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

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American Zionist Emergency Council, general, 1945.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill, 2-1160

April 6, 1945

To the Members of the American Zionist Emergency Council:

Please take notice that at the next meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council, which will be held Monday evening, April 16th, at 8:15, at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City, the following amendment to Article IV of the Constitution will be proposed for adoption on the recommendation of the Administrative Committee:

"Article IV shall read as at present with the addition of the following sentence:

"Elections of officers shall take place annually at a meeting of the Council of which at least two weeks notice shall be given and which shall be held not later than December 1st of each year."

Yours sincerely,

Arthur Lourie
Arthur Lourie

AL:LB

Mr. Jacob M. Alkow

April 10, 1945

Ysaye Hannan

Subject: Community Mass Rallies

1. As of April 10, fifty-three communities throughout the country have responded favorably to our "CALL TO ACTION" memoranda released on March 16, March 28 and April 3.
2. Among the major centers scheduled to hold mass meetings in April are:

Brooklyn, Newark, Philadelphia, Harrisburg, Pittsburgh, Boston, Worcester, Washington, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Paul, Minneapolis, Nashville, Omaha, Houston, Louisville, San Francisco, Los Angeles and Denver.
3. Smaller communities, such as:

Reno, Nevada
Texarkana, Texas
New Orleans, La.

Phoenix, Arizona
Cleveland, Miss.
- unable to launch meetings, have undertaken to submit for adoption resolutions before bonafide Jewish organizations and forward same to proper authorities.
4. Through the effort of Mrs. Shepard the following communities have been provided with speakers:

Cincinnati - Dr. Wendell Phillips
Cortland - Dr. Keller
Harrisburg - Senator Brewster
Philadelphia - Chaim Greenberg, Dr. Naham Goldman and Edgar Ansel Mower
South Bend - Rabbi Heller
Washington - Senator Pepper
Rochester - Dr. Lindeman
5. In one way or another, twenty-four states are participating in our "Call to Action" effort.
6. The following centers have not as yet reached any decision. Promised to act soon.

New Haven
Hartford
Buffalo

April 10, 1945

7. Below is a complete listing of centers scheduled to hold rallies:

New York
 Brooklyn *
 Cortland
 Long Island
 Rochester
 Utica
 Yonkers
 Troy
 Hudson Valley

Connecticut
 Meriden
 New Britain
 Bridgeport

Pennsylvania
 Harrisburg
 Philadelphia
 Pittsburgh

Ohio
 Akron
 Cincinnati
 Canton
Texas
 Houston
 San Antonio

New Jersey
 Burlington
 Elizabeth
 New Brunswick
 Newark
 West Orange
 Vineland
 Hackensack
 Union City

Massachusetts
 Fall River
 Springfield
 Worcester
 Boston **

Minnesota
 St. Paul
 Minneapolis

Illinois
 Chicago
 Rock Island

California
 San Francisco
 Los Angeles

Manchester, N. H.
 Baltimore, Md.
 Louisville, Ky.
 Detroit, Mich.
 Milwaukee, Wisc.
 St. Louis, Mo.
 South Bend, Ind.
 Nashville, Tenn.
 Omaha, Nebr.
 Denver, Colo.

* - Meeting held - April 5

** - Meeting held - April 9

YH:RW

cc: M. Weisgal ✓
 A. Israeli ✓
 B. Shepard ✓
 G. Frank ✓
 B. Cohen ✓

Hold - HPM
7/45

MEMORANDUM ON PALESTINE

1. THE UNITED STATES AND THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME PROMISE.

On November 2, 1917, the British Government, after full consultation with President Wilson, issued the Balfour Declaration, pledging the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people. The Declaration was subsequently included in the Mandate for Palestine, and was endorsed by 52 nations. The Jewish National Home pledge was approved in 1922 by a unanimous resolution of the Congress of the United States. It was subsequently incorporated in the Anglo-American Convention of 1924, which provided:

"Nothing contained in the present Convention shall be affected by any modification which may be made in the terms of the mandate, ... unless such modification shall have been assented to by the United States."

The purpose of the Declaration was expressed by President Wilson when in March, 1919, he stated:

"The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

Every American President since Wilson has endorsed the Jewish National Home objective and in 1944 it received the unequivocal support of both of the great national parties. The Palestine plank in the Democratic party platform reads as follows:

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

On October 15, 1944, in his historic message to the Zionist Organization of America, the late President Roosevelt gave his support to this plank and stated:

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

This position was reaffirmed by President Roosevelt on March 16, 1945.

On April 20, 1945, President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement to the effect that he intends to carry out President Roosevelt's policy, with which he is fully familiar.

Within recent months 33 States representing 85% of the population of the United States have through resolutions of their State Legislatures gone on record in favor of this objective. More recently, 37 State Governors, as well as a majority of the members of both Houses of Congress, in petitions addressed to the President, have urged early and affirmative action in support of the Zionist program. The American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, and various business, religious and educational organizations have likewise committed themselves in support of this aim.

There can be no question that the overwhelming majority of the five million Jews in this country fully support these Zionist aspirations. The American Jewish Conference, which speaks for the majority of them, has on two separate occasions gone on record to this effect.

2. BRITISH SUPPORT. The Jewish Commonwealth also has the support of a large section of British public opinion. Both the Labor and Liberal parties have at recent conventions passed resolutions in its behalf; while in the Conservative party such men as Winston Churchill, Leopold Amery and Alfred Duff Cooper have long been convinced supporters of the Zionist cause. Undoubtedly, for many others in the Conservative party, a determining factor will be the strength and character of American support.

3. THE RESPONSE OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE. The Jewish people responded to the opportunity given them under the Mandate with eagerness and devotion. Funds running into hundreds of millions of dollars have been provided by Jews in all parts of the world, and in particular by the Jews of the United States, for Jewish immigration and settlement in Palestine and for the economic development of the country. A land which had become waste and neglected under the Turks was transformed out of all recognition. In the course of twenty-five years the Jewish population of Palestine has grown from 60,000 to 600,000. They have established some three hundred Jewish agricultural settlements, and have made Palestine the industrial center of the whole Middle East, with thousands of factories and small workshops; new cities have come into being, and the capital city of Jerusalem today has a population of over 130,000, of whom a substantial majority are Jews; the same is true of Haifa -- strategic key to the Eastern Mediterranean and terminus of the oil pipe-line from Iraq. Jews have harnessed the waters of the Jordan as a means of electrical power, and have initiated the development of the inexhaustible chemical resources of the Dead Sea. Hebrew has been revived as a living language and the efficient Hebrew School system embraces the entire educational field, from kindergartens to a University and technological institute. In regard to their internal affairs, further, the Jews of Palestine have developed a well organized system of self government on the widest democratic basis. For all purposes there have, in fact, been established in Palestine the beginnings of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The effect of all this on the position of the Arab population was epitomized by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) in the House of Commons in 1938:

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present), at which it had been stable under the

Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

4. THE WHITE PAPER OF MAY 1939. In 1936, disturbances fomented by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy and directed against both the Jews and the British broke out in Palestine. The response of the Chamberlain government was in conformity with its general program of appeasement at that time. In May, 1939, it issued the Palestine White Paper. In essence the White Paper was a capitulation to the demands of the Arab terrorists. In direct contradiction with the purposes of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, it provided (1) that Jews must not be permitted to exceed one-third of the population of Palestine, and to this end no further Jewish immigration would be permitted after the admission of a quota of 75,000, now practically exhausted; (2) for the effective prohibition of Jewish settlement on the land in 25% of the 10,000 square miles of Palestine.

The White Paper was held by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations, the only competent international body to have considered the question, to be incompatible with the Mandate. It was denounced by large sections of British public opinion and was characterized by Mr. Winston Churchill as a "breach and a repudiation" of Britain's pledges and a "mortal blow" to the Jewish people. As prophesied by him, it did not even serve to secure the appeasement sought. The Mufti of Jerusalem, who had organized and directed the terrorist outbreaks in Palestine of the pre-war years, continued his pro-Axis activities and finally fled to Berlin. In Iraq, at a most critical moment in the war, there was an anti-British uprising. The other Arab countries seethed with pro-Axis propaganda, and only when the war in Europe was virtually at an end did the Arab states "declare war" on Germany. The Jewish people rejected the moral and legal validity of the White Paper, but for which indeed many tens of thousands of Jews could have been saved from Nazi massacre. Were it not for the outbreak of war they would have resisted its enforcement in Palestine by every means at their disposal. As long as the war in Europe lasted, however, they considered it their paramount duty to do their part in the struggle against the Axis as if there were no White Paper. The Jews of Palestine alone in all the Middle East fought actively on the side of the United Nations. Their dead lie scattered on the battlefields of Greece, Syria and North Africa, and their economic and military contribution was out of all proportion to their numbers. Now that the war in Europe is over, however, the White Paper will no longer be tolerated. As was predicted by Mr. Churchill in 1939, it "will be resisted by the despairing Jews." A situation is therefore developing which threatens a tragedy in the Holy Land - a tragedy which will be regretted by the whole civilized world. For it is clear that the further application of the White Paper will be resisted by the Jews and will be possible only by the continued use of brutal force. This tragedy must be averted. It can be averted by a clear-cut decision. It cannot be averted if there are further delays, half solutions or paper formulas.

