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Neumann, Dr. Emanuel, 1944.

Letter No. 23

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK CITY

January 6, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

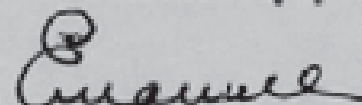
Dear Abba:

I have just received from Professor Friedrich a copy of his Memorandum as revised by him, and have sent it on to Louis to have copies made. I must say that it makes a much better impression than the earlier draft. He has not changed his fundamental approach to the subject or altered his essential position but he has made so many revisions and accepted so many of my suggestions throughout that there can be, at least, no question either of his good faith or his essentially favorable attitude. While it is not a Zionist memorandum, it is definitely and strongly a pro-Zionist memorandum. It is my own opinion that in its present form it can be made very useful and should be exploited to the utmost. It should not come from us but from some academic or scientific source as an objective treatment of the subject. It ought to have considerable weight with thoughtful and liberal-minded people everywhere.

I think the Conclusion in particular is quite good, though I would like to see it strengthened further. As it is, he did take whole sentences from the ~~draft~~ Conclusion which I had submitted to him. The fact that here and there he either disagrees or criticizes the Zionist position does not to my mind vitiate the value of the document as it now reads, but on the otherhand will tend to invest it with a greater atmosphere of objectivity. In any case I will be very much interested to learn how the Memorandum in its present form will strike you.

With warmest regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am enclosing a copy of Professor Friedrich's Conclusion as it now reads. *Louis will immediately send you the whole memorandum when it has been copied.*

EH/M P. P. S. The attached letter, dated January 4, has just been (Enc.) received from Professor Friedrich. Will you please return it to me.

+ 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

THE JEWISH MORNING JOURNAL

THE ONLY JEWISH MORNING PAPER

NEW YORK CITY

PHONE ORCHARD 4-8400

January 9, 1948.

J. FISHMAN

EDITOR

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Ansel Rd. & E. 105th St.,
Cleveland, Ohio.

Dear Dr. Silver:

I profoundly appreciate your kind invitation to act as Chairman of the Press Committee of the Zionist Emergency Council, and the nice things you say about me.

I wish I could see my way clear to accept the appointment and be helpful in the great work you have undertaken. However I have regretfully come to the conclusion that it is rather late in the season for me to have any official tie-up with the Zionist Emergency Council, because of the lack of background on my part of the workings of that Council. In all the years of its existence, I have not been invited once to attend a meeting, even though a multitude of functionaries, I understand, were quite at home there. All I know as to the inner workings of the Council is by way of gossip of the continual frictions and bickerings among personalities and party representatives.

I am not saying this by way of complaint. And, any way, you certainly had nothing to do with this policy of "farming out" appointments. But since it has so happened, I think that it is perhaps better that I have not been on the inside, and that I remain outside. I can assure you, however, that within my limited capacities I am always ready to be of service in my particular domain, but my preference is to remain untitled.

With kindest personal regards, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Jacob Fishman

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WESTERN UNION

1207

A. M. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Emmanuel Neumann

Care of or Apt. No. 521 Fifth Ave.

Street and No. New York, N. Y.

Place

The article I referred to was published in Jan. 10th issue "Christianity and Crisis". Kindest regards.

Abba Hild Silver

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION" or similar phrases may be included without charge.

Sender's Name

Address

Tel. No.

January 15, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann,
521 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Emanuel:

You will recall that Elezer Kaplan asked us to look into the matter of the post-war purchase of the Eighth Army Installations. I am enclosing, herewith, a copy of his cablegram.

The Emergency Council, at its last meeting, voted to appoint a committee of three to take the matter in charge. I should like you to be Chairman of that committee and select three men to work with you - Robert Szold, when he returns, or Bokstein, who has been substituting for Robert Szold, or someone else who has a direct interest and understanding of this particular job.

I should like you, too, to talk to Jacob Fishman, whom I asked to take the chairmanship of the Press Committee. I am enclosing his letter. Perhaps you can persuade him. If not, we must find somebody who has time to devote himself to this important work and who has knowledge of the field.

Chaim Greenberg said that he would be glad to work as co-Chairman with you. It has occurred to me that, perhaps, this would be a way of getting Rabbi Miller into the Emergency Council. I do not know, however, whether he is at all at home in this field or whether he would free himself from his many other jobs which he has been doing to devote himself to this one. Have you any other suggestions?

Most cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK CITY

January 18, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:


I have your letter of the fifteenth with enclosures.

1) I will be glad to deal with the matter contained in Eliezer Kaplan's cable, as you suggest. I shall speak to Boukstein forthwith and cast about for another possible member, though it is possible that Szold will be here any day.

2) Regarding the Press Committee: I would be glad to talk to Jacob Fishman, though I doubt its efficacy. I shall be talking with Irving Miller tomorrow, and I shall also think of other possibilities.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK CITY

January 18, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I shall be awaiting most anxiously the results of your efforts at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Union, which I believe is taking place today. Incredible as it may sound, it is a fact that Rabbi Heller is here instead of being there. He is busy mending his political fences and getting himself elected to the Chairmanship of the UPA.

I understand that Goldstein is saying that your strictures against his action ought to be taken up at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the ZOA Saturday evening rather than at the meeting of the Administrative Council on Sunday. His motive is obvious. I imagine he is hoping that you will not attend the Executive Committee meeting, and that will give Heller an opportunity to set himself right in the eyes of the Executive Committee, which will presumably exonerate him, and in any case dispose of the matter before you will have had an opportunity of bringing it up. Under the circumstances, I am not sure but that it may be most desirable for you to attend the meeting of the Executive Saturday night, if at all possible.

We here are not sure now whether we should make another fight at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the Keren Hayesod called for tomorrow afternoon, presumably to ratify the action of the Joint Committee. We shall be conferring about it today and decide what line to take. In any case, we shall probably be outnumbered because that body, too, is pretty well controlled by the inside group of the ZOA Administration.

It has become increasingly clear to me that there are two possible courses with regard to the internal situation. The group in control will undoubtedly continue to do what they can whenever opportunities present themselves. They will not venture for the time being to oppose you openly but will play all their pieces on the chessboard with a view to "cornering" you and eventually perhaps checkmating you. This internal game at a time like this is fraught with grave dangers not to yourself, but to the cause. The solution of great issues of historic importance may be thoroughly bedeviled by internal partisan politics, just as Wilson's League of Nations was killed by partisan politics in the Senate.

If such unity is effected on our internal front, there will be no difficulty in keeping Hadassah and the parties in line, or in dealing with Nahum Goldmann and whatever may arise overseas. If there is no unified control, complications will grow and the external front will be placed in

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

January 18, 1944

jeopardy. As I have said, there are two possible courses. The first is to fight it out and have a showdown with the least possible delay. That means carrying the fight directly to the ZOA and trying to clean up that situation. I do not underestimate the difficulties and the diversion of valuable energies involved, but to allow the situation to drift and deteriorate, and the infection to spread is worse.

A possible alternative is to try to consolidate that front peacefully by a realignment of forces. The key in that event would be Szold. If he returns as well disposed towards you as he was when he left, it may be possible with his cooperation to set up an informal control group on the basis of a common loyalty to Zionist principles and adherence to a common line on major policy. You know I have never regarded Szold as a person of great stature or capacities, but I still believe in his basic devotion to our political objectives. In the past, he has been the hub of the ZOA Administration group; and it is conceivable that a combination, of which you and he would be the core, may be able to create a new situation - a ~~combination~~ ^{coalition}, as it were, of Silver followers and Szold followers. At least it may be worth trying.

As you see, I have been thinking aloud and am sharing with you the thoughts that are running through my head at the moment.

I had an excellent talk with Feuer the other day. The more I see of him, the better I like him. I made certain suggestions in the direction of dramatizing your political leadership to better effect. There are certain things he will be doing in Washington and other things that I shall be doing here.

As ever,

Faithfully yours, .

Emanuel

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

1201

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PHONE CLEVE=

1944 JAN 19 PM 9 44

TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

AT HAYESOD MEETING CARRIED MOTION DEFERRING ACTION TO NEXT
WEEK=

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

1k 3740

HAYESOD.

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WESTERN UNION

(08)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=
STANDARD CLUB (CHICAGO ILL)=

SUGGEST YOU WIRE CORDIAL GREETINGS TO SZOLD THREE THIRTY F
FOUR PELHAMDALE AVENUE PELHAM NEW YORK EXPRESSING HOPE
FOR AN EARLY MEETING THOUGH INDICATING DIFFICULTY OF
YOUR COMING EAST THIS WEEK WILL FOLLOW UP=
EMANUEL NEUMANN.==

:SZOLD.

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

January 19, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann,
521 Fifth Avenue,
New York City,
N. Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I have been looking through two books - "Men in Motion" by Henry J. Taylor, and "Pioneer to the Past" by the son of James H. Breasted. Both are violent anti-Zionist attitudes.

I didn't know that Professor Breasted was so active during the last war in fighting Zionism. It seems that it was he that incited so many important British statesmen against our cause. Read, especially, from Page 306 on.

His son, Charles Breasted, is at present in the Near East in the United States Government Civilian Service. I am wondering what damage he is doing there and in Washington.

Taylor, who is a war correspondent and a radio commentator, says this in his book (Page 216):

"And since that day there has never been any rest in the struggle between the Zionist leaders in Palestine and the Arabs. For Palestine is the Arabs' country. It is deep in Allah's world. It is the land of the Arabs, not the land of the Jewish people. Arabs have always been in the majority there, and one of the most ancient tragedies is that Arabs have always bitterly hated the Jews."

Mr. Emanuel Neumann

-2-

January 19, 1944

Taylor's book is printed by Doubleday Doran. I think an effort should be made to contact Mr. Taylor and set him straight, if possible.

Taylor has an interesting statement on the Beirut College:

"The Protestant liberals of Beirut look only to the United States. Yet these Protestant liberals hate Zionism and they are directly identified and in league with the anti-Semitic Mufti of Jerusalem and all that Arab anti-Semitic program stands for."

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

The Temple
Ansel Rd. at E. 105th
Cleveland, Ohio

Letter No. 26

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 21, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have your letter of the nineteenth regarding Taylor and Breasted. I have known about both books and have read references to them. In the past, I repeatedly called the attention of the Emergency Committee to the coming concentration in Washington of anti-Zionist so-called Near East experts - as far back as 1940-1941 before the process had actually gotten under way; but I could get no reaction from our Committee. One of the measures I proposed was the publication of a quarterly on Near East affairs and the concentration around it of Near East experts and scholars to develop a more friendly ideology and point of view regarding Palestine and the Near East; but I was not given either the moral or the financial support to proceed with the enterprise. I am not sure whether it is too late now.

I had also proposed to set up in connection with the American Council for Public Affairs in Washington an Advisory Committee on the Near East so that the Council might from time to time publish reports, books and pamphlets dealing with Near East questions in our spirit. That too required intellectual and financial effort on our part, neither of which was available. Even today something can be done through that Council. I thought, for instance, it might be a good thing for the Council to reprint in pamphlet form Viton's chapter on the Near East in his book "American Empire in Asia" - despite the fact that none of us like or trust Viton personally. The Council would be prepared to cooperate in that matter if we want them to.

Another suggestion I had put forward was that we help to establish under friendly auspices a Council or Institute on Near East Affairs. Professor Pope, head of the School of Asiatic Studies, who is unquestionably a friend of our cause, was interested both in the idea of the Council and of the quarterly, as was Albright also. I believe they still are; certainly Pope, with whom I discussed these matters fairly recently.

Another procedure is the one you suggest of contacting these people individually and possibly in groups to convert them, or at least take the edge off their opposition. But that is not a small matter. An occasional talk with someone does not suffice. We have to have regular contact with them, cultivate them and seek ways of drawing them closer to us through one form of association or another.

Dr. A. H. Silver

January 21, 1944

My own experience with Professor Friedrich, who was a friend to start with, has proved to my satisfaction how much time and effort must be put in to develop such contacts and make them fruitful. Mr. Shulman has just asked me to go out to Boston next week to see Friedrich again in connection with the drafting of a statement which I suggested should emanate from the coming Christian Conference on February 24th. I will try to do it, but I doubt whether I can undertake to develop such contacts with many additional people. Besides the work of the Commission on Palestine Surveys, my personal worries, the Chairmanship of the Committee on Economic Studies, there are other things. Shulman and Lourie are frequently after me to help in matters relating to the American Palestine Committee; Lipsky and Sulamith Schwartz insist on my participating in the Committee on Publications; while Hayim Greenberg and ~~Yareli~~ want me to serve as Co-Chairman of ~~the Public Affairs~~ Committee. And always there is the matter of internal politics to watch. It is physically impossible to do all these things and I can't find the time for it. As it is, I have been seriously neglecting my private interests and affairs.

I will, of course, think about Breasted and Taylor and see whether I can make suggestions. It is, of course, the sort of thing ~~we~~ might have asked the Committee on Intellectual Mobilization to handle if Milton Steinberg were well and on the job.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel
Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

The Conference with Goldstein et al.
will take place tomorrow, Saturday,
3 P.M. at Bnei Yeshurun.

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To E. Neumann

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Street and No. N. Y.

Place

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WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by 'WESTERN UNION' or similar phrases may be included without charge."

Will arrive tomorrow morning
Kindest regards.
G. H. Silver

Sender's Name

Address

Tea No.

January 25, 1944

Rabbi Leon Feuer
Zionist Organization of America
1720-16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Feuer:

I have been thinking a good bit about a special campaign which will presumably be launched after our resolution is introduced. Clearly, this ought to provide the occasion for an intensified propaganda campaign in Washington, New York and throughout the country. It ought also provide an opportunity for more mass action than we have yet had and give a chance to Zionists and Jewish groups everywhere, even the humblest, to play an active part in our political effort.

Undoubtedly you and others fully realize this and intend to utilize the opportunity; but I imagine that you and your associates in the work will be deeply engrossed in the immediate problems in Washington connected with piloting the resolution through. There ought to be a person, or rather a group, which will concern itself especially with the preparation and execution of a whirlwind propaganda campaign. Such a group ought to sit down at once and draft a plan to include all the necessary features, such as:

- Mass Meetings
- Speeches by Senators and Congressmen
- Full Page Advertisements
- Radio Talks
- News Releases
- Letters to Newspapers signed by Prominent Persons
- Mass Petition
- Special Feature Articles
- Etc.

