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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 Zionist Emergency Council, communications to chairmen of local emergency committees, 1944.

To Chairmen of Emergency Committees

Date

January 19, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

- 1. Within a week or ten days the Congressional Resolution will be submitted to the Congress of the United States. Please be prepared to take action on quick notice. We will indicate to you whether you should communicate directly with the Washington office, which is headed by Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, or with the New York office.
- 2. In a previous memorandum we referred to a letter-writing campaign. Within a few days you will receive sample letters which you may wish to use. We will indicate to you when these letters should be sent so that during a concentrated period letters from all over the country will pour into Washington.
- \*\* 3. If you have not taken action with reference to the American Palestine Committee meeting in Washington for February 24th, may we hear from you immediately on this subject?
  - 4. Most of the Emergency Committees have conferred with their Congressmen and Senators but there are a few committees which are lagging. If yours is one of these, won't you do your utmost to take immediate action and advise us accordingly?
  - 5. There is still time for organizations to adopt resolutions. Please carry on this program until you have completed the coverage of every organization in your community.

HLS: SH

<sup>\*\*</sup> This item does not consern those communities which do not have American Palestine Committee members.

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

DateJanuary 31, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

By now you know that the Palestine Resolution has been introduced in Congress.

In order that we may be able to apply maximum pressure in the right places, it is necessary that we know the numerical backing which we have. To date, most of the communities have had resolutions passed and sent to the State Department, the President, their Congressmen, their Senators, etc. In most instances, communities sent copies of the resolutions to our office but in many cases this was not done.

Will you please make a recapitulation of the number of resolutions which were sent by the organizations in your community and try to give us the approximate number of members these organizations represent?

We should like to indicate to important members of the House and Senate that thousands of organizations representing millions of members have sent resolutions asking for the implementation of our program.

Please do this quickly!

HLS: SH

To Emergency Committee Chairmen

Date January 31, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

Miss Freya Stark, British traveler, and "agent" in the Arab countries, is now touring the United States. Miss Stark is one of that small group of Englishwomen who have lived among the Arabs of the desert and who have become deeply, often blindly, attached to the Arab cause.

If Miss Stark should deliver a public lecture in your community which is covered by the local press, it is important that letters to the editor be written by a member of the Emergency Committee. The following facts, collated in answer to Miss Stark's most recent interview, reported in Newsweek Magazine, may prove useful.

Some of Miss Stark's allegations as presented in the Newsweek article are;

1. "Even with things so bleak for us, the Arabs never wavered in their loyalty to the Allies."

Answer:- Iraq, although bound by treaty of alliance to Great Britain at the beginning of the war, not only failed to honor that alliance, but at a most critical moment in the war staged a government-sponsored pro-Axis revolt, which had to be suppressed by British arms. Egypt, likewise bound by treaty of alliance, did nothing whatsoever in defense of her soil, even when the Germans were within sight of Alexandria. Buried in Egyptian soil lie soldiers from Britain and America, from Australia and New Zealand, and from Jewish Palestine, but not from Egypt itself. Syria and Palestine seethed with pro-Axis sentiment as long as the Nazi cause was in the ascendant. The notorious Mufti of Jerusalem was, when last heard of, in Berlin.

2, "The Arab is fundamentally a democrat. His religion is democratic, "

Answer:- Unfortunately, democratic action does not necessarily follow democracy of religion. Miss Stark should not confuse the Arabs with Islam. Certainly, the Arabs of Palestine cannot be charged with fundamental democracy. Prior to the last war an oppressive feudal society, dominated by a few Arab families, existed in Palestine for many generations.

3. "Palestine is an Arab country; has been for 2,000 years. Moving Arabs out it is like telling Pennsylvanians they must go live in Ganada because the language is the same."

Answer: Such a parallel is irrelevent and tendentieus. No responsible Jewish leader suggests that Arabs should be moved. On the contrary, largely as a result of the developments brought about in Palestine by Jewish immigration, the Arab population there has increased from 600,000 to over 1,000,000. In the neighboring territory of Transjordan, where no Jewish immigration is permitted, the Arab population has remained stationary since the last war. The League of Nations, moreover, would challenge the assertion that "Palestine is an Arab country." According to the Mandate for Palestine drawn up by the 51 nations of the League, the primary purpose of the mandate was to establish in Palestine a National Home for the Jewish people. Over half a million Jews now share Palestine with the Arabs.

HS: MBP

Tile 4. 0 0 P AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 342 Magison Avenue New York, N. Y. TELEGRAM FEBRUARY 2, 1944 PLEASE SEND TELEGRAM ALONG FOLLOWING LINES TO REPRESENTATIVE SOL BLOOM IN WASHINGTON IMMEDIATELY. QUOTE OUR EMERGENCY COMMITTEE REPRESENTING ALL ORGANIZED ZIONIST GROUPS AND ALL SYMPATHIZERS WITH CAUSE OF PALESTINE IN OUR COMMUNITY ENDORSES AIMS AND PURPOSES OF HOUSE RESOLUTIONS 418 AND 419 AND URGES FAVORABLE ACTION BY HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. WE SHALL BE GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR GOOD OFFICES IN CONNECTION WITH THIS LEGISLATION WHICH IS SO VITAL TO FUTURE SAFETY AND WELFARE OF JEWISH PEOPLE AND FOR RESCUE OF SURVIVORS OF NAZI PERSECUTION UNQUOTE. IT IS IMPERATIVE YOU PUT FOREGOING IN YOUR OWN WORDS. EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THIS MESSAGE REACH REPRESENTATIVE BLOOM WITHIN FORTYRIGHT HOURS. PLEASE EXECUTE THIS ASSIGNMENT FAITHFULLY. ABBA HILLEL SILVER AHS: LF

MERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

2. Cu material MEMORANDUM

RETURN TO FILE

To

Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

February 3, 1944

From Herman Shulman

Because of special circumstances that have developed in Washington, it has become necessary to postpone the National Conference on Palestine from Thursday, February 24th to Thursday, March 9th.

As you already know, the Conference is to be held under the auspices of the American Palestine Committee. Cooperating with the American Palestine Committee in spensoring the Conference are the following: American Federation of Labor, Christian Council on Palestine, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Free World Association, Union for Democratic Action, Uniterian Fellowship for Social Justice and United Christian Council for Democracy.

Under such sponsorship the Conference will assume great national significance. The recent introduction of Resolutions in both the House of of Representatives and the Senate of the United States makes it all the more necessary that we do everything in our power to make the Conference as representative of every community as possible. These Resolutions call upon our Government to use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be open for free entry of Jews into that country and that there shall be full opportunity for colonisation so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am sure you can readily appreciate how important it is at this particular time to get the maximum amount of support from our non-Jewish friends.

The present schedule for the Conference is as follows: There will be three sessions during the day, beginning at 10:30 A. M. and ending at about 5:30 P. M. These three sessions will be followed by a dinner which will be held under the suspices of the American Palestine Committee. All of the events on the program will take place at the Statler Hotel in Washington.

Among those who have already accepted engagements to participate in the program are:

Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, American Palestine Committee Dr. William F. Albright of Baltimore, Professor of Semitics, Johns Hopkins University

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson of New York, General Secretary of the Churca Peace Union and the World Alliance for International Friendship Through Churches; Chairman, Christian Council on Palestine.

Dr. Carl J. Friedrich of Cambridge, Professor of Political Theory,

Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk of Washington, Assistant Chief, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture

Rev. Dr. Daniel A. Poling of Philadelphia, Pastor The Baptist Temple; Editor, the Christian Herald

Arthur T. Vanderbilt of New York, Dean of the Law School of New York University, former President, American Bar Association Within the course of the next few days, we shall undoubtedly have other acceptances from prominent individuals.

Again I must urge you to take all steps necessary to make certain that your community is represented at the Conference by at least one prominent non-Jew. If you have not already taken the steps outlined in my last memorandum will you please do so as soon as possible? Hotel and other arrangements will have to be made without delay. We cannot conclude those arrangements until we hear from you.

All the details in connection with the Conference are being handled in the Washington office of the American Zionist Emergency Council, 1720 - 16th Street, N. W. May I suggest that you direct your communications with respect to the Conference to Mr. Abram S. Magida, who is in charge.

HS: S

P. S. Notice to Chairmen of local Emergency Committees in communities where there are no American Palestine Committee members:

Although you may not have received any previous notice in connection with this meeting, it would be greatly appreciated if you could exert your influence to the extent that a prominent non-Jew in your community will attend this Conference, inasmuch as we are anxious to have as widespread representation as possible. C O P

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

#### TELEGRAM

FEBRUARY 3, 1944

IMPERATIVE YOU IMMEDIATELY FLOOD YOUR CONGRESSMEN WITH WIRES FROM LEADERS OF JEWISH AND NONJEWISH ORGANIZATIONS PROMINENT JEWS AND CHRISTIANS URGING THEIR SUPPORT TO HOUSE RESOLUTIONS NOS, 418 AND 419. HAVE REFERENCE MADE IN WIRES FOR ABROGATION WHITEPAPER AND ESTABLISHMENT OF JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. REQUEST THAT CONGRESSMEN PUT THEMSELVES ON RECORD WITH HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE AS FAVORABLY DISPOSED THIS RESOLUTION. PLEASE DO THIS WITHOUT FAIL.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

AHS: SLP

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 3, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

The Palestine Resolutions have been introduced into the House of Representatives and the Senate. In the House the bills were sponsored by Rep. James A. Wright of Pennsylvania and Rep. Eanulf Compton of Connecticut and are known as House Resolutions 418 and 419. In the Senate the measure is referred to as Senate Bill 247 and was sponsored by Senator Robert Taft of Ohio and Senator Robert Wagner of New York. These bills have now been referred to the House Foreign Affairs Committee and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

In order to influence the members of the House and the Senate favorably, we are asking you to have the special letter-writing campaign to which we referred in a prior memo. PLEASE LAUNCH THIS CAMPAIGN IMMEDIATELY.

Herewith is suggested a tested technique for such a campaign. In Portsnouth, New Hampshire, which has a Jewish Community of less than 1,000, teams were organized to secure letters from Jews and non-Jews. The members of these teams collected the letters themselves, came to a parlor meeting and there all the letters were counted, then mailed. Through this method approximately 10,600 letters were collected. We request that you follow such a procedure. Collect all the letters and hold them until we advise you of the mailing date. It is our purpose to pour into Washington a tremendous number of letters during a concentrated period, which will be strategic to the passage of the Resolution. The letters should be addressed to your Congressmen and your Senators.

Attached are a number of sample letters. Please urge the members of your community to select one of the samples and write the letter on their own stationery. Select the letters which you wish to use in your community and reproduce them for your team workers. If you wish to formulate your own letters, by all means do so. Some people may be reductant to write letters themselves, so you may find it necessary to set up a form letter which they can sign.

Also attached is a sheet giving your community your quota and the names of your Senators and Congressmen.

I shall appreciate your advice as to your progress in this important under-taking.

HLS:SH

#### SAMPLE LETTERS

It has come as a great shock to those of us who go about our war-time business with faith in the principles for which we are fighting, that the 1939 White Paper on Palestine still exists to make a mockery of those principles and that faith.

It has taken a long time to educate the American people to the fact that bells tolling in distant parts of the world toll for us, too. Having that knowledge, it is only natural that we should view with distaste a ban on Jewish immigration into the Jewish National Homeland in Palestine. Americans lauded and supported the creation of that Homeland during the last war; it would be cowardly were we not to insist that freedom of immigration into Palestine should prevail during this war.

As one of your constituents, I urge you to support (HR 418-419 or SR 247).

As a constituent, I urge your support for the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution, which calls for the opening of Palestine to free entry of Jews, full colonization, and eventual establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth there.

You are undoubtedly familiar with the British White Paper of 1939, which would bar all new Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31, 1944.

In the past eleven years, Palestine's foremost mission has been the rescue of European Jewry. Will you help to realize the dream of Europe's victims by voting for (HR 418-419 or SR 247)?

I am writing now to urge you to vote for the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution on Palestine which asks for free entry of Jews into that land, and full opportunity for colonization, so that Palestine may ultimately be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

The 1939 White Paper on Palestine, unless abrogated, will leave Palestine as the one place in the world, outside of Nazi-occupied Europe, where Jews will be denied admission solely because they are Jews.

As one of your constituents, I ask you to support the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) measure.

When the Chamberlain Government promulgated the White Paper or Palestine in 1959, Mr. Winston Churchill called it "s plain breach of a solemn obligation." The proposed stoppage of Jewish immigration into the Holy Land would virtually annul the British pledge to assist the Jewish people in the upbuilding of their National Home.

The Eritish Government has not seen fit as yet to revoke that disastrous document. And never before were the Jewish people so much in need of a place of refuge. It would be a historic crime if the Chamberlain White Paper were not scrapped without delay. The United States is bound by the British-American convertion of 1924, to see to it that Great Britain complies with her obligations under the Palestine mandate.

May I respectfully urge you to hasten the passage of (HR 418 and 419 or SR 247) in regard to the Jewish National Home.

The Jewish people have been the first victims of Hitler's fiendish brutality. For eleven years they have been the target of his ruthless extermination policy.

The only constructive solution to their age-old suffering is the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration establishing their right to a National Homeland in Palastine. If the British White Paper of 1939 becomes effective, Palestine's doors would permanently be closed to new Jewish immigration.

This must not happen!

As one of your constituents I urge you to support (the Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) Resolution.

Please act now -- death does not wait!

The horrible persecution of the Jews of Europe imposes on the democracies the moral duty to aid those homeless people to re-establish a home. Great Britain, the United States and the League of Nations have pledged their support to the establishment of a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. If the British White Paper of 1939 should be permitted to become effective, this pledge would be nullified through the termination of Jewish immigration to the Jewish Homeland.

For the sake of the millions of men, women and children whose last ray of hope is Palestine, I implore you to take all necessary steps to keep the doors of Palestine open to Jews. The Palestine resolution now before Congress must be passed without delay. As one of your constituents, I urge you to vote for (HR 418-419 or SR 247).

The abrogation of the Chamberlain White Paper on Palestine must be accomplished soon to enable the Jewish people to continue their work of rebuilding their National Home.

You have given leadership to all movements aiming at the rescue of the innocent victims of Hitler barbarism. Will you please give your strong support to all endeavors to re-establish the internationally guaranteed opportunity to build a Jewish Homeland in Palestine?

