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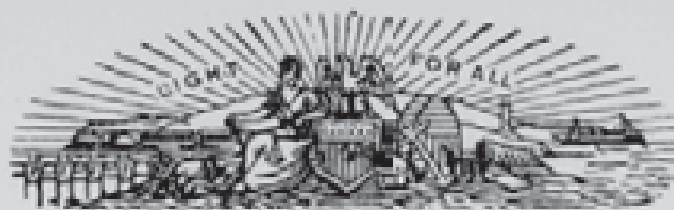
American Zionist Emergency Council, policy controversy,
1944-1945.

Pittsburgh, Pa. December 3, 1944

The Secretary of State
State Department
Washington, D.C.

In view of your meeting Monday with Senator Wagner I wish to make my position and that of many associates unmistakably clear. We would of course all be happy if the Chief and you could see your way to give approval to adoption of Palestine Resolution in both Houses. Postponement likely to be misunderstood by public opinion which naturally cannot be informed concerning reasons for delay. If however Chief and you should still feel that some postponement for reasons already given, I together with many associates do not wish to have action taken contrary to your and President's recommendation. Situation should under no circumstances be permitted to arise in which Senate Committee would be informed of Chief's opinion communicated through you to us in confidence. In that case it would be best for Senate Committee to postpone action throughout this session. This telegram is for you alone. Will telephone tomorrow afternoon at your convenience to learn about result of your talk with Bob.

Stephen S. Wise
Wm. Penn Hotel
Pittsburgh



BALTIMORE, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1944

SENATE GROUP KILLS PLEDGE MADE TO JEWS

Foreign Relations Committee Acts At Request Of Roosevelt

By PAUL W. WARD

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

The resolution, pending since last January, was an oblique attack on British policy in Palestine, and Mr. Roosevelt's opposition to its adoption was relayed to the Committee by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., his Secretary of State.

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

Secrecy On Details

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

The secrecy which Senator Connally (D., Tex.), invoked for the deliberations of the Committee which he heads covered not only those points but also how individual members had voted and which of them had made the motion to "postpone" action on the resolution.

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

"Would Be Unwise"

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

The Committee, after Mr. Stettinius appeared before it this afternoon, voted 12 to 8 to take no action on the resolution which:

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

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

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

Dewey Supported Plank

Two days later Governor Dewey sent the Zionist Organization of America convention a statement saying in part:

"I heartily indorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. . . I am for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. . . In order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny, I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership. . ."

Upheld By Roosevelt

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

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked for and prayed for the 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."

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

Suggest Open Letter

When Mr. Stettinius told the committee this afternoon that Mr. Roosevelt now wants action on the resolution deferred indefinitely, one Democratic member proposed that the President be asked to record his request to that effect in another open letter to Senator Wagner. The proposal was not acted upon.

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

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

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

It is identical with one which Representatives Waight (D., Pa.) and Compton (R., Conn.) introduced in the House last January to the same accompaniment of supporting speeches by the minority and majority leaders as was to mark the introduction of the Taft-Wagner resolution in the Senate a few days later.

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

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

Objections Withdrawn

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

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

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

New York Post

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, DECEMBER 12, 1944

Zionists Probing Palestine Delay

By OLIVER PILAT

Post Staff Correspondent

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

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

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

Seek an Explanation

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

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

"The Dept. considers, however, that the passage of the resolution at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation."

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

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

Recalls Roosevelt Statement

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

Both major political parties supported the Palestine resolution

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

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees

Date December 12, 1944

From Harry L. Shapiro

By this time you have learned through the press of the decision of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to defer action on the Palestine resolution, so far as this session of Congress is concerned. This decision was taken at the insistent request of the State Department.

We feel that you should have fuller information on the events which transpired in Washington. As you will recall, the first intimation that favorable action might be taken on the Palestine resolutions came early in October when Secretary of War Stimson, through a letter to Senator Taft, lifted the ban on behalf of the War Department. This was promptly followed by Congressman Bloom's public announcement that he would convene a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House on November 15th in order to take action on the resolution. His announcement stimulated our friends in the Senate to move in a similar direction. A number of public declarations in support of the Zionist program followed immediately, the most notable of which was the historic declaration of President Roosevelt on October 15th. This pronouncement constituted a complete and unequivocal endorsement of Zionist aims and a forthright pledge to help bring about their realization. In conveying the President's statement to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, Senator Wagner stated that this clears the way for the passage of the Palestine resolution.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House took favorable action on November 30th and the resolution went to the Rules Committee, with Congressmen Bloom and Wright urging swift and favorable action. Even before this favorable action by the House Committee, the Senate Committee, at one of its meetings, proceeded to consider the Palestine resolution. To the best of our knowledge, Senator Connally, chairman, stated that there was some objection on the part of the State Department. This occasioned surprise in view of all that had taken place, and particularly in view of the President's declaration of October 15th. The reaction in the Senate Committee was that it would be necessary for the Secretary of State to appear in person and explain the Department's position. Accordingly, a few days later -- on December 6th -- Secretary Stettinius made a personal appearance before the Senate Committee to urge deferment of action. It would seem that his statement did not present convincing ground for deferment of action to the satisfaction of the Committee, but that on the contrary, the Committee decided to consider the resolution again at a third executive session which was set for Friday, December 8th. At this meeting the State Department repeated its objection in the form of a written statement, which again apparently failed to convince the majority of the Committee. A proposal was made to table the resolution, but this proposal was defeated and the Committee proceeded to consider the wording of the resolution. Variations on the original text were suggested, and one version by Senator Vandenberg was tentatively adopted. It was decided to hold off final action on this version, with the understanding that there would be conference between Senators Wagner and Vandenberg on the final wording which was to be voted on at a fourth meeting, set for Monday, December 11th.

By Monday afternoon the text of a resolution, agreeable to both Senators and satisfactory from our standpoint, was submitted to the Committee with every prospect of affirmative action being taken. While the Committee was deliberating, Secretary Stettinius appeared once more, accompanied by an aide, and for the third time urgently pressed the Committee to defer action at the request of the President.

Subjected to such repeated pressure, and without an opportunity for any representative of the Zionist movement to appear, it was inevitable that the Committee would weaken. But it is instructive to note that it yielded only on the understanding that the State Department assume full responsibility for deferment. The final vote, according to our information, was 11 to 8.

As part of the same situation, the resolution already approved by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House had been tied up in the House Rules Committee, likewise at the insistence of the State Department.

As you have undoubtedly read, Secretary Stettinius issued a brief public statement to explain the stand taken by the Department because of "the general international situation." In addition to the formal statement issued in the name of the Department, a press relations officer of the Department furnished newspapermen with so-called "background material" on the Palestine question which limited itself to the activities of Jewish terrorists and the difficulties facing British officials.