If we succeed in putting on an effective campaign of this type, it would also dramatize the work of the Emergency Council and its leadership and have a most salutary effect on the home front as well.

I don't know at the moment who should take charge of this special effort. Perhaps it should be Weisgal - provided he lays

Rabbi Leon Feuer

January 25, 1944

aside all other matters for sixty or ninety days - or possibly Joe Brainin, or someone else. I know that you have engaged a person whom you describe as a first rate publicity man, in Washington, and that is all to the good. But we need someone who knows the Zionist movement and the Jewish ~~scene~~ as well and can take a comprehensive, all-inclusive view of the problem. I feel we will be very much remiss if we fail to go at this, hammer and tongs. It's our great opportunity and the moment the Zionists of America have been waiting for many months, and even years.

I repeat and summarize, a tremendous propaganda campaign should be carefully planned now and a budget worked out so that it will start immediately after the resolution is introduced.

I take it that you and Irving Miller and I and perhaps one or two others will get together soon whenever you get to New York, as we have agreed.

With warmest regards and all good wishes, as ever

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Weismann

EN/M

CC - Dr. A. A. Silver

Letter No. 27

Send to Dr. Silver
MURRAY HILL 2-0694
HNS

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS
Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE
ROOM 1903
NEW YORK CITY

January 26, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Washington, D. C.

Dear Abba:

Today my son was graduated from high school and I was tied up with him and the family. For that reason I was not in touch with you before your departure for Philadelphia.

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have sent to Leon Feuer which speaks for itself. If you and Feuer agree with my views and think that Weisgal should be charged with the responsibility, I could take it up with him here. There may, of course, be other ideas, as good or better

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

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WESTERN UNION

A. N. WILLIAMS
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To **Mr. Emanuel Neumann**

Care of or Apt. No. **521 Fifth Avenue**
New York City

Street and No.

Place

WANT A REPLY?
"Answer by 'WESTERN UNION'"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

I would suggest that you Weisgal Feuer and Shapiro get
together at once to plan campaign. Kindest regards.

Abba

Sender's Name

Address

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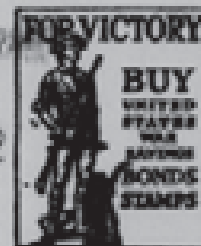
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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER

CARE THE TEMPLE (CLEVELAND OHIO)

JAN 28 PM 1 32



AUSPICIOUS INTRODUCTION RESOLUTION IS FURTHER INDICATION YOUR
INTREPID LEADERSHIP, EXCELLENT IMPRESSION HERE, REGARDS

: EMANUEL NEUMANN.

DE 0150

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| No. | To |
| 42 1514 | Sch Mull |

Letter No. 28

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

January 28, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

From all that I have been able to gather thus far, the introduction of the resolution in the House has, as I wired you, made an excellent impression. It was a pleasant surprise to find Sol Bloom climbing on to the band-wagon, though he could not resist the temptation of acting as attorney for the defense for his clients, the State Department and Lord Halifax. Since the Yiddish papers have played up the news terrifically, this makes it easier to continue to get big play and ample publicity for the campaign. There are two or three things on my mind in connection with the resolution:

First, if, as I hope will be the case, you will be received at the White House in the near future, the question may be put: why was the introduction of the resolution precipitated before the expected conference with the President; and even if the question is not put at the White House, it will probably be put at the Emergency Committee meeting. It may be well to keep this in mind. The obvious answer is, of course, that unless the resolution was introduced at once under responsible sponsorship, another resolution would have been introduced under irresponsible sponsorship and possibly with much greater embarrassment to the Administration.

Secondly, I notice that the wording of the last clause of the resolution has been changed to read "so that the Jewish people may constitute Palestine as a free and democratic commonwealth." This may also provide occasion for comment. I assume that the situation in Washington necessitated this change. For myself, I think it is cleverly put. Clearly, a commonwealth constituted by the Jewish people would be a predominantly Jewish commonwealth. Critics may however criticize the word as a "deviation".

Thirdly, the strong support in the House, including majority and minority leaders as well as the Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, will undoubtedly make it easier to overcome difficulties in the way of introducing a similar resolution in the Senate. Here a question arises in my own mind whether we should not try to make the resolution in the Senate even more specific than the one in the House. This may be our last chance, ^{in Congress} before the post-war settlement of the Palestine question is made. Therefore extraordinary importance attaches to the contents of the resolution. They will be quoted and argued about for many years to come. The more teeth we can put in now, the stronger will be our position in the future. While therefore I agree that we must get a resolution through, even if it is not all that we would wish it to be, I am wondering whether we should not strain every effort to make it as specific and full in content as possible. In any case, I would

Have
since learned
that it is
Jewish Commonwealth!
This is out
of date!

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

January 28, 1944

advise that you forestall others by making the point yourself at the meeting on Monday that you would wish the resolution ^{in the Senate} to be as strong as possible and that further soundings should be made in Washington with that object in view.

In this connection, the startling announcement about American oil lines in the Near East and big refineries in Haifa is of tremendous interest to us. It is not a wholly fortunate development from our point of view, providing an additional argument from the American standpoint against "stirring up the Arabs." On the other hand, it does mean that America is acquiring definite concrete interests in Palestine and in the Near East. There are many things to consider. One of the most important is how to utilize this development in order to correct a gross injustice which has been committed against Palestine by the British and the Iraq Petroleum Company. Despite the fact that the pipe-line crosses Palestine territory and has its terminus at Haifa, and despite the fact that the IPC was given extraordinarily favorable conditions by the Palestine Government, Palestine has not been allowed to have the benefit of a cheap supply of oil. They charge us very high rates on the basis of "Tampico plus" price, i. e., they charge ~~Palestine~~ ^{the} world price, including the expense of transportation from a distant point overseas. This has proved a considerable burden on Palestine agriculture and industry.

Now, if America is coming into the picture, this may give us the opportunity to reopen the question through our State Department and win certain concessions which may benefit Palestine to the tune of millions of dollars. I am not sure but that we ought to retain special counsel in Washington to work up the case and to negotiate with the State Department, the Petroleum Board and any other agencies involved. And I can think of a good man for that purpose. If I am present at the meeting, I will be glad to raise the question and then perhaps authority should be given to you to take whatever steps may be deemed advisable to protect the interests of Palestine.

I received your wire about conferring with Feuer, Shapiro and Weisgal. In fact, I had already conferred with Shapiro at some length yesterday. As for Feuer and Weisgal, neither is in town so that such a conference can only take place next week. In the meantime I have made a number of specific suggestions to Shapiro and tried to impress him with their importance. One of the suggestions he thought important and said he would discuss with you, namely, the idea of convening a special Zionist Conference in connection with the resolution pending before Congress. I will continue to do what I can to prod, make specific suggestions and stimulate the necessary action. *I have made suggestion to Weisgal; now to Krumm re polling the delegates of the Conference.*

We had another meeting yesterday of the Committee on Economic Studies together with representatives of the KH and am glad to say that progress is being made in the matter of the Economic Conference, which we have tentatively scheduled for the week-end of March 18-20 in New York. I have just been told however that the Christian Conference, scheduled for the 24th of February, is being postponed, and it was suggested that we likewise postpone the Economic Conference. It would be awkward to do so and I am not sure that it is necessary because the audience will be largely different. If I am not present at the meeting on Monday you might, if you think it advisable, state briefly

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

January 28, 1944

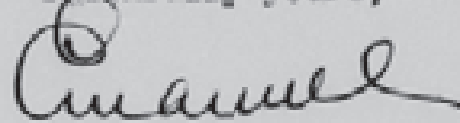
that the Committee on Economic Studies is functioning and that the preparations for a Conference on the Economic Possibilities of Palestine are going forward.

At the last meeting of the Administration Committee of the Keren Hayesod, the election of Heller as UPA Chairman was ratified, but not before I had made a statement and pointed out that you had withdrawn your objection after the adoption of a resolution by the ZOA Executive Committee, admonishing Zionists against negotiating with non-Zionist bodies without prior consultation with the Emergency Council. On my motion it was also decided to have a special committee appointed to consider the form of recognition of tribute to you as retiring UPA Chairman. I have also impressed upon Silver, Montor and Israeli the importance of appropriate articles and news items.

I think that one of the unsatisfactory situations is the fact that in New York City proper there is no local emergency or contact group in charge of the city. As a result, Zionists here, at the center where Zionist opinion is generated, do not have the feeling that an active campaign is on. I understand that you have not favored the creation of such a local committee for New York. Since I have not discussed the matter with you, I don't know your point of view, and your reasons may be entirely valid; but on the other hand, I do see the negative results of our not having such a body functioning right here, and in the absence of strong arguments to the contrary, I would certainly urge the creation of such a body directly responsible to the Emergency Council and not leave the field here to the ZOA or Hadassah or any other combination. The Emergency Council itself should dominate the Zionist scene in New York. It is most important.

With affectionate regards to Virginia and the family, as ever

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EH/K

Letter No. 28

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1901

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 4, 1944

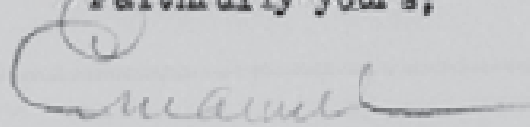
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing the memorandum of which I spoke to you on the telephone.

I have conveyed to the office the suggestion that a meeting take place at the office of the ZOA Monday evening at eight o'clock, and I assume that such a meeting will be called. I can't help feeling elated over the way the Congressional resolutions are being pushed. Once more my "interim" congratulations!

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 18, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have arranged the following matters:

- 1) The Independent Jewish Press Service undertook to syndicate an editorial for the Anglo-Jewish Press along lines I suggested. The title which I suggested for the editorial was "Where does the Administration stand?".
- 2) I just had a long talk with Mr. Meckler, who has agreed to do all that is necessary. He will have a news item, a front page news story from Washington Sunday, followed by a full length editorial on Monday addressed to the Administration. He also agreed to print articles along the same line.
- 3) I also explained the matter to Margoshes on the telephone, and he undertook to take that line in his column.
- 4) I had had Israeli in and gave him appropriate instructions.
- 5) I am trying to follow this up also with other newspapers. Tomorrow Boris Smolar of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency is coming to see me at home.

Meckler happens to be pretty friendly personally with Judge Rosenman through their collaboration in the Jewish Education Committee for several years; and unless you advise against it, he proposes to send Judge Rosenman on Sunday or Monday by air mail special copy of his editorial and a personal note to Rosenman expressing the opinion that the President is being placed in an embarrassing and dangerous situation because the Jewish public will hold him responsible if the Resolution is stymied.

I am looking into the matter of Tammany Hall.

I think that the interest and excitement generated by the hearings should not be allowed to die down. We should proceed first of all with a series of big mass meetings in the principal centers throughout the country - at once. I also think that we should proceed with the Petition matter. Weisgal has a report ready for Monday. Meckler says that the Morning Journal would be prepared to conduct a Petition movement jointly with all other Jewish newspapers and with the American Jewish

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

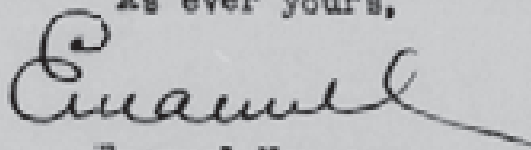
February 18, 1944

Conference. If the newspapers carry the burden, it can be done with very little expense, he says.

I had a call from Senator Murray's office yesterday to the effect that the Senator had been impressed by what I said at the meeting and would like to have a private talk with me in order to understand the question better. It was agreed that I would see him next Tuesday.

Best regards to the family.

As ever yours,



Emanuel Neumann



EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 24, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

With regard to the political situation:

(1) I take it we must now go on the assumption that no early passage of the Resolution can be expected in either house. Despite Bloom's optimism I don't think we can risk it unless we know that the objection of the War Department has been withdrawn or greatly softened.

(2) If that is so, we are in not only for a letdown feeling among the Jewish public but for a sort of lull in the political activity of the Zionists throughout the country. The combination of the two is bad and should be avoided at all costs.

(3) To bridge this period and to provide a method for continuing political action on a mass scale, I would advocate going forward with the Petition movement. The feeling of frustration which would be created by the adverse news concerning the Resolution can thus be converted into positive, constructive action. There is no time to lose because in order to launch the Petition movement successfully it should be tied up, at least emotionally, with the hearings which have just taken place. Also, it would be launched impressively - perhaps at some meeting at which you would deliver an address on the importance of the Petition, which should be broadcast far and wide. Weisgal is all set to go ahead and I rather think it was a mistake not to have decided the matter definitely at the last meeting of the Executive Committee. This move is clearly indicated and action should begin without loss of time.

(4) I have been thinking a good deal about the President and am convinced that we are right in applying pressure to him in the form of letters and telegrams and in other forms. Here in New York I am working with Shapiro to organize a delegation to call upon the New York Leader of the Democratic Party with a memorandum which it would request to have transmitted to the proper person in Washington. This memorandum should state clearly that many thousands of Jews in New York City are deeply disturbed over what seems to be an indifferent or negative attitude on the part of the Executive branch of the Government, etc.

(5) However, it will take a little time for the pressure to mount up and register itself at the White House. At the moment also the President has other worries more immediate and serious. At best therefore it will take some time before he can be expected to respond. I believe that if you

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

February 24, 1944

have not done so already, next week you might with entire propriety send a telegram to General Watson asking for a brief interview with the President on behalf of 300,000 organized Zionists, and also in your capacity as Chairman of the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference.

(6) Even then I am asking myself just what the President will be able to do. He may not be in a position to reverse the action of the War Department, especially after General Marshall has made as strong a statement as he did. The obvious alternative is the one you suggested: that the President make a public statement of his own in favor of our program. But he may not be in a position to do that ~~however~~, even if he were willing unless it is a watered down statement. The reason is that he probably cannot anticipate a statement which Churchill is expected to make eventually. Because we are Allied with Britain, a statement by the President of the United States dealing with Palestine would be interpreted as expressing the attitude of the United Nations, or at least of the British. The President could not do it without the approval of Churchill, and Churchill would not want such a statement to come from the American Government before he has had the opportunity of making it *himself*.

