and semi-desert today, they can only prosper and grow strong in the future by the introduction of modern science, industry, widespread education, and social progress--without sacrificing the essential and positive values of their native culture.

Jewish Palestine and Christian Lebanon may between them constitute a much-needed bridge between East and West. A large and progressive population in these countries on the shores of the eastern Mediterranean will not only help to stabilize the position through its own weight, but will serve to accelerate immeasurably the progress of the whole Middle East and to assure for it eventually a position of intrinsic importance within the frame of a democratic world order.



Owitt

DRAFT RESOLUTION ON RECONSTITUTION OF  
EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

WHEREAS, the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs has been in existence for over two years and its status and functions have varied from time to time, and it has no constitution or by-laws, and it is deemed desirable to clarify its status, purpose and functions and rules of procedure;

NOW THEREFORE, be it

RESOLVED (1) that the name of the Committee be the American Emergency Council for Zionist Affairs; (2) that a committee be appointed to formulate a simple set of by-laws; (3) that a committee be appointed to consider and report on incorporation of the Council; (4) that the Council shall carry on in this country such activities for the advancement of the Zionist cause, more particularly in the field of public and relations as are of common interest to the Zionist Organization of America, to Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, to the Poale Zion, to the Mizrahi Organization of America, and to any other American Zionist groups admitted to membership as may be specifically agreed to by them, it being understood that this committee is not an agent or representative of any foreign principal or under the direction of any foreign principal and receives no subsidy from any foreign principal; (5) for the time being and until such time as the Council shall otherwise decide, all existing offices and sub-committees shall continue to function as at present.