(HR 418-419 or SR 247) should be passed without delay to give hope and encouragement to the innocent victims of Hitlerism who are looking to Palestine for their rescue and salvation.

The conscience of America has been deeply shocked by the tribulations endured by the Jewish people since January 30, 1933, when Hitler ascended to power.

Strong action on the part of the American Covernment at this time may prevent further misery and disaster. If Great Britain should fail to revoke the Chamberlain White Paper, closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigrants after March 31, 1944, the Jews of Europe will be doomed to extermination and the dream of a Jewish National Home destroyed. America has taken a real interest in a constructive solution of the Jewish problem. America won't allow its willfull destruction.

In this tragic hour, I take the liberty to direct an urgent appeal to you to support (HR 418-419 or SR 247.)

The time is drawing near when the doors of Palestine will be closed to Jews. More than ever before there is need for a Jewish Homeland. If you want to continue your effective aid to the men, women, and children suffering under the yoke of our enemies, please give your full support to the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution in Congress.

The black hour when the White Paper on Palestine is to go into effect is drawing dangerously near. As the United Nations continue to close in on the Nazis on all fronts, Hitler carries out-with added viciousness -- his policy of exterminating Europe's Jews.

The (House or Senate) is now considering (HR 418-419 or SR 247), which asks for free entry of Jews into Palestine, full opportunity for colonization and the eventual establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

As one of your constituents, I earnestly call on you to support that resolution and to vote for it when it comes before the (House or Senate.)

It cannot be the intention of the United Nations to permit the introduction of discrimination against Jews on religious grounds in any country. Most certainly not in that country which has been set apart to become the Jewish National Home. The Chamberlain White Paper of 1939, however, does just that in regard to Palestine.

It is my conviction that no American leader will permit such an injustice to become a reality. Considering the tragic plight of the Jews of Europe, this would be a major catastrophe indeed.

The (House or Senate) is at present considering the resolution calling for free entry of Jews into Palestine and for the ultimate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth there. Will you please see to it that it is passed soon? Time is running short.

Very lew people have undergone such a cruel and systematic process of extermination as have the Jews. Their only hope in the years of suffering and pain has been Palestine, which has undergone a marvelous process of rejuvenation since Great Britain issued the Balfour Declaration in 1917. Shall the Jewish people be deprived of their last hope in this darkest hour of history? If the British White Paper of 1939 is permitted to stand, no Jew may enter Palestine after April 1, 1944. American public opinion is aroused over this possibility.

I urge you to assist all men of good will in bringing about the abrogation of that relic of the Munich era of appeasement. (HR 418 and 419 or SR 247) should be passed without delay to give hope and encouragement to the innocent victims of Hitlerism who are looking to Palestine for their rescue and salvation.

If the policy of the British White Paper of 1939 should stand undefeated, Palestine would become the only non-Axis country in the world which would, by legislation, bar Jews from immigration and land ownership. This would make the Four Freedoms and all solemn pledges given to the Jews a tragic farce.

Humanitarian considerations, as well as clear treaty obligations, compel America to raise its voice in a mighty protest against such a crime. Don't we owe this harassed people the fulfillment of the promises guaranteed to them by the civilized world?

I urge you to assist in bringing about the passage of the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution now in Congress.

Plowing through the terrible Japanese atrocity stories which appear in the press these days, it is truly heartening to note that the (House of Representatives or Senate) has decided to take action in the case of one of the foremost victims of fascist cruelty, the Jewish people of Europe.

I have read with great pleasure of the new (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution on Palestine. It is especially gratifying to note the continuity which such a measure would establish with the 1922 resolution on Palestine which was passed by both houses of Congress.

This resolution comes at a crucial time. Literally millions of Jews have been murdered by the Nazis in Europe in the past few years. Those who are left look to Palestine for rescue, and until very recently, they have been rendered hopeless by the British White Paper of 1939 which proposes to slam the doors of Palestine in their faces at the end of March, regardless of their tragic need.

As one of your constituents, I urge you to support this resolution. It is important that the United States should come forward at this time with a clear-cut reaffirmation of our traditional policy.

If the last years have taught us any lesson it is this: that appearement is not worth its price and defeats itself ultimately.

The ban on Jewish immigration to Palestine, included in the White Paper of the Chamberlain Government, is a child of the unhealthy spirit of appeasement. It is in the words of Mr. Churchill "the plain breach of a solemn pledge" and a terrible blow to the hopes and aspirations of the suffering Jews of Europe.

The up-building of Palestine has benefited the entire Near East greatly -- Jews, Arabs and Christians alike. In a single generation and by peaceful means, Jewish pioneers have performed real miracles on the soil of their old homeland. Shall all this be terminated for no other reason than the appearement of a few Arabs who have been influenced by the enemy?

Such a policy is a flat contradiction of the expressed purposes of the people and Government of the United States. By casting your vote in favor of (HR 418-419 or SR 247), you will be giving effective aid to the men, women and children suffering under the yoke of our enemies.

I am glad to see that the principles for which the United Nations are fighting on the battlefronts are being applied in the Congress of the United States. The (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution on Palestine faces squarely the Atlantic Charter's definition of America's responsibility to the peoples of the world. It asks in plain language that Jewish refugees be permitted free entry into Palestine and that full colonization of that country be allowed so that Palestine may some day take its place as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

We promised a national homeland in Palestine to the Jews in 1922, and today we are reaping the harvest of that promise. Falestine's Jews have made a splendid contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. They have converted their country to a full war-time economy, they have sent many thousands of their young men to fight in the British forces, they have made of Palestine a real arsenal of democracy in a part of the world which, unfortunately, is known for its indifference to democracy's fate.

As one of your constituents, I urge you to support (HR 418 and 419 or SR 247).

Freedom is not just a word to the people of Europe. Some of them remember it -- and understand what they have lost.

Freedom is a gift which you as a (Congressman or Senator) of these United States can help give to millions of European Jews, who may be desied it forever through the British White Paper of 1939, which closes the doors of Palestine to new Jewish immigration after March 31.

I address you in the hope that you will support the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution which asks that Palestine be opened to free Jewish immigration.

As a young American, I feel bound to remini you of the contrast between our freecom and the plight of Jewish youth in Europe. Tortured, deprived of the most basic rights of mankind, they have only one haven -- if ever they can manage to escape from Europe. They know that Palestine is eager and able to receive them. There they can regain their right to a normal life.

I beg of you to help give them this chance. They may be completely frustrated by the British White Paper of 1939, which prohibits all new Jewish immigration after March 31, 1944.

You wan help prevent the tragedy facing Europe's Jews, and particularly the children and young people, by supporting the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution.

Let the doors of Palestine be flung open to the oppressed of Europe.

## BY A CHRISTIAN MINISTER

"Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, Ye have done it unto me" (Matthew XXV)

The fate of the Jews of Europe who have undergone tribulations like no other people on earth, must move the heart of all Christians and awaken the conscience of America.

As a Minister of His Word, I feel that we owe a debt to the suffering People of the Book. I am shocked by the British White Paper which would close the doors of Palestine to new Jewish immigration.

As a Christian and as an American I raise my voice in horror and submit to you my strongest protest against so inhuman, so un-Christian, so un-American and undemocratic a policy. Please use all means to have it revoked. The Palestine resolution which has been introduced into both Houses of Congress must be passed without delay. It provides the only means for Americans to express their conviction that the doors of the Jewish Homeland must not be closed.

#### BY A NATURALIZED CITIZEN

I came to this country more than thirty years ago because I knew that America always stood for the under-dog. The United States has become my beloved fatherland and I am proud to have my children serving in our armed forces. Unfortunately, relatives of mine remained in the old country and now have become victims of the Nazis. Their only hope is Palestine.

Please help us fight the White Paper which would forbid Jews to come to their own country. The (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution should be passed immediately to aid the men, women and children who are suffering under the heel of our enemy.

#### BY A JEWISH WAR VETERAN

I fought during the last war, and if there weren't age limits I would be fighting in this one, too. In 1917, we American Jewish soldiers were mighty pleased to hear about the Balfour Declaration which the English government issued in behalf of the Jewish people. And we were proud that our own American government stock up for the Balfour Declaration after we returned home, and that it endorsed the "establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people."

There is a new resolution about Palestine before the Congress. I ask you to vote for it, just as the 67th Congress voted in 1922. The (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution is a real American answer to the British White Paper which was published in 1939 and which reneged on the 1917 promise by forbidding Jews to enter Palestine after March 31, 1944.

This measure, on the other hand, calls for full permission for Jewish refugees to enter Palestine, to colonize there, and to establish a real, democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

It would do my heart good to know that my (Congressman or Senator) is voting for that resolution. We want to have democracy everywhere, and we want it for the Jews in Palestine, too.

#### BY A UNION MEMBER

Organized labor has already demonstrated its sympathy with the democratic Jewish community of Palestine. Both the CIO and the AF of L have passed resolutions favoring the development of Palestine as a self-governing Jewish Commonwealth, and have asked that the gates of Palestine be opened for entry and settlement of as many Jewish refugees as may need or shall desire to go there.

As a nember of (name of union) and as one of your constituents, I ask you to support the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution when it is voted on in the (House or Senate). A just social and economic order has been established by the workers of Falestine by dint of much hard labor and effort. We cannot afford to let such achievements go to waste, and we certainly cannot afford to pass up any channel of escape through which the Jews of Europe might reach freedom.

## BY THE WIFE OF A SERVICEMAN

As a young Jewish woman with two brothers and a husband in the armed forces of the United States who are fighting for a better world, I urge you to vote for the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution on Palestine. Our soldiers cannot feel that they have finished their fight against fascism, unless they are assured that everything possible is being done on the home front to help those Jewish people who have suffered so much at the hands of Hitler.

I urge you to support this resolution so that our own conscience may be clear in the matter of persecuted Jews, and so that our boys may feel that they will come back to a people and a Government who have acted in accordance with the principles of the Atlantic Charter.

#### BY PARENTS OF SERVICEMEN

I am proud that my son is in the Army of the United States, fighting for the Four Freedoms and a just and right peace. But the British White Paper on Palestine stands for everything that is the opposite of this cause. It is undemocratic to have immigration laws which discriminate against any race, color or creed. The loors of Palestine will be closed to the Jewish People unless the White Paper is repealed.

As one of your constituents, I urge you to act now and use all your influence for the repeal of this evil document. Please give all your support to the (Wright-Compton or Wagner-Taft) resolution.

## 8

#### MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date February 11, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

The first session of the hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee are concluded. Further hearings will be held next week. The Palestine Hesolution (HR 418 and 419) will not come to the floor of the House, in all probability, for five or six weeks.

Because of this development it will be necessary to change our program with reference to the letter-writing campaign. During the interim of 5 or 6 or 7 weeks we must continually keep reminding our Congressmen and Senators of the Palestine Resolution. In accordance with this, will you change your letter-writing program as follows:

Advise your workers to see to it that a steady stream of letters is kept flowing to Washington. On the basis of your quota, decide how many letters should be sent per week and please see to it that they are sent. We can only be successful if we will keep our problem constantly before our Congressmen and Senators.

Be prepared, on short notice, to send wires to the United States Senators from your state,

HLS: SH

American Zionist Emergency Council 342 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. MEMORANDUM Date: February 15, 1944 To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees From: Harry L. Shapiro A large number of newspapers throughout the country are carrying an article entitled. "The Palestine Question." which was written by Ned Nordness, a feature writer for the Associated Press. If it should appear in one of your local papers, draft an answer in the form of a letter to the e-litor without delay. The following material should prove useful in the drafting of such a letter. (Incidentally, did you have occasion to make use of our memorandum on Freya Stark? Please keep us informed of all developments along these lines.) Ned Nordness article, "The Palestine Question," contains a number of misconceptions and factual errors which I am taking the liberty of bringing to your attention. A. To begin with, Mr. Nordness makes much of his contention that the United States cannot assume responsibility in the matter of Palestine. He says: "Many Jewish organizations, notably the Zionist Organization of America, are pressing for United States intervention in Palestins. But there is little this country can do. Government officials concede the United States has been interested in the creation of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, but this country cannot assume responsibility. It has not legal contract under which it is committed to share in the rule of Palestine. In short, since Palestine is a British mandate, the hot potato is hers." I question the need for any "legal contract" when one country expresses the desire to help another, or when a great democracy voices its sympathy for the movement to reestablish a national home for the tortured and uprooted Jews of Europe. But, as a matter of fact, two such legal documents do exist. If Mr. Nordness should take the trouble to consult our Government's archives he would find: 1) The joint resolution unanimously adopted in 1922 by the 67th Congress of the United States, which favored "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. (An identical statement, contained in the Balfour Declaration which was issued by Britain in 1917. was for 22 years firmly upheld as a most "legal contract" by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations.) 2) The Anglo-American treaty of 1924 on Palestine. According to its provisions, "nothing contained in the present convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the Mandate, as recited above, unless such modification shall have been assented to by

the United States." (The Mandate for Palestine referred to in the 1924 treaty states specifically that "the Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home.")

Mr. Nordness should also be reminded of the fact that every American President --from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin D. Roosevelt --- has reaffirmed America's traditional
friendship for the effort to reconstitute the Jewish National Home in Palestine.
It would seem, too, that our country's outstanding legislators disagree with Mr.
Nordness, for the following bi-partisan resolution was introduced on January 27th
in the U. S. House of Representatives by Representatives Wright and Compton, and on
February 1st in the U. S. Senate by Senators Wagner and Taft:

WHEREAS, the 67th Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved, "that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the Holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected," and

WHEREAS, the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution,

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the United States shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

B. But Mr. Nordness does not stop with his insistence that "there is little this country can do" in the matter of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. He declares that the Balfour Declaration "brought about the pulsing headache which is the Palestine problem," and alleges that the issuance of this great document was "motivated by the need of drawing to the Allied cause the support of Jews in neutral countries." Then he goes on to say that "today nothing is needed to make Jews all over the world long and work for the defeat of Hitler and Nazism."

By implication, therefore, the Balfour Declaration is no longer necessary. Jows throughout the world (unlike the Arabs) are genuinely all-out in the struggle against the common enemy, so Britain can afford to renege or her solemn pledge....

This is precisely the cymical view which prevailed during the area of appeasement. Such an attitude inspired the infamous White Paper of 1939, which would close the doors of Palestine to all new Jewish immigration after March 31, 1944. The White Paper was issued to placate those Arabs who had been whipped up against the British and the Jews by the fascists.