CONSIDERATIONS WHICH COMPEL AN IMMEDIATE DECISION

5. SITUATION IN EUROPE. Of the six million Jews inhabiting the European continent (outside Russia) in 1939, nearly five million are estimated to have been massacred under the Nazis. For most of the survivors, deprived of their belongings and of their livelihood, continued existence in an atmosphere poisoned

by anti-Semitism and by the recollection of the horrors they have endured, is intolerable. Europe has become the graveyard of their families, of their fellow Jews and of their hopes. Economically and as a group they have lost the basis of existence. The bitter and potent residue of anti-Semitism left by the Nazis in most European countries may well be used as an instrument in the resurgence of aggressive nationalism. Jews will not be able to recover their economic position and what they do recover by way of jobs or property can only be secured over the bitter opposition of the present holders.

In these conditions, to provide for the voluntary emigration of the greater part of the Jews of Europe corresponds not only with their needs and desires but would be a genuine contribution to the stabilization of Europe. It is certain also that the countries of the Western Hemisphere will not today readily receive large numbers of emigrants. Palestine alone, therefore, offers the European Jews the prospect of a fresh start among their own people and of a dignified and constructive existence.

6. ORIENTAL JEWRY. In addition to the problem of the Jews of Europe, there is that of the Jews of the Moslem countries of North Africa and the Middle East. Approximately a million in number, they live under conditions of increasing xenophobia and religious intolerance, such as may lead at any time (as in the case of the Baghdad pogrom of 1941) to acute persecution. For them, too, emigration to Palestine is the obvious and indeed the only rational solution and should be undertaken without delay.

7. PALESTINE READY TO RECEIVE FIRST MILLION JEWS. During the past two years the Jewish Agency has been working out plans for the speedy transfer of the first million Jews and their settlement in Palestine in the shortest possible time. The area of Western Palestine is somewhat more than six and a half million acres. The 600,000 Jews of Palestine are settled on about 400,000 acres -- about 6% of this area. The Arabs occupy another 1,750,000 acres. The remaining four and a half million acres of Palestine are entirely unoccupied and officially regarded as uncultivable. In fact, however, most of the present flourishing Jewish settlements are located on land which was originally considered "uncultivable" and the Jews are willing and able, on the basis of experience of the last 65 years in Palestine, to settle most of this waste land. Experts of the Jewish Agency, corroborated recently by two great American irrigation specialists, Mr. J. L. Savage and Mr. J. B. Hays, maintain that at least a million acres can be put under irrigation. At present less than one-tenth of this is irrigated. Hundreds of thousands of new settlers could find a livelihood on the land and, as Jewish experience in Palestine has shown, for each family on the land at least four families can be settled in industrial, commercial, maritime and other pursuits.

But in order to enable all the Jews who need and want to go to Palestine to settle there in the shortest possible time, a clear-cut decision is now necessary that Palestine is to be established as a Jewish State and that the Jewish Agency for Palestine, internationally recognized under the Mandate as the representative of the Jewish people, be vested with all necessary powers to control immigration into Palestine and to build up the country.

8. ARAB OPPOSITION. The main obstacle to the carrying out of this program is said to be Arab opposition. While the Arabs are not expected to give their consent in advance to a Jewish State, once a clear-cut decision by the Great Powers will be reached and announced, it will be accepted as an accomplished fact, as it was at the time of the Balfour Declaration. All the

promises made to the Arab peoples at the end of the last war have been fulfilled in their entirety. As a result of Allied victory the Arab countries, stretching over a vast territory, have gained their independence. Only the pledge made to the Jewish people, and endorsed by 52 nations of the world including the United States, still remains unredeemed.

It is sometimes suggested that this pledge to the Jewish people can be fulfilled only at the cost of bloodshed on the part of an aroused Arab world. The fact is, however, that there was never a time when the Arabs were so dependent on the Great Powers nor when the latter's prestige and authority were greater than they are today. Certainly as long as there is hope by agitation and threats of violence to influence the decision, the Arab leaders will continue to employ these tactics. No Arab leader will talk in terms of cooperation if there is hope that the White Paper may still be implemented. Let there once be a clear and unequivocal decision, however, by the Great Powers acting in concert and followed immediately by determined action and the whole Arab "bogey" will be found to be the myth it is.

As regard the actual military force at the disposal of the Arabs, it should be remembered that at a most critical moment in the war the revolt, with Axis aid, of the Iraqi army under Prime Minister Rashid El Gailani was suppressed by only two Battalions of British troops!

It is hardly to be doubted that granted the determination of the Great Powers and their readiness to use force if necessary, the need for its actual employment in implementing a just decision in Palestine will, apart from some minor and sporadic outbreaks, not arise.

9. THE TIME ELEMENT. The vital element is that of time. The world situation today is fluid. The Great Powers are now in a position to carry out major changes which later may be difficult. Already indeed opportunities have been lost. During the concluding months of 1944, when the danger to the Middle East was long past and the downfall of Germany a fact, the Arab countries were anxious to be admitted to the United Nations. Although they had played a minimal part in the war effort and in many instances acted detrimentally to the cause of the United Nations, they were admitted to membership. At that time an announcement that, prior to the admission of the Arab countries to the ranks of the Allies, the unsettled Palestine problem must be solved by opening the country to unrestricted Jewish immigration and by its transformation into a Jewish State, would have encountered a minimum of opposition. The Great Powers are still in the position, within the framework of a general settlement, to offer to the Arab world by way of a quid pro quo generous political and economic advantages. The Arab lands of the Middle East are for the most part undeveloped and underpopulated. They offer scope for Arab development and civilizing endeavor for a century to come. But assistance to this end must be predicated on the establishment of a firmly rooted Jewish nation in Palestine.

10. A JOINT BRITISH-AMERICAN RESPONSIBILITY. The fate of Palestine is now largely in the hands of the British and American governments. There is reason to believe that if they decide to fulfill the pledge given to the Jewish people their decision will be accepted also by the Soviet Union. Our government has always maintained that as one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers of the last war, it has a right to participate in the disposition of territories taken away from the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the last war, it exercised that right in favor of creating the Jewish National Home under the terms of the

Palestine Mandate. The future of that Mandate is shortly to be determined. Our Government will again be called upon to exercise its right in determining what disposition should be made of it. The American people have made it indubitably clear that they favor redeeming the pledge made to the Jewish people, which calls for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, in which all the inhabitants shall enjoy equal civic, religious and cultural rights, and all opportunities for economic advancement. The failure to exercise our right in favor of this objective will constitute a gross betrayal of the principles of international law and good faith at a time when it is more than ever necessary that these be confirmed and strengthened. It is inconceivable that our government will be prepared to place itself in any such position.

Based upon the considerations set forth above, it is submitted that our government should take immediate action to right a great historic wrong and put an end at long last to the homelessness of the Jews as a people.

It is therefore most respectfully urged

- (1) that an immediate decision be announced to establish Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, and
- (2) that the Jewish Agency for Palestine be vested with all necessary authority to bring to Palestine as many Jews as need and wish to settle there, and given such financial, technical and other aid as will help the development of the country to its maximum capacity.

July 3, 1945.

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May 1, 1945

HON. EDWARD STETTINIUS
FAIRMONT HOTEL
SAN FRANCISCO? CALIF.

I AM LEAVING TODAY FOR SAN FRANCISCO. WILL ARRIVE FRIDAY.
IN VIEW OF YOUR RECENT LETTER TO ME THAT PALESTINE QUES-
TION WILL NOT COME UP FOR CONSIDERATION AT THE SAN FRAN-
CISCO CONFERENCE I WANT TO FEEL ASSURED THAT NOTHING WILL
BE DONE IN CONNECTION WITH ANY PROPOSAL FOR AN INTERNA-
TIONAL TRUSTEESHIP PLAN WHICH WILL IN ANY WAY AFFECT THE
RIGHTS OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE WITH REGARD TO PALESTINE
UNDER THE EXISTING MANDATE OR ANYTHING WHICH WILL EXPLI-
CITY OR IMPLICITLY FORECLOSE FULFILLMENT OF THE PLEDGE
OF PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT OF OCTOBER FIFTEENTH AND THE
DEMOCRATIC AND REPUBLICAN PLATFORM PLANKS REGARDING PAL-
ESTINE AND THAT IN ANY FORMULA ADOPTED IT SHALL BE
SPECIFICALLY PROVIDED THAT PALESTINE IS IN A UNIQUE AND
SPECIAL POSITION AND WILL BE SO CONSIDERED. WARMEST
REGARDS.