There are many additional facts and other phases of the situation that cannot be included in this memorandum, which gives only a bare outline. When we first learned that the Executive Branch of the Government was again averse, as it had been early this year, to the passage of any pro-Zionist resolutions in Congress, prompt steps were taken to clarify the situation and to induce the Administration to withdraw its objections. In view of all that had happened -- the inclusion of the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, the lifting of the military ban on the resolutions, and the October 15th declaration of the President himself -- it seemed incredible that the Administration should take a position so radically inconsistent with the President's pronouncement, and persist in opposing the Congressional resolution with all the power at its command. Accordingly, prompt steps were taken to remove such misunderstandings and objections that seemed to exist. Approaches were made both to the President and to the Secretary of State. These efforts were met by counter-efforts on the part of the Administration to induce the Zionist leadership to request deferment of action on the resolution. It was actually suggested to Zionist leaders that they approach Congressional leaders with this request. Fortunately, better counsel prevailed.

It was an impossible position in which to place the Zionist leadership, in view of the history of the resolution -- the repeated commitments, the tremendous campaign carried on throughout the country, and all that was at stake. Renewed pledges to pass the resolution had been secured from Congressmen and Senators only a few weeks ago, and they were being pressed by you and other constituents to act. They felt morally bound to honor their pledges. Clearly, the Zionist leaders could not assume the role of lobbyists against the resolution which was designed to further the achievement of Zionist aims. Moreover, action had already been initiated by our friends in Congress who were resolved to go forward, and once they initiated action, it was essential that they be guided and encouraged.

We should be heartened by the fact that again it has been demonstrated that Congress is with us. Both Committees in the House and Senate were anxious to act positively, and many of our friends are determined to introduce a Palestine resolution when Congress re-convenes after the first of the year. In the Senate Committee a stubborn and gallant fight was waged in our behalf, and resistance was offered to the mounting pressure of the State Department to the very last. This augurs well for any future situation in which the aid of Congress may be required and this has served notice on the Executive Branch of our Government that our movement has powerful friends in Congress who will zealously watch over the interests of the Jewish people when final decisions are made.

Our battle is far from over, and the fight we have waged to date has been a good one. We are confident that the Zionists of America, who during the past year have breathed new life and vitality into our movement, will not allow this setback to dissuade them from continuing to shoulder the sacred responsibility which is ours. The fight for the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth goes on!

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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

In reply refer to
NE

December 13, 1944

CONFIDENTIAL

My dear Dr. Wise:

The President has asked me to send you and Rabbi Silver the attached copy of a telegram to the President which was drawn up at a mass meeting of Arab groups in Cairo on November 19th.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed] E. R. Stettinius, Jr.

Enclosure:

Copy of telegram.

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Ph. D.
American Zionist Emergency Council,
342 Madison Avenue,
New York 17, New York.

(COPY)

To the
President of the United States,
Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington.

1. The Arabs, who are anxious to maintain cordial relations with America, do not wish to attach great importance to certain declarations regarding Palestine which were made during the recent political campaign, for they realize, on the one hand, that these declarations were made in abnormal circumstances and they consider, on the other hand, that the declarations contradict the spirit of justice sponsored by you and by the noble American Nation, and are prejudicial to the cause of peace for which America is fighting. Moreover, they are contrary to the right of Arabs to live freely in their own country.

The American political campaign is now over, and Arabs expect you, Mr. President, to dispel their fears, restore their faith in American justice, and draw closer the bonds of friendship planted by American schools and nurtured by American teachings and doctrines in the Middle East.

2. No country in the world has suffered a greater injustice than Palestine. From time immemorial it has been an Arab country. Jews entered it as invaders and only occupied it for a short time; for they were constantly at war with the aborigines, and other invaders soon drove them out until the Arabs, more than thirteen centuries ago, finally liberated the country and settled it.

3. Palestine is, by the will of God and the patriotism of its people, an Arab country and will forever remain so. Seventy million Arabs, supported by three hundred million Moslems, are determined to redeem it with their lives. Neither the Balfour Declaration, nor the declarations of statesmen and the power of Zionism employing various measures of force and coercion can change the course of history or dissuade Arabs from defending Palestine and checking the tide of Zionism.

4. Arabs have always sympathized with Jews in their afflictions in past, mediaeval and modern times, and history bears witness to this fact. But Zionism has met this kindness by conspiring against Arabs and attempting to wrest Palestine from them. This has naturally led to feuds and bitter feelings which have left no hope of reconciliation or mutual understanding.

5. The project of installing Jews in Palestine will undoubtedly lead to permanent conflicts which will not only come to an end by one people destroying the other, not only in Palestine but in the whole East as well. This fact is worthy of your attention and the attention of all those who are anxious to establish universal peace and tranquillity in the future.

6. Arabs cannot believe that Democratic America is capable of helping usurpers, encouraging injustice, sacrificing her reputation, repudiating her mission in this world, discarding her friendship with the Arab world, and foregoing the moral and material interests which she has in Arab and Moslem countries, all for the sake of a race which is widely scattered in the world, and which only relies on the power of money for the realization of its designs.

For the above reasons, Arabs meeting in Congress hope that you will uphold them in their own country and that Zionism will be given no support by you, your Government or your people.

(Signed)

THE ARAB UNION SOCIETY,
Fouad Abaza Pasha, President
Assad Dagher, Secretary General.

THE YOUNG MEN'S MOSLEM ASSOCIATION,
Dr. Dardiri, Secretary General.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL
ARAB PARLIAMENTARY UNION CONFERENCE,
Mohamed Aly Allouba Pasha, President.

EL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMIN,
Hassan El-Banna, President.

MOSLEM SOFIE SECTS,
Shaikh El-Sayed Ahmed Al-Bakri, President.

HIGHER COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF PALESTINE
Hamed El-Meligui Bey, Secretary General.



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion
342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

SILVER
12/28/44

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, declared last night that his resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as chairman of the Council's Executive Committee is "irrevocable," but that "as a private in the ranks" he would continue to work for a policy in which "timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

The text of Dr. Silver's statement follows:

"At the time that I announced my resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as the chairman of its Executive Committee on December 20, I stated that it was irrevocable. I regret that so much controversy has developed over it, but I must insist upon the position I have taken, despite the urging of many friends that I reconsider my decision. My policies do not appear to have the support of a sufficient majority of the membership of the Council as now constituted to warrant my continuing in office.

"My action has been prompted particularly by the position taken by the representatives of one of the groups, the Zionist Organization of America. Despite the fact that the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at Atlantic City on October 16 approved my policies by a unanimous vote, the present representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Council are committed to an attitude and a course of action which make it impossible for me to carry out those policies effectively.

"I am deeply grateful for the consistent and loyal support which I have had from the Poale Zion and Mizrahi parties, from the Jewish press, from the rank and file of American Zionism and the local Zionist Emergency Councils everywhere.