Through it, Britain rewarded her enemies at the expense of her best friends in the Middle East, and although the policy of appeasement has been repudiated by the present leaders of Britain, it is being continued in Palestine.

All this leaves Mr. Nordness undisturbed. His one comment is: "Today nothing is needed to make the Jews all over the world long and work for the defeat of Hitler and Nazism,"

C. Mr. Nordness reiterates the charge of certain Arabs that "the British promised Palestine to them in 1915 -- two years before the Balfour Declaration -- when the Germans were winning and the British needed Arab help."

This point needs amplification. Based as it is on the so-called Hussein-MacMahon Correspondence of 1915, it has an impressive ring of authenticity. Close examination of that document (Command 5957, issued by His Majesty's Government in 1939), however, reveals this pertinent clause in the exchange of letters between King Hussein of Mecca and Sir Herry MacMahon, British High Commissioner for Egypt:

"The two districts of Mersina and Alexandretta and portions of Syria lying to the west of the districts of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo cannot be said to be purely Arab, and should be excluded from the limits demanded." That vital provision, insisted upon by MacMahon, was agreed to by Hussein, the self-appointed agitator for Arab independence. In no place is the word Palestine mentioned, but a glance at a 1915 map of the Middle East plainly shows that Palestine lies west of the designated districts.

Further clarification of the point came in 1937 when, in a letter to the Iondon Times, Sir Henry MacMahan wrote:

"I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Russein to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised. I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact...was well understood by King Russein."

Please note that the entire correspondence took place with Hussein of Arabia. The Arabs of Palestire were in no manner a party to it. They do not appear in it at all.

D. Mr. Nordness declares that "the United States government has no desire to make a move that would interfere with Britain's winning the war."

Winning the war is, of course, the most important single objective before the United Nations. And it is, by Nordness' own word, the most potent factor in the lives of Jews today. By that same token, it should be apparent that if the American Zionist Emergency Council and the American Jewish Conference ask the United States to take action on the Palestine question in behalf of Jewish refugees, they are fully and solemnly aware of the implications of their demand. It should be just as apparent that they feel that such intercession, far from hindering the prosecution of the war, will hasten the day of victory.

Britain is not alone in her fight against the Axis, although that inference might be drawn from Mr. Nordness' statement. There are 34 United Nations, and the United States is not the least of them. Any foreign policy adopted by one member affects all members, and the persistence of the British White Paper policy for Palestine must necessarily affect each and every one of the 34 United Nations.

It is the existence of that White Paper, and not the honest attempts to combat it, which interferes with one of the most pressing problems which war brings — the problem of refugees. The President recognized the importance of that problem by the recent creation of the War Refugee Board. Congressional leaders recognized it when they introduced the Wright-Compton and Wagner-Taft resolutions. Ned Nordress does not choose to recognize it.

# American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poele Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

This coming April the British White Paper on Palestine will go into effect and after that date no Jews will be admitted to Palestine. Such a tragic blow to both the development of the Jewish National Home and to the hope of survival for European Jewry must not be permitted to happen.

Local Emergency Committees are being established in most of the communities of the United States whose primary task is to interest public opinion in the abrogation of this White Paper and to bring about a condition that will open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration, land purchase and settlement so that there may be established in that country a democratic Jewish Commonwealth. A resolution covering these aims is now before the Congress of the United States.

In order that your community take part in this important work you should

 Organize a Local Zionist Emergency Committee in your community which shall consist of the representatives of the Zionist group; and any other group which is ready to join with us in this effort. Send in the names and addresses to this office.

> For the purpose of guiding you in the formation of this Committee, we are enclosing the "Outline of Activities," which gives the plan and scope of the work.

2. Prepare for a letter writing campaign in support of the Palestine Resolution now before Congress. The plan is to have people write to your United States Senators and your local Congressman on their personal stationery asking for support of the resolution. For this purpose we are enclosing sample letters

Please keep us posted and let us hear from you so that we may be able to cooperate with you in this work which is of tremendous importance to every Jow and in which the future of our people is bound up.

Looking forward to your cooperation, we are

which can be used as a guide.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

HLS:HLD

Harry L. Shaptro, Director

## Submitted to Mr. Edward V. Leughlin, March 2, 1944

We come to you as citizens residing in this, our great metropolis, and we are addressing ourselves to you as the leader in New York of a great Party which has commanded the loyalty and devotion of great masses of the common people. It is the Party of Thomas Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, of Woodrow Wilson, author of the Covenant of the League of Nations, and of Franklin D. Roosevelt, author of the Atlantic Charter.

We are citizens of Jewish faith and descent and represent the views of large masses of our fellow Jews, both as Americans devoted to the great American tradition, as Democrats with a deep faith in the basic tenets and spirit of the Democratic Party, and as Jews profoundly concerned with the fate of our brethren across the seas. We desire to call your attention, and through you the attention of the National Leaders of our Party and of the Administration itself, to a situation which is causing great concern to us and our fellow Jews here and throughout the country.

Some weeks ago Resolutions were introduced in both Houses of Congress, reaffirming the traditional American policy of favoring the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and calling for the free entry of Jews into Palestine so that it may be reconstituted as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Apart from the mass slaughter of Jews now going on in Europe, the immediate occasion for the introduction of these Resolutions is the White Paper issued by the British Government in 1939, which would prohibit further Jewish immigration into Palestine and set up in effect an Arab state in which the Jews would be frozen into a permanent minority under Arab rule. The Resolutions had bi-partisan sponsorship and were supported in both Houses by the Majority Leaders as well as by the Minority Leaders. Hearings have taken place before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, and there is every indication that the Resolutions command strong support both in the Committee and in the House. We have been advised, however, that the attitude of the Executive branch of the Government may be of decisive importance. There has been no indication of support forthcoming from any Department of the Executive, but on the contrary, it is reported that opinions are being expressed against passage of the Resolutions because of military considerations.

We do not presume to judge the validity of any objections that have been or may be raised, but we do wish to state that to the best of our knowledge, the proponents of the Bills acted with circumspection and had made the necessary soundings in various quarters, particularly in the State Department, before the introduction of the Bills. They received no intimation that the proposed action was untimely, and on the contrary, were led to believe that there was no objection on the part of the Executive branch of the Government. Only then iid they proceed with their effort.

Through the introduction of the Resolutions under most auspicious sponsorship, the feelings of millions of Jewish citizens and of millions of non-Jewish sympathizem with the cause have been raised to a high pitch of enthusiasm and optimistic expectation. They were led to believe that at long last the great American democracy was about to speak ont, to raise its powerful voice on behalf of the persecuted Jewish people and its right to national restoration in its ancestral Home. These hopes are about to be dashed and will in that event be followed by a feeling of frustration and bitter disappointment. This feeling will be particularly keen in this city where some two millions of our people reside.

While the Jewish leaders did not ask or expect the Administration to take the initiative by making an official declaration at this time in regard to the Zionist cause, they had counted upon the Administration to assume such an attitude of good will towards the contemplated Congressional action as would ensure a successful outcome. They were fortified in this expectation by the tradition of friendship and support manifested by successive United States administrations to our cause. It seems, however, that the Administration has not seen its way to giving even this minimum of support to the efforts of our Jewish leaders and their friends in Congress. The Administration has failed to facilitate the passage of these Resolutions and in a measure will be responsible for their rejection or the deferment of any action by Congress.

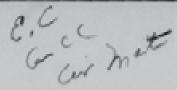
In these circumstances, we deem it our duty to communicate our view that the lack of cooperation thus far displayed towards a cause so great, so just and so vital - a matter of life and death for great numbers of human beings - that this lack of cooperation is most unfortunate and difficult to accept as final. For five years, since the White Paper was promulgated in the spring of 1939, millions of American citizens have been waiting for the moment when our Government would take appropriate public and diplomatic action with a view to the abrogation of the White Paper, which is admittedly in contravention of international law and of the declared policy of the United States. They have waited for action by our Government in favor of the rights and age-old aspirations of the Jewish people.

There has been no effective action on the part of our Government. The Jewish public is still in the dark as to the attitude of the Chief Executive himself, while they have been reluctantly driven to the conclusion that in the State Department influential elements are actually hostile. We feel therefore that the time has come for our beloved President, in whom we have had and continue to have the greatest confidence, to act on this vital matter after he has had an opportunity of discussing the issues involved with the accredited and democratically chosen representatives of the Zionist movement in this country. We know how burdened he is with affairs of state and military problems but we are persuaded that once he turns his attention to this subject now under discussion he will find the appropriate means to promote the cause so dear to our hearts and to multitudes of our fellow Americans. We are convinced that through the leadership and moral authority which the President commands, he can assure the speedy passage of the Resolutions now pending. It is our hope that he will also raise his own voice which is heard and respected throughout the world.

It is most desirable that our great Party and our great President should dispel at once any doubts as to their attitude by taking forthright action and speaking in unambiguous terms which will be understood and profoundly appreciated. We are apprehensive that failure or delay to do so will be misunderstood and will leave our people anxious and puzzled with results which we cannot fully envisage.

We beg you to receive this expression of our views in the spirit of utter sincerity and friendliness, in which they are tendered and to convey them without delay to the leaders of the Party and to the Administration.

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.



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## MEMORANDUM

Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

March 3, 1944

From

To -

Harry L. Shapiro

An essential feature of our drive to emlist support for the Palestine resolutions now pending in the Congress of the United States is to approach local leaders of the Democratic Party, in the hope that they will bring their influence to bear on the Administration in this matter.

The attached memorandum was presented to Mr. Edward V. Loughlin, leader of the Democratic Party in New York City. It should serve as a guide for you in the carrying out of similar missions in your own community.

You understand, of course, that Democratic Party heads must be made aware of the overwhelming support given the Palestine resolutions by American Jews, and they should realize that the Administration runs the risk of disillusioning a considerable number of voters in strategic centers if it fails to lend its support to the measures.

It is important that you appoint a <u>proper</u> delegation to call on your local Democratic Party leader, who should be presented with a memorandum similar to the one attached. You should also ask the gentleman whom you visit to bring the matter to the attention of Mr. Robert Hannigan, National Chairman of the Democratic Party.

Please carry out this important assignment quickly, and let us know the results of your interview.

HLS: BP

MEMORAND RETURN TO FILES AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. Date To March 10, 1944 Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees From Harry L. Shapiro After an interview with President Roosevelt yesterday, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, issued the following statement: "The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939. The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees, and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees." In view of the attitude which has been taken by the War Department in connection with the Palestine Resolutions, the statement of the President, at this time, is distinctly encouraging. For the next two weeks send letters and telegrams to the President, expressing gratitude for the above, imploring him to use all government machinery to facilitate entrance of refugees to Palestine now, and urging him at the earliest possible moment, in view of the tragic needs of our people, to use his good offices so that "full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home."

HLS: SH

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

#### MEMORANDUM

To: Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date: March 24, 1944

From: Harry L. Shapiro

1

This is an excellent time to review the developments of the past few weeks and to outline our plans for the immediate future.

To begin with, the Zionist movement won a substantial victory when on March 9th President Roosevelt authorized Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to say that "the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939...and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home." The importance of this statement cannot be overemphasized—and must not be minimized. Its significance can be noted as follows:

- (1) The "conspiracy of silence" which our enemies in the State Department have employed against us has been broken. It is no longer possible for these who would ban open discussion of the Palestine question until after the war, whether by attempting to secure a statement to that effect from the leaders of the American and British governments or by bringing "military considerations" into the picture, to silence us with a threat that our campaign might be considered "unpatriotic." The President of the United States himself has expressed sympathy for our movement—and in unmistakable terms. Let us not commit the folly of interpreting the statement as "meaningless" or "noncommittal." We should, on the other hand, employ the President's words as a powerful, political weapon to secure speedier action from the Congress of the United States and from the British government. If the President of the United States could speak up, certainly we can.
- (2) Bear in mind that the President spoke after protests against the pending Palestine resolutions had come in from the officials of seven Arab nations. In a very real sense the President rebuked these Arabs. You will recall that there was jubilation in Arab officialdom when the War Department's stand on the resolutions was announced. The more recent dispatches and radio broadcasts, however, report consterration and bewilderment among these gentlemen, resulting from the President's declaration.
- (3) Since the issuance of the White Paper in 1939, we have been told by State Department officials that the United States is not involved in the Palestine question, except where American nationals are concerned. In his statement, President Roosevelt indicated that the United States is concerned with the White Paper issue and with the future of the Jewish Mational Home.

So much for the President's statement which, we repeat, represented an importent gain.

- 2 -Now for the status of the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions. Action on the measures has been deferred as a result of the War Department's contention that they are untimely. This does not mean that the resolutions have been killed. The military's objections have in no way prejudiced the merits of the resolutions, and it goes without saying that were the resolutions to be put up to a vote of Congress today, they would pass overwhelmingly. This is due mainly to the superb work which has been done by all of the local Emergency Committees. The War Department's objections to the resolutions will not be permanent. If it is true that military considerations exist which militate against early action in this matter, we will press for immediate action the very moment we receive an indication that such considerations are no longer in the picture. At the same time, we are reserving the right to keep all political considerations in the open, and we are resolved that the argument of "military expediency" shall not be used as a smokescreen to cover political maneuvers. If you will read the addresses which were delivered at our enormously successful Madison Square Garden Rally held on March 21st (the full texts of these will go forward to you shortly), you will see that we do not hesitate to draw attention to the political aspects of the question. You understand, of course, that we are not in a position to control all action which may be taken in Congress vis-a-vis the Palestine resolutions. There may be attempts, not originating with us, to amend the measures. Do not take any action on such amend ments or on new proposals until you receive very definite instructions from us. Our work goes on! It may be a long, uphill fight, but the drive against the White Paper policy will be continued with undiminished vigor. We are confiden; that you and your co-workers will continue to serve our common cause devotedly and energetically. It is important that you carry out the following recommendations as speedily as possible: (1) If you have not already done so, send wires and letters to President Roosevelt, thanking him for his utterance of March 9th, and urging him to do all in his power to secure "full justice for those who seck a Jewish National Home." (2) Send letters of thanks to Congressmen and Senators who have expressed themselves in favor of the pending resolutions and voice your confidence in their intention to give the Wright-Compton and Wagner-Taft measures full support when they are brought to the floor of the House and the Senate. (3) Hold a mass meeting within the next six weeks designed to carry home the full significance of the President's statement and to press for action on the resolutions "at the earliest moment consistent with the exigencies of the war effort." (The enclosed program of the Madison Square Garden Rally should serve as a guide in this project.) Resolutions along the lines of the one adopted at Madison Square Garden should also be adopted at your meeting and copies of these forwarded to the President, the State Department, the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House, etc. (4) On March 31st the American press should carry editorials on the Palestine question. Material contained in our press books may be used in such editorials, but there should be additional reference to the more recent developments as noted above. These editorials should also demand action on the Palestine resolutions as speedily as possible; should urge the President to act in order that the full justice for those who seek a Jewish national home, which he so earnestly desires, may soon be achieved, and should appeal to Prime Minister Churchill to stand by his immunciation of the White Paper by bringing about its abrogation.