STEPHEN S. WISE
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY
COUNCIL

SSW:SEC

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September 5, 1945

Hon. Robert F. Wagner
United States Senate
Washington, D.C.

My dear Senator Wagner:

I have tried to reach you by telephone two or three times, but without success. I had hoped that you would call me back at your leisure. I do not intend to impose upon you needlessly, but it is important for me to contact you by telephone from time to time because of your close and sustained interest in our cause, and also in carrying out my duties as Executive Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

From all reports, Palestine is now being actively discussed in London. Bevin has summoned all the British representatives from the Middle East to London for consultation. An announcement on Palestine may not be long delayed. The next few weeks will be most crucial. Our own government's attitude will heavily tilt the scales in one direction or another.

What our Government intends to do in the matter is still a mystery to us. The promises and the endorsements of the Zionist program are all there -- but no action -- no directives to our State Department. President Truman's recent statement on Palestine at the press conference on August 16 was very ambiguous and left the Jews of America baffled and confused. Congressman Sabath's subsequent statement on leaving the White House after he discussed Palestine with the President was even more disturbing. The Zionist leaders have not had an opportunity to discuss the subject with the President since last April and then only for a few brief moments. I do hope that you will succeed in arranging an interview with the President. It is most urgent.

Our Council would also like your judgment in connection with the petition of Congress to the President prior to his departure to Potsdam. You may recall that 55 Senators and 261 Congressmen -- a majority of both houses -- signed that petition. At the request of the President, that petition was not made public at the time. The members of our Council wonder why it should not be made public at this time. It is politically a very significant document. It will have great value for us in London and elsewhere. The Congressmen and Senators who signed that petition intended that it should be made public. We have had some inquiries from some of them as to why it was not. At this particular time, when Arab propaganda is becoming so widespread, this statement of the majority of the United States Congress would have a most salutary effect. Reference has already appeared in the public press here and there to this Round Robin, but

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Senator Wagner

September 5, 1945

nowhere has the full text been given, nor the names of the signatories.

Trusting that you are well, and with all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK



September 5, 1945

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

My dear Emanuel:

You have probably seen the exchange of cables with London with reference to the closing of our Washington office. The cable received from London is rather ambiguous. I am inclined to believe that they will recede from the position taken. I am calling a meeting of the Committee of Eight and a committee of the Emergency Council for next Monday morning prior to our Executive meeting to consider the matter. You will be on the committee representing the Emergency Council.

With reference to the ZOA representatives on the Emergency Council, Levinthal has spoken to me twice about agreeing that Frisch should be regarded as one of our two so that there will be no need of dropping either Boukstein or Heller. Otherwise Levinthal suggested that Goldstein might have to drop Frisch. Frisch knows about this.

There is also the unsettled matter of the Vice-President of the Emergency Council to take the place of Shulman; also the question of who is to be the chairman of the Committee of Eight. It might be well to have a talk with Goldstein about all these matters prior to Monday.

On the question of the chairmanship of the Committee of Eight, Lipsky is inclined to believe that there should be no chairman at all, only rotating presiding officers. That, of course, means leaving the work entirely in the hands of Goldmann. The only hope I see in the situation is that the Executive Chairman of the Emergency Council should also be chairman of the Committee of Eight. Otherwise I anticipate very serious difficulties culminating, I am afraid, in a blow-up.

I wish you and yours a very happy new year. This past year has been one of strife and controversy and bitterness. I hope that the coming year will be a quieter and more peaceful one. And may it bring us nearer to our hearts' desires.

AHS:BK

As ever yours,

Mr. Neumann

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September 5, 1945

P.S. We have not yet received any money from Mr. Frank Cohen
and money is badly needed.

A.H.S.



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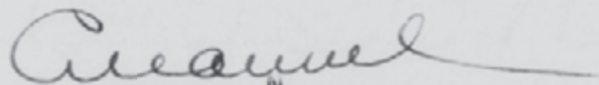
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

September 7, 1945

Let me take this occasion also to wish the best of New Years to you and Virginia, to Dan and Raphael. We have all been through a great deal this past year and certainly you are entitled to a less stormy and a happier one during the next twelvemonth. Fan and the children join in sending their best love. I shall be seeing you on Monday.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,


Emanuel Neumann

P. S. Since we are so close to Yom Kippur, I might as well confess my sin in having disposed of that beautiful salami in London. It is a wrong which I hope to atone for in a most appropriate fashion and in the near future.



EN/M

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 12, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have heard considerable favorable comment on the ad of the New Zionist Organization in the New York Post yesterday. This leads me to suggest what I have long had in mind, that there is no reason why we shouldn't have advertisements of the right kind. They could largely pay for themselves if contributions are requested.

If the Emergency Council does not want to put itself in the position of asking for contributions, the ads could be placed in the name of some other body or committee, such as the American Christian Palestine Committee. We would, of course, get full credit for it in the eyes of the Zionists who would know, of course, that we are behind it. Nothing seems to give the public a feeling that aggressive action is being taken quite so much as these large, bold advertisements. We ought not to neglect it in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Emanuel Neumann

Emanuel Neumann

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EN/M

cc Harry Shapiro

September 13, 1945

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

My dear Emanuel:

In reply to your letter of September 12: - I read the ad in the New York Post. It is excellent. We should of course have ads of our own in the public press. The difficulty is not the financial one. The difficulty is that we could not write the kind of ads that the NZO feels free to write. Our people feel that they must be so very very cautious and so very very diplomatic because we are the "official" body of the Zionist movement. Therefore I am afraid our ads would be so toned down that they will not make near the impression that the NZO ads make.

You may recall that the former administration decided on an advertising campaign and had five or six galleys actually set up. Not one of them reads as well as the NZO ad, but even these were not published. They must have gotten cold feet at the end. What makes an ad effective is the element of attack, criticism, moral indignation, etc. etc. -- all the elements which our people are afraid to give vent to.

You might wish to go over the question of ads with Shapiro, Manson and others. You might check over the full page ads tentatively set up by the former administration. Perhaps you would write, or get some one to write one or two ads along the line of the NZO ads and then we will see what will happen when we present it to the Executive Committee.

With all good wishes, I remain

As ever yours,

AHS:BK

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

September 14, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

I have your letter of the 13th and I am glad to find that you feel much as I do on the question of advertisements. I will try to discuss the matter with Shapiro and Manson if I can. The truth is that in most of the aspects of the work I cannot do much more than make suggestions.

Not only have I not the time to look after the needs of our Survey properly and to attend to my private affairs - I haven't even the time to do all the chores that keep flowing to me from the office of the Emergency Council. You, of course, don't know it and neither does Harry Shapiro but various persons and departments of the Emergency Council keep coming to me with all sorts of requests for help and guidance and one doesn't know that the other is doing it. Thus, simultaneously almost I am asked by Miss Schwartz for an editorial, by Mr. Israeli to help him plan a release, by Mrs. Shepard to help get speakers for the Christain Conference, etc., etc. In addition, I am constantly asked to deliver speeches. All this is of course in addition to the affairs of the Policy Committee, contact with our supporters, the internal front and the campaign for the next convention.

I keep asking myself, where is all this going to end and what is to become of me? Again and again I am tempted to make a clean cut - simply deny myself and concentrate for a while on looking after my own needs which I have neglected for years. Forgive this outpouring but it just had to come out.

The upshot of the last meeting of the ZOA Executive has convinced all of our friends without a single exception that there is no safety except in your ~~undertaking~~ taking the Presidency of the ZOA. We have just learned that it is now planned to hold a convention early in November in Atlantic City. That leaves us mighty little time.

I am enclosing copy of a letter which I drafted and which is going to our Policy Committee - the members of the National Council. We have established an office and we have secured the services of Mrs. Louis Schwefel, who has volunteered to serve as Secretary of our Campaign Committee, full time without compensation. We have any number of devoted workers and supporters and I have not the shadow of a doubt about the success of the venture.