(7) If the President should be unable to either arrange for the passage of the Resolution or to make his own statement in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth, what else can he do for us? That brings me back to the suggestion which occurred to me about a week ago. The President can appoint a joint committee consisting of representatives of the State Department and of the Senate and House Representatives, to study the Palestine question, confer with us and try to work out the formation of an American policy on this question. I believe there are precedents for this sort of thing. There was a committee set up to study post-war problems, which includes Senator Austin and I believe another Senator, as well as one or two members of the Lower House, together with people from the State Department. If the President wants to be helpful, he can appoint such a group of friendly persons, such as Stettinius and/or Charles E. Taft or Dean Acheson of the State Department, Senator Taft or Senator Thomas or Gillette from the Senate, and one or two drawn from the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. The understanding should be that they should endeavor to reach agreement with the representatives of the Jewish Agency or the Zionist movement, and when an agreement has been reached their report should be submitted to the President for his approval.

(8) The appointment of such a committee would be a way out of the present impasse. It would be ~~accepted~~ *accepted* by the public; it would warrant a delay in acting on the pending Resolutions; and it would be a happy solution from the point of view of the President. It would also give us the opportunity of arguing out the question with the representatives of the State Department and if need be also of the War Department, not in public hearings but in camera. The appointment of such a committee would be regarded as a friendly gesture and would avoid damage to our position in London, which would result from the defeat or delay in the passage of the Resolution. This matter would have to be negotiated with the President by someone who has access to

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

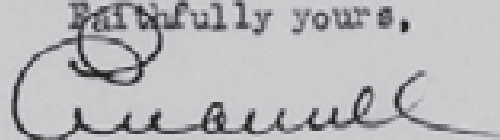
February 24, 1944

him. Who that person should be, I cannot say at the moment, but I think that if it should be suggested to the President by someone in his entourage as a "bright idea", he may seize upon it as a ~~good~~ *good* way out.

I offer these reflections for what they are worth.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M



February 25, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

You will recall at the last meeting of the Emergency Council I was authorized to appoint a committee to look into the Political Bureau of the Agency and the advisability of either having it closed down, or having its functions sharply delimited. I was thinking of appointing a representative from each of the parties on the committee, and perhaps one or two others. Would you make some suggestions to me about the composition of the committee?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BX

Letter No. 32

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

February 25, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I attended the meeting of the Z. O. A. Executive Committee last night, at which Brickner reported again, and there was also a discussion in connection with the pending Resolutions.

Mrs. Israel Goldstein attended and read a cable she had received from her husband. It was in veiled language but with its meaning fairly clear. I suppose a copy is being sent to you. It indicated that the Weizmann-Ben Gurion breach was being healed. It also urged, apparently on behalf of the Executive, that we get the President to issue the statement he had planned to make at the conference which had been scheduled for February 14th. The main discussion centered on the Resolution.

Shulman urged: (1) That we should take the formal position that in view of the attitude of the Military, we propose that the House and Senate Committees should take no further action for the time being.

(2) That every effort be made to confer with the President and that Dr. Wise be requested to cooperate in this matter and if necessary, interrupt his holiday by returning to New York and Washington.

(3) That in view of the Barkley affair, we should desist for the time being from the program of pressure on the President.

As to #1, Lipsky, Stone and I took the position that we should not acquiesce in the position taken by the War Department but that we should *simply* continue the present policy of holding the Resolutions in abeyance.

As to #2, it was generally agreed that we should try to get to the President, and that the cooperation of Dr. Wise in this matter was desirable.

As to #3, there was considerable difference of opinion and it was left that the Executive Committee recommend to the leaders of the Emergency Council to give consideration to the point raised by Shulman.

There was also some discussion about the meaning of the Resolution as discussed by Sol Bloom and by Fauer ("so that when the Jewish people has become a majority of the population they ^{shall} reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Commonwealth"). Rather surprisingly to me, sentiment seemed to favor such a formulation as a satisfactory compromise. Szold, who was in the Chair, did not express himself against it. Boukstein told me

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

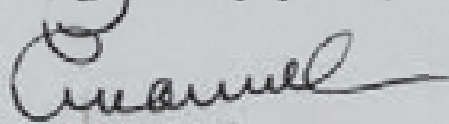
February 25, 1944

privately that he thought it was good and that perhaps it had been a mistake all along to have adopted the term "Jewish Commonwealth" instead of a circumlocution; Shulman also seems to favor this position. However, the Executive Committee did not go fully into the matter and took no position on it.

As for the message from Israel Goldstein, I analyzed the situation and pointed out that this request did not jibe at all with Brickner's report about Weizmann's optimism, unless we have been wholly misinformed as to the kind of statement which the President had intended to make. If in London they want us to get from the President the kind of statement he is likely to make, it would seem to indicate that the situation in London is not so good, but rather bad. Brickner himself said he could not understand it. I suppose the situation will have to be reviewed again and the London request weighed in the light of the situation here. On this matter too the Executive Committee expressed no opinion.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am enclosing copy of a letter I am sending to Fauer following a conversation I had with Elihu Stone last night.

EH/M
(Enc.)

Letter No. 33

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 7, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Zionist Organization of America
1720-16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Abba:

On February 25th I sent you a copy of a letter which I sent on the same date to Feuer, containing certain suggestions. I am reverting to that now.

As I told you on the phone, I am not dispirited by the events of the past few days. It is a head-on clash which had to come. We have certainly succeeded in lifting the Palestine question out of the hole in which it had been allowed to rest and placed it on the agenda as a great public issue. But I am gravely concerned over the state of mind of the Jewish public and our own Zionist co-workers who can't help feeling that we have suffered a serious defeat which may affect the situation in London most unfortunately. Doubts are already being expressed not only privately, but in articles regarding the wisdom of the course we have taken. Moreover, the internal "opposition", which is silent and quiescent when things are moving along, comes to life again at the slightest setback, and their criticism will be directed at you.

Quite apart, therefore, from the political situation per se, it is of utmost importance that something be done immediately to mitigate the widespread feeling of frustration and to give us some compensation for the failure of Congress to act.

I revert therefore to the idea that a statement should be signed by a majority of the members of the two Congressional committees, addressed to the State Department. Not even General Marshall's veto can affect the right of Congressmen to address this privately and directly to Secretary Hull. Nor would they be responsible if by a leak, or a series of leaks, the news should get out that such a round-robin was sent or presented to the State Department.

There may be reluctance on the part of Congressmen to do this and a good deal of pressure and persuasion may be required but it can be put, particularly to the Party Leaders, that they owe us at least this compensation. If our Representatives show sufficient spirit and indignation over the embarrassing position in which the Zionist movement had been placed, I believe we can get it through.


Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 7, 1944

Some such action is absolutely imperative from every point of view, including the situation in London. Indeed, I regret that I did not urge this action more strongly ten days ago before the attack by the Arab State was publicized. It would have been easier then, but it is not too late now. I still think it is unlikely that the President will make a public statement of the kind we need, and there is not a moment to lose in repairing the damage which has been done to us. I am trying my hand at drafting the kind of statement which I think Senators and Congressmen can be asked to sign and will try to enclose it with this letter. I may turn up in Washington tomorrow afternoon but I would not wish even a few hours to be lost in starting this work, if you agree with my suggestion, as I hope you do.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann



ES/M
(Enc.)

RECEIVED
JEWISH ARCHIVES
MAR 10 1944

| CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| DOMESTIC | CABLE |
| TELEGRAM | FULL RATE |
| DAY LETTER | DEFERRED |
| NIGHT MESSAGE | NIGHT LETTER |
| NIGHT LETTER | SHIP RADIOGRAM |

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise message will be transmitted as a full-rate communication.

WESTERN UNION

R. B. WHITE
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

| |
|---------------|
| CHECK |
| ACCT'G INFMN. |
| TIME FILED |

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

March 14, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann,
521 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

Please draft resolutions to be submitted Mass meeting next Tuesday. Have them ready for approval Emergency Council Monday afternoon. Kindest regards.

Abba

Letter No. 34

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

EN

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 15, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

- (1) Following your telegram and phone call yesterday, I got to work on drafting Resolutions. I hope to finish them by the end of the week so that you may see the drafts in advance of Monday's meeting.
- (2) I have already had one conversation with Weisgal on the subject of the Washington office. He claims that the agreement reached between you and Goldmann clearly stipulated that you were to be recognized as the directing head of all political activity in Washington and that it was so recorded in a minute. I shall ^{continue} continue my efforts along this line.
- (3) There was a meeting of the members of the Actions Committee last night, over which Lipsky presided. Lipsky and I reported. The general tone was good. Great satisfaction was expressed by one after another with the tremendous activity developed by the Emergency Committee during the past few months and the vigor with which the fight for the adoption of the Resolutions has been carried on. The meeting adopted a resolution in that sense. Whatever the attitude of the ZOA and Hadasah, the Poalei Zion and Mizrahi seem to be solidly behind you at this time.
- (4) I think more caution will have to be exercised in the future regarding the press. Concern was expressed last night over the fact that the expectation of a second statement by President Roosevelt was spread in the Jewish papers and reference was made to an earlier spill regarding Churchill and his alleged desire to see the Resolutions passed. However, such leaks occur, ~~They~~ they are inevitably charged up to the leadership of the Emergency Committee, at least in a measure.
- (5) Yesterday Isaiah Berlin called me up to say that apparently his attitude and advice regarding the Resolutions had been misunderstood. He had had two inquiries as to whether he had been correctly reported at our meeting as being in favor of pushing the Resolutions. Apart from the inadvisability of referring to him by name at our meetings because of his position in the Embassy, he hoped we understood that he had not advised pushing the Resolutions but rather squaring the Military and winning over other important elements in Washington. I told him that you and I understood his viewpoint and that he had not been quoted to the effect that we should vigorously push the Resolutions at this time.

Dr. A. H. Silver

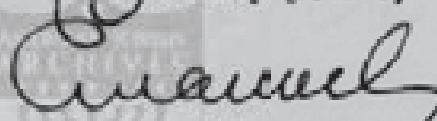
March 15, 1944

(6) Regarding Kenan, I do hope that the rearrangement you contemplated will be carried out soon in the interest of the work both in Washington and New York. Incidentally, today's PM carries a short but good article by I. F. Stone on the "Arab Bogy".

(7) Irving Miller spoke up very vigorously last night in appreciation of your leadership and urged the adoption of a resolution to further strengthen your hand. We ought to draw him into our Executive Committee now to strengthen the position there. I don't know why and on what basis Boukstein participates in the meetings of the Executive Committee, of which he is not a member. He does so chiefly for the purpose of getting ammunition to use on the outside. I think Miller can be appointed Chairman of the Community Contacts Committee in place of Gross, even though it should be a quasi-nominal position since the work is being done by Shapiro and Feuer; but it will give Miller a status. I would suggest that you do this without further delay.

With warmest regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

Had lunch with Raymond L. Buell today at his request. He is working again with Willie & wants him to make a full statement for our meeting. will discuss it with you on the 'phone.

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter
NL = Night Letter
LC = Deferred Cable
NLT = Cable Night Letter
Ship Radiogram

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination.

H. NA81 WULQ29N (FIVE) 22 WULO NEWYORK NY 17 1153A

DR A H SILVER *E 105 - 4 April Rd*

DUPLICATE OF TELEPHONED TELEGRAM

THE TEMPLE (CLEVE)

MAR 17 PM 12 32

TELEGRAM ALREADY SENT TO ALL CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS
TWO DAYS AGO RESPONSE THUS FAR POOR. PROSPECTS FOR HUGE
OVERFLOW TUESDAY MEETING REGARDS

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

920150
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WEEK
MAY

3/17/44

Time: 12:20

Dr. A. H. Silver
Cleveland, Ohio

TELEGRAM ALREADY SENT TO ALL CONGRESSMEN AND SENATORS
TWO DAYS AGO. RESPONSE THUS FAR POOR. PROSPECTS FOR
HUGE OVERFLOW TUESDAY MEETING. REGARDS.

EMANUEL NEUMANN

Taken over
telephone by H.E.K.



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 17, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have just had a visit from Dr. Margoshes. To summarize the conversation briefly: he is vitally interested in the political campaign we are conducting and anxious to be active in it either in a professional or voluntary capacity. Outside of contributing his column to the Day, he has time and is in a position to write, speak, travel, etc.

I think this is a suggestion worthwhile considering and would suggest that it be considered in the strictest confidence for the time being. I don't know what has transpired in the American Jewish Congress where I think he has been working professionally. I will find out. My inclination at the moment would be to utilize him by paying him some kind of salary out of a private fund so that his value would be enhanced rather than diminished by his becoming one of a score of employees of our Council.

I have just heard about McCloy's appearance before the House Committee. It is another blow which we will survive. The thing to do is to make our people fighting mad while keeping our record (officially) clear. In the Resolution I am drafting I propose to say that we hope the Resolutions will be favorably acted upon by Congress at the earliest opportune moment.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann
Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

March 17, 1944

MEMORANDUM

Out of many congratulatory messages which have come to me in connection with the Columbia broadcast, the attached letter from Beryl Levy seems important and ought to receive careful consideration. There is a great deal to be said for an active radio policy, and someone who is competent and keen ought to take hold of this particular problem.

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

C O P Y

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
Pacific Network
Columbia Square, Los Angeles, Cal.

March 14, 1944

Dear Mr. Neumann:

I just finished listening-in to CBS's "People's Platform" broadcast on Jewish Palestine Immigration.

May I congratulate you on the fine job you did under most trying conditions. I gloried in your spirit, and your retort "They can take care of themselves" in answer to Harris' question of how long the Jews in Palestine could last against Arab pressure, made me feel very proud of you. To me, that was the highlight of the entire broadcast.

Despite the impression that the broadcast appeared to get a bit out of hand (Hitti should have been rebuked for irresponsible statements), I feel that the general effect was all to the good of our side.

It was one of the all too rare occasions when a Jew stood up and fought back with spirit and intelligence. You, too, can take care of yourself!

I wired to my Pennsylvania Senator Guffey and also wrote a long letter to Congressman J. Buell Snyder whom I know personally. I did this some days ago.

I have been attached to CBS (West Coast) in Hollywood as special writer for the Press Information Division. Radio is essential. So far, my work has been highly satisfactory.

If there is anything that I can do in this crisis from this end, please let me know. Is it too late to go on the air in a sponsored program with the Zionist side of the case -- full network, of course? I doubt if there is time now to prepare a series of broadcasts giving the entire story of Zionism and of our political misfortunes.