We urge you to do all that you can to have such editorials appear in your papers on March 31st.

Further information along these lines will be sent to you in the near future.

HLS:LF Enc.



To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date April 6, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

TIME MAGAZINE of April 3rd carried an article entitled "Terror in Zion," which charged the "dread Hagana" with creating the recent violence in Palestine. In a footnote to the article, the Hagana was described as the "title assumed by illegally-armed Zionist extremists who believe in 'direct action' to further a Jewish homeland." Coviously, TIME has confused the legitimate self-defense organization, the Hagana, with the Revisionist Irgun Zvai Leumi and with the terroristic "Stern Gang."

It is important that a limited number of letters to the editors of TIME be sent off immediately, pointing out (a) the factual errors, and (b) the implication of such errors for the entire Palestinian Jewish community. In writing your letters, please note the following pertinent facts:

- 1. The "Hagana" (Defense) is the responsibly-controlled Jewish "underground" defense organization in Palestine. It has the support of the entire Jewish community there, and is under the direction of recognized Jewish leadership. Throughout the di > turbances of 1936-39, its practiced watchword was "self-restraint." It protected, with remarkable success, the Jewish settlements against the attacks of Arab terrorists, but steadfastly refused then and refuses today to be goaded into retaliating by like acts of terror. Technically illegal, the Hagana has long been acknowledged (unofficially) by the british authorities as the recognized Jewish defense institution. Violence is not on its agenda: it has never been considered "dread". As the official defense organ of the Palestine Jewish community, whose spokesmen have bitterly condermed the recent outbursts, neither the Hagana nor any of its members have participated in bombing, shooting, or otherwise disturbing the peace.
- 2. There is, however, a small illegal Jewish group which does fall into the category of "illegally-armed Zionist extremists." The Irgun Zvai Leumi (National Military Organization) and its still more extreme off-shoot, the so-called "Stern Gang," which do not recognize official Zionist discipline, have been denounced by the Jewish community in the strongest of terms. "Credit" for the bombings has been claimed by the Irgun, while the shootings have been attributed to the functical Sternists, followers of one Abraham Stern who was stabled during an encounter with the police in 1942. A blood-feud between followers of Stern and the police resulted in the violence of the past few weeks when a number of Stern's henchmen escaped custody and decided to settle scores.

3. It is more than unfortunate that TIME, noted for its accurate coverage of the news, should confuse the gangster Stern group and the irresponsible Irgun with the respected Hagana. As it is, despite the fact that both TIME and the American press have reported the prompt condemnation of the outrages by "Palestine's peaceable Jewish majority," that peaceable majority and its defense organization have been subject to curfew restrictions and other indignities because of the failure of the police to round up all the culprits. Confusion of terms serves to attach an undeserved stigma to an organization — the Hagana — which has done an admirable job in pretecting the lives and property of the Jews of Palestine and which has behaved splendidly under extrems provocation.

NOTE: We do not want to flood TIME MGAZIME with letters. Generally speaking, the article was favorable. A few letters from each community will serve the purpose. These should be brief and varied; PLEASE DO NOT COPY THIS MEMORANDUM VERBATIM — it is simply background material.

HLS: SH



To. Members of the Executive Committee
American Zionist Emergency Council

Date April 12, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

You will undoubtedly be interested in the recent formation of the AMERICAN JEWISH TRADE UNION COMMITTEE FOR PALESTINE, and I am herewith submitting to you an outline of its construction, aims, and some of the outstanding labor leaders who are affiliated with it.

The American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine was organized ten days ago under the leadership of Mr. Max Zaritsky, president of the United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers Union of America, and a member of our Executive Committee. At the initial meeting forty labor leaders were in attendance, and they unanimously approved the creation of the Trade Union Committee for the purpose of carrying on the fight against the White Paper among the trade unions of the United States and for the creation of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

In addition to Mr. Zaritsky as chairman, other officers include the following vice-chairmen: Isidore Nagler, vice-president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Samuel Wolchok, president of the United Wholesale-Retail Department Store Employees Union of America; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer emeritus, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; William Wolpert, secretary-treasurer, United Hebrew Trades; Alex Cohen, general manager of the Shirt Makers' International Union. The secretary of the Committee is I. H. Goldberg, vice-president, United Hatters Cap and Millinery Workers Union, and the treasurer is Abraham Miller, secretary-treasurer of the Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

All of these men hold exceedingly important positions in the labor world and have widespread influence. They have already obtained the consent of William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, to be the honorary chairman of their Committee, and a similar request has gone forward to Phillip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, The representation on the Committee is both A.F.L. and C.I.O.

It will be of interest to you to know that the entire representation of the Committee, which at present numbers over sixty, is made up of men who have been active participants in labor Zionist affairs, a great many of them serving on every project which has emanated from the labor Zionist wing of our movement, as well as projects of the Jewish Sational Fund. A number of the officers have visited Palestine and are thoroughly familiar with its problems and its needs.

Though the Committee is less than two weeks old, it has already extended its field to include representation in a number of important cities in the United States. These are Boston, Chicago, Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles. In each of these cities regional vice-chairmen have been appointed, and in each case the vice-chairmen are responsible Jewish labor leaders.

The initial news release of this Committee received widespread publication in the Jewish press and items in the English press. We are enclosing a number of these clippings for your attention and information.

The Committee adopted a resolution calling for the abrogation of the White Paper and for the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. This resolution is being set up in a two-page leaflet and is shortly to be sent, with an accompanying letter from the Committee, to every Congressman, Senator, and Governor.

The next step of the Committee is to contact every state and city federation of labor of the A.F.L. and every industrial council of the C.I.O. for the purpose of obtaining endorsements of its resolution and to line up high-ranking labor officials in every state in the union for the work ahead of us.

HLS: TEG

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date April 27, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

The May issue of the Reader's Digest carries a "Report on Palestine" by Frederick C. Painton. In many respects this is one of the most unfavorable — and untrue — articles on the Palestine question to appear in an American magazine. When we consider the tremendous circulation and influence which the Reader's Digest has both here and abroad, we realize how damaging a blow Mr. Painton's piece is to the Zionist cause.

The falsehoods and perversions in this article (and there are many) must be brought to the attention of the editors of the Reader's Digest immediately. Please have your people prepare and send a number of letters to the Reader's Digest. These should be addressed to:

Mr. DeWitt Wallace, Editor Reader's Digest Pleasantville, New York

Letters can be brief or lengthy in accordance with the wishes of the writer. Have them select one or more points of the following criticism and expand on them. In no case are the letters to include sentences which are lifted bodily from the criticism -- the words must be those of the letter-writer. It is imperative that these letters be sent immediately!

In their introduction to Mr. Painton's article, the editors of the Reader's Digest make it perfectly clear that they are solidly behind the opinions expressed by the author. They point out that while Mr. Painton's report was intended "solely as a memorandum to the editors, that they might intelligently appraise current articles on the subject," they found it "so informative and so important as to warrant publication."

This article, then, is in the opinion of the Digest's editors "the truth behind the passion and politics in the controversy over extending immigration to the Jewish homoland." Why Frederick C. Painton, the Digest's correspondent in the Near Eastern theater, is best qualified to present the true picture is not explained. Perhaps the editors were impressed with his assertion that the report is "as honest and objective as it is in my power to write." Let us, therefore, examine Mr. Painton's conclusions for "truth," "objectivity," and "honesty."

To begin with Mr. Painton makes things rather easy for himself. He conveniently disregards the international implications of the Palestine question little items like the Mandate for Palestine which the League of Nations conferred upon Britain "for the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," the Joint Resolution unanimously adopted by the Congress of the United States favoring such a national home, the special treaty between the United States and Britain which declared that no changes could be made in the terms of the Mandate "without the consent of the United States." These and similar items appear nowhere in Mr. Painton's study. We presume that this was for the benefit of his readers. Why bether to clutter up people's minds with dry, factual stuff when it's so much more convenient to draw one's conclusions from conversations with "a government Arab official whom I cannot name."

Nowhere in the article is Britain's role in Palestine discussed. As a matter of fact, Mr. Painton chooses to regard the Palestine question as a "Jewish-Arab problem," with immigration the nub of that problem. The over-simplification is convenient indeed. If this is an "Arab-Jewish problem," then there's no need to draw attention to Britain's pledges to the Jewish people or to other international guarantees of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, there's no need to examine how well or how badly such promises have been kept, there's no need to indicate that such an institution as the Palestine Administration ever exists...

As for Jewish immigration into Palestine -- Mr, Painton makes no mention whatever of the Jewish need for Palestine. The plight of the remaining Jews of Europe, for whom Palestine is the only place of refuge on this earth does not figure in Mr. Painton's analysis. That these uprooted, hunted people need one spot where they may rebuild their shattered lives, free from the plagues of anti-Semitism and homelessness which have tortured them for centuries, is never considered.

And because such "minor" factors are disregarded, Mr. Painton finds no trouble in dismissing the entire question of the White Paper and What it means to Jews seeking escape from the European hell with these two sentences: "The Arabs, for the moment at least, are content to stand on the White Paper. The Jews are vigorously and even violently opposing it, but because of the war a sort of armistice has been set up which, except for the extremists, has been reasonably well observed."

It would seem that Mr. Painton and the Digest's editors need additional facts to round out their "objective" study. Perhaps they will allow us to supply a few of these.

First, about the White Paper. Isn't it worth mentioning, why it was issued? Perhaps this information would make it necessary for Mr. Painton to revise his report somewhat. He would suddenly realize that there are other factors in the Palestine question -- that something called "Chamberlain appearement" figured prominently in 1939, when the White Paper was issued, that his picture of "the unorganized Arab, who has no spokesmen and few arms,...who is leaning on the British to protect him," etc. is not "as honest and objective as it is in his power to write."

For Mr. Painton's information, the White Paper was issued by Britain to appease certain Arab leaders who, under the influence of Hitler and Mussolini, had whipped up their people against the British and the Jews, Did Mr. Painton ever hear of the Mufti of Jerusalem, we wonder? That gentleman is now with his Nazi master in Berlin.

Mr. Painton telis us that the Arabs "are afraid of the Jews" because the latter

"have a world press and vast wealth, and have been smuggling in arms on a rather astonishing scale -- not only rifles, but also machine-guns and mortars...The Arab is unorganized, he has no spokesmen, and he has few arms." It follows, therefore, that it is the Jew who is the trouble-maker in Palestine. Not the feudal Arab leaders. Not the reactionary Eritish Colonial Administration. But the Jew -- the pioneer who reclaimed barren wasteland for the blessing of all and the hurt of none. The Jew -- who revived an impoverished country, without the exploitation of others, and created a new and better life for all the inhabitants of Palestine. This same Jew is the villain in the piece, if we are to believe this "Report on Palestine."

Mr. Painton, perhaps unwittingly, has supplied the Mifti with ample material for a number of broadcasts over the Berlin radio. He should be reminded of one simple fact -- the Jews have never attacked Arab communities, and arms in the possession of Jews have been used only in defense of Jewish homes and communities against Arab terrorists.

There are, unfortunately, a few (we repeat, a few) Jewish extremists who are responsible for the recent outbreaks in Palestine. It should be pointed out, however, that is no instance were Arabs attacked, and that all responsible Jewish groups have condemned the actions of this handful of terrorists — and in no uncertain terms.

Conflict between Arabs and Jews, negligible in the beginning, could have been kept that way had not the Palestine Administration vacillated and appeared (long before appearement became fashionable in the mother country).

Before we move on from Mr. Painton's description of the Palestine Jew as a fanatic, who disregards all else in his efforts to achieve his nationalist aims, let us ask ourselves: Who in the Mear East has kept faith with Britain and the other United Nations in this war? The Iraqi, who in Britain's darkest hour attempted a pro-Nazi revolt? The Egyptians, who refused to lift a finger to halt Rommel's approach to Alexandria? The Syrians, whose land has teemed with fascist spies? The Palestine Arabs, whose leader is doing Hitler's work openly? (And incidentally, if the Arab has no spokesmen, as Mr. Painton declares, for whom were officials of the above-mentioned countries speaking when they denounced the Palestine resolutions, introduced in the Congress of the United States, in such vitriolic terms?)

By contrast, the Jews of Palestine have created a real arsenal of democracy in the Middle East. More than 30,000 have volunteered for service in the British Army (this is equivalent to a volunteer enlistment of 8,000,000 in the United States) and the Jewish National Home is providing food, ammunition and other vital supplies to United Nations forces.

Again on the question of immigration -- Jews are quite willing to allow Palestine's "absorptive capacity" determine how many should be admitted. The Reader's Digest's footnote containing Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's opinion on this question states that, with irrigation, Palestine could support an added 4,000,000 people. Need we say more?

It should be noted, too, that within the past twenty-two years there has been a 40% increase in the <u>Arab</u> population of Palestine. This has been brought about by the declining Arab death-rate (due to improved health conditions) and the migration of Arabs into Palestine (to take advantage of the higher standard of living created there by the Jews).

Mr. Painton's survey contains so many misconceptions and distortions that it is impossible to cover them all here. (A full article would be required for this — and if the editors of the Digest have a sense of fair-play, they will invite someone who is better qualified than Mr. Painton to present the facts in their next issue.) However, one or two of Mr. Painton's statements should be noted here.

He reports the Trans-Jordan people as saying bitterly, "moving the Arabs out of Palestine to let in the Jews is comparable to asking the people in Kansas to pick up and get out so that newcomers could settle on the land." The comparison with Kansas suggests an American rather than a Transjordanian source for this malicious allegation. The idea that Transjordanians know of the existence of such a place as Kansas is laughable. However, Mr. Painton's point is that Arabs object to being moved out of Palestine. The slightest enquiry on his part would have indicated that at no time have responsible Zionists proposed that the Arabs be dispossessed. On the other hand, Arabs have been moving into Palestine, not out of it, as was pointed out above.