The decision of course is yours. When I spoke to you about a fortnight ago it looked as if the convention would not take place before January or February so there was plenty of time. Now the convention

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

September 14, 1945

is almost upon us. The decision has to be made at once. If you decide to take the Presidency, I will of course do everything within my power to ensure the proper direction and success of the campaign. Perhaps we can plan things this time in such a manner that when this job is done I shall really be free to mend my rather tattered fortunes.

I wish you all "well over the fast."

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

Emanuel Neumann
Emanuel Neumann

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EN/M
(Enc.)



A.Z.E.C. (general)

September 18, 1945

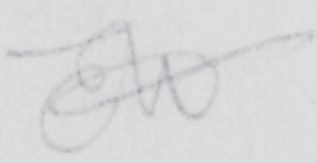
M E M O R A N D U M

To: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
From: Emanuel Neumann

The other day Dean Acheson spoke before the Mazzini Society, which caused me to think that perhaps now we may be able to get him to address the International Conference on Palestine planned for November 1st. In any case it is worth trying. If he is receptive, I think he should be saved for that occasion rather than invited to the New York Conference of the Christian Palestine Committee or any other occasion.

Another person who may be invited is Henry Morgenthau.

With further reference to the matter of advertisements in the press, I should think that the best agency for us would be the Christian Council on Palestine, which can speak without directly committing the Emergency Council to its expressions. Moreover, it would be easier for subscriptions or donations to be solicited and secured by the Christian Council. One can never tell: there may be many Jews of means who may become enthusiastic over such a campaign by the Christian Council and contribute liberally. I think it's worth trying. It should not be brought up, however, at a meeting before we have assured ourselves of support for the project at least on the part of the ZOA representatives and representatives of the parties. I think Goldstein would be inclined to go along and with him probably Levinthal, Lipsky and myself; together with the representatives of the parties we would have a majority. If the opposition to this measure proves to be bitter, I would let it go - at least until after the Zionist convention. We should have no internal controversy until that is out of the way.



EN/M

Cc: Harry Shapiro

American Zionist Emergency Council

342 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Murray Hill 2-1160

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

September 18, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On Friday afternoon we learned from one of our local emergency committee chairmen that a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federated Council of the Churches of Christ in America would be held today (Tuesday, September 18), and that a memorandum on Palestine, purporting to present "The Christian View" of the question, would be discussed.

I managed to secure a copy of this memorandum, together with a covering letter which was sent to all members of the Federated Council Executive, and it turned out to be one of the most vicious (though subtle) attacks on Zionism yet to emerge from our enemies in that group. (I subsequently learned that the evil genius in the situation is one Conrad Hoffman, a "meshumad," turned minister, who has close connections in the American Council for Judaism.) The covering letter, signed by a Rev. Warnshuis, urged that the Executive Committee approve the contents of the memorandum, publish it, and give it "the widest possible circulation."

The time was too short to prepare a comprehensive reply to the memorandum for distribution among members of the Federated Council's Executive, so I did the next best thing. I got in touch with Dr. Atkinson, who is a member of the Executive, and convinced him that he should alter plans he had made previously, and attend the meeting.

With Dr. Voss' assistance, other members of the Federated Council Executive, who are friendly to our cause, were wired and urged to "come in punching." This morning I had a long conversation with Dr. Atkinson, during which we outlined the points he should make at the meeting. Dr. Poling, who was contacted, was also prepared to put up a fight.

I am happy to report that these efforts met with complete success. The memorandum was rejected by a ratio of more than two to one and, I am told, Dr. Atkinson obliterated the arguments advanced in the document.

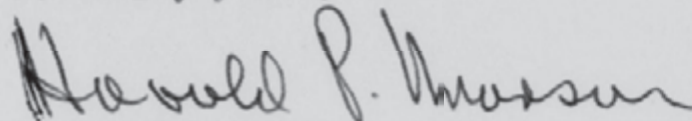
The memorandum may still be presented to the Administrative Committee of the Federated Council, but there seems to be little danger of its ever being published under that body's auspices, inasmuch as it would have to be referred to the Executive Committee once again, in the event that it is approved by the Administrative Committee.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver -2-

I think that Dr. Atkinson's fine effort deserves recognition.
May I suggest that you drop him a note of thanks; also one to Dr. Poling.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,



Harold P. Manson

HPM:BP



A2EC (genl)

September 21, 1945

Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope
Port Washington
Long Island, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Swope:

I was happy to have had an opportunity to talk with you yesterday.

Dr. Weizmann has since informed me that he has an appointment with Byrnes for tomorrow and with Bevins for Wednesday. Evidently things have begun to move.

Dr. Weizmann feels strongly that if the American Government would indicate to the British Government its readiness to associate itself in the solution of the problem of establishing the Jewish commonwealth, not in any military sense, but in economic reconstruction, in measures which would make possible not only the rapid absorption of masses of Jewish refugees who must go there, but the entire population -- in work which would stimulate not only the economic progress of Palestine, but the development of the whole Near East -- it would be decisive.

I share with Dr. Weizmann the conviction that our government must do more than merely lecture the British Government about its obligations -- even if it is inclined to do that. Our government should evidence its deep concern in the problem by indicating concretely its desire to render help in one form or another in the upbuilding of the country.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

HERBERT BAYARD SWOPE
745 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

AZEC (9000)

September 25, 1945

Dear Dr. Silver:-

The enclosed is my answer to the letter
Mr. Manson wrote at your suggestion.

Faithfully,

Herbert Bayard Swope

Dr. A. H. Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
The Temple
E. 105th St. at Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

WRHS



COPY

September 25, 1945

Dear Mr. Manson:-

I think your advertisement is good. I should like to insert, in the second line, after the word Palestine, "primarily as an asylum". In that way you will pull in the anti-State as well as the pro-State elements.

Who is to sign the advertisement?

In the third paragraph I think it questionable to say "Zionism" (that's in the fourth line). That word has a specific connotation. Find a substitute therefor. "Jewish rescue" might do, although I don't like it too well.

I think you should bring out the fact that Britain and, to a lesser degree, America have been begging this question and giving its proponents a run-around. Britain has been doing this for 28 years - since 1917. The time has come for action.

Faithfully,

Harold P. Manson, Esq.
Director of Information
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

P.S.: - I think there should be another note struck in your declaration - that at this moment all differences should be buried in the supreme effort to achieve sanctuary for the Jews.

1220 (signed)

The Cleveland Press

E. 9TH & ROCKWELL



CLEVELAND, OHIO

OFFICE OF
LOUIS B. SELTZER
EDITOR

September 27, 1945.

Dear Rabbi Silver:

Perhaps I am taking a great deal upon myself to pass along an interconcern piece of correspondence to you, but nevertheless I am taking responsibility for it. My purpose in doing it is that you will, by reading Roy Howard's letter, understand (1) what his reaction was to your visit with him and (2) his reaction to you as a man.

On the one hand I was somewhat disappointed, I confess, by his reaction to the general matter you discussed but was so pleased with his reaction to you that I could not, as you will observe, resist the temptation to pass his note to me along to you.

Of course, after you have finished reading it I would like to have it back for my own files and I am sure that you will respect the confidential nature of the act of showing you the letter itself.

With best personal wishes,

Louis

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,
The Temple,
E. 105th and Ansel Road,
Cleveland, Ohio.

9/45
46

SOME FACTS ON THE PALESTINE SITUATION

I. The United States and the Jewish National Home Promise.

i. President Wilson. Official support for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth was first expressed on behalf of the United States Government by President Wilson when in March, 1919, he stated:

"The Allied Nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

ii. Resolution of the United States Congress in 1922. In 1922 the Congress of the United States unanimously adopted a joint resolution approving the Jewish National Home pledge.

iii. The 1924 Anglo-American Convention set out in full the terms of the Mandate for Palestine and recorded American assent to British administration in Palestine subject to those terms.

iv. 1944 Republican and Democratic Party Planks. In the 1944 Presidential Campaign the two major parties both adopted planks favoring the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and, in the words of the Democratic platform, "such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

v. President Roosevelt's Statement of October 1944. On October 15, 1944 the President gave his support to the Democratic Party plank on Palestine in the following statement:

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as possible. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim and if re-elected I shall help to bring about its realization."

vi. President Roosevelt on his return from Yalta. On March 16, 1945, on his return from Yalta and subsequent to his interview with Ibn Saud, the President stated:

"I made my position on Zionism clear in October. That position I have not changed and shall continue to seek to bring about its earliest realization."

vii. Statement by President Truman. On April 30, 1945 President Truman authorized the issuance of a statement that he intends to carry out President Roosevelt's policy in regard to Palestine with which he is fully familiar.

viii. State Legislatures. Within the last eighteen months thirty-three states, representing 85% of the population of the United States have, through resolutions of their State Legislatures, gone on record in favor of the Zionist objective.

ix. Petition by State Governors. Immediately prior to the President's departure for the Potsdam Conference, forty State Governors joined in a petition to the President favoring the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

x. Congressional Support. In June, 1945, a "Letter to the President," with the like objective, was signed by a substantial majority of the members of both Houses (55 Senators and 262 Congressmen).

xi. The Labor Organizations, Educators, etc. Both the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations, by resolutions adopted at their national conventions, have pledged their support for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and its reconstitution as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. Recently 818 leaders of trade unions likewise endorsed this objective.