If so, nothing can be lost in hitting out boldly. This can be done with reasonable dignity -- in factual, objective (and documented) style.

It is indeed unfortunate that we never dramatized the history of the movement and of Herzl in the "March of Time" style. A favorable American public opinion would have resulted.

As it is -- non-Jewish opinion even today is not so much adverse as it is entirely ignorant of the important issues, the ideology of the movement and the comparative justice of both sides (or is it three?) of the question.

It is a pity that our allies in the moving picture and radio industries don't have the vision or the courage to tackle the thing openly and boldly.

Few situations are so desperate that public relations cannot be applied with at least a measure of success.

I am out of touch with the movement generally, and of Washington in particular,

Much of what I say may be childish in the light of what you may know.

But if there is yet time, the case should be carried to the American people. A worsening is virtually impossible. The money will be well spent in any event. We have the brains to make a sound case. With regard to radio, only the most competent production and direction should be secured. This is not a job for an amateur or "small-time" professional.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially,

(signed) B. J. Levy



C O P Y

The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore 18, Maryland

March 19, 1944

Dear Dr. Neumann,

I sent you a telegram this morning saying that the proposed interview with Bowman would be impracticable. I saw him myself for a couple of minutes which were sandwiched in between other engagements, and my "couple of minutes" were prolonged to more than half an hour. He had not yet seen Lowdermilk's book, which he expressed his desire to see, since he naturally knew it was forthcoming. I am sending him my copy tomorrow; it will reach him, I hope, just before he leaves and may be taken with him. Bowman is extremely well informed on the subject and is openminded. I have had a couple of long conversations with him during the past two years and have prepared a detailed statement for his use. However, he knows Lowdermilk and his weaknesses very well, in fact, ever since Lowdermilk was first taken up years ago by Wallace. Hence a conversation with Lowdermilk would not be as useful as might be expected, since he discounts the latter's enthusiasm and lack of practicability -- both serious weaknesses in an admirable man, a man who is more of a prophet than of a cold scientist or practical statesman. In our talk I stressed the fact that the responsible Zionist leaders are just now far more interested in obtaining a practical extension of the right of immigration than in the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth of some kind; this obviously made an excellent impression on him. Naturally, there are other prominent Zionists who are either denizens of another world or who are unconsciously swayed by their desire to carry the crowd with them. Personally I feel that the right of limited immigration is infinitely more important now -- and more useful -- than everything else. It should be possible to unite virtually all American Jews behind this reasonable request -- reasonable from every point of view save that of a fanatical Arab or a dyed-in-the-wool anti-Semite.

Cordially,

(signed) W. F. Albright

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 21, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
Hotel Commodore
New York City

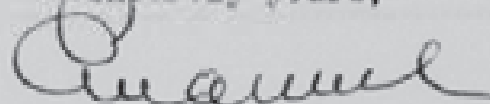
Dear Abba:

I am enclosing copy of a letter I have received from Albright re Bowman which speaks for itself.

Half the time I can't make out Dr. Albright's mind on the question. He says he favors political Zionism and sometimes speaks of a Jewish Commonwealth; but then again he goes off on a different line. Well, there it is!

I have an appointment with Mr. Thackeray for tomorrow, Wednesday morning, at ten o'clock. *of the Post*

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EM/M
(Enc.)

March 28, 1944

Professor William F. Albright
The Johns Hopkins University
Baltimore 18, Md.

Dear Professor Albright:

I am sorry to have delayed so long replying to your letter of March 19th. I was indisposed for a while.

It was very kind of you to see Dr. Bowman about Palestine and I am glad to hear that he is not only well informed on the subject but also "openminded."

About Dr. Lowdermilk, you may be right that he is more of a prophet than a practical statesman. Nor can I pass judgment on his scientific qualifications except to say that I had heard him spoken of very highly in that regard. Be that as it may, I am sure you will be interested to know that the irrigation and power project which he has suggested in his new book under the head of Jordan Valley Authority has been made the object of careful scientific study by a group of American engineers of unquestioned competence. These engineering studies have been going on for a year both here and in Palestine, and the tentative conclusions are definitely encouraging.

On the subject of immigration versus commonwealth, I find it difficult to agree with you, if you mean that we should give up the program of bringing about mass immigration, a Jewish majority and a self-governing commonwealth, or rather trade it in in return for some "limited immigration." I think that this line of thought fails to take into account political realities. As you know, the Zionists did not press the Jewish state or commonwealth program for twenty years, while the Mandate was being administered in a halfway tolerable manner. For twenty years we contented ourselves with the "moderate" type of program which you are evidently advocating now, but with the result that after successive retreats under Arab pressure, the British Government finally collapsed and issued the White Paper.

A limited immigration presumably would be one which would obviate the "danger" that the Jews might eventually preponderate numerically and must lead in the end to the rise of an Arab state with a Jewish minority; for it will be impossible to deny self-government permanently or for a long period of time. Clearly Palestine will have to be in the end either a predominantly Arab state or a predominantly Jewish one. The issue has to be met.

Professor Wm. F. Albright

March 28, 1944

To settle for a limited Jewish immigration means in effect to settle it essentially in favor of Arab demands and against Jewish aspirations.

It should be borne in mind that unless the basic question, whether or not the Jews are entitled to become a majority and build up a Jewish commonwealth is answered in the affirmative, the ground is removed for demanding even limited immigration. Professor Hitti and Mr. Malouf made the point quite clearly at the Congressional hearings by pointing out that Palestine has already made a very generous contribution towards the solution of the refugee problem by admitting as many refugees as all other countries put together. Why should Palestine be expected to absorb many more thousands? Why, indeed? - unless on the ground that it is recognized as the Jewish homeland. If it is the Jewish homeland, on what ground should immigration of Jews to their homeland be limited? It is difficult to find a middle position. It is not merely a logical dilemma but a political one. The Arabs would resist any substantial Jewish immigration. Such immigration can be had only over Arab protest and resistance. Is it worthwhile having a long drawn out battle which will last for many years rather than to make a clean-cut decision that the Jews are coming into Palestine as of right into their homeland and they are entitled to make that one corner of the world their own?

This may be "extremism" but the alternative, I am firmly convinced, is the opposite extremism: the ultimate subjection of a Jewish minority in Palestine to a politically dominant Arab majority, and that is a prospect - I frankly do not relish.

With warmest regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/AM

C O P Y

Memorandum

To: Dr. Emanuel Neumann

March 29, 1944

From: Mr. A. K. Isreeli

Here is a slate for the press-committee which I prepared in consultation with Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Manson.

Chairman: Chaim Greenberg

Co-Chairman: Emanuel Neumann

Members: Ludwig Lewisohn
Marvin Lowenthal
Jacob Fishman
I. L. Kennen
Mr. Weisgal
Miss M. Brownstone (Hadasah office)
Dr. S. Margoshes
Sam Caplan
W. Z. Spiegelman

Ex-Officio: Harold P. Manson
Arnold K. Isreeli

We believe that it is a committee of active people having connections with the press, who will be able to make a real contribution to our work.

P. S. Enclosed I am also sending you my article in the DAY of March 16th for your perusal.

Letter No. 37

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 31, 1944

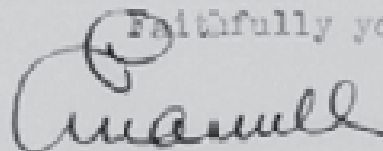
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

- 1) I am enclosing copy of a memo from Isreeli containing suggestions regarding the composition of the Press Committee. I asked him about other names like Morris Weinberg, Edlin, etc. but he did not think it necessary or advisable to add them. Would you please give a little thought to this matter.
- 2) It has occurred to me that the Council, after holding a full day session so soon after March 31st, might be expected to make a statement regarding the whole situation both for the benefit of the Jewish public and the general public. The question is just what to say.
- 3) If Kenin is to take over the press work in New York, then I think it would be best to have that done soon and have the Press Committee start its work with Kenin as its executive officer.
- 4) I inquired of Meyer Weisgal and he confirmed that Goldmann saw McCloy and sounded him regarding the Jewish Army question. Goldmann found McCloy rather sympathetically disposed; but he said it was a matter which would have to be taken up with the Chiefs of Staff, or ~~was~~ it the Joint Chiefs of Staffs?

Best regards to Virginia and yourself.

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EH/M
(Enc.)

April 5, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

Rabbi Silver requested me to send you
the enclosed letter which he received from
Ludwig Lewisohn, and Rabbi Silver's reply.
Please return this correspondence to Rabbi
Silver after you have read it.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Rabbi Silver

April 5, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann,
521 Fifth Avenue,
New York City

My dear Emanuel:

The list of the Press Committee which you submitted to me is entirely satisfactory. I would suggest that you add the name of Mr. Weinberg, owner of The Day, etc. Perhaps, also, Mr. Richards. It might not be a bad idea to ask Mr. Landau to serve on the Committee and Mr. Montor.

The important thing is to organize immediately, and I would suggest that a meeting be called without further delay. The Program Committee has made certain recommendations on which the Press Committee should act.

With all good wishes for a very happy Pesach, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:NEK

Abba Hillel Silver

April 7, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
749 West End Ave.
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Hamlin and Wertheim of the Peale Zion
have asked me for an advance condensed statement
of the address which I am to deliver Sunday night
at their Third Seder. I'd like you to look over
the enclosed. Make whatever changes you feel need
be made and see that it reaches Hamlin and Wertheim
sometime on Saturday so that they can make copies
of it for the press.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours.

AHS:EK
Enc.

Letter No. 39

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1908

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 12, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

We had another meeting of the Program Committee yesterday afternoon on which I can report as follows:

- 1) Petition: It was decided to recommend that it is premature to undertake a Petition action at this time, though all technical planning should be carried on.
- 2) Strategy Committee: The Committee adopted my proposal that we recommend that no action be taken on the matter at this time, particularly in view of the fact that the Program Committee has been requested to continue its work. This decision was adopted after some discussion, in the course of which I was firmly supported by the representatives of Mizrahi and Poalei Zion as well as by Lipsky, who had been invited to sit in. Neither Mrs. Halprin nor Shulman were altogether happy about the decision but had to accept it more or less gracefully. It was also pointed out that the Co-Chairmen of the Emergency Council are, of course, entitled to consult with whomever they choose to consult with as their advisers without any formal action by the Council or the Executive.
- 3) The Goldmann matter was not taken up for lack of time.

After the meeting Feuer, Shulman and I had an informal chat concerning Wise; and Shulman pointed out that unless something is done to improve the situation, Wise is likely to see people and to make political moves on his own and further complicate the situation. I suggested that it be left to Feuer to consider the situation further. It strikes me that it would be very desirable for you, Wise and Feuer to meet on occasion not to discuss the past but to exchange views on important current matters, as for example:

- a) What further steps, if any, should be taken vis-a-vis the White House;
- b) What steps can be taken in connection with the Dominion Conference;
- c) How should the problem of the Convention platforms be approached.

I would advise that you take the initiative personally or through Feuer to arrange for such a consultation and to continue to hold them from time to time.

Shulman reported informally yesterday that he had spoken to Goldmann about the decision of our Oil Committee that he, Shulman, should join with Goldmann in interviewing the President or Vice-President of the California

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

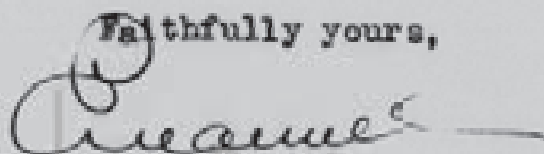
April 12, 1944

Company but Goldmann declined on the ground that the appointment had been made for him personally. Shulman feels put out. I assured Shulman that if American Zionists presented a united front on the matter of Goldmann's independent activities he would back down and accommodate himself; whereas if he sensed a division, he would take full advantage of it. Shulman agreed. I think by skillful handling we can get the entire Executive Committee to take a firm attitude; but again, you should not be put in the position of leading that fight. It should be led by Shulman, Lipsky, myself and others.

I asked Lourie to make a minute of the oral report he got from Goldmann on his visit to McGloy, my purpose being that it should be read at the next meeting of our Executive Committee in the hope that there will be a healthy reaction from the members of the Committee.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann



EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 13, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

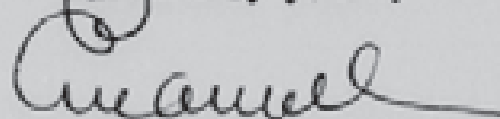
I understand that you may be coming out by plane to attend the meeting of the Administrative Council of the ZOA next Sunday. I hope you can. In the event that you do, I would like to suggest that it be arranged so that you will give a general review and an analysis of the political factors in the political situation, including the oil business, etc., and then have Feuer or Shapiro supplement it with a report giving some details of the public relations activities, etc. The point is that I think you should avoid going into such public relations activities in detail but keep your own remarks on a higher political plane. Otherwise the tendency will be for Goldmann to appear as the spokesman on important political affairs while you will appear as a glorified Public Relations Director.

At the meeting on Monday, the question regarding the political activity of the Jewish Agency in Washington will come up in two connections - (a) the oil business (for instance, there will be a written report of the Committee in which this question will be touched on); (b) a Jewish Army (I have asked Lourie to prepare a minute regarding Goldmann's interview with McCloy in order to make sure that this would come before the Committee even if Goldmann should fail to speak of it.

Again I would suggest ^{primarily} that the remarks concerning Goldmann's activities should be made by Lipsky, Wertheim, Shulman and myself rather than by you, who will be in the Chair; and that you maintain a cool and objective attitude so that it will be a case of the Committee vs. Goldmann rather than yourself vs. Goldmann. I will try to prime some of our people.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Letter No. 41
COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS
Administrative Office
—
521 FIFTH AVENUE
ROOM 1901
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

April 20, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

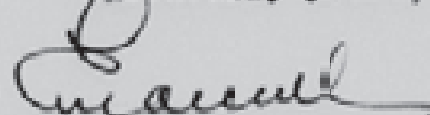
Dear Abba:

As you know, a World Conference of the World Jewish Congress is to take place in New York the week of May 21st. It would have been appropriate for the leaders of the World Jewish Congress to consult the Emergency Council about this matter, if for no other purpose than to consider the practicability of utilizing the presence of all these people for the furtherance of the Zionist movement. In any case, it is not too late to take up the matter. Most of the delegates to the Conference will undoubtedly be Zionists. I would suggest that the Emergency Council, after discussion with the World Jewish Congress, arrange to have at least a one day Zionist Conference to which all the delegates would be invited. It should be devoted to reports, discussions and if possible the adoption of decisions or recommendations calculated to strengthen the Zionist movement in the various countries represented.