(more)

"I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and will eagerly give the Movement whatever help and counsel I can. My resignation will leave me free to devote myself more fully to Zionist education among our people and the exposition of the Zionist program among the general public. As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place.

"It is a source of great satisfaction that the past sixteen months of my administration have been marked by substantial progress for the Zionist cause in our country. I trust that whatever differences of opinion exist in our Movement -- and no great movement is quite free of them -- will in no way interfere with the further progress of our historic cause in the days to come."

Amf. Jewish

The American Zionist Emergency Council meeting tonight at 342 Madison Avenue accepted the resignation of the Chairman, Co-Chairman and Treasurer with appreciation of the services they have rendered and then proceeded to a reorganization of that body and the election of new officers.

Dr. Silver's resignation was accepted with an expression of appreciation for his devoted services and his pledge of continued membership and service in the Emergency Council was welcomed. Dr. Stephen S. Wise was elected the chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Mrs. S. W. Halprin was elected Treasurer. In addition, the Council recommended to the Executive Committee the establishment of a Committee on Implementation of Policy to be composed of a chairman the heads or designees of the organizations represented in the Emergency Council, and the chairman of the Council and the chairman of its Executive Committee. In accordance with constitutional provisions, the Executive Committee will at its next meeting elect its own chairman and the chairman of the Committee on Implementation of Policy, thus completing the reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Before adjourning, the Emergency Council issued the following statement:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council desires to make it clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers. The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective - unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. For this it will seek the active support of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government and the good will of the American people."

Why Dr. Silver Resigned

FROM THE

Zionist Emergency

Council





Harold P. Mason

Why Dr. Silver Resigned from the Zionist Emergency Council

DR. SILVER'S SO-CALLED "BREACH OF DISCIPLINE" SHARED AND
INDORSED BY HIS OPPONENTS. — HOW THE ACTIVIST BECAME THE
SCAPEGOAT FOR THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE PALESTINE RESOLU-
TION. — DR. SILVER'S RECORD OF REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT. —
AMERICAN ZIONISM MUST HAVE HIS LEADERSHIP.

By JACOB RICHMAN

(President, South Philadelphia Zionist District)

Reprinted from "*The Day*", Sunday, Dec. 31, 1944.



THE CRISIS in American Zionism which has been precipitated by the resignation of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver will not easily be resolved, whatever decisions on reorganization are arrived at in the Zionist Emergency Council. Far-reaching issues of policy are involved in the controversy, issues which will continue to agitate the Jewish public for months to come.

As an active Zionist and as one trained in the legal profession, I have endeavored to analyze the situation conscientiously after weighing all the facts and circumstances and listening patiently and at length to able spokesmen of both points of view. And I have arrived at certain conclusions which I shall attempt to state as succinctly as possible.

In the first place, we must distinguish sharply between the internal and external aspects of the controversy. So far as the "exter-

nal" situation is concerned — the deferment of the Palestine Resolution in Congress, the action of the President and the State Department, and our own attitude towards these events — my own conclusions are clear. The deferment of the Resolution, at the request of the President, through the State Department, was a setback but by no means a catastrophe. The Resolutions were stymied last March, but Zionist political work continued and resulted in such notable achievements as the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, and the Jewish Commonwealth declaration of President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey. It is clear now, as it was in the spring, that both the House and the Senate were prepared to adopt the Resolutions but for the intervention of the Executive branch of the Government.

THE DEFERMENT APPRAISED

It is not the part of wisdom to describe the deferment as a calamitous defeat, which it was not. It ought to be appraised quite soberly as another episode on our long and uphill fight for the political recognition of Zionist aims. To exaggerate the temporary setback is a serious error and a disservice to the cause. As for the role played by the State Department on the instruction of the President, there can be no two opinions about it. In view of all that had preceded, particularly the party platforms, the President's own statement of October 15th, Secretary Stimson's letter lifting the military ban, and Senator Wagner's assurance given on the eve of the national elections, that the Resolutions would be passed through Congress, we had every reason to expect cooperation on the part of the Executive, not interference. No adequate or satisfactory reasons have been given for its recent action. The pressure exerted by the Administration upon Congress to refrain from repeating what the President himself had said only a few weeks earlier appears wholly unwarranted in the circumstances. Whatever may have been done by Dr. Silver or any other Zionist leader by way of encouraging Congressmen and Senators to proceed with the Resolutions cannot, objectively speaking, be regarded as exerting undue pressure or "irritating" the President. As between the President and ourselves, it is we who are the aggrieved party, not he.

Therefore my second conclusion is this: that to force the resignation of a Zionist leader because of his vigorous advocacy of the Con-

gressional Resolution is a political blunder of the first magnitude. By sacrificing its leader, the Zionist movement completely exonerated the President and the State Department and declares itself to be guilty and at fault. I am convinced that the vast majority of American Zionists reject this position. On the contrary, we feel let down and bitterly disappointed by the incomprehensible interference of the Administration and about the last thing we are disposed to do is to throw our greatest spokesman and most effective leader to the wolves as an act of appeasement.

WITHIN THE Z. O. A.

What is the situation from the "internal" point of view? A tremendous to-do has been made against Dr. Silver on the alleged ground of "breach of discipline" or "contravention" of the decisions of the Emergency Council not to press the Congressional Resolution before getting the green light from the Administration. It is an important point, though by no means the most important, in a highly complicated situation. Upon careful examination, three circumstances have impressed themselves upon me with regard to this issue. First, it is no secret that long before the issue of "discipline" was raised, persons within the ZOA, long hostile to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, had spread a host of other accusations against him. It is time to state frankly that for many months an abominable whispering campaign has been carried on against Dr. Silver throughout the country, the like of which we have not experienced in the Zionist movement for years. This has naturally placed me on my guard against the new and latest accusation of "breach of discipline."

Secondly, Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the ZOA, himself on December 5th sent telegrams to every member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, urging favorable action on the Palestine Resolution, and gave his telegram wide publicity. It is a matter of record, and there is no getting around it. Moreover, similar telegrams were sent by the heads of other Zionist parties affiliated with the Emergency Council. Were these telegrams, pressing for the passage of the Resolution, in contravention of the decisions of the Council, or were they not? Clearly, by sending these telegrams, Dr. Goldstein and his associates associated themselves fully with Dr. Silver's policy at the time and shared the responsibility.

They cannot have it both ways: First, commit the very "offense" with which they attempt to charge Dr. Silver and then after the deferment of the resolution to assume the self-righteous attitude and role of prosecuting attorney and place all the blame upon Dr. Silver's shoulders.