The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine have served as a medium through which thousands of leading Americans in all

walks of life are associating themselves with this objective. Recently more than 2,000 university presidents and professors have subscribed to a petition in favor of the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth.

II. British Support

i. Winston Churchill. Speaking in the House of Commons in the debate on the Palestine White Paper of May 1939, Mr. Churchill said:

"The provision that Jewish immigration can be stopped ... is a plain breach of a solemn obligation ... I cannot understand why this course has been taken ... I cannot believe that the task to which we set our hand twenty years ago in Palestine is beyond our strength, or that faithful perseverance will not, in the end, bring that task to a glorious success."

ii. Mr. Herbert Morrison. Speaking as a member of the Labor Party in the same debate, Mr. Herbert Morrison said:

② "If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonourable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work ... the Government must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

iii. Resolution of the British Labor Party, May 1945. The following statement adopted by the Executive Committee of the British Labor Party in December 1944 was approved by the Conference of the Party in May 1945:

① "There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home,' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe ... The Arabs have many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales."

III. Arguments Successively Used to Defeat the Jewish National Home Policy.

i. "Palestine is too small." At various times further Jewish immigration into Palestine has been opposed on the ground that Palestine is unable economically to support a larger population. Thus in 1930 when the

Jewish population was 170,000, it was stated on the basis of the Hope-Simpson Report that Palestine could not absorb further immigration. Since then the Jewish population has increased to 600,000 while a like increase has been recorded in the Arab population.

So far as the Arabs are concerned the effect of the Jewish National Home policy was summarized by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) in the House of Commons, 1938, as follows:

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present), at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

The developments of the past twenty-five years in Palestine have shown the possibilities which exist today for further large-scale absorption of Jewish immigration. Apart from industry and commerce which are capable of great expansion at this crossroads of three continents, hundreds of thousands of new settlers can find a livelihood on the land by the introduction of large-scale schemes of irrigation. It is estimated on the basis of studies made by Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Department, and by two great American irrigation specialists, Mr. J. L. Savage and Mr. J. B. Hayes, that at least a million acres can be put under irrigation as compared with less than one-tenth of that figure at the present time. Dr. Lowdermilk estimates indeed that with proper development Palestine can maintain another four million inhabitants. During the past two years the Jewish Agency has been working out plans for the speedy transfer to Palestine of the first million Jews and their settlement in Palestine in the shortest possible time.

ii. "Too Few Jews Left." The argument was frequently heard during the war that one result of the Nazi extermination policy would be that too few Jews would be left in Europe at the end of the war to create an emigration problem and that in any event the end of the Nazi tyranny would also reduce the desire of the surviving Jews to leave their countries of origin. It is now clear that although the Jews of Europe have been reduced in numbers to perhaps one and a half millions, the desire to leave the scene of their giant tragedy is, if anything, stronger than ever. To quote from the London "Economist" of July 14, 1945 (a journal by no means pro-Zionist):

"All observers now returning from Germany -- whether journalists, UNRRA officers, American or British soldiers -- confirm that unexpected numbers of the Jews left in central Europe want to go to Palestine because it is the only place in the world where they will get the welcome which they have been denied for years. This fact puts a new complexion on British policy in Palestine, which has been inclined to temporise in the belief that, after the war, the pressure for large-scale immigration would be relaxed."

The poison of anti-Semitism has not been eliminated with the death of Hitler. Nor can the survivors of the Hitler massacres be expected to remain in surroundings associated for them with horror and suffering.

iii. The Arabs. It is argued that the pledge to the Jewish people can be fulfilled only in the face of violent Arab opposition and at the cost of serious bloodshed. The fact is, however, that there was never a time when the Arabs were so dependent on the Great Powers nor when the latter's prestige and authority were greater than they are today. A clear decision backed with the determination to use force will make the use of that force unnecessary. Certainly as long as there is hope by agitation and threats of violence to influence the decision, the Arab leaders will continue to employ these tactics. No Arab leader will talk in terms of cooperation if there is hope that the White Paper may still be implemented. Let there once be a clear and unequivocal decision, however, by the Great Powers acting in concert and followed immediately by determined action and the whole Arab "bogy" will be found to be the myth it is.

A brief examination of the actual military potential of the Arab countries reduces to very small proportions these threats of violence. The Arab countries that come under consideration are Egypt, Iraq, Syria, Saudi Arabia and Trans-Jordan. The total Arab population of this area is about twenty-five millions, of which some sixteen millions are in Egypt.

a. The Egyptian army consists of 22,000 ill-armed and ill-trained conscripts. It is without armor, without an airforce, and without a single submarine or other warship. During the war not a single Egyptian fought in defense of the soil of his own country even when the Axis forces were outside Alexandria. Eighty-five percent of the people of Egypt are illiterate; the great masses of the population live in unbelievable poverty and squalor. In terms of military power the Egyptian army is inconsequential.

b. What is true of Egypt applies in even greater degree to Iraq. The pro-Axis military putsch of the Rashid Ali government at a most critical time in the war was suppressed by two battalions of British troops. The government of Iraq has just shown itself (September 1945) incapable of suppressing a revolt of Kurdish tribesmen without the assistance of British troops.

c. Saudi Arabia has a population of about six millions scattered over an enormous desert area. The desert horsemen of Ibn Saud might have been effective fighters in the days of Mahomet. Today they could be dispersed by a single squadron of planes long before they reached the lands of the "fertile crescent" along the Mediterranean.

d. The military effectiveness of Syria may be judged from the fact that but for the intervention of Great Britain and the United States the small force of French troops in Syria would undoubtedly have compelled the submission of the Syrians in the recent crisis.

e. Transjordan with a population of 350,000 is still de facto under British control and the small Transjordan Frontier Force is under British

command and direction.

f. Conclusion. When it is remembered that the Arab countries are spread over great distances and in many cases separated by formidable deserts in which even modern mechanized armies would find it difficult to operate, the hallowness of the Arab threat of a giant uprising becomes obvious. The fact is that the Arab countries are not merely wholly incapable of offering any real resistance to a clearly defined policy on the part of the Great Powers, but they depend upon these Powers as never before for their very existence. Nevertheless, to permit the Arab groups to remain under the illusion that our Government may be influenced by threats would be nothing short of an encouragement to terrorism. So far as the situation within Palestine is concerned, it is to be added that the Arabs have successively opposed each stage of Palestine's development but have consistently reconciled themselves to realities. They opposed Jewish immigration in 1920 when there were only 80,000 Jews in Palestine and they opposed each successive wave of immigration thereafter. But they were in due course ready to reconcile themselves to the existence in Palestine of those already there. Today they accept as an accomplished fact the 600,000 Jews in Palestine. They will likewise accept the Jewish State.

iv. Palestine Promised to Both Jews and Arabs. It is often suggested that while the Balfour Declaration promised Palestine to the Jews, a conflicting promise was made to the Arabs in terms of the McMahon-Hussein Correspondence of 1915. Sir Henry McMahon himself, however, who conducted the negotiations with King Hussein, has made it emphatically clear that his pledge to King Hussein was never intended to cover Palestine and that it was thus understood by the King. That this was so was also confirmed in an official statement in 1922 by Mr. Winston Churchill in his capacity as Secretary of State for the Colonies. But if any further proof were required that Palestine was not included within the terms of this undertaking, it is to be obtained from the fact that at Versailles in 1919 the

Emir Feisal in asking on behalf of his father, King Hussein, for independence for the Arab countries, expressly excluded Palestine which "for its universal character he left on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties interested." This statement of the Emir supplemented an agreement between Dr. Weizmann, President of the Zionist Organization, and himself, signed a month previously, in accordance with which the Emir recognized the right of the Jews to immigrate into and to develop Palestine provided Arab independence was achieved in the Arab lands outside of Palestine. That independence is today a reality.