At such a Conference, you should present the principal report concerning Zionist political efforts. If you have no objection, I could discuss this idea in a preliminary way at the next meeting of the Program Committee on Monday afternoon, at which Nahum Goldmann will be present. Please advise me, preferably by wire.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. Give me a Mazel Tove! I have just been informed that my daughter, Natanyah, has been elected to the Phi Beta Kappa.

EN/M

April 26, 1944

Mr. George E. Sokolsky
300 West End Avenue
New York City

Dear George:

I have heard from Abba Silver about the good talk he had with you at lunch about a week ago. I needn't tell you how happy I feel that you are lending him your advice and cooperation in discharging the terrific responsibility he has undertaken.

Marvin Lowenthal also told me about his conversation with you concerning my articles which were reprinted in the Hearst chain. One of these days I would like to talk to you a bit about my own work.

I am writing you now on a special matter, i. e., the attitude taken by Westbrook Pegler on the Palestine question. I haven't read his article myself but I notice a column of comment on Pegler's article by Dr. Margoshes in the Jewish Day. It seems that Pegler's stuff was pretty bad from our point of view and I am really very much worried about him.

You see, what is likely to happen is the following: a lot of Zionists and other Jews will begin to shower Pegler with letters, some polite and others abusive. Pegler will then feel called upon to write again and if I judge him aright, he will not recede from the position he has taken but rather continue and become more confirmed and perhaps more virulent in his attacks on Zionism. Moreover, the line which he takes is a peculiarly dangerous one for us since he raises the issue of sacrificing American soldiers' lives to protect a Jewish Palestine.

I am very anxious to avoid a first-class row between Pegler and the Zionists. I think the only way to avoid it is by having someone discuss the matter with him privately in a friendly way and try to get him to lay off by removing some misconceptions from his mind. Do you know him well enough to handle him? I think this is a matter of capital importance. I do hope you can do this for the sake of the cause.

With best regards, as ever

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I am sending a copy of this letter to Silver. While I haven't consulted him, I believe he would agree with me. Do let me hear from you on this, please.

| CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED | |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| DOMESTIC | CABLE |
| TELEGRAM | ORDINARY |
| DAY LETTER | URGENT MESSAGE |
| SERIAL | DEFERRED |
| NIGHT LETTER | NIGHT LETTER |

Please should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram or ordinary cablegram.

WESTERN UNION

1207

A. B. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

| | |
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| \$ | CHECK |
| \$ | ACCOUNTING INFORMATION |
| F | TIME FILED |

Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Emanuel Neumann

Care of or Apt. No. 521 Fifth Ave

Street and No. New York, N. Y.

Place

4-27-44 19

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by 'WESTERN UNION'"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

I approve of the draft of the statement of
Wagner and if you have his permission
suggest that it be given to the Yiddish
and Anglo-Jewish press at once. Regards
Silver

Sender's Name

Address

Tel No.

| PLANS OF SERVICE DETAIL | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| DOMESTIC | CABLE |
| TELEGRAM | ORIGINATE |
| DAY LETTER | URGENT RATE |
| SERIAL | DEFERRED |
| NIGHT LETTER | NIGHT LETTER |

Patrons should check class of service desired; otherwise the message will be transmitted as a telegram of ordinary transmission.

WESTERN UNION

A. H. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

| | |
|----|------------------------|
| \$ | CHECK |
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| F | TIME FILED |

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To Emmanuel Neumann

Care of or Apt. No. 521 Fifth Ave

Street and No. New York

Place

4-27-44 1944

WANT A REPLY?

"Answer by WESTERN UNION"
or similar phrases may be
included without charge.

I approve of the draft statement of Wagner
and if you have this permission suggest
that it be given to the Y. I. I think Anglo-
I enclose press at once. Regard
Silvery

Sender's Name

Address

Tea No.

May 4, 1944

Mr. I. F. Stone
"The Nation"
318 Kellogg Building
Washington, D. C.

Dear Stone:

- 1) I am enclosing my comment on the Reader's Digest article, as you have requested.
- 2) I have written to Dr. Leon Feuer, Director of the Washington Bureau of the Zionist Emergency Council, advising him to keep in touch with you. They are at 1720-16th Street, N. W. (Michigan 4480).
- 3) I am confirming our tentative arrangement to have lunch in Washington next Tuesday.
- 4) I am sending you herewith a copy of a Memorandum by Dr. Carl J. Friedrich on American Policy toward the Jewish National Home in Palestine. I am not sure whether you have seen this.
- 5) I am also enclosing a copy of the Falcor dispatch concerning the Palestine plank in the platform drafted by the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party, dealing with its war plans. You will notice that they have gone in some respects further than we have here.
- 6) Please make sure to let us have that memorandum to which you referred, gotten out by the War Writers' Board. It is very important and we shall probably have to deal with it.

With warmest regards, as ever

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

P. S. I, together with other colleagues, have an appointment with the Secretary of State next Tuesday afternoon. I would therefore appreciate getting the document you referred to, immediately. We may wish to deal with that too, among other matters.

E/ N.

EN/M
(Enc.)

May 4, 1944

Rabbi Leon Feuer
Zionist Organization of America
1720-16th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Leon:

I enclose herewith copy of a letter I have written to I. F. Stone. He has just called me up, here in New York, and told me, among other things, about a memorandum regarding Palestine gotten out by the War Writers' Board, an official or semi-official agency. The memorandum is quite hostile. You ought to keep in touch with Stone. I take it he will send the memorandum either to you or to me.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/m
(Enc.)

LETTER NO. 42

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 4, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have attended the meeting at the office of Mark Eisner this morning. There were present Mr. Mark Eisner, Mr. Samuel Markewich, Irving Lipkowitz, Mr. Kagan, Mr. Montor, Mr. Hammer, accountant of the JNF, and myself.

At the outset there was a slight tiff between Montor and myself. He presented the matter to the lawyers in the form of a simple question whether or not the exemptibility of the UPA may be jeopardized. I thereupon tried to amplify by explaining that the spirit of our UPA meeting was against making any radical changes or trying to raise a special political fund, if that can possibly be avoided. We therefore wanted advice and guidance which would indicate how we might continue to make financial provision for the Emergency Council without any radical departure. Montor did not like it.

The spirit of ^{the} discussion was good. It was pointed out that the allocation to the Emergency Council was a small part of the total revenues of the UPA; moreover, only a very small part of the Council's budget was used directly in connection with the Resolution in Congress. It was also brought out that Congressional Resolutions are probably not to be regarded as "legislation" within the meaning of the statute affecting tax exemption. The offhand opinion seemed to be that the exemptibility of the UPA ought not to be adversely affected. However, it was agreed to assign four lawyers to study the various aspects of the question and to have another meeting in about a week.

I am glad I was there because I think I helped to give the discussion the desired turn.

Abe Goodman, who knows a great deal about tax matters from the practical point of view, though he is not a lawyer, was rather put out that he had not been appointed one of the representatives of the Kern Hayesod, and is quite prepared to participate in these meetings, as a representative of the Emergency Council. I would strongly recommend that he be appointed together with Herman Shulman. It will probably be unnecessary for me to attend future meetings, *and* I have many other things on my hands.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
Cc: Harry Shapiro

Letter No. 13

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 4, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

1) Regarding our visit to the State Department: Do you think it would be appropriate for us to state that the late Secretary Knox had informed us that action on the Resolution had to be postponed partly because of the oil question? If we could make that statement, it would be an excellent opening for us to ride in on with Secretary Hull. I would appreciate your giving me your view on this matter.

2) Regarding our further propaganda: The rumored plan for a ten year period with 25,000 certificates a year may or may not be true. Whether it has been put forward or not, it is the kind of proposal which is bound to come up sooner or later. It is really a modified version of the White Paper. Therefore, it seems to me, it would be good policy first to bring this idea out into the open and then to attack it and demolish it if possible. The sooner we discuss such proposals and dispose of them, the better we will be protected against them later on. They can be exposed now for what they are, not at all as reasonable compromise proposals but as a continuation of the White Paper policy in essence. A discussion of such proposal could and should lead directly on to explaining the necessity for unrestricted immigration, a Jewish majority, etc. - I would therefore propose that arrangements be made to have this rumor brought into the open to be followed immediately by articles, editorials and speeches condemning it. If you have no objection to this course, please advise me and I will try to arrange the matter through our Press Department, etc.

3) I have repeatedly called attention to the date of May 17th, which is the fifth anniversary of the issuance of the White Paper. It is a good peg and we should make the most of it by way of:

- a) speeches on the floor of Congress;
- b) editorials;
- c) letters to the editors

The speeches in Congress are particularly important. If we spring this story about the proposed Ten Year Plan shortly before that date, the speeches in Congress can also deal with that. It is of the utmost importance that we have some widespread publicity around that date, and there is no time to lose. Speeches have to be prepared, etc. I would suggest that you issue direct instructions to Shapiro and Feuer on this matter. I could then cooperate with them.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

May 4, 1944

4) I. F. Stone of "The Nation" rang me up today, and I am enclosing for your information copies of letters I have written to him and to Feuer.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel
Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)



Letter No. 44

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1901

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 5, 1944

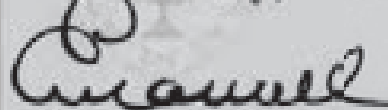
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have noted the telegram from London about Agronsky. I do think he could be most useful to our work here, especially in small gatherings of newspaper people, correspondents, Foreign Policy Association groups, etc. We could send him through the country.

If you agree with me, then the matter should be followed up and pressed.

Sincerely,



Emancul Neumann

EN/M

*Please note letter from
Wm. Hard & my reply.*

C
O
P
Y

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

May 8, 1944

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Rabbi Silver:

The members of the Actions Committee, resident and sojourning in this country are meeting Monday evening, May 15th, at 8:30 P.M. in the Conference Room of the Emergency Council.

We would greatly appreciate it if you could possibly manage to attend this meeting in order to render a report to the members of the Actions Committee on the political activities of the Emergency Council. The meeting is being arranged for that evening to coincide with your presence in New York, in order to make it possible for you to attend.

We trust you will make every effort to be with us.

Cordially yours,

KURT BLUMENFELD
DR. SAMUEL BRODT
MEIR GROSSMAN
BARUCH ZUCKERMAN

May 9, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I received today the enclosed letter. I do not know exactly what reply to make. Of course I am very happy to meet with these gentlemen. However, I am not at all sure that I want to recognize them as an organized and legal body to whom I, as chairman of the Executive Committee, need to "render a report" from time to time. These people have had a standing invitation from the Emergency Council to attend its meetings. I do not know why they cannot get the political report at the same time that the members of the Emergency Committee get theirs. I should like to hear from you about the matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AMS:BX
Enc.

C O P Y

MAY 10, 1944

EMANUEL NEUMANN
COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS
521 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK

I HAVE AT LAST BEEN ABLE TO GET MR PAYNE ON TELEPHONE
HE WAS MUCH INTERESTED I EXPECT YOU WILL HEAR FROM HIM
PROMPTLY REGARDS

WILLIAM HARD



M/

May 11, 1944

To: Dr. I. B. Berkson
From: Emanuel E. Egan

Mr. Raymond L. Buell told me that he was preparing a memorandum on the Near East. Though he didn't say so, I assumed that it was for the Time, Life and Fortune editors.

I have in the past been feeding him with items and material but I think that the matter ought to be considered more seriously now by the Research Department in conjunction with the Political Secretary, Mr. Lourie, in order to determine what further material might be placed at his disposal.

The other day he asked me for a copy of Paul Goodman's book on the Jewish National Home, which I have sent to him.

EE/M

Letter No. 45

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 11, 1944

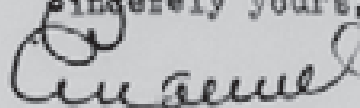
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am returning the letter you sent me. As I understand it, only two or three of the foreigners have standing invitations to attend meetings of the Emergency Council while the group is considerably larger. One of them at least, Meier Grossman, has been dropped from the Emergency Council, as you know.

While the Emergency has never decided to recognize them as a legal body having any powers, it was decided to recognize their natural and legitimate interest *in the work* to the extent of having a representative or representatives of the Emergency meet them from time to time in order to inform them of what is transpiring. I think it might not be a bad idea at all for you to give them some picture of the vast amount of work that is being done by the Council through its various departments, including, of course, the political work - provided you do not find it too much of a strain or burden. These people represent, after all, a part of the public opinion of the Zionist movement and it is worthwhile occasionally to give them a little time, if possible.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

May 19, 1944

Mr Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

It seems that Israel Goldstein
is quicker on the trigger than you are.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

ARS:BX
Enc.



Letter No. 46

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

May 25, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

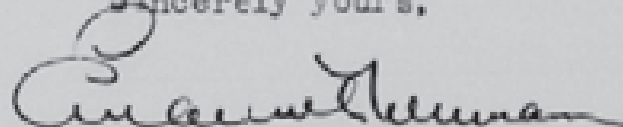
Dear Abba:

Our friend is quick on the trigger but as a matter of fact he released this item on the very day that we talked about the matter. You may recall that when Shulman, Lipsky and I were in Washington and I spoke to you on the long distance phone, I suggested that a release be given out at once. Coming from Washington, the papers would undoubtedly have played it up. Our press department has, generally speaking, not been featuring our political activities in Washington. I do not blame them, particularly because I think we did not have a clear-cut policy with regard to that.

A good deal may of course be said about not publicizing political conversations. On the other hand, we run the risk of leaving the impression with our own people that we are not sufficiently active. I think, for instance, that your and Wise's visit to Stettinius the other day should have been promptly publicized. The risk involved can be minimized by a careful editing of the report.