Mr. Painton warns: "The Arab world will rise if the White Paper clause on immigration is rescinded." That is only one man's opinion. A New York Times correspondent recently reported from Palestine that Arab agitators are having a difficult time in stirring up even the Palestinian Arabs, because the latter are much too content with wartime prosperity. It should be pointed out, too, that on March 9th President Roosevelt declared that the United States "has never given its approval to the British White Paper of 1939" and that "full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home." Not one Arab protest was heard, let alone a revolt of the Arab world.

Mr. Painton's conclusion -- "the Palestine problem will die out by sheer lack of Jews who would give up their own homeland to plant themselves anew in the sterile hills of Judea" -- is as false as it is vicious (or ignorant).

He speaks of Jews "giving up their homeland." Where has ir. Painton been during the past decade? Hasn't he heard yet that the Jews of Europe -- no matter where they lived -- have been uprocted and persecuted, that they are being annihilated, that they have no homes, that a majority of those who remain have nothing to return to but the graveyards of their loved ones? Which "homelands" are to be "given up?" Those countries in Central and Eastern Europe where Jew-hating and Jew-killing have been the national sport for generations?

And "the sterile hills of Judea" indeed! Can Mr. Painton actually have visited Jewish Palestine and returned with that phrase? If Mr. Fainton is correct, then the terraced fields, the beautiful orchards, the modern cities created by Jewish sweat and Jewish blood are a mirage which a surprisingly large number of observers and visitors have witnessed.

The "Jewish problem" in Palestine (as Mr. Painton sees it) will not "die out" --not until the salemn pledges made to the Jewish people have been fulfilled, not
until Jewish hopes for Palestine have been realized. The voice of Jewry and
the Christian conscience will not be silent.

Article NEW YORK POST April 27, 1944

# PALESTINIAN IMPRESSION

# By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

Jerucalem (By Wireless) - Zionism in Palestine is so explosive a force that it must be seen to be realized. Reading isn't enough. The import of hundreds of thousands of highly trained, highly competent European colonists, bursting with enthusiasm upon a still medieval Islamic society is literally terrific.

Outbursts and stresses seem all but inevitable. They can, in the long run, be allayed only by the triumph of one pattern of life or the other. This doesn't mean that either the Jews or the Arabs must disappear. It does mean that either the Jews be permitted to make Palestine into an entirely modern country — a sort of outpost in the Middle East of all the finest of the Occident — or that the Arabs manage to limit, "ghettoize," the Jews.

There is an Arab renascence undoubtedly. The Arab is moving toward modernization. But gradually in his dignified Oriental manner. It would seem impossible to establish traffic laws satisfactory to both Cadillac and camel-donkey societies.

You become aware of the glaring contrast the moment your plane crosses the frontier from Sinai into Palestine, and far ahead the buildings of Beersheba begin to dance in the sunlight. Behind -- an ocean of sand dunes; ahead, growing patches of green orchards and fields literally wrung, foot by foot, from the shifting desert which has been forced back to a narrow, tawny stria along the blue Mediterranean.

Not all these model farms are Jewish, but most are Jews, and all are Jewish in inspiration, and show where the Arab has swallowed his prejudice and learned from the Jew how, by liberal application of capital, brain-oil and elbow grease, the desert can be made to blossom.

Here is one of the chief Jewish quarrels with the White Paper. According to the Jews, the White Paper prevents them from colonizing vast rocky hillsides, which, according to them, the Arab never could and never will cultivate, but which Zionist brains and Zionist passion can, if allowed, transform into gardens.

Jewish performance to date seems to justify this contention for it almost seems that the rockier, the more barren, the hotter, the sandier the plot of settlement ground chosen, the more passionately do the Jewish colonists throw themselves into the task of reclaiming it.

According to British administrators and foreign diplomats, no job is too tough to be tackled by these people. They not only raise good citrus fruits. No, they must raise the best oranges, lemons, grapefruits to grow anywhere. They not only have hospitals, a scientific institute and a university, but these must be a model for the world -- and are. In the wild joy of creating a new society against all obstacles, Palestinian Jews remind the traveler irresistibly of the Communist enthusiasts who, in a series of five-year plans, did so much to transform backward Russia.

In a ten minutes! walk from the Mosque of Omar on Mount Moriah in the old city of Jerusalem to the new Jewish quarter on the cool hills outside, you traverse a full thousand years.

Here, in this writer's view, is the British headache. Despite bitter charges made by certain Jews, this writer doesn't have the impression that British colonial administration is specifically anti-Zionist or anti-Jew. It is true that the British have covered hill tops with a series of semi-fortified police stations as forbidding as medieval castles. It is true that they seem more tender of Arab susceptibilities than of Jewish ones.

But the British here -- it seems to this writer -- are concentrated primarily upon an imperial task -- namely, making this region safe for the British, and, incidentally, for civilized interests.

Arabs form not only the bulk of the population in the Middle Eastern area but, despite occasional violent uprisings and continual protests, they are fundamentally indolent and easy to handle. The Jews aren't -- decidedly. Peace-loving they certainly are. Despite insignificant extremists who occasionally murder British policemen and bomb buildings, they observe the laws.

But their dynamic colonizing makes for tensions, problems and attitudes with which the officials of the British Colonial Office aren't particularly prepared to cope. Hence, their attitude. Hence, the anxiety which they make no attempt to hide. For, like every one else in this land, they realize that once the war is over, perhaps even before, the Jewish-Arab Palestinian problem, which the White Paper sought to solve and which it has not solved, will burst forth with renewed intensity.

Article NEW YORK POST April 29, 1944

# ZIONIST TASKS

# By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

Ain Geb, Lake of Galilee (By Wireless) - "Everything in the Middle East comes back to the Zionist problem," said my diplomat friend, back in Gaire. Now, finally, here in this collective settlement on the shores of blue Galilee, I understand him. For Zionist Palestine is the most provocative society in the world.

On a tiny scale, the Zionists are out to prove the possibility of everything most people thought impossible. Foreigners in this area divide, dispute and quarrel as fiercely about Zionism as they did about Soviet Russia. For, in this writer's judgment, as Palestine goes, so in time will go the Middle East.

Consider a few of the tasks the Zionists cooly faced and are in the process of accomplishing. They had first to make a Jewish people. How to bring semi-bar-barian Jews from Yemen or Turkestan into the same society with the medieval Talmudists from Lithuania, scientists from Vienna, modernists of New York and Berlin?

Well, with a few exceptions among the older people, this has been done,

Common people must have a common language. This language in Jewish eyes could only be Hebrew --- the language of the prophets. Jews from 34 countries had mostly only a snattering of Hebrew which they knew from prayers. Today Hebrew is the only common language, with English the secondary tongue.

The second task was the fight against the elements. A new town like Tel Aviv, with 170,000 Jews, and scores of individual and collective settlement farms throughout the country, are testimony to the successful war against rocks and sandy desert.

There are no failures to date. Having seen it, this writer is now convinced that with such agricultural methods and thorough industrialization, 3,000,000 such people could thrive on this tiny territory. Furthermore, except for funds needed to finance further immigration, Palestine is now a permanently self-supporting society.

To make this their homeland, the Jews must struggle against a partially hostile Arab population. Arab resistance took the form of first selling land to Jews at exorbitant prices, then doing everything from grumbling to killing in order to prevent the Jews from prospering and spreading.

The Arab plight is the plight of every backward people faced by a peaceful invasion of another people superior in their ability both to work and fight. To repel the Arab attacks, Jews have taken to arms and have a defense organization equal to anything the Palestinian Arabs can possibly bring against it.

Not to speak of towns, every outlying settlement is now a stockade of struggle against the British to secure the right of unrestricted immigration and land purchase. Little can -- under censorship -- be related from here.

Suffice it to say that one way or another, the lews are beating the White Paper, that some immigrants are steadily reaching the Land of Israel. Only recently two shiploads come from Romania to Istanbul, thus demonstrating that others could have been rescued before if the American and British governments had co-operated then as they are co-operating now.

Another fight was for a largely socialist society. The strongest force in this country is the Jewish Labor Party. Some agricultural settlements go far beyond Russia and have established complete collectivism, share and share alike, regardless of natural gifts.

Behind this lies the transformation of Jewish man from a hard-working but primarily urbanized intellectual being into a person who prizes hard physical work in the open air above everything.

Rabbis' sons toil in fields, load on their backs 200-pound sacks of sugar with a smile and a song on their lips. The result is the happiest, healthiest generation of little children this writer has seen anywhere. Adults still show physical signs of their ghetto origins, but children under fifteen are a new breed of cats.

The greatest struggle -- one still to come -- is the battle to make Palestine into Eretz Israel -- Jewish state. This means abolition of the White Paper, it means unrestricted immigration, it means overcoming Arab and British resistance.

The Jewish will is fixed on this and nothing less. In his "Outline of History," H. G. Wells spoke of the ancient Jews as being "peculiarly stubborn little people who persisted in living on an international highway and were continually getting run over."

Palestine is still an international highway, a matter of anxiety to the big powers of today as of yesterday. The Jews, after nearly 2,000 years, are again pitching their tents in the same spot, stubborn as ever.

American Zionist Emergency Council 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Hadassah, Women's Zionist Crganization of America MUrray Hill 2-1160 Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America CALL TO A CONFERENCE To All Emergency Committees: On last December 11th and 12th representatives of local Zicnist Emergency Committees met in Cleveland and adopted a program of basic political principle underlying the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council, as well as that of the local Committees. Since then events of historical significance have transpired. On January 27th the Wright-Compton Resolution on Palestine was introduced in the House of Representatives. This was followed by hearings before the House Foreign Affairs Committee at which the case for a Jewish Palestine was ably and effectively defended by representatives of the Council. A similar resolution was introduced in the Senate by Senators Wagner and Taft on February 1st. On March 9th the President of the United States received the co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council and authorized us to issue in his name a statement with which you are familiar. That same day a great Christian Conference on Palestine was held in Washington. In the meantime the military authorities had intervened to request Congress "without reference to the merits of these resolutions" to defer action on them to some future date. In connection with these resolutions a remarkably sympathetic expression was voiced by the American press, by governors, mayors, leaders in labor and industry, and thousands of Jewish and non-Jewish organizations. It is clearly apparent that these events have served to make Zionism and Palestine vital and pressing questions on the agenda of the United Nations. The question to which we must now address curselves is how can we keep Zionism and Palestine on the agenda. The American Zionist Emergency Council met in an all-day session on April 3rd to discuss this situation and chart our future course. However, it is our considered opinion that now again, as last December, we need the benefit of the counsel and advice of the leaders of the local Committees since much of our program must be implemented on the local level. For that purpose we invite you to designate one or more representatives of your Committee to attend a conference at the Statler Hotel in Washington on Tuesday and Wednesday, May 23rd and 24th.

At the moment we plan an all-day meeting on Tuesday to include luncheon and dinner sessions for a discussion of our several problems. Wednesday morning and early afternoon are being left open to allow delegates from the communities to call upon our Congressmen and Senators to discuss with them several problems which will be suggested at Tuesday night's session.

It is well that in designating your representatives you bear in mind this very significant phase of the conference. May we also suggest that you lose no time in arranging appointments with your Congressmen.

Enclosed herewith is a form on which we ask you to notify us of the names of those who will attend, as well as the time of their arrival. Our office in Washington will be very glad to make hotel reservations for your representatives if we are informed of their desires sufficiently in advance.

Sincerely yours,

Stephen S. Wise

Co-Chairmen

Abba Hillel Silver

W/S/sh Enc. The following delegates will attend the Conference of Emergency Committees of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to be held at the Hotel Statler, Washington, D.C., Tuesday, May 23rd, beginning 10:00 A.M., and Wednesday, May 24th, 1944.

		Time of Arrival
1.	Name	Time of Departure
	City	Type of Accommodations: Single Double Remarks
		Time of Arrival
2.	Name	Time of Departure_ Do you wish hotel reservations made?  Type of Accommodations:
	City	Single Double
		Time of Arrival
3.	Name	Time of Departure
	Address	Type of Accommodations: Single Double Remarks

Because of the nature of travel facilities, delegates will undoubtedly make train reservations at once for going to Washington and returning therefrom.

[ Enclosures removed to chromogical order 19 AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. MEMORANDUM May 3, 1944 Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date To Harry L. Shapiro From Enclosed herewith are texts of dispatches filed from Egypt and Palestine by Edgar Ansel Mowrer, whose column is syndicated in approximately 40 daily newspapers throughout the United States. After you read these dispatches, you will readily understand why we are anxious that they be given wide circulation. The April 27th and April 29th dispatches were carried in New York by the "Post," and the May 4th dispatch is scheduled to appear in that paper tomorrow. These articles were sent by the syndicate which handles Mr. Mowrer's column to all newspapers subscribing to it. However, we hear that some newspapers have not carried the articles. If one of your city's newspapers customarily carries the Mowrer column, we urge you to do the following as quickly as possible: 1. If the aforementioned dispatches were carried, a number of letters should go to the Managing Editor telling him how well the Mowrer stories from the Middle East were received, and commending him for presenting these facts in his paper, etc. 2. If the paper did not carry the lowrer dispatches, you should contact the Managing Editor immediately. He should be told that the dispatches were brought to your attention by residents of other cities where the Mourer column appears. Letters to the editor should reflect disappointment over the fact that items favorable to Zionism, written by one well qualified to present a truthful report, should be ignored. In addition to the above, will you be good enough to inform this office of any action taken. HLS: SH Encs.

To be released in NEW YORK POST Thursday, May 4, 1944

# BRITISH CAIRO POLICIES AND THE WAR EFFORT

# By Edgar Ansel Mowrer

Cairo (Ey Wireless) -- Certain Americans living in the Middle East and studying the situation here are convinced that certain political policies now being applied by the British in Cairo are harmful to the common war effort but, because of strict political censorship, they are being prevented from saying so.

Consorship aside, this is a difficult topic to discuss for three reasons. The first is that the American administration is being fully informed of these British policies and, since it tolerated where it doesn't actually approve them, who are private citizens to criticize? The second is, that any discussion may become acrimonious and tend to disrupt the close, confident British-American partnership on which the future of the world so clearly depends. The third is the usual military claim to know best, and first to deprive the public of salient facts, then to deny validity to the public's judgment because of ignorance of said facts. Nonetheless, the situation has become such in the last few weeks that this writer intends to stick his neck out and set down one newspaperman's opinion.