v. Oil. The oil resources of the Middle East have become an American interest, the importance of which is likely to increase as these vast deposits are developed. It is altogether unrealistic, however, to believe that the Arab states will allow their opposition to a Jewish Palestine to interfere with the flow of oil and thus with the steady receipt of oil royalties which constitute a major part of their revenue. It is to be added that the United States is the only major Power which has shown itself prepared to exploit these oil resources and to pay royalties without seeking to interfere with the policies of the local governments. Irrespective of American policy on Palestine, therefore, the United States remains, from the point of view of the Arab rulers, the most desirable partner in the development of their oil resources.

vi. Will the Jewish State be a Theocracy? The Zionist movement believes emphatically in the separation of Church and State. It does not, nor has it ever aimed to set up a theocratic state in Palestine. Under the Constitution of the Jewish State, as specifically affirmed in resolutions of the General Council of the Zionist Organization, all inhabitants of Palestine will be entitled to full equality of rights without distinction of religion or race. The term "Jewish State" therefore does not mean Jewish Religious State, but

that the Jewish people will constitute a majority in the country. All communities within Palestine will enjoy full autonomy for the administration of their religious, educational, cultural and social institutions, and all citizens will have the privilege of voting and holding office within the State.

vii. Jews Divided Among Themselves. Jews (again like other people) are not unanimous in their approach to any problem and it is not surprising that there should be differences of opinion among them on the question of Zionism. The evidence is incontrovertible, however, that the overwhelming majority of Jews, including the Jews of this country, do in fact support the proposal to establish Palestine as a Jewish State. As regards the five million Jews of America, this was reflected at the first American Jewish Conference which took place in September, 1943. 480 out of 502 delegates representing all Jewish communities throughout the country, as well as the leading Jewish national organizations, voted in support of a program for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Although a numerically small but financially prominent Jewish group continues actively to campaign against the proposal for a Jewish State, the Jewish masses as a whole, retaining as they do a strong Jewish consciousness and a warm fellow-feeling for their brethren abroad, are wholeheartedly in favor of the Zionist program.

* * *

September 1945.

October 6, 1945

Mr. Louis B. Seltzer, Editor
The Cleveland Press
E. 9th & Rockwell
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Friend:

I trust that you will pardon the long delay in answering your kind letter. I have been away from the city practically the whole of last week in connection with the very subject which I discussed with you and with Mr. Roy Howard. I saw President Truman last Saturday and participated in the great demonstration meeting in Madison Square Garden last Sunday. I also attended the National Emergency Conference in Washington on Thursday. I have never known our people so deeply aroused as they are today. The sentiment in Washington seems to be almost unanimous in approval of President Truman's request to Prime Minister Attlee that 100,000 displaced Jews of Europe, many of whom are still in the concentration camps, be permitted at once to migrate to Palestine. There is a real danger that even this humanitarian request will be turned down by Great Britain.

had
I was delighted to have the opportunity to meet with Mr. Roy Howard. He was very generous of his time and paid me the compliment of being very frank in our discussion. I found him to be exceptionally well informed on the subject, a man of broad culture and deep human interests. He has an excellent grasp of the problems of the Middle East. He would make a great champion of the Zionist cause if he could be persuaded that a decision favorable to it would not drive the Arabs into the arms of the Soviet. I promised to send him a memorandum on the subject and I will do so in a day or two. To me it is crystal clear that the feudal Arab effendis fear contact with the Soviet Union most of all, far more than they fear a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. They understand full well that once Arab *countries* come within the sphere of Soviet influence, fundamental social changes are inevitable, and that these changes will undermine their power and their privileges.

I wish to thank you for the trouble which you took to bring about this most pleasant interview. I hope that I will have the pleasure of meeting with Mr. Howard again in the near future. I hope, too, that it will be possible for your very influential group of newspapers to

Mr. Louis B. Seltzer

-2-

October 6, 1945

Speak up at this critical moment in backing up President Truman's request which was based on Dean Earl Harrison's objective and thorough study of the condition of the displaced Jews of Europe.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. I am returning Mr. Howard's letter to you.



The Jewish Agency for Palestine

New York Office: SUITE 1205, 342 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y., MUrray Hill 2-8803

Washington Office
1720 SIXTEENTH ST., N.W.
MIdigan 4480

October 9, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
c/o The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Dr. Silver:

I called you last night immediately following the meeting, but unfortunately you had already left for Chicago. I shall not burden you with the routine matters which were taken up, such as shekolim, reparations, Hechalutz, etc., but will give you, in brief, some of the decisions that were taken in connection with our work.

1. It was decided that in view of the emergency of the situation, the Committee of Eight should meet once every week, on Monday noon. If another day of the week is preferable to you, then the date can be changed accordingly.

2. It was agreed that Arthur Lourie be taken over by the Jewish Agency, to work in Washington, and that his and Mr. Epstein's work be coordinated with that of Dr. Akzin; they should exchange information, meet daily, and generally work together.

3. It was also agreed that Dr. Goldmann should accompany you and Dr. Wise at the meeting with Secretary Byrnes.

4. With regard to the United Nations, it was agreed that this was no longer an actual question, since Mr. Bevin himself regarded it as having no immediate application to the problem. I understand that Dr. Weizmann generally is opposed to shifting the responsibility at this time.

5. As for American responsibility and participation, it was the consensus of opinion that we should press for such participation, although not necessarily publicly. What form this responsibility and participation should take is a matter, of course, of negotiation between Great Britain and the United States. Generally, it is felt that what the British really want is that the United States should share in the consequence of any pro-Jewish policy vis-a-vis Palestine.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

-2-

10/9/45

Dr. Weizmann believes that American economic participation of a substantial character, which will also in a measure benefit neighboring Arab countries, such as water development, etc. would be of great political value at this time.

The above, in substance, were some of the discussions and decisions taken at the meeting.

This is for your own confidential information. The Nation has agreed to take two articles from Ben Horin. They are not very happy about the signatory to the articles. They would much prefer to have these articles signed by you or Dr. Wise rather than by Ben Horin. Since my relations with the Nation are very close, they have asked me to discuss this matter with you, although they do not want to be quoted on it. Please give this matter some thought, and I shall talk to you about it on Thursday when you are in the office.

With warmest personal regards,

Yours,

Meyer W. Weisgal

MWW/RZ

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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

WESTERN UNION

1206-

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

10-13-45

WANT A REPLY?

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

DAVID DUBINSKY
3 West 16th St.
New York, N.Y.

WRHS



MAY I TELL YOU HOW PROFOUNDLY GRATEFUL I AM FOR THE SPLENDID TELEGRAM WHICH YOU SENT TO PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE IN THE NAME OF THE INTERNATIONAL LADIES GARMENT WORKERS UNION. IT WAS TIMELY AND FORCEFUL. I TRUST THAT IT WILL BE PRDUCTIVE OF GOOD. KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Charge to the account of

CLASS OF SERVICE DESIRED	
DOMESTIC	CABLE
TELEGRAM	ORDINARY
DAY LETTER	URGENT RATE
SERIAL	DEFERRED
OVERNIGHT TELEGRAM	NIGHT LETTER
SPECIAL SERVICE	SHIP RADIOGRAM

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

WESTERN UNION

1206-

CHECK

ACCOUNTING INFORMATION

TIME FILED

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

NEWCOMB CARLTON
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

J. C. WILLEVER
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

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

WANT A REPLY?

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

10-12-45

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

WRHS



IF RIFKIND IS INTOWN MONDAY OR TUESDAY PLEASE MAKE AN APPOINTMENT
FOR ME TO MEET HIM PREFERABLY LATE MONDAY AFTERNOON.
KINDEST REGARDS.

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS

Administrative Office

521 FIFTH AVENUE

ROOM 1903

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

1226 (900)

October 19th, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

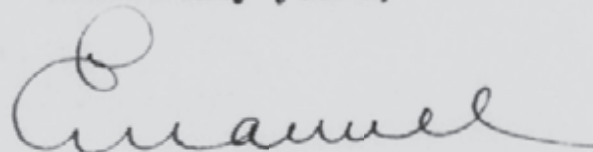
Dear Abba:

I am enclosing copy of a letter which
Mr. Billikopf sent to Charles Ross, Secretary to the
President. I note that he addresses him "Dear Charlie".

This connection may be useful to you.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

(Encl.)

EN:BW

LABOR STANDARDS ASSOCIATION

805 BANKERS SECURITIES BLDG.

PHILADELPHIA 7, PA.