With regard to our oil activities, it is still not too late because the kind of thing that we have in mind can be successfully publicized at any time and the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press will play it up. I will try to speak to Manson and Israel about it this afternoon.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

May 25, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
Commission on Palestine Surveys
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

My dear Emanuel:

Sorry to have missed you at the restaurant last evening. The meeting last night was splendid in every way. Leo Wolfson called this morning to express his gratification with the meeting, and also suggested that Dr. Lowenthal's book might be translated into Yiddish, and published serially in some Yiddish paper. I thought that that would give to the Yiddish reader a new approach to the subject of Palestine. It would be a good thing if the Forwards would undertake the publication of it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

ANS:ebf

(dictated but not signed)

C O P Y

1339 Independence Blvd.
Chicago, Ill.

June 3, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Neumann:

In reply to your letter of June 1st, I am sending you a biographical note. Regarding my background in connection with the subject discussed in my manuscript, you may be interested to know that since 1929, when I entered the Oriental Institute at Lwow, I have gathered material about the Arab problems. I have specialized in Arab history, language and literature, having received my Ph. D. in Arab philology.

In the years 1934-1937 while residing in Palestine, I traveled extensively in the Near East (Egypt, Iraq, Syria etc.). At that time I published a series of articles in the "HaBoker" about the subject. Also in the "Hadoar" I have published several articles about the Near East in connection with Palestine. I am enclosing a brief introduction to "Inside Fan-Arabia".

Thanking you for your interest, and looking forward to hearing from you soon, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed) M. J. Steiner

Dr. M. J. Steiner

VITA OF M. J. SEINER

Born in Poland, 1905. Graduated Classical High School in Lemberg (Lwow). Studied Oriental languages and International Relations at the Universities of Vienna, Berlin and Lwow. Graduated Hebrew Pedagogical Institute of Lemberg, founded by Prof. Moses Schorr. Received A. M. and Ph. D. at the University of Lwow.

Served as Chief Instructor of Hebrew Language and Literature, as well as associate director, at the Gymnasium and Junior College "Tarbut" in Brest Litovsk, (1929-1933). Instructor Bible, Aramaic, Arabic and Hebrew at the Junior College "Montefiore", Tel-Aviv, Palestine (1934-1937). Served as instructor in Hebrew Language and Literature at the Teachers Institute of the Hebrew Theological College, Chicago (1939-1944).

Published various articles in English, German, Polish, Hebrew and Yiddish.

Books Published: "The Reign of Caliph Omar " (Polish)

"Poems of Asmodeus" (Hebrew)

In preparation: "Inside Pan-Arabia" (English)

"Essays in Modern Hebrew Literature" (Hebrew)

"Without Messiah" (Hebrew)

American citizen; active in various Jewish organizational work; public lecturer.

Letter No. 47

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 6, 1944

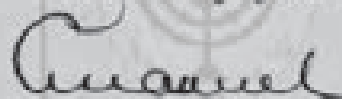
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

There was a request from Yabne, the Palestinian Publishing house, for the privilege of publishing Lowdermilk's book in Hebrew. I referred it to Miss Schwartz, who has now sent me the attached memo indicating that the Hebrew rights have been granted to the Hashomer Hatzair's daily publication, "Hamishmar".

This is the first I have heard about this arrangement. I thought you might be interested.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EM/M

(Enc.)

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1905

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

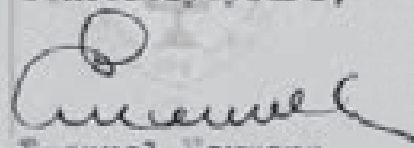
June 6, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I enclose herewith copy of a letter from Dr. Steiner of Chicago, the author of "Inside Pan-Arabia", together with a curricula vitae which he sent me. He is evidently a competent Orientalist and a thoroughgoing Zionist. Here is the kind of person we can use. I am now 100% for getting his book published with the least possible delay. I shall press it with Dr. Berkson and the Publications Committee and I hope will have your backing in this matter.

Sincerely yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1901

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

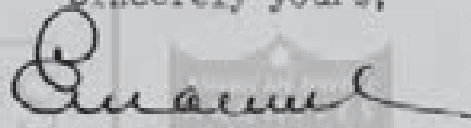
June 7, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing galley proofs of the article I wrote for the Contemporary Jewish Record, due to appear about the middle of this month. Have you any comment? Please return these galleys.

Sincerely yours,


Emanuel Neumann

EN/m
(Enc.)

June 8, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I am returning herewith the galley proofs of your article, "Behind and After the Resolutions." It is an excellent statement of the background for the introduction of the resolutions and the consequences which have flowed from it so far.

I have put a question mark after two paragraphs on galley page 44. I do not believe that it is necessary to point out that Mr. Grock had over-shot his mark in equating the Jewish Commonwealth with the Jewish National Home. I question further whether the rumors circulated in the Near East by the agents of the Colonial Office have been sufficiently authenticated for you to include them in your article.

Perhaps you can also give a more hopeful concluding punch-line to your article...

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially,

AMS:BX
Enc.

Letter No. 50

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 8, 1944

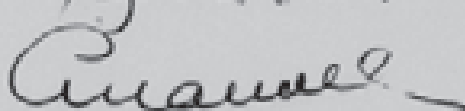
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

The Palestine Review, published in Jerusalem, edited by Elias Epstein, is an excellent source of information for the Zionists of the English speaking world. I helped to get this paper going when I was in Palestine and put into it, if I am not mistaken, about \$1000. (I was ~~flushed~~ then.) Epstein himself is on the whole a Group A "moderate" Zionist. Nevertheless, he stands for the point of view of General Zionism quite definitely.

I am sending you one issue of the paper, Vol. VIII, No. 11, which has a leading article "Two Labour Voices". You may find other material of interest. Please return it to me for my files when you are through. I may send you one or two other numbers if I find they contain material which may be of interest to you.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M
(Enc.)

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 9, 1944

Dear Dr. Silver:

Mr. David E. Lilienthal, the distinguished Chairman of the Tennessee Valley Authority, will be on a visit in New York at the end of next week. He has kindly consented to meet a group of friends interested in the possible application of the TVA idea to Palestine.

Accordingly I have the honor of inviting you to meet Mr. Lilienthal at an intimate luncheon meeting to be held on Friday, June 16th, at 12:30 o'clock at the Hotel Biltmore, East Room, 1st floor. At the request of our guest, the group will be limited to a small number and the proceedings will be private.

It need hardly be said that there will be no solicitation for funds. The discussion will be devoted to the possibilities for large scale engineering works and development projects in Palestine.

Will you kindly advise me promptly whether we may have the pleasure of your attendance at this luncheon?

Very sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 12, 1944

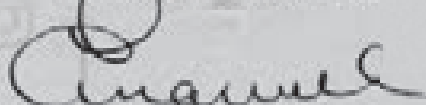
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I am enclosing advance copy of article
by Eliahu Ben-Horin, "Arabin Oil and American
Imperialism", to appear in Harper's magazine.

I would suggest that you pass it on to
Shapiro when you are through with it.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EH/M
(Enc.)

June 15, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

Mr. Strelsin, with whom I had a conversation in New York last week, is prepared to come on and work with us providing we have something of importance for him to do. I found him still considerably opinionated, impressed with his own importance and talking "the big politics line" of the Revisionists. But I am persuaded that he is ready to work in a disciplined manner with us. I do not know his interests and therefore cannot think of any specific job for him. Can you recommend something for him? Would he do well in connection with the radio project which we are considering? Or on a committee to contact the Governments in Exile (the activity once headed and beheaded by Mrs. Halprin).

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 16, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

In my Free World article, "Arab Alignments in the Near East", subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form, I put forward the suggestion of a United Nations Council for the Near East. I expressed the same idea in a pamphlet on Economic Regionalism in the Near East, which was published as an article and in pamphlet form in 1943. Our own publication, Palestine, reproduced some paragraphs from my first pamphlet on this subject.

Soon thereafter I heard from Mr. Raymond Leslie Buell, who became interested in the idea, which he discussed with various persons, including Lord Halifax. He has now prepared a memorandum of 36 pages on American Policy towards the Near East, in which he advocates the idea of a Near East Council and develops it in some detail. According to his plan, the Great Powers should give up their special and individual prerogatives and spheres of influence in the Near East, merging their interests in a Council on which he proposes Britain, Russia, United States, China, and eventually Italy and France, should be represented. This Council would have among its functions the following:

- 1) Maintain order and stability in the Near East through United Nations' forces on the spot;
- 2) Take over from Britain and France the special rights which they have in various countries in the Near East;
- 3) Protect the interests of the Jewish National Home;
- 4) Take over and administer the former Italian colonies and possessions in that region;
- 5) Work out United Nations policies with respect to oil and other natural resources;
- 6) Extend assistance to the peoples and nations of the Near East.

Mr. Buell intends to circulate his memorandum among a number of persons influential in shaping American political thought.

I have put forward my own suggestions tentatively and on my own responsibility, and no opposition was expressed to them on the part of either the Emergency Committee or individual Zionists. Nevertheless, now that the idea is beginning to be advocated by others, it may be well to have the matter considered by the Emergency Council or its Executive Committee, possibly next Monday. Personally I am still inclined to favor this idea as a constructive proposal but I do think we ought to try to arrive at an official attitude if possible.

Sincerely yours,

E. Buell

Letter No. 53

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 16, 1944

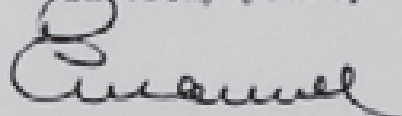
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Shulman still feels, and I am inclined to agree with him, that someone ought to talk with Wallace Murray, on one pretext or another, for the purpose of trying to ferret out any additional information that we might get regarding ideas entertained in London, particularly whether or not they have been talking partition, and if so, what kind of partition. In other words, we ought to try to piece together a picture from bits of information we may glean from various sources. An excuse for seeing Murray will not be hard to find.

I do hope you have succeeded in deterring our friends in the Senate from going to the State Department on the question of American rights under the Mandate. Unless this step is carefully thought out we are likely to get a harmful pronouncement; as I understand the American Jewish Committee has already received an unsatisfactory answer. If anything, we should perhaps request the State Department not to take any position on this question pending our clarifying the whole subject with them. Every time they make a statement like the one made in 1938, it merely serves to crystallize and confirm the position they have taken that America has no right to intervene.

Sincerely yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 19, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

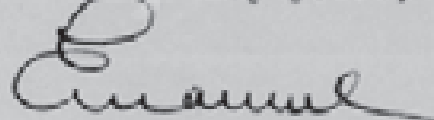
Dear Abba:

I have your letter of the 15th regarding Mr. Strelsin. He is essentially a businessman and a successful one. It therefore seems to me that he could be most helpful by trying to win the support of big business, which is extremely important. None of the groups with which we have been working, important as they are, are more influential than organized business, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, etc. If he can help sell them our idea, it will be a valuable contribution.

For the Governments in Exile, he is hardly the man.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

Letter No. 55

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 22, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

The little "crisis" over the radio program shows that the "little foxes" are still at work but with decreasing effectiveness. You know, of course, what happened at the meeting of the UPA where I understand Montor got quite a drubbing from our friends, particularly Wertheim, and Wise defended the position of the Emergency Council. I was glad to note generally a greatly improved attitude on the part of Wise towards you. I could tell that even by his change of attitude towards me. I guess he has made up his mind, at least for the time being, that you are boss and that it is best to cooperate. I hope this is the beginning of a new relationship in which Wise will stand by you as we had originally expected.

The success of the Lowdermilk book is astonishing. I am enclosing copy of a letter from Dr. Aydelotte, President of the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton, in which he says that he considers the book "the most impressive justification of Zionism I have ever seen." There are many other such letters, including one from William Draper Lewis, former Dean of the Law School of Pennsylvania University, and the founder of the American Law Institute, in which he says: "It gave me a great deal of information which I did not have and unquestionably will influence my judgment, as it doubtless will the judgment of many others, in respect to one of the most important problems of the Near East." - I hope we can do an equally effective promotion job with Friedrich's book which is about to come out.

I have been utterly unable to find the time to write the pamphlet on the Commonwealth, though I have assembled all the material that I need for the purpose. I hope to leave for a vacation some time next week and to do a little cheating by devoting part of my vacation to writing the pamphlet, provided Fan doesn't catch me at it.

It has occurred to me that it might be useful to have four or five of my articles and pamphlets put out as a little book in the fall, under the title "Palestine and the Near East." I would include the following:

- 1) Alignments in the Near East;
- 2) Economic Regionalism in the Near East;
- 3) Letters to an English Friend;
- 4) Zionism and the Arab World;
- 5) The case for a Jewish Commonwealth (or whatever other title may be given it)

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

June 22, 1944

I believe it may be useful but in any case my vanity rather craves it. Would it be too much to expect a little help from the Emergency Council in the publication of such a collection?

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel

Emanuel Neumann

RECEIVED
JUL 1 1944
NEW YORK

EN/M
(Enc.)



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

June 26, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I had a long visit from Dan Frisch of Indianapolis Saturday evening, which was devoted almost entirely to a discussion of the political situation in the ZOA, your leadership of the Emergency Council, and your relationship to the ZOA.

I am quite convinced that Frisch is anxious to strengthen your position both on objective Zionist grounds and from the point of view of his own interest. He tells me that the group in control of the ZOA is definitely divided as regards yourself. One part, which includes of course Bookstein and his friends and is headed by Heller, continues to be intransigent, while the other refuses to go along *with them*.

Heller is definitely out to secure the Presidency of the ZOA for himself next year, and for that reason wishes also to retain the Chairmanship of the Administrative Council during the year 1944-45. Some of the people are opposed to him in both positions and there is a growing desire on their part to be associated with you rather than with Heller. Goldstein, he tells me, has steadily refused to be drawn into an extreme position as regards yourself. I suppose he is thinking ahead and since he cannot very well expect a third term, he has not a sufficiently real interest to fight you and pull others' chestnuts out of the fire. Frisch feels that if, for lack of any other strong candidate, Heller should get the Presidency next year and is thus to be in a really controlling position, he will make things most difficult for you and the Emergency Council.

Quite obviously, Frisch is aiming to establish a coalition with you which shall be in full control of the ZOA, and accordingly feels that certain things will need to be done at this convention to pave the way and prepare for the future.

It was a strictly private and confidential talk and he stipulated that I should not report any part of it to a soul excepting yourself, and that you and I should observe this confidence. He first thought that he would arrange to see you in the next few days (he is, as you probably know, Chairman of the Convention Committee), but upon reflection he thought it might be better that he should discuss matters with me and I with you. I hope we will have an opportunity to do so but in the meantime I am reporting to you on our conversation and general outline.