Finally, there is a third consideration, which for me is decisive. This issue was thoroughly thrashed out before the only forum or tribunal that is competent to pass judgement — the Emergency Council itself. On December 20th, the question was gone into exhaustively, as we are informed, at a session of the Council lasting six hours. Dr. Silver rendered a full and detailed report lasting nearly two hours, and it was followed by four hours of debate.

CHARGES AGAINST DR. SILVER

Dr. James G. Heller, one of the "prosecuting attorneys" for the ZOA Administration, moved a resolution declaring that Dr. Silver had "contravened the decisions of the Council." This proposition, which has been debated pro and con for six hours in the presence of all concerned, was squarely defeated. If all the efforts of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Heller and others, armed as they were with all the facts and documentary evidence at their disposal, could not convince a majority of the Council to share their position — that, for me, is conclusive. Dr. Silver has been exonerated on that score, and it seems highly improper and injurious to the Zionist cause for these Zionist leaders to continue advertising these "charges" against Dr. Silver after they had their day in court — and lost.

But other and more weighty issues are involved than the formal and technical question of "discipline." Most important of these is the question of Dr. Silver's leadership as such and of the line of policy to be followed. The group which is now fighting Dr. Silver so bitterly and which has carried the fight into the non-Jewish press have been unfriendly toward him from the beginning and had opposed his entry in the first place. The history of this affair is clear and well known. These gentlemen had had ample opportunity to show what they could do for the cause of political Zionism for several years before Dr. Silver took the helm. From 1939 to 1943 they ran the Zionist Emergency Council. They were its officers and guiding spirits while Dr. Silver

headed the United Palestine Appeal. They had every chance to follow their cautious and conservative policies and to test them by the result. Actually, what did they accomplish? Unfortunately, the records speak eloquently of their failure. For more than four years after the White Paper had been issued, all their wisdom, their diplomacy and their alleged influence at the White House failed to produce any action, not even a public utterance on the part of the Government of the United States against the White Paper policy. The President himself maintained a frigid silence. For that matter, some of these leaders heading other organizations working in the field of rescue, accomplished as much or as little in that direction. Despite their failure, they evidently lacked the vision, courage and the boldness to adopt a more dynamic and more militant policy.

DR. SILVER'S RECORD

The scene changed swiftly with the advent of Abba Hillel Silver. He swept the whole Zionist movement as well as its leaders along the new road which he chose to travel. He resuscitated the half-dead Emergency Council and built it up into a powerful instrument for political action. He galvanized the Zionists and the Jewish masses throughout the country. He made a powerful bid for Christian support, and the Zionist issue became one of the great and live political issues before the American public. As a result of the agitation he led and his militant policy, the President spoke on March 9th, the two major parties acted in July, and Roosevelt and Dewey pledged their support for a Jewish Commonwealth in October. It is a brilliant record of which we are all justly proud.

Dr. Silver rendered a full report at the Annual Convention of the ZOA in Atlantic City and made a full exposition of his policy. On October 16th the Convention unanimously gave him a vote of confidence by expressing approval of his policy. Yet already at Atlantic City, in the midst of his triumph, the boardwalk was buzzing with the rumor that as soon as the National Elections were over, Dr. Silver would be forced out of the leadership of the Emergency Council and that the reason to be assigned would be that he was "persona non grata" with the White House. Apparently the program calling for his elimination had been set long before the most recent events.

Thus far not a shred of tangible evidence has been forthcoming to sustain the assertion that Dr. Silver is "persona non grata" in Washington, or for that matter, sufficient evidence to show that someone else is "persona gratissima" at the White House, as is claimed. Without evidence one cannot judge and we must therefore set down these rumors for what they are — rumors. But involved in this whole argument is a distressing and sinister implication — the assumption that the Zionist movement must check up with the State Department or the White House before electing anyone to leadership. It is a fallacious, dangerous and vicious principle to set up — one which must lead down the slippery path to disaster. It would place the whole movement in the position of abject subserviency to the powers that be, and the heads of Zionist leaders would rise or fall by a nod from on high.

Those who have undertaken to force Dr. Silver out of the leadership have assumed an awful responsibility. American Zionism is at the crossroads. It is called upon to decide not a legal and technical question of "discipline" but the great and momentous issues of the type of leadership it is to have and the kind of policy it is to follow. Dr. Silver has stated his position clearly in his last public statement. He stands for "a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place." That is the real issue and on that issue I am persuaded the mass of American Zionists will stand with Abba Hillel Silver.

דער טאג The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, DECEMBER 31, 1944

Why Dr. Silver Resigned from the Zionist Emergency Council

The crisis in American Zionism which has been precipitated by the resignation of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver will not easily be resolved, whatever decisions on reorganization are arrived at in the Zionist Emergency Council. Far-reaching issues of policy are involved in the controversy, issues which will continue to agitate the Jewish public for months to come.

As an active Zionist and as one trained in the legal profession, I have endeavored to analyze the situation conscientiously after weighing all the facts and circumstances and listening patiently and at length to able spokesmen of both points of view. And I have arrived at certain conclusions which I shall attempt to state as succinctly as possible.

In the first place, we must distinguish sharply between the internal and external aspects of the controversy. So far as the "external" situation is concerned — the deferment of the Palestine Resolution in Congress, the action of the President and the State Department, and our own attitude towards these events — my own conclusions are clear. The deferment of the Resolution, at the request of the President through the State Department, was a setback but by no means a catastrophe. The Resolutions were stymied last March, but Zionist political work continued and resulted in such notable achievements as the Palestine planks in the Republican and Democratic platforms, and the Jewish Commonwealth declaration of President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey. It is clear now, as it was in the spring, that both the House and the Senate were prepared to adopt the Resolutions but for the intervention of the Executive branch of the Government.

THE DEFERMENT APPRAISED

It is not the part of wisdom to describe the deferment as a calamitous defeat, which it was not. It ought to be appraised quite soberly as another episode on our long and uphill fight for the political recognition of Zionist aims. To exaggerate the temporary setback as a serious error and a disservice to the cause. As for the role played by the State Department on the instruction of the President, there can be no two opinions about it. In view of all that had preceded, particularly the party platforms, the President's own statement of October 15th, Secretary Stimson's letter lifting the military ban, and Senator Wagner's assurance given on the eve of the national elections, that the Resolutions would be passed through Congress, we had every reason to expect cooperation on the part of the Executive, not interference. No adequate or satisfactory reasons have been given for its recent action. The pressure exerted by the Administration upon Congress to refrain from repeating what the President himself had said only a few weeks earlier appears wholly unwarranted in the circumstances. Whatever may have been done by Dr. Silver or any other Zionist leader by way of encouraging Congressmen and Senators to proceed with the Resolutions cannot, objectively speaking, be regarded as exerting undue pressure or "irritating" the President. As between the President and ourselves, it is we who are the aggrieved party, not he.