October 17, 1945

BLAUNER'S
THE BLUM STORE
BONWIT TELLER CO.
FRANK & SEDER
GIMBEL BROTHERS
LIT BROTHERS
STERN & CO.
STRAWBRIDGE & CLOTHIER

Dear Mr. Neumann:

Before leaving for Cincinnati, where he is to speak at the Hebrew Union College, Dr. Billikopf requested that I send you in confidence copy of a letter to Mr. Charles G. Ross, Secretary to the President. Dr. Billikopf was confident that Mr. Ross, who is very close to President Truman, will show him the letter.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy R. Harris

Dorothy R. Harris
Secretary to Dr. Billikopf

C O P Y

October 15, 1945

Dear Charlie:

My very good friend, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, one of the ablest Jurists in Pennsylvania and former President of the Zionist Organization of America, recently returned from the World Zionist Conference, held in London.

He gave me a most graphic account of what took place there. I was literally moved to tears when he quoted Dr. Dobkin, a noted Palestinian, who had just arrived from Germany where he had conferred with a hundred and twenty Delegates, and many hundreds of guests, assembled from thirty-two concentration camps and centers in a hospital near Munich.

These people represented fifty percent of the remnants of those millions who had passed through the Germany concentration and death camps. What a tragic picture this must have been - all survivors of Dachau and Buchenwald! Everyone of those present represented a world of indescribable tragedy having been in the corridor of the gas-chamber of Oswiecim.

Mr. Dobkin quoted these poignant words of the Chairman of that unprecedented assembly in the concentration camp:

"We speak today not only in the name of millions of victims and in accordance with the sacred testament they left us which says: We are innocent victims of an historic injustice. We have been massacred because we had no chance to live on our own soil. May the rising pyre of our burying bodies kindle a new light in the world that the leaders of the great nations may see the agony of the homeless Jewish people, and may allow them to return to their ancestral home. Interestingly, on German soil, soaked with Jewish blood, training farms are being established for Chutzim - pioneers for Palestine. They have already been set up. Jews live there with one hope only: ALIYAH - TO GO TO PALESTINE."

Judge Levinthal told me that all of the Delegates assembled in London regarded President Truman as their great hope and salvation. He also reminded me that during the High Holidays prayers were offered for the President in Synagogues throughout the world. I do hope the President's efforts with Prime Minister Atlee will bear fruit.

As ever

Devotedly yours,

Jacob Billikopf

P. S. Since dictating this letter I have had a four hour visit from a Mr. Darrell N. Garwood who is writing a History of Kansas City for a large publishing house. He quizzed me at great length about Frank P. Walsh, William Volker, Jim Reed, William R. Nelson, Jim and Tom Pendegrast, Joe Shannon, Judge Merrill Otis and others. (I was the best man at the Judge's wedding.) When he was in Kansas City gathering material, folk told him that he should by all means see me because they thought I would give him valuable information.

When we parted, Garwood said: "What you told me is most illuminating. In addition to writing the History of Kansas City, I am tempted to write the Life of Frank P. Walsh."

I made inquiries about Garwood and have learned that he is the author of a remarkable Biography of Grant Wood, the famous Iowa artist.

Mr. Charles G. Ross
White House
Washington, D. C.



October 24, 1945

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

My dear Emanuel:

I am sure that you will be interested in
the enclosed copy of a letter which I received
from Mr. Roy Howard.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.



AZK:gm

November 2, 1945

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

My dear Emanuel:

General Chennault is now available for lectures. He is free on November 18. His honorarium is \$1000. If he is prepared to deliver a pro-Zionist address, it might be highly desirable to invite him to address the Convention at Atlantic City. He can be reached through Miss Elaine Wallace in care of W. Colston Leigh, Inc., 77 West Washington St., Chicago 2, Ill.

I still feel that you ought to attend the meeting with Congressman Somers even though I understand Ben-Horin will be there. If you can get Somers away from the group you will do much to undermine it. He has been their real support in Congress. The enclosed item which appeared this week in the "American Jewish Outlook" shamelessly tells their story.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ARS:BE

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U.S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
RECORDS SECTION

November 9, 1945

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

My dear Emanuel:

I do not think that either Wallace's message or that of the Canadian Embassy should be read or released for publication. They are meaningless.

I received a letter today from Sol Cohen in which he writes "that the last article by M. Z. Frank in the Jewish Post -- no doubt inspired by someone -- was terrible. Did you read it?" I read it and I think it is pretty bad. I think the line which represents me as the militant, dynamic, "at times running away with himself and making rash statements," and with other people doing the actual planning and thinking, is unwarranted by the facts and is grossly misleading. As you probably know, I do my own thinking and my own fighting. I am not carrying out the militant policy of someone else.

I have also some observations to make about the last statement which was sent out by the American Zionist Policy Committee over the signature of Mr. Goodman. We will talk about it when I see you in New York.

I plan to be in New York on Monday for a meeting of the Executive Committee and the plenum, the latter meeting to be addressed by Dr. Weizmann.

I should like to see the list of the new Executive Committee as far as it has been drawn up.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK
Enc.

Draft of Wire to the President

Your urgent attention is respectfully drawn to the announcement made by British Foreign Secretary Bevin January 17 concerning British intention to bring about separation of Transjordan from Palestine and its recognition as independent State. This would represent another unilateral violation of the Palestine Mandate and a new attempt to establish a fait accompli in disregard of Britain's obligations toward the members of the League of Nations under the Mandate, toward the United States under Anglo-American Convention of 1924, and toward the United Nations under ~~which~~ ^{Article} 80 of the Charter. It comes with particular ill grace (is a particularly brazen gesture) now that at the request of British government the United States and Britain are jointly examining the Palestine problem. It is also undoubtedly an attempt on part of Britain to set up another ostensibly independent State under British control in a territory now under international supervision and to avoid placing under trusteeship a territory which Britain wants as her exclusive sphere of influence. We earnestly hope that you, Mr. President, will insist on the in-
~~advisability~~ ^{admissibility} of any such unilateral action on the part of Britain in defiance of American rights and of United Nations Charter.

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
~~Co-chairman~~
Dr. Stephen S. Wise,
Co-chairmen
American Zionist Emergency Council

An Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee

Seven thousand Jews in liberated Czechoslovakia committed suicide in the last few weeks. They returned from the concentration camps to find their homes gone, their families massacred and opportunities for employment closed to them. They made repeated attempts to build a new life for themselves in Czechoslovakia or to emigrate overseas, but all doors were closed. They chose the only possible way out — out of unending misery and out of life.

This is only one of many such reports that reach us almost daily from the countries of Europe. Do they reach your ears, too, Mr. Attlee?

Perhaps you were not greatly impressed. What, after all, is the snuffing out of seven thousand lives in a world grown accustomed to the violent death of millions? But we were not only impressed, Mr. Attlee. We were badly shaken. It is not only the number of these latest victims, but the timing of this mass-suicide — after "liberation" — that we find so tragic.

Who Is Responsible?

It was our very unhappy conviction all along that the responsibility for the extinction of six million Jews in Europe was not Hitler's alone. The entire Christian world shares that responsibility. By their failure to take a strong stand the great democratic powers gave Hitler the green light to destroy European Jewry. And when hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, of Jews could have been saved from the claws of the Nazi beast, it was Great Britain which refused to admit them to Palestine — their only haven.

When we voiced these accusations, official British spokesmen invariably took cover behind "the exigencies of war." These flimsy excuses for a brutal policy, unprecedented in the history of human misery, were always morally offensive. But now the war is over. Hitler is gone, Europe is free, democracy is triumphant — and thousands of Jews prefer death to the type of "liberation" which has come to our people in Europe.

The Labor Party's Promise

This is happening, Mr. Attlee, at a time when your Labor Government is in power in Britain. Your Party is now in direct control of Palestine's destinies. It is the Party which as recently as May, 1945 adopted a resolution declaring:

"There is surely neither hope nor meaning in a 'Jewish National Home' unless we are prepared to let Jews, if they wish, enter this tiny land in such numbers as to become a majority. There was a strong case for this before the war. There is an irresistible case now, after the unspeakable atrocities of the cold and calculated German Nazi plan to kill all Jews in Europe . . . The Arabs have

many wide territories of their own; they must not claim to exclude the Jews from this small area of Palestine, less than the size of Wales."

A magnificent declaration, Mr. Attlee! You will agree, no doubt, that it entitles us to expect a full measure of justice from your regime.

The Lord President of the Council and Labor Party Leader of the House of Commons, the Rt. Hon. Herbert Morrison, declared while denouncing the Chamberlain Government's White Paper in May, 1939:

"If we do this thing today we shall have done a thing which is dishonourable to our good name, which is discreditable to our capacity to govern and which is dangerous to British security, to peace and to the economic interest of the world in general and of our own country. Moreover, it will not work . . . the Government must understand that this document will not be automatically binding upon their successors in office, whatever the circumstances of the time may be."