You are scheduled of course for a major political report or address.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

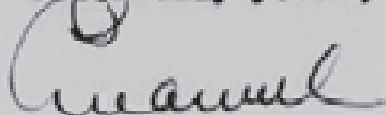
June 26, 1944

I have made arrangements with Margoshes, who plans to write a series of articles. He will submit on Monday or Tuesday outlines of some of them.

I am keeping my fingers crossed with regard to the Republican platform.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

P. S. As matters now stand, I plan to leave for the country Friday morning. I have something of a guilty feeling about going away but I really need the change very badly and believe I will be fresher and more useful when I return and better equipped for the strenuous days which, I think, lie ahead.



EN/M

Executive Department

RECEIVED

June 26, 1944

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. Harry Shapiro
From: Emanuel Neumann

I have just received a letter from a non-Jewish engineer in Government service, whose office is in Chicago and who has been discussing Palestine with various groups of people because he has a friendly interest in the subject. I am attaching an excerpt from his letter, describing the types of questions "that seem to bother most of them."

This is of interest from the point of view of our educational propaganda. More than that, it raises once more, at least in my mind, the question of our getting articles into American magazines as well as daily newspapers. We have not yet tackled this problem seriously. What needs to be done, I think, is to get someone whose chief or exclusive duty it should be to work out a program and see to its implementation. He would call together a number of persons and with their advice try to work out lists of topics and also lists of possible authors for such articles. The respective authors should be induced to write such articles, having certain magazines in mind. Give the right kind of authors and the right approach for each article, it should not be impossible to get a good number of them published. The fact that Akzin and Beh-Horin got several articles published in Harper's seems to prove it. At least a determined effort should be made in this direction. The various writers should, of course, be supplied by our Research Department with first rate, interesting material, and beyond that they must be given suggestions regarding the content and direction of the articles. I know it is easier to put forward such ideas than to carry them out, but I am offering them just the same.

EN/M
(Enc.)

cc: Dr. A. H. Silver ✓
Dr. I. B. Berkson
Salwaith Schwartz

EXCERPT

.....

In regard to your question about the reaction of people with whom I have discussed the Palestine studies. Questions that seem to bother most of them are: Does the movement have the support of a majority of responsible Jewish people? This question stems from the various magazine and newspaper articles written on the subject recently. Some of them you know indicate that opinion is divided on whether the establishment of a National Jewish Home in Palestine is actually desirable, even if attainable. Another question is: To what extent will Jews in general desire to settle in Palestine after the war, when it can be reasonably expected they will have an opportunity to return to the countries from which they are now excluded, and assist with the rebuilding task. Another question is: Could not a suitable location be found for a large colonization project where both the political and economic problems might be more easily solved? It has been suggested to me in this connection that several places in North Africa, or perhaps in Poland or Germany itself, might be considered.

.....

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 7, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

At Mr. Neumann's request, I am sending you the enclosed article, Rescue Program versus Political Strategy. It is planned to publish this article in the Contemporary Jewish Record together with Mr. Neumann's article. Mr. Neumann has therefore withdrawn his article, unless they permit him to revise it to constitute an answer and a counter-attack.

Will you please return the enclosed article to Mr. Neumann when you are through with it.

Sincerely yours,

Jennie Michaels

Secy. to Mr. Neumann

M/
(Enc.)

July 12, 1944

Miss Jennie Michaels
Secretary to Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Miss Michaels:

I am returning herewith the article of
Mr. Neumann which you sent me.

I am glad that Mr. Neumann withdrew his
article. I was rather suspicious from the very
start when Mr. Neumann told me that the Contemporary
Jewish Record would publish his article. I knew
that there was a catch to it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ANS:BX
Enc.

July 17, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

I am returning herewith the
"Palestine Review" which you sent Rabbi Silver.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Rabbi Silver.



July 17, 1944

Mr. Emanuel Neumann
521 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Emanuel:

I hope that you are having a very pleasant vacation. I have as yet not been able to get away, nor do I know where or when Virginia and I will be able to take a short vacation.

The session of the Executive, last Monday, was a confirmation of a belief which I have long held that many of the members of the Committee are far more involved and committed in one way or another to the Democratic Party than they are to Zionism, and that in the case of a conflict of loyalties, they will sacrifice Zionist interests. I believe that you are right about asserting ourselves within the 20A, and that from now on we must carry the war into the enemy's camp.

I am waiting to hear about the Democratic Convention. I requested Wise to go to Chicago, since he is the great spokesman and defender of FDR and the Democratic Party. I asked Shulman to go along. They have both been in Chicago since Friday. One of the first things Wise arranged for was his appearance at a public hearing before the Resolutions Committee. I strongly advised him against it. After making his request, which was granted, the Resolutions Committee later in the day also granted Rabbi Lazaron the right to appear before it. I have my fingers crossed as to what will be the results. If our friends receive a beating in Chicago, I am wondering what their alibis will be, and their rationalizations.

I am enclosing herewith a copy of a letter which I sent this morning to Mr. Shapiro and to Mr. Manson.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Letter No. 58

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

July 21, 1944

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

As I have said over the phone, I feel, as you do, that the Palestine plank in the Democratic platform is a great achievement and another long step towards ultimate victory. I have only seen the New York Times, which quotes a brief comment by Wise, which is natural because it is part of the story coming out of Chicago. The Jewish Morning Journal and the Day quote your statement, the former in full.

While up in the country, I naturally thought a great deal about our affairs. It seemed to me that we ought to plan our activities for the next few months in two main categories: (1) the immediate political goal: a clear-cut declaration of policy by the American and British Governments; (2) the clarification of ideas and preparation of plans going beyond a political pronouncement and looking towards implementation.

As to the first, we are pretty well set on our course, which involves discussions with Stettinius and Roosevelt, the passage of the Congressional Resolutions, etc. What is needed is to plan for an intensive public campaign starting about the end of August and continuing through September and October. We will have to check up on our various plans and projects in that connection and see to it that we have enough forces mobilized, and plenty of ammunition and equipment. It would be well if someone were to lay out the whole plan of campaign and reduce it to writing so that we have a sort of chart in front of us to which we can refer frequently and make sure that nothing is overlooked.

We have a right to feel moderately optimistic about achieving our immediate political objective - a favorable pronouncement on policy. But that very circumstance imposes on us new and further responsibilities. The great trouble after the last war was that the efforts of our leadership were concentrated so largely on gaining such an immediate political victory that they failed to supplement their efforts in the direction of implementation. They did something in that direction but by far not enough, with almost fatal results. The first few years, the years of golden opportunity immediately following the Balfour Declaration, were largely wasted from that point of view; and forces of opposition which had suffered a political defeat were given time and opportunity to reform their lines and begin their systematic efforts to sabotage the Balfour Declaration in practice.

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Drawing on the experience of the past, I therefore feel that we may run a similar danger now if we limit our thinking to the immediate objective and fail to go beyond it. We may in that case achieve a formula but not its realization.

I know I am posing an extremely difficult problem to which I don't pretend to have all the answers, but one thing I am sure of and it is this: that the first step towards implementation is clarification of our own views and conceptions on that question. We ought to have our own plans clearly in mind - as clear as we can make them. We ought to know and visualize what concrete steps will need to be taken if the political pronouncement we are now aiming at is to have substance and reality.

The two aspects moreover are not separate and unrelated but are very closely connected. The steps which will have to be envisaged towards implementation will be not merely economic and administrative but political in character. It will therefore be necessary to make sure that the President and the State Department will be made fully aware of the practical implications of a pro-Zionist declaration and be prepared to proceed from that point onward to the succeeding steps.

I think you may be tempted to feel that the problems to which I am referring are not strictly within your province and that in facing them, you are taking on more than you have bargained for; but I earnestly hope that you will not yield to that temptation.

In short, I feel that it is necessary without delay to have a planning group which will think out the problems involved and submit them for discussion and action by the Emergency Council in due course. It must embrace all the major problems of post-war implementation, both economic and political, as an organic whole. It will of course be necessary to co-ordinate our thinking and planning with similar activities by the Jewish Agency in London and Palestine and to coordinate them also with the planning activities of the American Jewish Conference and the World Jewish Congress.

So far as I can see, the only body, at least on this side of the Atlantic, which has been studying the post-war problems seriously is the Institute of Jewish Affairs of the Jewish Congress, headed by Dr. Jacob Robinson. I have had some preliminary talks with him and am impressed with his grasp of some of the major problems, and particularly by his attitude that the problems of post-war rehabilitation of European Jewry and the problems of Palestine reconstruction are so intimately related that they can only be dealt with together. As he put it to me "The Jewish Agency must become 'imperialistic' and put forward concrete and bold demands on behalf of the Jewish people, including the problems of restitution, immigration, resettlement, etc."

I would therefore think that it may be highly desirable to have a Joint Coordinating Committee, representing the Emergency Council on the one hand, and Dr. Robinson's group on the other. This may result in the formulation of a common program which the American Jewish Conference may ultimately be led to sponsor. At the same time it would be necessary to

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sit down with members of the Jewish Agency Executive abroad to find out what proposals they have in mind. To this end it may be necessary either to send one or two persons to London to hold a little conference there, or to insist upon some of our friends coming here for that purpose. One mistake we should not commit is that of assuming that the Jewish Agency Executive is all competent and all sufficient for all purposes. It is not; and in any case we have no moral right to divest ourselves of responsibility. We must act as if we are actually, if not legally, part of the Jewish Agency Executive, and if necessary, even take the lead or at least the initiative.

The Emergency Council may not be quite ripe and mature for all of this but it can be led into this work by stages. The first step that I have suggested, the Joint Committee to coordinate our post-war plans and tentative proposals with those of the World Jewish Congress, can be accomplished easily, I think. When the Joint Committee comes back with a tentative program, further steps can be taken.

I am writing you so that you may have an opportunity to give the matter a little thought before we meet again on Monday. I do hope that we can begin to take action along these lines without delay. Considering what's happening in Europe, the war there may end suddenly and find us inadequately prepared.

As ever,



Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann

EN/M

C O P Y

July 27, 1944

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Mr. Harry Shapiro
From: Jennie Michaels, Secy. to Emanuel Neumann

The secretary of Mr. Raymond L. Buell, speaking to me on the telephone, said: "Mr. Buell would like to know why Dr. Wise denounced the Republican platform for a Jewish Commonwealth and praised the Democratic plan for such a Commonwealth. Was this blind partisanship, or was it because the Republicans attacked Britain?"

Mr. Neumann called back and gave an explanation regarding Dr. Wise's statement.



M/

1944

"TEXT OF STATEMENT BY MR. EMANUEL NEUMANN"

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

May I, in the first place, express my appreciation of the courtesy extended to me and also of the manner in which those hearings are conducted.

I am an American of Jewish descent and have been interested in the Zionist movement since my youth. In 1932-1933 I served as a member of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine and resided there for several years thereafter in a private capacity. These seven or eight years spent on the spot have helped me, I believe, to a better understanding of the problem.

In order to deal with the question under consideration within a short space of time, it is necessary, I think, to strip it so far as possible of non-essentials and cut through to the heart and core of the matter. The issue, whatever its complexities, can be reduced to its essential elementary terms.

The case as between the Jews and the Arabs is in the nature of an international dispute submitted to the bar of public opinion. Actually it was adjudicated many years ago, and the Resolution we are considering is essentially a reaffirmation of a judgment rendered in the past. The case may be considered under two heads: (1) Zionism and the Arab world, and (2) the position of the Palestinian Arabs. While the two aspects are related they are nevertheless distinct.

So far as the Arab world is concerned - and by that I mean for the moment the Arabs of Southwestern Asia: Arabia, Iraq, Syria, etc. - their case regarding Palestine is easily stated. They claim Palestine as part of the Arab domain, which Arabs are entitled to rule, and they assert that Palestine should have been included in the Arab domain and should never have been promised to the Jews in any form. They rest their claim chiefly on rights of

possession, the record of the Arab revolt in the First World War and the promises allegedly made to them at the time.

From the point of view of international law the record is by this time pretty clear, having been minutely studied and dealt with by many competent authorities. I will attempt to summarize it briefly. Historically, the Arabs had lost their sovereignty over nearly all of these lands many centuries ago - in fact, during the Middle Ages. They had been overrun by successive invasions and finally conquered by the Turks, and the countries in question were incorporated in the Ottoman Empire and governed as such since the year 1517. The Arabs were subjected to the autocratic rule of the Turkish Sultans. They were steeped in poverty and misery. Their physical as well as moral fibre was affected. Their hopes for freedom and a brighter future depended upon the ultimate collapse of Turkish power and the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. But there was little prospect of this being brought about through the efforts of the Arabs themselves. They were too weak, too dispirited, disunited, lacking in leadership and resources.

Their chance came with the outbreak of the First World War, when Turkey took her plunge on the side of Germany, which brought her into conflict with Great Britain, France and Russia. For the Arabs it was a historic opportunity. Even so it required a great effort on the part of the British and all their skill and diplomacy, as well as the expenditure of large sums of money, to induce the Arabs of the Hozaz in the interior of Arabia to revolt under Hussein and Feisal. And it took continued British effort, British leadership and British money - more than \$50,000,000. of it - to keep the revolt from collapsing after it was started. This revolt was confined to only a part of the tribes in the Arabian peninsula and some of the Transjordanians; while other sections of Arabia as well as the Arabs of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine did not participate in it, but remained largely passive. On the

other hand, many of them served with the Turkish armies fighting against the British. Authorities differ as to the military value of the revolt. Certainly it has often been exaggerated beyond all proportion. Whatever assistance was given by the tribesmen, who harried the Turkish flank, unquestionably it was British troops and British Empire forces who fought the major campaigns, defeated the Turkish armies and liberated all these regions. The cost in British life and treasure was heavy, particularly in Mesopotamia.

What would have happened in an earlier age under these circumstances? Either the outright annexation of these countries, their incorporation in the British Empire or the establishment of protectorates on the old model. But there was a new spirit abroad, and new ideas, which found expression in Wilson's Fourteen Points. The principle of national self-determination had been enunciated primarily to hasten the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; but there was a disposition to apply these principles reasonably, and to the extent possible also in the case of the less developed countries of the Near East, which were not considered quite ripe for self-government. In that spirit, negotiations went forward between the representatives of the British and the leaders of the Arab revolt. These negotiations were complicated by parallel negotiations which were going on simultaneously among the Allied Powers themselves regarding their respective spheres of influence. But the British and Arabs did reach a certain understanding.