Therefore my second conclusion is this: that to force the resigna-

tion of a Zionist leader because of his vigorous advocacy of the Congressional Resolution is a political blunder of the first magnitude. By sacrificing its leader, the Zionist movement completely exonerated the President and the State Department and declares itself to be guilty and at fault. I am convinced that the vast majority of American Zionists reject this position. On the contrary, we feel let down and bitterly disappointed by the incomprehensible interference of the Administration and about the last thing we are disposed to do is to throw our greatest spokesman and most effective leader to the wolves as an act of appeasement.

WITHIN THE Z. O. A.

What is the situation from the "internal" point of view? A tremendous to-do has been made against Dr. Silver on the alleged ground of "breach of discipline" or "contravention" of the decisions of the Emergency Council not to press the Congressional Resolution before "getting" the green light from the Administration. It is an important point, though by no means the most important, in a highly complicated situation. Upon careful examination, three circumstances have impressed themselves upon me with regard to this issue. First, it is no secret that long before the issue of "discipline" was raised, persons within the ZOA, long hostile to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, had spread a host of other accusations against him. It is time to state frankly that for many months an abominable whispering campaign has been carried on against Dr. Silver throughout the country, the like of which we have not experienced in the Zionist movement for years. This has naturally placed me on my guard against the new and latest accusation of "breach of discipline."

Secondly, Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the ZOA, himself on December 5th sent telegrams to every member of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, urging favorable action on the Palestine Resolution, and gave his telegram wide publicity. It is a matter of record, and there is no getting around it. Moreover, similar telegrams were sent by the heads of other Zionist parties affiliated with the Emergency Council. Were these telegrams, pressing for the passage of the Resolution, in contravention of the decisions of the Council, or were they not? Clearly, by sending these telegrams, Dr. Goldstein and his associates associated themselves fully with Dr. Silver's policy at the time and shared the responsibility. They cannot have it both ways. First, commit the very "offense" with which they attempt to charge Dr. Silver and then after the deferment of the resolution to assume the self-righteous attitude and role of prosecuting attorney and place all the blame upon Dr. Silver's

shoulders.

Finally, there is a third consideration, which for me is decisive. This issue was thoroughly thrashed out before the only forum or tribunal that is competent to pass judgement — the Emergency Council itself. On December 26th, the question was gone into exhaustively, as we are informed, at a session of the Council lasting six hours. Dr. Silver rendered a full and detailed report lasting nearly two hours, and it was followed by four hours of debate.

CHARGES AGAINST DR. SILVER

Dr. James G. Heller, one of the prosecuting attorneys for the ZOA Administration, moved a resolution offering that Dr. Silver had "contravened the decisions of the Council." This proposition, which had been debated pro and con for six hours in the presence of all concerned, was squarely defeated. If all the efforts of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Heller and others, armed as they were with all the facts and documentary evidence at their disposal, could not convince a majority of the Council to share their position — that, for me, is conclusive. Dr. Silver has been exonerated on that score, and it seems highly improper and injurious to the Zionist cause for these Zionist leaders to continue advertising these "charges" against Dr. Silver after they had their day in court — and lost.

But other and more weighty issues are involved than the formal and technical question of "discipline." Most important of these is the question of Dr. Silver's leadership as such and of the line of policy to be followed. The group which is now fighting Dr. Silver so bitterly and which has carried the fight into the non-Jewish press have been unfriendly toward him from the beginning and had opposed his entry in the first place. The history of this affair is clear and well known. These gentlemen had had ample opportunity to show what they could do for the cause of political Zionism for several years before Dr. Silver took the helm. From 1929 to 1943 they ran the Zionist Emergency Council. They were its officers and guiding spirits while Dr. Silver headed the United Palestine Appeal. They had every chance to follow their cautious and conservative policies and to test them by the result. Actually, what did they accomplish? Unfortunately, the records speak eloquently of their failure. For more than four years after the White Paper had been issued, all their wisdom, their diplomacy and their alleged influence at the White House failed to produce any action, not even a public utterance on the part of the Government of the United States against the White Paper policy. The President himself maintained a frigid silence. For that matter, some of these leaders heading other or-

ganizations working in the field of rescue, accomplished as much or as little in that direction. Despite their failure, they evidently lacked the vision, courage and the boldness to adopt a more dynamic and more militant policy.

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דער טאג The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1945

THE CRISIS IN THE ZIONIST LEADERSHIP

The Indelible Effect of Rabbi Silver's Speech at the Second American Jewish Conference.—The Ugly Rumors in the Corridors.—Is it More than a Difference of Opinion?

By **DAVID PINSKI**

Noted poet, playwright and leader of Labor Zionism

(Translated from the Yiddish and reprinted by arrangement with the Jewish Morning Journal.)

It is more than a month since the Second American Jewish Conference took place, but I am still under the spell of the extraordinary address delivered on its first day by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. That address remains unforgettable for it captured one's heart and one's mind completely. I can still hear and see and feel it being delivered. It was at once weighty in content and wonderful in form; it took hold of the audience, carried it away, lifted it to great heights. It gave the garb of beautiful and appropriate language to thoughts of rare profundity. In it the tragic destiny of an entire people was expressed with overwhelming force—forced born of a combination of extraordinary oratorical ability and the dynamic energy of a leader, moved to the very core of his being by his people's sorrow.

The speaker's voice was gentle and full of sadness, the depth and genuineness of his feeling were evident in his face, in his very gestures, his outstretched hands, his posture! Millions of Jews have been massacred, our people is being destroyed. "How long can a people bear agony, mass-murder, abasement, shame?"—That cry, the cry of a tormented people, made itself heard through him. But his voice grew strong, his face was lit with the fire of wrath, his hands became clenched fists, his figure grew straight again, when he thundered out his rage against those who keep us from reaching our people's just and sacred goal.

The tone changed once more when he spoke of promise of all—there was a note of comfort and joy in his voice and bearing. Point by point and with keenness and wisdom he analyzed the Palestine Resolution for which he sought to find support among members of the Senate and in the executive branch of the Government.

One felt absolute sincerity—the power of truth—in his every word. The great audience had sat in enraptured silence throughout the address. When it came to an end, they rose as one man and began to sing *Hatikvah*. There was no such inspired enthusiastic singing in all the three days of the Conference. The session was concluded at once: a dis-

cussion of business matters was obviously impossible in a moment of such ecstasy. For hours thereafter delegates spoke with amazement of the masterly speech made by the great leader.