Still another introduction is necessary. British post-war plans for the region between Naples and India may or may not be satisfactory to the American people. If and when the question of post-war cooperation with Britain arises, they will have the right and the opportunity to examine these plans carefully and decide which are acceptable to them and which are not. But they can claim to interfere only if they are willing to accept, with the British, and with the Russians if possible, co-responsibility for the entire region, pending assumption of authority by the coming international organization. Otherwise, they cannot properly blame the British for planning to run the area according to their own lights and along their own lines. The war effort is another matter for the Americans have accepted full co-responsibility and with this obviously goes an unfettered right to criticism. The following is being written under that right.

The charge is, as I said, that certain British political policies being administered and possibly formulated in Cairo are harmful to the war effort and are being hidden from the Americans behind an incredibly autocratic censorship. This goes particularly (120 words censored). The excuse here is "military necessity" because of the alleged military potential of Said Arabs. Yet, the same Britishers will tell you privately that the military potential of the entire Arab world outside of French North Africa is negligible, that, furthermore, the Arabs are hopelessly divided among themselves, that most of them are anti-British, many were pro-Axis, that, finally, the Arabs, at most could become merily the arabs nuisance".

Yet, for such reasons, General Marshall was persuiced by his British colleagues to interfere with the American congressional move in facer of the Palestine Zionists. These Zionists are heart and soul with the United Nations. Their contribution to the common war effort is many times greater than the of the Arabs. They wish to do more and have submitted recently a scheme which might well save many British and American lives. Yet their offer is ignored, they are exing given little public credit for what they have done.

British here don't like public discussion of these matters. They insist that they alone are able to judge the situation. They defend hiding facts behind alleged military necessity. Unfortunately for them, their political record doesn't warrant the full trust which they demand. The British obviously failed to avoid the present war. The British have blundered politically in Italy like the Americans in North Africa. The American popular belief in their omniscience has gone. If they wish to avoid future dissension, it might be well either to raise the censorship and permit public discussion now or modify these questionable policies.



# MEMORANDUM

To . Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date

May 11, 1944

From

Harry L. Shapiro

# IMPORTANT -- CONFIDENTIAL

The American Zionist Emergency Council is mobilizing all responsible groups in American Jewry to combat the activities of the American League for a Free Palestine, the latest in the series of paper organizations created by four or five young men who were sent to the United States as a "Palestine Delegation" by a small political group in the Holy Land known as the Irgun Zevai Leumi. In recent weeks we have come to know all too well what the Irgun is and what methods it employs. The Irgun uses "terror as a political weapon against Jews, Arabs and Britons alike," Pierre van Paassen declares in his recent letter to The Protestent magazine.

The demoralizing effect of this small group of opportunists on American Jewish life must be counteracted now. The attached statement has been released to the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press. But we must do more. Exposés of the League for a Free Palestine must be put in the hands of that group's innocent victims (and we use the word advisedly).

You are urged to do the following:

1. Circulate the attached statement and Pierre van Paassen's "A Cruel Hoax on the American Public" among the Jews in your community.

Let us know how many copies of these you will require and they will be forwarded immediately.

- 2. If you know of individuals (Jews or non-Jews) in your community who have associated themselves with this group, you should approach them in person, acquaint them with the facts as presented in our statement and the van Paassen letter, and urge them to withdraw their support. You understand, of course, that this should be done with the greatest degree of tact.
- 3. After you have secured the resignation of League members, send us their names, along with any statement which they may care to make, and we will release the story to the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish papers.

We are confident that you will deal with this extremely important matter promptly and efficiently.

HLS: MBP

" A CRUEL HOAX

ON THE AMERICAN PUBLIC"

WRHS ©CESO By

PIERRE VAN PAASSEN

# LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Irgunist Hoax

Dear Kenneth Leslie:

Those letters, of which you sent me copies, wherein you are asked why THE PROTESTANT does not support the endeavors of the so-called "Emergency Committee to Save the Jews of Europe," which calls itself a non-partisan, non-sectarian body, are of a similar content and tenor as a number of inquiries I have been receiving myself lately.

I generally reply to my correspondents that I know both the political motives and the personnel of that Committee rather intimately since they are both identical with those of the now defunct "Committee for a Jewish Army" with which, as you will recall,

I was associated for a short time in the capacity of National Chairman.

The actual directors of both these Committees, and of two others now in process of formation, viz. the "National Jewish Council" and the "American League for A Free Palestine" are the self-same individuals—fcur or five young men who were sent to the United States as a "Palestine Delegation" by a small political group in the Holy Land known as the Irgun Zevai Leumi, or, in English: the "Nationalist Military Organization." This numerica'ly insignificant group in Palestine is modelled, structurally and ideologically, upon the erstwhile Social Revolutionary Party of Czarist Russia, or, if you wish for a neater and closer prototype: the Macedonian Comitadjia. The Irgun is proscribed in Palestine because of its fascistic methods and its advocacy and employment of terror as a political weapon against Jews, Arabs and Britons alike. It is no exaggeration to say that ninety-five and three-quarters per cent of the Jewish population in Palestine have no truck or trade with the Irgun.

In a dispatch from Jerusalem, dated February 25 of this year, the New York Times reported an increase in terroristic outrages in Palestine. The dispatch attributed the rise of violence to a renewed activity on the part of the Irgun. I say "renewed" because during the tragic period of disturbances in the Holy Land, back in 1936-1939, the Irgun made its very name obnoxious and infamous to all sincere friends of Palestine by subtracting itself from national Jewish discipline. In those years the Jewish Community of Palestine with one common accord decided not to retaliate, not to kill Arabs in retaliation for the almost daily murder of Jews and the destruction of Jewish property by Arabs acting under the inspiration of Axis agents. The Irgun alone abstained from this noble and truly Christian resolution. It is common knowledge that the Irgun did kill and did commit acts of violence. There were even rumors that certain members of the Irgun made attempts to establish contact with the Nazis in Germany with a view to bring about concerted action against the British in the Near Last. These rumors were dealed by the Irgun itself.

The aforementioned dispatch to the New York Times rate & Wellows:

"Jerusalem, Feb. 15—Political terrorist activity had been showing a marked incrudescence ately in various parts of Palestine, probably in the mistaken notion that it will bring about pressure on British authorities to change her present policy crastically in favor of extremist Jewish nationalist demands.

"The authors of these outrages—of which the latest was the explosion of two time bombs placed inside British police vehicles at Haifa yesterday—belong to a tiny fanatical group calling itself Irgun Zevai Lenmi (Nationalist Military Organization) whose anarchist acts have been condemned by the remainder of the Jewish population as harmful to the Jewish cause. Twenty dissident revolutionaries recently escaped from a detention camp near Jemsalem and are believed to have joined their associates belonging to an even more extremist faction, whose leader, Abraham Stern, was shot dead during a police encounter in February, 1942.

"Arab papers have joined the Jewish press in demanding the apprehension and dire punishment of these lawless elements."

I resigned from the "Committee for a Jewish Army," which was set up by the Irgunist delegation, not because of outside pressure or because I was dissatisfied with the salary, as has been alleged (for there was no salary or any other kind of remuneration involved at any time). I resigned, I say, because I came to the painful realization that the Committee's directors, the four or five Palestinian Irgunists had not mended and showed no intention to mend their ways in this country, as I had at first hoped they would and as they had promised me faithfully and repeatedly. I had accepted the National Chairmanship in the first place because I believed it but right that the Jews of Palestine, who were fighting so gloriously in the British Armies in the Near East should have a military force of their own, should fight and die under their own flag and in their own name, as it were, and not as unknown sold ers.

I still believe this should be so when I consider that at least a quarter of General Montgomery's forces at the height of the campaign in Lybia were Palestinian Jews and that at present no less than sixty Palestinian Jewish units are fighting in Italy. When Irak, the country which called in Hitler's Luftwaffe to stab Britain in the back, is made a member of the United Nations, and when Egypt whose armies did not lift one finger to resist the German invader and whose Chief of Staff was arrested at a moment when he was on the verge of flying over to Rommel with Montgomery's secret campaign plans in his pocket, is treated as a loyal Ally, I think the Palestinian Jewry should at least be given recognition of its valor and the country of Falestine recognition of its immense industrial and agricultural contribution to the common victory by being permitted to call its army its own.

Moreover, the constitution of an army made up of Palestinian Jews, would, I think, go a long way towards spiking those Goebbels-inspired whispering campaigns in this country of America according to which the Jews leave the fighting, the suffering and the dying to others. The world would know that Jews do fight and have fought magnificently in this war.

On the strength of the promise of the Irgunists that they would not inject the methods and tactics of their Palestine society into American affairs, I accepted the Chairmanship of the "Committee for a Jewish Army." I was to be deeply disillusioned and I was placed in a most embarrassing position vis a vis of many friends and eminent personalities who had sought to persuade me to disassociate myself from the Irgunist Committee.

In spite of earnest and repeated remonstrances and protests on my part, the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" insisted on bringing into that organization a rumber of persons notorious for their reactionary past in American public life. They also refused to collaborate with established Jewish and non-Jewish bodies and organizations of a progressive, reputable and democratic character. Like the Irgun in Palestine, the Irgunist directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" wanted to play and did play a lone hand.

The real reasons for my resignation were always carefully hidden or totally misrepresented by the directors of the "Committee for a Jewish Army" so that many people
till this day are and remain under the false impression that I am still an active supporter
of the Committee or of one or more of its various offshoots and prolongations. This
illusion was furthered a good deal by the reproduction in the Irqunist periodical The
Answer of articles and statements from my pen which had appeared elsewhere but
which were presented in that publication as original material.

I never had any connection with The Answer and I stopped the sale of my recent book by its editors.

With the "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" which is one of the offshoots of the Army Committee I had no relationship whatever either.

I am not, it goes without saying, opposed to saving Jews from Europe, and I have all my day; been one of the most outspoken and militant non-Jewish advocates of the establishment of a free and independent Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. My books Days of Our Years, The Time Is Now, That Day Alone and The Forgotten Ally are a public record to testify for me.

But I cannot, in conscience, support a "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe," which has neither the means, the facilities, nor, I declare, the intention to save Jews.

To speak bluntly, that "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" is a hoax, in my judgment a very cruel hoax perpetrated on the American public, Jewish and non-Jewish alike. That Committee and its directors have but one aim in view; to increase the prestige of the outlawed political group in Palestine known as the Irgun and the glorification of the Irgun's self-stylec "dynamic" missionaries in this country.

It is so easy to make a noise and create a fuss and gather a few followers, as the Irgunist directors of these leagues, committees and councils are doing here in America, so easy when one has neither responsibility or standing. By what they do here n America they hope to make an impression in Palestine and to persuade Palestinia as that at least in the U.S.A. the Irgun is constructively active and has public support. At present the Irgunists take credit and proclaim from the housetops that they are responsible for President Roosevelt's appointment of a Committee on Refugees. This is, as Ludwig Lewisohn aptly remarked, like Chantecler in Rostand's play crowing from the dungheap that he has made the sun rise.

The "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" has been abandoned by many liberals and is today almost homogeneously made up of reactionaries on the one hand and on the other hand of well-meaning persons who are distressed over the woes of Israel, but who do not know the background, the origin, the ambitions and the real objectives of the Committee's parent-body and its ultimate objectives.

I commiserate the more with these charitably-minded persons since I was once a victim myself, and I deeply regret that some have entered the ranks of the Irgunist organizations in America in a belief that I was to be one of their fellow-members. The explanation of the commendation which certain prominent men have given to the Committee's work is simply this, that the Committee has managed to attract their attention by the noise it makes with its vulgar, high-pressure tactics of publicity. If people knew what was really involved they would have kept the Committee at a considerable distance.

In the Jewish field, the Committee goes counter to and combats the internationally-legally established "Jewish Agency for Palestine" which is the body that represents the national interests of the Jewish people in the community of civilized nations. All the Irgun.st Committees; the Committee to Save the Jews, The League for a Free Palestine, etc., seek to disrupt established Jewish organizations, such as the Zionist Organization of America by means of typically facile, fascist charges and accusations of "bureaucratic inefficiency," "ruling cliques," "grand moguls," etc. It is so easy! . . .

You are perfectly right in your decision not to have anything to do with the "Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe" or with the Irgun's next item: the "League for a Free Palestine." They are both sponsored by the same Palestinian body through its designation here in America: the fascist, terrorist Irgun. The Jewish people in this hour of their supreme anguish when three million Jews have been killed by Hitler and when the doors of Palestine remain closed to the refugees, undoubtedly need our sympathy and our help. But that help cannot be given by supporting the deliberate confusionists of the Irgun either here or in the Holy Land.

PIEERE VAN PAASSEN

reprinted by

THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE 521 Fifth Ave., New York 17, N.Y.



# A WARRING TO THE ZIGNISTS OF AMERICA

A new organization called the American League for a Free Palestine has been launched. Its objects are stated to be "to save the Jewish people of Europe" and "to establish the Hebrew nation in Palestine." The promoters of the new organization acknowledge the great contribution made by the World Zionist movement to Palestine and to the Jewish people, but allege that the Zionist movement is purely sectarian in character and that therefore it is necessary "to fill the long-felt need for a Palestine Freedom movement" with a non-sectarian organization. The new organization differentiates between "European and Palestinian Jews who have no other desire than to live in Palestine," who are members of the "Hebrew" Nation, and Jews living in all other lands, who presumably do not belong to the "Hebrew" Nation. To anyone with the slightest acquaintance with the facts, this definition can only be described as specious nonsense. It is quite evident that an attempt is being made to give a distorted paraphrase of Zionism and to use it to form a new competitive organization.

Through the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, the Zionist movement secured international approval of its aim to re-establish the Jews as a nation in Palestine. It was never intended or suggested that Jews should owe political allegiance to any country other than to the land of which they are citizens. The relation of an American Jew to the Jewish National Home, when it is established, will not differ from that of any other American toward the land of his ancestral homeland.