What was that understanding? In a nutshell it was this: The Arabs were to get independence in Arabia proper, i.e. in the Arabian peninsula, and they were to get semi-independence in what is now Iraq and the interior of Syria. Two small areas were definitely excluded under the terms of this understanding, two small countries which were reserved because of special circumstances and considerations. The first was Lebanon, with its important

Christian population, who had been oriented toward France as their traditional protector. The other was Palestine, which was to be set aside for Jewish resettlement and the reconstitution of the Jewish National Home.

II

That, in substance, was the Anglo-Arab understanding, the plan which they hoped to put through at the Peace Conference. The Arabs were there and represented by a delegation headed by Feisal, working earnestly for the adoption of this plan which gave them 95% of all they had claimed. Pursuant to this plan, Hussein was already recognized as King of the Hejaz in Arabia, while his son, Feisal, was to reign in Damascus, capital of Syria, and another son, Abdallah, was to become King of Iraq subject to British guidance. Under the contemplated arrangement the Arabs had the prospect of independence and semi-independence in all these areas, aggregating over 1,000,000 square miles of territory. Moreover, they also had the prospect of ultimate unity or confederation through the circumstance that these various countries would be ruled by members of the same family, the new dynasty of Hussein. It was from their point of view an excellent bargain. Under the circumstances they considered it reasonable and prudent not to press their claims with respect to Lebanon and Palestine, in view of British commitments there. As the situation was summarized by the Royal Commission: "If King Hussein and the Emir Feisal secured their big Arab State they would concede little Palestine to the Jews."

Before and during the Peace Conference Feisal had numerous conferences with Dr. Weizmann and other Zionist leaders and repeatedly placed himself on record in support of Zionist aspirations. Indeed the Arabs and Zionists presented a united front at the Peace Conference, and they supported one another reciprocally, as had been agreed between them. In the sight of the world by their words and actions, the Arab spokesmen recognized the validity of Jewish national aspirations with regard to Palestine.

Had the Anglo-Arab understanding been fully carried out at the time, the subsequent history of Arab-Jewish relations might have been different. The Arab-Jewish alliance established by Emir Feisal and Dr. Weizmann might have continued indefinitely. Unfortunately, as it turned out, the Anglo-Arab understanding was not implemented at one stroke, at the Peace Conference, but only in stages in successive years, after much agitation and rioting in Syria and Iraq, which had their repercussion, also in Palestine. In their resentment against the European Powers the Arabs broke also with the Zionists. Step by step, however, the Arabs achieved almost all that had been promised to them, and in some respects even more.

In April, 1920, the Supreme Council met at San Remo to decide on the disposition of the Ottoman Empire and the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty. It awarded to France the Mandate over Syria and Lebanon, and to Britain Mandates over Iraq and Palestine. The Arabs protested this arrangement, chiefly with respect to Syria, and Feisal had himself proclaimed King in Damascus, only to be driven out by the French. Thereupon the British, in the following year, placed Feisal upon the throne of Iraq, while his brother Abdullah, who turned up in Transjordan, was recognized as the ruling prince of that country. So far as Palestine was concerned, the terms of the Balfour Declaration were incorporated in the Treaty of Sevres negotiated between Turkey and the Allied Powers. As is well known, the Balfour Declaration, as subsequently incorporated in the Mandate for Palestine, was recognized and accepted by all the Allied Powers and indeed by fifty-two nations by the community of nations. It had become part of the fabric of international law.

In 1932 the British Mandate for Iraq was terminated and replaced by a treaty of alliance between Great Britain and the independent Kingdom of Iraq. Four years later, in 1936, a similar development seemed imminent in Syria, where the French Government negotiated with the Syrian Arabs for the termination of

the French Mandate and the recognition of independent States in Syria and Lebanon, with treaties of alliance between them and France. This arrangement failed of ratification by the French Chamber of Deputies at the time. Recently, however, during the present war, official declarations have been made, both on behalf of the French and the British, declarations which were approved by the Government of the United States, promising the independence of those countries in the near future.

In the net result, the democracies have finally recognized virtually all the original claims of Arab nationalism to Arab independence with respect to Arabia, Iraq, Syria and Transjordan - an area covering about 1,200,000 square miles of territory and equivalent to the combined areas of England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain - embracing all so-called Arab lands in Asia, and including some non-Arab districts - with the single exception of Western Palestine, with its 10,000 square miles, constituting less than 1% of the total area. Even that ardent champion of the Arab cause, the famous Lawrence of Arabia, declared years ago that the promises made to the Arabs had been fulfilled and "we have come out of the Arab affair with clean hands!"

So far, then, as the Arab world is concerned, it has, substantially speaking, achieved 99% of its goal and given up more than 1%. And though it took years to achieve, the deal has been on a highly satisfactory and profitable one from their point of view. All in all, the Arabs were perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of allied victory in the First World War, considering their very modest contribution toward that victory. Perhaps no other nation gained so much in territory and independence for so little as the Arabs had contributed toward their own liberation. If today they come forward and renew their claim to the inclusion of Palestine in their vast domain, that claim is unwarranted from every point of view. Not only have other rights and interests intervened, not only has Palestine advanced a long way in its

evolution as the Jewish National Home, not only is there today a more pressing need than ever for maintaining and developing that National Home, but what is also pertinent and relevant, there is no pressing need which should actuate the Arab States to demand this additional strip of land. Their present domain is not only vast, but greatly underpopulated. The combined population of all the Arab territories I have mentioned does not exceed 15,000,000. All of them could be comfortably accommodated in Iraq alone, if fully developed and there would still be ample room for many more millions in the future. Actually, the sparseness of population in the Arab countries is one of their greatest problems, their greatest weakness and the greatest source of danger for their future security. The Arabs have not too little land, but too much land, and lack the means and the manpower to develop what they have and to defend it.

In a paper presented to the Royal Asia Society in England in 1926, Jafar Pasha al-Askari, the Prime Minister of Iraq, stated: "The size of the country is 150,000 square miles, about three times that of England and Wales, while the population is only 3,000,000....What Iraq wants above everything else is more population." A similar situation obtains in Syria, where only one-sixth of the cultivable land is being cultivated. For the Arab world, thus richly endowed, to reach out its hand and strike at the international commitments solemnly made with respect to Palestine, with a view to its annexation and its incorporation in the Arab domain, is not only a breach of international law but a case of incipient imperialism.

III

I come now to the second part of our discussion: the position of the Palestinian Arabs. Here the position taken by their spokesmen is simple to the point of over-simplification. They are there; they have been there for centuries; they therefore have the right of ownership, as it were, of sovereignty,

of domination. They contend that whatever Faisal and the other Arab delegates to the Peace Conference might have said or done by way of waiving Arab claims to Palestine in favor of the Jews, they, the Arabs of Palestine, had not given their consent and were entitled to be masters of the land.

But the question is not so simple. Considered as a group, the people who inhabited what is now Palestine at the time of the World War were not a nation, had never been recognized as such and had never exercised national sovereignty over that territory. In fact, there was no such thing as Palestine, in the political sense. It was merely a geographical concept. What is now Palestine is made up of certain parts of the Turkish vilayets, or provinces, of Beirut and Damascus, and of the Sanjak or district of Jerusalem. The inhabitants were largely Arab speaking, but of diversified and mixed origins. The majority were Moslems, with important Christian and Jewish minorities. They had no sense of nationality as Palestinians, and such of them as were Arab nationalists insisted that Palestine was and should remain Southern Syria. There was no Palestinian nation.

Nor did the Arabs of Palestine help the Allies to liberate the country as did Palestinian Jews, who enlisted in the famous Jewish battalions. They either fought with the Turks against the British or deserted in large numbers to become prisoners of war, fed and sheltered by the British army.

The Palestine we know today was the creation of the Peace Conference and the Mandate. Palestine was constituted as a distinct country in its present frontiers, precisely because the Allied Powers, representing the democratic world, did not intend to make it as another Arab State. If that had been the intention, there was no need or justification for carving out this territory and separating it from the surrounding country. On the contrary, the Allied Nations clearly recognized that this small country held a unique position - unique in many respects. It was the birthplace of three great religions; it was held in veneration by half the world; it was the

ancestral home of the Jewish people, whose continued historical association with the land was known and sympathetically recognized throughout Christendom. On these grounds and because of the determination of the civilized world to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home, Palestine was definitely excluded from what was to be the Arab domain, and was placed under a special Mandate which took full account of the peculiar character of the land and the special purposes to which it was to be dedicated. That Mandate, an international instrument validated by fifty-two nations, expressly recognizes the "historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" and "the grounds for reconstituting there their National Home." In this connection, the prefix "re" is of decisive importance. What was clearly intended was not the creation of something new, vague and without precedent, but the reconstitution of something which had existed in the past. By the force of this word "reconstitute" the National Home was identified with the Jewish Commonwealth which had existed in Palestine in the Biblical period and in post-Biblical times.

The argument now tendered is that this determination does not square with the principle of national self-determination, as some of the Palestinian Arabs would interpret that principle. The discovery that there was for the time being a majority of Arab speaking people in Palestine is not a new discovery. It was vividly present to the minds of Lloyd George and Balfour, of Woodrow Wilson and Prime Minister Smuts, and of all the allied statesmen when they rendered their verdict, in favor of the Jewish National Home. The doctrine of self-determination did not spring from Arabia, but from the minds and hearts of the most enlightened and progressive statesmen in Christendom. They, if anyone, were entitled to interpret the principle and give it proper application. If they made this determination in the case of Palestine,

they did so after weighing all the equities and balancing the needs and claims both of the Arabs and the Jews, the claims of both races to life, liberty and happiness. They decided that the Jews were likewise entitled to national self-determination, in the sense that they should be given the opportunity to reestablish a national existence in the one tiny spot on the face of the globe to which they had a moral and historical claim. They squared it fully with their conscience on the ground that this disposition was necessitated and sanctioned by the dictates of humanity and justice on the highest plane. In their view the national interests of the Arab peoples and their national aspirations were being recognized in the vast Arab domain. So far as the Arab speaking population of Palestine was concerned, who numbered at the time between 500,000 and 600,000 souls, their rights were to be safeguarded in Palestine not only as individuals, but also as a religious and cultural community. All of these rights have been scrupulously safeguarded hitherto and must be scrupulously safeguarded in the future. No one who has spent time in Palestine can fail to be impressed with the extraordinary extent to which the Arabs of that country, the common people, have prospered under the Mandate and benefited by Jewish immigration and economic development. They are undoubtedly in that regard the most fortunate group of Arabs in the world.

There is one further consideration. It must be borne in mind that whatever was the position in 1919 or 1922, and whatever were the contentions of the Arabs a quarter of a century ago, the situation has changed materially during the years which have intervened. The Palestine we know today is not the country we knew then. In a very real sense it is a new country, a new Palestine. The land has been transformed. In reliance upon the solemn pledges made to the Jewish people then, in reliance upon solemn international

covenants, a half million Jews have entered and settled in the country. They have poured into it their energy, their love and devotion, and some \$600,000,000 in cash. They have drained its swamps, reforested its naked hills, built cities, established industries, planted great stretches of orange groves, harnessed the waterpower of the Jordan and electrified the countryside, developed the mineral resources of the Dead Sea. In short, they took a neglected and derelict country, the mere carcass of a land, as someone has described it, and transmuted it by their labor, sweat and blood into something new: a thriving, modern, progressive, semi-industrial country. The new Palestine is almost as different from the old as Southern California is different from the desert which we took over about a century ago. And it is this new Palestine, this oasis of civilization on the rim of the desert, which Arab nationalism would now have the democratic world place under Arab national control.

And why? What new claim has Pan-Arab nationalism upon the consideration of the democratic world? What contribution have the Arabs made to the democratic cause during this, its greatest crisis? Where did they stand when Rommel stood at the gates of Alexandria? What Arab banner was carried to the field of battle to defend, not merely the cause of democracy, but their own countries, the freedom and independence which had been so dearly won for them with the lives of Britons and Frenchmen and Americans, during the First World War? For now it may be told. Now that the dire threat to the Near East which was so imminent two and three years ago has been definitely removed, the truth may be spoken. During those dark and anxious days, the whole Near East was a veritable quagmire of intrigue and treachery. Would-be Quislings, the leaders of Fifth Columns, were active everywhere. Axis-minded, Fascist-ridden Arab oligarchies attempted to seize power and stab the

democratic nations in the back. In Egypt the Prime Minister himself, Ali Maher Pasha, had to be removed from power and kept in isolation in a country villa because of his complicity with the enemy. The Egyptian Chief of Staff, al-Masri, had to be arrested under suspicious circumstances. In Iraq, Rashid Bey al-Gailani, struck at the British prematurely before help could reach him from his Nazi allies. The leader of the Arab extremists in Palestine, the notorious Mufti, was commuting between Rome and Berlin doing the Fuehrer's work. Nowhere in this entire region did the democratic cause, hard pressed as it was, find firm and active allies save in Palestine, which had become an outpost and bastion on our far flung battlefront.- Palestine, with its Jewish National Home.

Ladies and Gentlemen: The Resolution you are considering is a reaffirmation of an American policy and a word of cheer and of hope to the harassed multitudes of the Jewish people in Europe and their brave vanguard in Palestine. Why this reaffirmation and why the express reference to the goal of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth? The answer is obvious. The Balfour Declaration was unquestionably meant to help, in the words of President Wilson, "to lay the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth." The policy was so understood, quite definitely, by our own Government at the time. There is clear documentary evidence of that fact. Our government interpreted the Balfour Declaration as a policy leading to the establishment of Palestine "as a Jewish State." The record attests it. But in the course of these years, under pressure of Arab intransigence and a campaign of terror carried on with the help of the Axis, the original contract was gradually whittled down, interpreted and reinterpreted beyond recognition, a process which culminated in the White Paper. It is, therefore, not enough to repudiate the White Paper, but to avoid recurrence, in the future. It is therefore necessary to go over the record now and cross the t's and dot the i's. That can best be done by a clear and unmistakable reference to the underlying purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the goal it contemplated - a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.