The Promise Has Not Been Kept

You are the "successor in office," Mr. Attlee. But in place of the fulfillment of these oft-repeated pledges, we have received word that your Government plans to continue with slight modifications the brutal White Paper policy. While the remnants of European Jewry are massed in concentration camps, morally and physically exhausted, still under violent anti-Semitic attacks, hungry and penniless, with nothing to return to but the graves of their loved ones, you are planning to keep the doors of Palestine practically closed. Despite the pledges of your Party, the anti-Zionist policies of the Colonial Office are being implemented with the same vigor and determination as in the days of the old Government.

Britain can no longer hide behind "the exigencies of war." So now we are told of the many preoccupations of the new Government, which prevent it from taking action to fulfill its promises with regard to Palestine. We venture to say that, despite your many preoccupations, one of the first acts of the new Government should have been a sweeping abrogation of all measures restricting Jewish enterprise in Palestine, the opening of that country's gates to free and unrestricted Jewish immigration and an official declaration re-establishing Palestine as a Jewish State. Nothing else and

nothing less was rightfully expected of you and your Government. Nothing else and nothing less could restore our faith in the sincerity of Britain's pledges, in the good will of Britain's people and in the progressive spirit of Britain's new Government.

We waited hopefully for an historic pronouncement consistent with your Party's program. Instead, you offered us a mean trickle of immigration certificates which rairly mocks the tragic needs apparent to all. What did you expect us to do with this "gift"? Did you, perhaps, mean that we were somehow to divide these certificates among the hundreds of thousands of our people who must migrate to Palestine or be doomed?

This Is Our Stand

We refuse to accept any such miserable "gifts" based on the White Paper of 1939! We demand full recognition of Jewish rights to Palestine! We are at the very end of our patience, Mr. Attlee, and no palliative solutions will be accepted by American Jewry or by what is left of European Jewry. As for the Jews of Palestine, what can they do but resist to the bitter end the policy which you propose to continue in that country!

America is today called upon to deal with your Government in order to help in the solution of your country's financial and economic difficulties, to the end that the British working masses may maintain a fair standard of living. They are entitled to it. But we say to you: the same rule of life should apply to the surviving Jews of Europe. You cannot expect sympathy for the social advancement of Britain's masses when you withhold the right to a life of self-support and self-respect from the first victims of Nazism. You cannot talk of social and economic progress and at the same time bolster the reactionary, pro-fascist, feudal Arab rulers in the Middle East, including the pro-Axis Mufti. *Justice, too, is indivisible.*

In this eleventh hour we urge you not to drive Jewish youth in Palestine and elsewhere to regard you and your people as enemies and betrayers of a sacred trust. We call on you to redeem Britain's pledge to the Jewish people now!

**NOTHING ELSE AND NOTHING LESS
WILL DO.**

Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise
Joint Chairmen

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Ave. New York 17, N. Y.

Another Open Letter To Prime Minister Attlee

WE TAKE the liberty of addressing this, our second open letter, to you at this time so that you may have the benefit of the views of an overwhelming majority of Americans on a matter of life or death for an entire people. We refer to the question of Palestine, which will surely figure in your conversations with our President.

We assume that your officials in this country have informed you of America's reaction to the reports that your Government plans to continue with slight modification the Chamberlain Government's inhuman White Paper policy on Palestine. If you were presented with an accurate picture, you must know that the voices of millions—Jewish and non-Jewish voices—are today raised in angry protest.

We trust that you have been reading the cables, letters and resolutions which leaders of American public opinion have been sending to 10 Downing Street during the past weeks; that the British Embassy in Washington has kept you posted on the communications sent to your Government recently by countless thousands of American citizens, and that you have seen accounts of the unprecedented mass demonstrations held throughout America—all of them demanding that your Government now fulfill its oft-repeated pledge of a Jewish Palestine.

If all this be known to you, there should be no doubt in your mind that the American people will continue to insist that justice be done to the Jews, and will not be deluded by devices which repudiate your country's solemn obligations in order to appease feudal Arab rulers.

We Have a Right to Speak Plainly

It is ironic and tragic that these words must be addressed to you—a Prime Minister who was swept into office on a platform which endorsed all Jewish aspirations in Palestine without qualification or equivocation. We recall with what forthrightness and courage the leaders of the Labor Government once denounced the very policy which is today being implemented in Palestine. And we believe that the horrible death of almost six million Jewish men, women and children, as well as the suffering of the remnants of European Jewry, entitle us to speak as plainly as we do here.

A great responsibility rests upon you today, Mr. Prime Minister. The decisions you make now will influence the course of human events for generations to come. If all our hopes for a world of peace and security, all our plans for democratic progress and economic prosperity are not to be shattered once again, we must build today on the solid foundation of justice. For without justice there can be no peace. *And unless the remnants of the Jewish people are given the opportunity to live a normal life in their own land, free from the horrors of persecution and homelessness—there will be no justice, and there can be no peace.*

The Choice Is Yours

You must choose now, Mr. Attlee. You can try to build Britain's power and prestige along the lines laid down by Tory Colonial Imperialism. In the Middle East that would mean continuing Britain's present unreliable alliance with Hitler's supporters and sympathizers—the potentates, tyrants and desert chiefs who have been made to seem respectable by officials of your Colonial Office and our State Department. You can serve the enemies of progress and democracy, who keep their unfortunate subjects enslaved in a feudal society and who fight the very ideals proclaimed in England by your Party and practiced in Palestine by the Jewish people. The British Colonial Office, which, alas, sponsored the Arab League as an instrument to block Zionist progress, can continue to bolster this reactionary group to power and influence. That would undoubtedly please men like Ibn Saud and the pro-Nazi Mufti.

But we submit, Mr. Prime Minister, that the results of such a course will be tragic in the extreme—not only for the Jewish people, but for Britain as well. We hope you noticed that the mobs which rioted in Cairo, Alexandria, other cities of Egypt and Tripoli—mobs incited to violence by the Arab League—began by shouting and attacking Jews alone; later, however, as their fury increased, the rioters attacked Christian churches and shouted for the withdrawal of British forces from Egypt. . . . And so, the Arab League, though a product of the 18th century mentality of the British Colonial Office, may prove to be something of a Frankenstein monster.

What, then, shall it be, Mr. Attlee? A free and democratic Jewish State, in which all men regardless of race, color or creed shall enjoy equal civil and religious rights—which will provide a permanent solution for the Jewish problem—which will bring democratic practices and a richer, fuller life to all the peoples of the Middle East?

Or the old imperialistic method of power politics—callously disregarding international commitments—trading blood for oil—first nurturing, then appeasing, and finally suppressing pro-fascist Arab chieftains?

And if the latter course is followed, will Britain's honor survive?

The American people can understand and sympathize with your Government's request for help in the solution of Britain's economic problems. But many Americans are now asking themselves whether this country is not being called upon to support a bankrupt imperialist policy at variance with everything your Party stands for. It is to be regretted that recent events in the Middle East have not served to allay such fears.

Proposed Investigation Is a Mockery

Americans are also disturbed by recent reports that it is now proposed to create a Joint Anglo-American Commission to "study" the situation of the Jews in Europe and their emigration needs. What facts do you suppose will emerge from such an inquiry that have not been fully established at the various international conferences on refugees or by the Harrison Report—other than the information that additional numbers of Jews have died because the Western Democracies have decided to "study" once more, rather than act.

What is urgently needed, Mr. Attlee, is not another roving expedition or a further time-consuming investigation, but immediate concrete measures in conformity with a policy long established and clearly defined by valid international agreements.

A Constructive Program

What is called for is:

1. The immediate admission of 100,000 Jews into Palestine as requested by President Truman, as a first step.
2. The abandonment or revocation forthwith by the British Government of the White Paper of 1939.
3. A joint reaffirmation by the British and American Governments of their intention to pursue a Palestine policy in keeping with the original purpose and intent of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate.
4. Following such a joint pronouncement, it would be most fitting to constitute a Joint Commission to explore ways and means by which both countries may cooperate in the implementation of the announced policy in the light of their respective responsibilities and interests. We hope, too, that the United States may find it possible to cooperate in such economic projects as would be of benefit not only to the people of Palestine and to the possibilities of Jewish settlement there, but to the peoples of the entire Middle East, whose countries are poverty-stricken and under-developed.

We ask, Mr. Prime Minister, that you act now. We pray that common sense, decency and honor will prevail.

Abba Hillel Silver, Stephen S. Wise
Joint Chairmen

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
342 Madison Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Constituent Organizations: Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America; Mizrahi Organization of America; Poale Zion of America; Zionist Organization of America.