ORATOR VS. WHISPERERS

But in the corridors ugly rumors were whispered. It was said that before and during the speech the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Zionist Emergency Council were busily occupied defaming their great colleague, Dr. Silver. Not one of them sat on the platform while he spoke. They circulated among the delegates and spread dark rumors about Dr. Silver's work in Washington. They blamed him violently for the fact that the Resolution stated that Palestine was only "eventually" to become a Jewish Commonwealth. They knew, to be sure,—as everyone does,—that Dr. Silver was not responsible for the introduction of that word. They even hinted that they planned to send telegrams to Washington, asking for deferment of action on the Resolution. If anyone ventured to say a kind word about Dr. Silver, they insisted that such praise stemmed from ignorance; they who were intimately acquainted with Dr. Silver knew better.

It was incredible. I was desperately anxious not to believe my ears. But holding one of the key men in the Zionist Organization of America, I asked him—as a test-case—what he thought of Dr. Silver's remarkable address. The answer was cold-blooded: "Lies, all lies. A good dramatic presentation by a skilled actor. That's all."

There you have it: a full-fledged whispering campaign, the tactics aimed at undermining and discrediting Rabbi Silver with the intention of "purging" him altogether.

RETREAT OR FIGHT?

Dr. Silver left soon for Washington to carry out there the mission entrusted him. He left firmly convinced that his labors would result in success, in victory for the cause of Zion. He hoped that the Palestine Resolution would be adopted for it was "not an act of fanatics or dreamers" but "the answer to all the trials and tribulations of our people." Besides, had he not in his pocket

the telegram of Congressman Bloom assuring him that the Resolution had all the chances of passing?

Yet when he came to Washington he found an unexpected opposition and real stumbling blocks. The new Secretary of State, the President himself and what is more, the deeds of his own colleagues arrayed against him. Was he to retreat? To abandon the cause? The justice of the cause, the tragic situation and the very honor of the Jewish people compelled him to continue fighting. We had implicit faith in the promise given us by both parties and by the President himself, and it was our duty to insist that the promise be kept. Dr. Silver remained on his post to carry on the work if need be, despite the attitude of the State Department, the President and of his own colleagues. He lost the battle. But it would have been equally lost if he had renounced the struggle in Washington.

THE ISSUE ON TACTICS

We are all acquainted with the sequel to that brave fight. Dr. Silver's enemies in the Zionist Emergency Council demanded his resignation and they triumphed. Rabbi Silver resigned.

When Dr. Silver accepted the chairmanship of the Council expectations ran high everywhere. His subsequent achievements justified all the hopes pinned on him by the Zionist movement. Under his competent and energetic leadership, the American Zionist Emergency Council really came to life and vigor. How can one account then for this sudden warfare against Dr. Silver and his forced resignation? The contention is that Dr. Silver pursued an aggressive and militant policy which called forth all this antagonism. He is accused of having behaved as if we Jews were really an important power whereas the others felt that we could only plead and beg and hope for mercy and charity. When it was hinted from "on high" that we ought to postpone our requests for "a little while," we should not have been insistent. We should have armed ourselves with patience and waited.

But what of our honor, the honor of the Jewish people? What a queer notion. Who ever speaks or thinks of that? Why in-



David Pinski, celebrated Yiddish poet, writes eloquently in defense of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

duge in such high sounding terms? Aren't we only that 'worm Jacob'? Yes Israel is only a worm. Indeed, all our folk wisdom resolves itself in cringing and crawling.

When the State Department said that the adoption of the Resolution "at this time was not wise from the standpoint of the international situation"—a statement which was no more valid than a similar previous declaration of the War Department—Rabbi Stephen Wise immediately decided that the Resolution was not timely and in accordance with conditions and should be withdrawn. But Rabbi Silver continued undaunted to work for a change of official attitude and at the same time continued to win additional support for the Resolution. And he did it, indeed, for the sake of Jewish honor and the dire need of our people.

LEADERS MUST GO TO THE PEOPLE

How could they permit themselves to stifle with the meaningless words of "international situation" the bitter outcries of the unparalleled tragedy of the Jewish people? And aren't we American citizens who have a right to demand that the promises made us when our votes were needed should be honored after we have given our votes?

Who is right? Wise or Silver? Which policy is the right one? Perseverance or weak-kneed yielding? Why not consult the sentiments of the Zionist masses, the voice of the people which is the voice of God? Do not the leaders of the American Zionist Organization have any faith in the rank and file of the membership? Is the Palestine Resolution their own private concern? Or are we to believe that the conflict in the Emergency Council was not the result of an honest difference of opinion regarding principles and policies, but the outcome of petty and ugly bickerings of the 'top men' who cannot agree on how to divide the 'honors' among themselves? Woe unto us if the latter be true!

STATEMENT BY DR. HAYIM GREENBERG AT
ATLANTIC CITY CONFERENCE, FEBRUARY 4, 1945

DR. HAYIM GREENBERG: I would like, first of all, to apologize. I should have been here last night but was delayed because I had to be present at an all-day conference of the Central Committee of the organization to which I have the honor to belong, and where I had to be present to speak frankly, in order to clear my status with my own people. My organization decided by a vote of 21 against 6 that whatever its past attitude, it would stand whole-heartedly and loyally behind this reconstituted Emergency Council (applause) and I have been instructed to tell you that all sections of our Movement in the United States will do nothing in the coming months except cooperate sincerely and devotedly with the constructive work undertaken, and still to be undertaken by this Emergency Council.

I was asked yesterday at that conference, a legitimate question: what policy are you going to pursue now? Will it be - and I quote one of my comrades - "A policy of militancy, or a rather passive policy?" and I tell you what I told them yesterday, "Neither a policy of baseless, inflated militancy, or verbal aggressiveness, nor a policy of disgraceful timidity and submissiveness, but a carefully mapped-out and energetically carried-out policy of realism and effectiveness."

I will tell you now, what I mean by that, and what I meant yesterday when we adopted that formula.

During the last fifteen or sixteen months in American Zionism, a lot of very good and in my opinion effective work has been done. Public opinion in this country has been aroused; Zionism was on the order of the day in American political life, and I would be the last one to minimize the importance that work. But our policy and most of our activities in that period, were, if I may use that expression, fixated on a certain plan, or design. It was, I would say, a kind of fixation. A fixation may at times be a very very valuable instrument; it may also, if carried too far, become dangerous - dangerous in the sense that people sometimes confuse means and ends. By this I mean something very concrete. The passage for instance of a congressional resolution favorable to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is not and should not be considered as an end in itself. It is a means; maybe at a certain moment a very important means; but it is not if we think in long-range terms the whole of Zionist policy or Zionist strategy. There is, as Sigmund Freud has shown, such a thing as a compulsion to symbolize, a "symbolisierungszwang", and to get lost sometimes in a symbol, to forget how that symbol was created, to forget that man created that symbol, and that it did not come from above, from the sky. And we must beware of such a state of mind. I shall tell you in a moment what I mean by this.