The representative status of the World Zionist Organization, subsequently enlarged in the Jewish Agency for Palestine to include members of non-Zionist groups in many lands, was specifically recognized in the Palestine Mandate. The Zionist movement has established organizations in every part of the world, which are everywhere recognized as representing local Jewish interests in the development of the Jewish Homeland. From the very start, non-Jewish sympathy and understanding of the objectives of the movement was regarded as of vital importance. In many

countries, non-Jewish pro-Palestine committees were established. In the United States, the Zionist movement has welcomed the organization of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council On Palestine. The Jewish Agency for Palestine is today the recognized spokesman of the Jewish people in all matters concerning the future of Palestine, and is so regarded by Jews, non-Jews, and the governments with which it deals. The new organization is bound to mislead those concerned with the Jewish problem, with regard to the ideals and principles underlying the Zionist movement.

The founders of the so-called League for a Free Palestine are a small group of persons who, within recent years, acting in accordance with the opportunistic impulses of the moment and exploiting the miseries which have befallen our people abroad, have established one paper organization after another. These paper organizations include the Friends of a Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and now, the League for a Free Palestine. None of these organizations or committees have had any official relationship, direct or indirect, with any responsible body in American Jewish life.

Far from advancing the cause of a Jewish Palestine, or the interests of the Jewish people, the League will be productive of nothing but public confusion. It will impair the effectiveness and authority of the internationally recognized Jewish Agency for Palestine. It will make for disunity and uncertainty at a time when Jewish singleness of purpose and coordination of effort are of vital importance.

DO NOT BE MISLED BY THIS GROUP'S PUBLICITY -- REMEMBER THAT FULL-PAGE ADVERTISEMENTS WILL NOT REBUILD THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

DO NOT SUPPORT THIS ATTEMPT TO DESTROY ZIONISM AND THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

DO NOT PERMIT A FEW IRRESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUALS TO SPEAK FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE American Zionist Emergency Countil 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Extetter Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America MUrray Hill 2-1160 Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America July 6, 1944

I am taking the liberty of sending you herewith three statements recording the background and purposes of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the American League for a Free Palestine.

Your name has appeared in advertisements in support of one or both groups. No doubt you permitted this out of a desire to be of service to the Jewish people at a time of crisis. I am sure, however, that your good will is being misdirected, and that your name is being used to further the designs of a group of men who have been denounced by the Jews of both Palestine and the United States through the latter's accredited spokesmen. Ample proof of this is contained in the enclosed documents, each of which is an official pronouncement by a duly authorized agency of the Jewish people. These agencies are:

The American Jewish Conference -- a democratically chosen body representing the Jews of America, and elected by them to act and speak in their behalf. Heading the Interim Committee of the Conference are Dr. Israel Goldstein, Henry Monsky, and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

The American Zionist Emergency Council -- a delegated council of the Zionist Crganization of America, Hadassah, Poals Zion, and Mizrachi -four American Zionist bodies with a membership of about 500,000. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise are co-chairmen of the Council.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine -- an international body recognized under the Mandate for Palestine as representing the Jewish people in all matters concerning the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. The distinguished British scientist and statesmen, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, heads the Jewish Agency.

Neither the League for a Free Palestine nor the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation can show an honest claim to act as spokesman for a single Jew anywhere in the world. The few individuals who organized these groups and who are feeding on the gullibility of well-intentioned Americans who are always ready to respond to the plea of the unfortunate, represent no one but themselves.

If, after a study of the enclosed material, you realize, as we do, that you are being imposed upon, we trust that you will cease to serve as sponsor of these groups which are committing a great disservice to the Jewish cause and which are serving only to create dissention and confusion among Jews and non-Jews alike.

HLS: TEG Enc.

# MEMORANDUM

To Emergency Committee Chairmen

Date

July 25, 1944

From Rabbi Irving Miller, Chairman, Community Contacts Committee

The American Zionist Emergency Council has within the past few weeks achieved victories of the greatest political significance. On June 27 the Republican National Convention included in its platform a plank which declared:

"In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jewish men, women and children driven from their homes by tyranny, we call for the opening of Palestine to their unrestricted immigration and land ownership, so that in accordance with the full intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of a Republican Congress in 1922, Palestine may be constituted as a free and democratic Commonwealth..."

Three weeks later, on July 20, the Democratic National Convention went on record as follows:

"We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwoolth."

For the first time in American history both major political parties have issued clear-cut, vigorous endersements of Zionist aims. These planks serve to emphasize what we in the Emergency Council have known for some time — that an overwhelming majority of Americans are with us. They also indicate the tremendous progress made in our program of education and public relations — for the adoption of these planks may not have been possible without the intensive activity carried on over a period of many menths in Washington and elsewhere by the Emergency Council and by all of the local Emergency Committees.

It should be noted that the securing of these resolutions was a most difficult task. During the Republican National Convention in Chicago, the chairman of the executive committee, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and his associates put in a week of feverish, nerve-wracking work before a Palestine plank emerged from the GOP Resolutions Committee. The co-chairman of the Council, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and his associates experienced an equally arduous eight days during the Democratic National Convention. The greatest degree of tenacity, courage and political wisdom was required in both cases. Let us be thankful that our leaders possessed these qualities in abundance.

The Palestine planks, however tremendous their significance, should be regarded as two more milestones on our road to complete victory. However, they should reinforce our conviction that the day when Palestine will be established as a free and demecratic Jewish Commonwealth is not too far distant. I argo you to strengthen your Committee so that it is able to cope with the problems which will arise during the next three or four months, the most critical period in the history of our movement. The final battle lies ahead and will require our undiminished effort.

I would appreciate having your reaction or the reaction of some of the leaders of your community to the subject of this communication, as well as any suggestions which you may have for our future activity.

IM:EG

American Zionist Emergency Council League Leuter 342 MADISON AVENUE NEW YORK 17, N. Y. CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America MUrray Hill 3-1160 Mizrachi Organization of America Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America This letter was sent to 200 synpathizers with the August 31, 1944 American "eague for a Free Palestine (see list) Dear --I am taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed "open letter" by Senator Robert F. Wagner to the American League for a Free Palestine, in the hope that it will serve to acquaint you further with the true nature of this organization. We hope, too. that Senator Wagner's statement will indicate how constructive work in behalf of the Jewish people can be carried on through accredited and responsible organizations. In my letter of July 6th, I called your attention to the position taken by all recognized spokesmen for the Jewish people. in matters concerning the future of Palestine, on the so-called Hebrew Committee of National Liberation and the League for a Free Palestine. I had hoped that the information contained in my earlier communication would bring about your withdrawal from this group, which has been listing your name in public advertisements as one of its sponsors. Inasmuch as we have not as yet received word that you have taken such action, I am urging you once again to notify the League's founders that you will not lend your name to the furtherance of activities which are harmful to the very cause which the League purports to advance. May I hope to hear from you on this matter at the earliest opportunity? Sincerely yours, Harry L. Shapiro HLS:IK Enc. Director

# OPEN LETTER BY SENATOR ROBERT F. WAGNER

# TO THE AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR A FREE PALESTINE

Gentlemen:

Thank you for your letter of April 21, inviting me to membership on the Sponsoring Committee of the American League for a Free Palestine, being organized in response to an appeal from the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation.

My very deep concern with the fate of the Jewish people compels me to decline your invitation. Recently, I read that the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, claiming to be "the trustees of the Hebrew nation's interests" opened a self-styled "Hebrew Embassy" in Washington. It is my considered opinion that such an organization serves no useful purpose and can only confuse and mislead American public opinion. It appears, from all the evidence, that the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation is a self-constituted organization, representing no responsible elements of Jewry in Europe, Palestine, or elsewhere, except, perhaps, the Irgun, known for its acts of terrorism, which it advocates as a political weapon. The activities of the Irgun have been consistently repudiated by Palestine Jewry, by all responsible Jewish and Zionist organizations, and by the whole democratic world, fighting a war against fascism.

The World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine constitute an internationally recognized representation of the Jewish people in matters affecting Palestine. Since the issuance of the Mandate for Palestine, their authority is beyond question, both legally and actually. The Executive of the Jewish Agency maintains offices in Jerusalem, London, Geneva and Washington, and has been constantly in close contact with the governments of the world, and, until the war, with the Secretariat and Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, on questions affecting the Jewish people's interests in Palestine. Jewish Palestine has its own National Assembly, elected on the basis of full adult suffrage. The budget of the Jewish Agency and its affiliated institutions is contributed by Jews all over the world.

In the United States, the American Jewish Conference, composed of democratically elected representatives of Jewish communities throughout the country, and 64 national organizations, at its Conference in September, 1943, adopted a program including rescue of Jews, post-war resottlement and rehabilitation of Jews, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. The Conference received the enthusiastic support of American public opinion.

My own doop commorn with the tragedy of the Jewish people metivated me to organize the American Palestine Committee. Since its inception in 1941, it has been my privilege to serve as its active chairman. The objectives and record of the American Palestine Committee are well known to the country. It has secured the support of Christians in all walks of life, who are sympathetic to Zienist aspirations. The membership roll includes two-thirds of the members of the United States Senate, more than 200 members of the House of Representatives, more than twenty Governors of states, the leaders of both major political parties and both major labor organizations, and, in addition, thousands of teachers, writers, economists, historians, civic, labor and business leaders. It has cooperated closely with the Christian Council for Palestine, under the chairmanship of Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, which has a membership of over 1,500 Christian clorgymen of all denominations.

- 2 -In cooperation with the American Zionist Emergency Council (composed of the responsible Zionist organizations in America) our Committee has given its fullest support to the aspirations of the Jewish people, as voiced by their democratically elected spokesmen, for a Jewish Army, unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine, the revocations of the British White Paper of 1939, and, above all, for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Both our Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine have publicly gone on record with respect to these issues, as well as demanding full equality of rights for Jewish citizens in whatever country they may choose to live. It is clear that everyone, whether Jew or Christian, who wants to help restore the rights of Jowish citizens in all countries, assist in the rescue of Jews of Europe and their post-war rehabilitation, and support the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jowish Commonwealth, has ample scope and opportunity through the already existing responsible and representative Jewish and Christian organizations devoted to these purposes. Sincerely yours, RFW: BP Robert F. Wagner

# MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date September 8, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

# CONFIDENTIAL

The project which is the subject of this memorandum will spearhead our most intensive campaign to date. It is extremely important for our future political activity that we canvass all candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives who are up for election this November, and obtain from them endorsements of our program.

Inasmuch as both the Democratic and Republican Parties have included in their respective platforms planks which clearly favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization, so that a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth may be established there, it should not be difficult to obtain affirmations of this program from the candidates for Congress.

I feel quite confident that you will know how to approach the cardidates in your district. There is, however, one special instruction which we urge you to follow carefully. You should not contact the candidates as representatives of any of our organizations, but should approach them as individual voters and as constituents. In other words, candidates of the Democratic Party should be spoken to by Democratic voters, and Republican candidates should be net by Republicans.

In your	Congressional	district,	the	candidates	are		

The enclosed forms, which you should ask the candidates to sign, contain the Palestine planks of both parties.

It is most desirable that you or your representative visit the above candidates personally to secure their endorsements, but if this is not feasible, we are enclosing a suggested letter which might be used. Please note that if you use this letter, it should be written on the personal stationery of local citizens. Naturally, you may alter the letter as you see fit, perticularly if more than one person communicates with the conditates in this way.

After you have obtained the signatures of the candidates to the attached forms, please forward these immediately to our New York office. Please bear in mind that this activity should be completed and the signatures obtained not later than September 20th.

I feel certain that you will carry out this highly important and confidential assignment in an efficient and of fective manner.

HLS:HH

American Zionist Emergency Council 342 MADISON AVENUE Circular letter MUrroy Hill 2-1160 CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America Mizrachi Organization of America Posle Zion-Zeire Zion of America Zionist Organization of America September 11, 1944 Sent to Special List of Rathe There can be little doubt that the future of the Jewish National Home will be decided during the year 5705. As United Nations forces move forward to final victory over the enemy, a definitive pronouncement on Palestine becomes more imminent. It is, therefore, extremely important that the Jews of America, a vast majority of whom are on record in favor of the Zionist program, join in a final, all-out drive to bring about the implementation of that program. During the past year the American Zionist Emergency Council has been mobilizing public opinion behind the drive to repeal the White Paper policy and to bring about the establishment of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. The Council's efforts have covered a variety of fields and have produced many gratifying results. We feel that this activity should be reviewed now, so that, confident in the knowledge that American Zionist political work is being conducted with a high degree of effectiveness, the American Jewish community will give its fullest support to the Council's program during the crucial months which lie ahead. We are, therefore, taking the liberty of sending you the enclosed brief survey of the Council's political work, and hope that you will see fit to relay this information to the members of your congregation during the High Holidays. With heartfelt wishes for a New Year that will bring with it peace for the world and redemption for the Jewish people, I am HLS:BP Enc.

# MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date October 12, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

In my memorandum of September 29th, I urged you to make arrangements in your community for a rally commemorating the 27th anniversary of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. This is to remind you that Balfour Day (November 2nd) is only three weeks off, and that your activities in connection with the suggested rally should be intensified.

No doubt you appreciate the overwhelming importance of such mass meetings at this time. It is highly desirable that communities throughout America should voice anew the demands for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the re-establishment of that country as a Jewish Commonwealth.

I urge you, therefore, to make this your #1 project and to organize an impressive Balfour Day meeting.

The following suggestions may prove helpful:

# I -- ORGANIZING THE MEETING

Try to obtain the participation of non-Jewish as well as Jewish groups in your city. While your local Emergency Committee, representing all the Zionist groups, should sponsor the meeting, you should also enlist the cooperation of civic organizations, as well as other Jewish and non-Jewish societies. Naturally, members of the American Palestime Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine in your city should be asked to help in organizing the gathering and should be requested to participate in the program,

# II --- PUBLICITY

Give this affair the widest possible publicity, and be sure that the press is notified of the meeting — and its significance — well in advance. Please use our Press Books as a guide in organizing the publicity for your affair. A release amouncing the meeting should be distributed to your local papers just as soon as the program is arranged. City editors and reporters should be approached individually and invited to attend the gathering. Be sure, too, that releases containing highlights of the addresses delivered at the rally, are distributed to the press.

Try to enlist the cooperation of local radio stations. You may succeed in having at least a portion of the meeting broadcast, either as a "live" program or in the form of a recording.

Your newspaper editors should be told the significance of Balfour Day and urged to publish editorials on the subject. Attached is a sample editorial which may be used. You will find additional material in our

two Press Books. Naturally, such editorials should be rewritten to emphasize the "local angle" --- the fact that this Balfour Day meeting is being held in your community, and that leaders in your city are taking a strong position in favor of Jewish aspirations in Palestine. I cannot overemphasize the importance of this aspect of our public relations program. Experience has shown that active participation in our work by local personalities produces the very best results.