I am the last one, my friends, to pass judgment on the merits or demerits of the American Constitution under which we live. But I do propose that certain elements of the American Constitution, of the constitutional structure of this Union, should be registered in our consciousness. Whether we like it or not a tremendous power, particularly where foreign affairs are concerned, is concentrated in the hands of the Administration of this country, and in particular of the Chief Executive of that Administration, the President of the United States. Whether we like it or not, Congress has no power of initiative in foreign matters, the Executive alone has the power of initiative. And in addition as things stand today, whether, as a citizen of the world, I like it or I dislike it, a tremendous power is concentrated in the hands of three men in this world, three men who may settle the most essential affairs of our planet for a period to come.

What are the conclusions I am inclined to draw from this analysis, if it is as I believe, a correct analysis? It was very desirable, it is still very desirable to have a good congressional resolution on Palestine. But I never thought, and I do not think today, that the adoption of such a resolution in Congress, the best resolution in the world, would amount to the solution of our problem, and that after such a resolution Palestine would be offered to us on a silver platter. Such a resolution is not legislation in the concrete and binding sense of the word. A resolution of that kind, on a question of foreign affairs is - I won't say a pious wish - but it is an expression of crystallized public opinion in this country; there is fluid public opinion and there is crystallized, more rigid public opinion, more official public opinion. This is the essence of a congressional resolution. If we had to suppose that, for instance, the President of the United States is, as I was told by some of my Zionist friends, anti-Zionist - a thing which I do not for a single moment believe, but if it were true - no congressional resolution would force the President to take up our case and to fight for our cause. Nor would a single voice in this country come after the war and demand the impeachment of the President because he did not fight for our cause.

The resolution has not been adopted, unfortunately, and I am not going at this moment to dwell on the history of our efforts to have the resolution adopted. But it is clear at least to me, that within the nearest few months - I do not undertake to prophesy anything about the situation, or about decisions to be taken by us in May or in June or in August or next September, but within the next period of time that it would not be wise to have a new resolution introduced in either the House or the Senate. That does not mean that our program for the coming months should be a negative one. For one thing we will of course have to continue to cultivate the friendships we have already acquired in some quarters; we will have to make new contacts, and to cultivate those contacts; but at the same time it would be a great mistake on our part to limit ourselves merely to official negotiations with governmental bodies or with men in responsible positions in Washington, and do nothing as far as the country as a whole is concerned and as far as American public opinion is concerned. What we purpose to do at this moment is to launch a nation-wide campaign, over the length and breadth of the country, among various sections of the non-Jewish population in the United States, in order to impress, not once, not twice, but from time to time as the occasion or the opportunity emerges, and as needs, concrete practical needs, are clarified, in order to bring to the attention of the Administration, or the President, the sentiments of the people of America in regard to Palestine and the solution of the Jewish problem. To a certain extent it is a question of slogans to be employed; it is a question of the kind of propaganda we will now have to conduct in the country.

I personally think that the time has come to present our needs, and our ultimate goal in Palestine, to American public opinion, not merely in terms of the solution of a problem of let us say some hundreds of thousands or of a million Jewish individuals. It would be a mistake on our part to reduce Zionism to the non-Jewish world in America as merely a problem of resettling refugees or removing refugees from one part of the world to another. Of course we must not omit to keep American public opinion informed about the situation of hundreds of thousands of Jews in countries economically devastated, of hundreds of thousands of pauperized Jews, but it would be dangerous as I see it to have Zionism reduced merely to this topic. We know unfortunately how the population pressures, Jewish population pressures in Europe today have become much weaker than they were three and four and five and six years ago. Only a few years ago we were in a position to speak of millions of Jews clamoring for admission to Palestine. That was a great source of power. Those millions of poor Jews were in some countries un-integrated Jews without civil rights; but the very existence of those millions

of Jews was a great source of political power for the Zionist Movement. That source does not exist today to the extent it did exist only a few years ago. I don't know how many Jews have survived or will survive the deluge of blood on the European continent; we hope that substantial numbers will survive, but we have no illusions as to the fact that the majority of European Jews on the Continent have already been annihilated. I think it would be impossible today to convince the powers that be, that a Jewish Commonwealth should be established in Palestine only on the strength of those hundreds of thousands of Jews who are, or may be ready today to go to Palestine. In this respect we will have to return, in a sense, to classical Zionism, in the sense that it is not a matter of solving the problem of a definite number of individuals, but of solving the perennial problem of a homeless people as a whole. That means to think again in long-range terms and not only in terms of the coming decade. On the strength of this we must demand that Palestine should be designated as a zone for Jewish mass settlement, where all Jews who so choose may go - Jews from all kinds of countries including even the United States.

At the same time our propaganda - and in this connection I think not only or even mostly of the Jewish population, but of the non-Jewish population and public opinion generally - must pursue parallel methods: one method is as I said before, the presentation of Zionism as the solution of a historical, in a sense perennial problem in Jewish life and the life of the world. But at the same time we must reckon with the possibility that our final status may not be decided for months and even maybe for years. And something must be done prior to that settlement. Nobody knows at this moment when the final decisions with regard to Palestine will be taken. Not only the problem of Palestine, but the great problems of Europe itself - what to do ultimately with Germany, or what borders should be given to Poland - are not necessarily going to be finally decided within the next few months. Before the final solution, what are we going to do about the political status of Palestine and the status of the Jewish people in Palestine? That imposes a definite obligation upon the Zionist organizations of this country, and particularly upon the Emergency Council. We must not limit ourselves to propaganda regarding only the final settlement of Zionism, but at the same time be alert, vigilant every single day, in putting forward specific concrete demands relating to the life of the Jewish community already existing in Palestine and regarding the increase of Jewish population in that country, prior to the final solution of the political problem.

You heard today from Mr. Zaslani, and you heard last night, I assume, from other friends, about the situation in some of the European countries. I think the situation is much graver than some of us imagine, or are inclined to think; graver in an entirely different sense. Some of us heard a few weeks ago from one of our friends who came to America from France, Joseph Fischer, the representative of the Zionist Movement in France, a representative also of the Resistance Movement in that country, who told us terrifying things, not only about the economic or social situation of thousands of Jews in France today, but about their mental situation. Thousands of Jews, for instance, have in the years of the Hitler occupation, acquired Aryan passports; they have acquired certificates from the Catholic Church to the effect that they were Catholics by birth - if there is such a thing as a Catholic by birth. Now, when they have been liberated, many of them refuse to give up their official status as Catholics. Some of them have even embraced Christianity in recent months in France after the liberation of the country.