# III --- PERSONALITIES

Leading non-Jowish citizens should be invited to address the rally. Suitable material on Palestine, which such speakers can incorporate into their addresses, may be obtained from the Press Books and pamphlets which we have already sent you. Try to obtain mats of your principal speakers for release to the press in advance of the meeting.

# IV -- RESOLUTION

A resolution, including demands for unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine and the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, should be drafted and read at the rally. Following its adoption, the resolution should be given wide publicity in your city, and copies sent to

- a) The President of the United States
- b) The Secretary of State
- c) Your Senators and Congressmen
- d) This office

I am looking forward to receiving reports on your rally, and shall appreciate your sending us copies of the program, press clippings, etc.

Please call on this office for any additional information or assistance that you may require in carrying on this activity. Literature for distribution at the meeting will be forwarded upon request.

HLS: HH

# THE BALFOUR PLEDGE

Twenty-seven years ago today, a Scotsman wrote a letter to a Jew. That letter has found its way into the history books of the world and the hearts of millions. On November 2, 1917, Arthur James Balfour, Britain's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent the following message to Lord Rothschild:

"His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may projudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

Twenty-seven years have passed, and Jowish Palestine has grown into a shining reality, peopled with hard-working, inspired Jewish pioneers who flocked to that ancient land of hope just as our forefathers flocked to this great land of opportunity. The Allies have good reason to appreciate the united purpose and democratic ideals which have gone into the making of Jewish Palestine. We have on record the magnificent contributions made by the Jews of that country to the war against the Axis.

War has dealt more harshly with the Jews than with any other single people. Approximately four million are estimated to have been killed in cold blood. Palestine, which, we believe, affords by far the most constructive solution to the problem of homelessness and persecution which the Nazis have inflicted on the Jews, has been isolated from the Jewish people by the notorious Chamberlain White Paper of 1939.

The White Paper prohibits Jowish immigration into the Jewish homeland, despite Winston Churchill's assertion that the Balfour Declaration was a "pledge of a home of refuge...to that vast, unhappy mass of ecattered, persecuted, wandering Jews whose intense, unchanging, unquenchable desire has been for a National Home." By preventing Jewish refugees from finding refuge and permanent livelihood in a land consecrated to that end, the White Paper not only goes against every dictate of humanity -- it goes against the very essence of the Balfour Teclaration, of which President Wilson said; "The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government (Congress went on record as favoring the Balfour Declaration in 1922) and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish Commonwealth."

This day of November 2nd has been proclaimed "Balfour Day." Americans would do well to use it as a day in which effective action to implement Lord Balfour's pledge may be advanced. Wen of all creeds should join hands to restore Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth and to help its citizens make of their land a real center for the resque and rehabilitation of their fellowmen.

. . . . .

# 28

# MEMORANDUM

To. Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date October 20, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

We have just published a book entitled "AMERICA AND PALESTINE", which includes:
(1) an imposing collection of favorable statements to Jewish aspirations in
Palestine of more than 77% of the present members of the House of Representatives and the Senate, (2) a brief history of the traditional American policy
with reference to Palestine, (3) a collection of documents dealing with Jewish
claims to Palestine, (4) a collection of statements of important members of
the American Government, governors, mayors and others.

This volume is not to be considered literature. It was prepared for the express purpose of indicating to men in high governmental posts the opinion of government officials and others relative to official America's position on Palestine.

There will be no general distribution or cale of the volume, but under separate cover we are sending you one or more copies. One volume is to be the property of your local Emergency Committee. If we send you additional copies, cards will be enclosed to indicate for whom these books are intended. In all likelihood there will be a volume for your Congressman or Senator.

Because "AMERICA AND PALESTINE" is primarily an instrument to stimulate publicity for our cause, it should be used in that manner. In order to gain the maximum result for creating a beneficial public opinion, please do the following:

# Formal Presentation of "AMERICA AND PALESTINE" to Congressmen and Senators

Your committee should arrange a dinner, luncheon, or meeting at which you and other prominent Jewish leaders will present the book in a formal way to the official who is to receive it. Other guests whom you might invite to the meeting are your governor, the mayor of your city, prominent political leaders, church leaders, prominent representatives of management and labor, all local members of the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine. It is importative that the meeting be held before Election Day.

# Publicity

Please make the necessary arrangements to have the presentation covered by your local newspapers. Prepare an advance release containing the essence of the remarks to be made by the recipient of the book (your guest of honor) and the chairman of the meeting. Have press photographers present to take pictures of the presentation. A delegation from your committee should visit the editors of your newspapers to impress on them the unusual importance this documented book has for our cause. Try to induce them to write editorial columns on the subject and urge them to stress that it is the duty of the American Government to use its influence in order to bring about a decision now for the reestablishment of a free, democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Indicate to your editors that this is a most newsworthy subject in view of the strong statements made by President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey within the last few days.

I should like to hear from you as soon as possible as to the arrangements you are making to publicise "AMERICA AND PALESTINE", and I am eager to learn the result of your efforts after the meeting has been held.

# MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date October 20, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

The following telegram has been sent today to the Governor of your State:

ON NOVEMBER SECOND JEWS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD WILL COMMEMORATE THE TWENTYSEVENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE ISSUANCE OF THE BALFOUR DECLARATION, WHICH PLEDGED THE REESTABLISHMENT OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE. DURING THE PAST FEW MONTHS AMERICANS FROM ALL WALKS OF LIFE, INCLUDING AN OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS, HAVE REAFFIRMED AMERICA'S TRADITIONAL POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP FOR JEWISH ASPIRATIONS IN PALESTINE. LAST WEEK PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND GOVERNOR DEWEY DECLARED THEMSELVES IN FAVOR OF THE REESTAB-LISHMENT OF PALESTINE AS A JEWISH COMMONWEALTH. IT WOULD BE MOST FITTING. THEREFORE, IF THE SENTIMENTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ON THIS QUESTION WERE TO BE GIVEN WIDE EXPRESSION ON NOVEMBER SECOND, AND WE RESPECTFULLY ADDRESS OURSELVES TO YOU IN THE HOPE THAT YOU WILL SEE FIT TO PROCLAIM THAT DAY QUOTE PALESTINE DAY UNQUOTE IN YOUR STATE, OR THAT YOU WILL ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT ON THE BALFOUR DECLARATION'S ANNIVERSARY. SUCH ACTION ON YOUR PART WOULD GIVE ADDED HOPE TO EUROPE'S UPROOTED AND HUNTED JEWS WHO LOOK TO PAIESTINE FOR SALVATION.

> HARRY L. SHAPIRO DIRECTOR, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 342 MADISON AVENUE, NYC

It is of the utmost importance that every effort be made by leading Zionists of your community to effectuate favorable action by your Governor through letters, telegrams and personal contacts which should suggest and urge the desirability of declaring November 2nd, which is Balfour Day, as Palestine Day in your State.

If the Governor of your State is a Republican, much should be made of Governor Dewey's wholehearted and all-inclusive Zionist Declaration of October 12th, as well as the Falestine Plank in the Republican Platform. In Democratic states quote from President's Roosevelt's stirring affirmation of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and the splendid Palestine Plank in the Democratic Platform.

Naturally, should your Governor accede to our request, the widest possible publicity should be organized in the press and radio along the lines suggested in an earlier memo referring to Balfour Day meetings.

HLS: HH

# MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date

December 13, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed for your information are reprints of two newspaper articles dealing with the action of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on December 11th, which resulted in postponing a decision on the pending Palestine resolutions.

HLS:SS Encs.

# New York Post

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1944

# Zionists Probing Palestine Delay

By OLIVER PILAT

Post Staff Correspondent

Washington, Dec. 12—Shocked at State Dept, pressure which has persuaded Congress to postpone until the next session any consideration of resolution urging unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, Zionist groups today demanded proof that the

delay is necessary.

They indicate that they thought the real responsibility for the State Dept, stand rested with President Roosevelt and that they were putting off any vigorous expression of views until he has an opportunity to explain

Secretary Stettinius persuaded the Senate Foreign Relations Committee late yesterday to vote 12 to 8 against immediate approval of the Wagner-Taft resolution, which also asks "ultimate reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

### Seek an Explanation

Since Stettinius had previously convinced the House Rules Committee to hold off on Palestine, and since committee members are piedged to secrecy, reporters converged on the State Dept. for an explanation. This is what they got:

"The State Dept. has the

"The State Dept. has the utmost sympathy for the persecuted Jewish people of Europe and has been assisting them through active support of the work of the War Refugee Board and in every other possible way."

and in every other possible way."
"The Dept. considers, however, that the passage of the resolution at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation."

Lacking anything more concrete than this, Capitol corridor guesses today at the diplomatic bargaining point involved ranged from oil in Iraq to unilateral British action in Italy.

The American Zionist Emergency Council, which speaks for the major Zionist organizations in the U. S. was in session here for several hours last night. Today it issued a statement that it was reserving comment pending "clarification" by the State Dept. Recalls Roosevelt Statement

The council pointedly recalled President Roosevelt's Oct. 15 statement in which he said he knew "how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth," and pledged that if reelected, he would help make it real.

Both major political parties supported the Palestine resolution in their 1944 platforms and

tion in their 1944 platforms and as recently as November 20, the House Foreign Affairs Committee favorably reported out the resolution, the council noted.

With 77 Senators and 318 Representatives committed in favor of the resolution, according to a survey by the House Foreign Affairs Committee, Zlonist groups had expected that a year of gradual progress was about to culminate in victory. Now they must start over again in the new Congress which convenes Jan. 3.



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# BALTIMORE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1944

# SENATE GROUP KILLS PLEDGE MADE TO JEWS

# Foreign Relations Committee Acts At Request Of Rocsevelt

By PAUL W. WARD

[Washington Bureau of The Sun] Washington, Dec. 11 - A 1944 campaign pledge of both the Democratic and the Republican parties went into the discard here today as President Rocsevelt persuaded the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to kill a resolution advocating unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine.

The resolution pending since last January, was an oblique attack on British policy in Palestine, and Mr. Rooseve t's opposition to its adoption was relayed to the Committee by Edward R. Stettinius. Jr., his Secretary of State.

Mr. Stettinius, who less than a week ago had twisted the British Lion's tail in the Greek and Italian situations, presented the Roosevelt Administration's objections to the Committee at a session this afternoon from which press and public were excluded.

# Secrecy Cn Details

Whether the Asiministration had based its opposition on fear of another Anglo-American rift at this time or had adopted the traditional British position-fear of inciting revolt in the Midale East's Moslem population-could not be ascritained.

The secrecy which Senator Connally (D., Texas); invoked for the deliberations of the Committee which he heads sovered not only those points but also how individual members had voted and which of them had made the motion to "post-

pone" action on the resolution.

Nor was the secrecy concerning the bases of the Administration's opposition to the mesolution—which President Roosevelt had vied with Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in championing prior to the election 34 days ago—lightened by a statement which the State Department issued tonight.

### "Would Be Unwise"

"The Department has the utmost sympathy for the persecuted Jewish people of Europe and has been assisting them through active support of the work of the War Refugee Board and in every other possible way," it said, adding: "The Department considers, however, that the passage of the resolution at the present time would be un-wise from the stancpoint of the general international situation and has so informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations." The Committee, after Mr. Stet-

tinius appeared before it this afternoon, voted 12 to 8 to take no action on the resolution which:

Opposed the ban on further immigration of Jews into Palestine which the British Govern-ment, as mandatory power, an-nounced in 1939 despite vigorous denunciation at the time by Winston Churchill and criticism by the League of Nations.

Advocated the creation in Palestine of a free and independent Jewish commonwealth,

The Republican convention at Chicago wrote into the party's 1944 platform June 27 a plank championing the resolution. The Democratic convention followed suit July 24, and on October 10—28 days before the election—the War Department officially withdrew its opposition to the resolution.

### Dewey Supported Plank

Two days later Governor Dewey sent the Zionist Organization of America convention a statement

saying in part:
"I heartily indorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. . . . I am for the reconstitu-tion of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. . . . In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyran-ny, I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and

# land ownership. . . " Upheld By Roosevelt

Three days later, on October 15, President Roosevelt sent the same convention a message calling attention to the Palestine plank in the

Democratic platform and adding.
"Efforts will be made to find ap-propriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked for and prayed for the es-tablishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish common-wealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

Mr. Roosevelt's statement was relayed to the Zionist convention by Senator Wagner (D., N.Y.), who, with Senator Taft (R., Ohio), had introduced the Palestine resolution in the Senate.

Suggest Open Letter When Mr. Stettinius told the com-mittee this afternoon that Mr. Roosevelt now wants action on the resolution deferred imdefinitely. one Democratic member proposed that the President be asked to record his request to that effect in another open letter to Senator Wagner. The proposal was not acted

Senator Connally said the com-mittee's vote this afterneon meant that there would be no action on the Palestine resolution before the 78th Congress dies next month.

"Will the resolution have to be introduced when the next Congress meets?" he was asked.

"It doesn't have to be, but it will be," he said sarcestion but it will that he was certain some member of the Senate would reintroduce the resolution next year. The pres-ent resolution will die with the current Congress.

It is identical with one which Representatives Wright (D., Pa.) and Compton (R., Cons.) intro-duced in the House las January to the same accompaniment of supporting speeches by the minority and majority leaders as was to mark the introduction of the Tast-Wagner resolution in the Senate a few days later. Prompt and favorable action by

Congress seemed assured until March 17, when Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, sent the House Foreign Affairs Committee a letter saying:

"It is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the meri's of these resolutions, further action on them at this time would be prejudical to the successful prosecution of the war."

## Objections Withdrawn

Seven months later military reasons for opposing the resolution had so dwindled that on October 10-28 days before the presidential election—Secretary Stimson offi-cially withdrew the Army's objec-

As a result, the House Foreign Affairs Committee on November 30 approved the resolution and the House Rules Committee last Thursday was in process of arranging for its passage when it receired a tele-phone call from Mr. Stettinius urging delay. Having blbeked the resolution on the House side, this Administration spokesman then turned to the Senate withithe result announced by Senator Connally this afternoon.

No vote was taken on the resolu-tion itself, nor on a compromise version Senator Vanderberg (R., Mich.) had prepared, members said, adding that neither was any vote taken on the original motion to "postpone action."