What does it mean? It means something very - well I was tempted to say simple, but it is anything but simple. It reminds me of the step taken in the Seventeenth Century by Sabatai Zvi. Sabatai Zvi thought of liberation, of redemption. He did something in his own fantastic terms in order to redeem his

people and redeem himself among his people, and after the crisis, when he saw that nothing had been achieved, that nothing could have been achieved, in a state of utter despair he proclaimed himself a Moslem. I am afraid that too many Jews, thousands of them now in France, in Belgium, perhaps in Hungary and some other countries, just because they don't see any ray of hope in their life, any hope of redemption, because the doors of Palestine are closed to them, because they don't see their way as Jews in their countries of birth or origin, to continue their life, are today in despair. And despair is sometimes the worst counsel in the world, it is a counsel of suicide, and many of them commit, or are ready to commit moral suicide in their life. That is why, parallel with our political activities, and nation-wide propaganda about the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine (and no one among us should think for a moment that we are in a position to renounce even for a single day those political demands) parallel with, and simultaneously with these political activities and propaganda, we ought to raise at this moment specific and concrete demands prior to the ultimate solution. This does not necessarily mean a fight against the White Paper, and I will tell you in a minute why I would not call it a fight against the White Paper: Because I can conceive of a situation when the White Paper has been officially annulled - I don't see it yet, but I can conceive of such a situation - and that not a single Jew should be admitted to Palestine. There were times, without a White Paper of that kind, when on the strength of purely administrative regulations, without any legal or pseudo-legal basis, Jews were not admitted to Palestine under British administration in past years. What we are concerned with is not the official annulment of the White Paper, not a de jure annulment, but a de facto abrogation, and the de facto abrogation means to open the doors of Palestine for tens of thousands and for hundreds of thousands, forthwith, and without waiting for the general political solution. The doors of Palestine must be opened to them and all unnecessary restrictions removed, including restrictions on the purchase of land.

There is another matter: Arab leaders in recent months have adopted a new method of anti-Zionist propaganda. Their line is that: we Arabs perhaps would be ready to reconcile ourselves somehow to a large-scale Jewish settlement in Palestine itself, or in Palestine alone, but we have ground to believe that the Jews regard Palestine merely as a base from which to expand and to penetrate the neighboring Arab countries and to seize economic and political control of them. I don't think that there is a single Arab who believes that, but there are too many of them who say it and who pretend that they believe and are afraid of it. I would seize the opportunity to indicate to the Government of the United States and to the Government of Great Britain, not only that Jews will not contemplate settling in any of the neighboring countries, but on the contrary that there are certain Jewish communities in Arab countries today, tens of thousands of them in Iraq, twenty or twenty-five thousand of them in Yemen, and so on, whom we want to assist in bringing to Palestine - to open the doors of Palestine for the Yemenites, to open the doors for those Iraqi Jews ready to settle in Palestine, for some of the Egyptian Jews ready to leave that country and settle today in Palestine; to open the doors for thousands and thousands of Jews in North Africa, in the French Colonial possessions, in Algeria, in Tunisia; open the door and let them settle in Palestine. I say this opportunity should be seized upon, and we should come out with concrete, practical suggestions, perhaps to create the proper machinery and the proper financial framework for the removal of the Jews from those countries.

These two parallel methods of propaganda, which is not propaganda alone, but amounts to practical political activity, should be expressed as I said before, in a nation-wide campaign in the country to arouse as far as possible and to mobilize and to crystallize public opinion. Our local Emergency Committees

everywhere in the country can and must become the instruments, assisting the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council, in creating in every worthwhile community, and every community large and small is worthwhile, nuclei of Christian friends, and more than nuclei. Thousands and tens of thousands of non-Jews must be enlisted in these two non-Jewish organizations; they must arrange local conferences - we are not in a position, because of war restrictions, to arrange big regional or national conferences - and the State Department and the President should, by these conferences, be reminded not once, but every few weeks, and not only about the final goal, of Zionism, not only about the Commonwealth, but about the specific tasks to be performed within the next few months.

Perhaps further we will have to try to bring pressure to bear, or through our Government and otherwise upon certain countries which formally have nothing to do with Palestine. Take for instance the case of Bulgaria. From Bulgaria we heard two weeks ago, - that a new democratic Bulgarian Government is not opposed to Jewish immigration from Bulgaria to Palestine, but - and that but is very typical, very characteristic of the situation in that country, - those Jews who opt today for settlement in Palestine, must sign a document in terms of which they waive any claim they had in the past or that they may have tomorrow, to their property in Bulgaria or to the restoration of their property confiscated or Aryanized under the Hitler occupation. Here is a matter on which the American Government could be helpful. With the good offices of our Government, it could be impressed upon the Russians, who are factually in control of Bulgaria militarily and to a certain extent politically, that you cannot authorize people to leave the country yet on the eve of their departure rob them of whatever they possess.

I think that by mobilizing Christian friends now in the various communities, by appealing let us say, to Chambers of Commerce, American Federation of Labor and CIO units, church organizations, teachers associations, bar associations, the various post-war commissions in America dealing with problems of settlement of foreign affairs, fraternal organizations, colleges and universities, women's clubs, democratic clubs, republican clubs in the various communities, it would be possible within the next few months to bring to the attention of our Government not only our case in the sense of a great historical ideal, but our cases, our every-day worries, and every-day tasks to be performed in connection with Jewish immigration into Palestine.

Only one thing is required now for conducting this kind of ramified political and propaganda work in the country a sense of solidarity in the Zionist Movement, and wholehearted cooperation on the part of all the constituent bodies of the Zionist Movement.

PUBLIC OPINION
on the
ZIONIST
CONTROVERSY

Public Opinion on the Zionist Controversy

THE forcing of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation from the leadership of American Zionist political work has created an unprecedented furor in Zionist ranks. Now, when the efforts of all Zionists should be redoubled to bring about the implementation of the historic expressions of support for the Zionist program which were obtained during the past sixteen months under Dr. Silver's dynamic leadership, the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the American Zionist Emergency Council have elected to purge our most effective leader, along with his policies. After a year of intensive effort that might have been devoted to worthier ends, they have at last won their Pyrrhic "victory," and with one callous blow they have nullified the great achievements of recent months. The blow was aimed at Dr. Silver, but it fell with devastating effect on the entire American Zionist movement.

The Jews of America reacted immediately as only an outraged community, intent upon defending the principles which it cherishes, can react. The Zionist masses raised their voices in angry protest against the perpetrators of this destructive act, and made their wishes unmistakably clear in resolutions, telegrams and letters—all calling for the return of Dr. Silver and his program.

The Jewish press of America, in possession of all the facts, sprang to the side of Dr. Silver, and in recent weeks a stream of editorials, articles, news dispatches and feature stories by the most able and respected Jewish journalists—all of them supporting Dr. Silver's position and assailing his opponents and detractors—have given further expression to our people's demands.

This pamphlet, containing excerpts from a number of these articles and editorials, as well as a few of the many resolutions passed by Zionist Districts and Regions, is conclusive evidence that American Zionists intend to act decisively and overwhelmingly for the restoration of Dr. Silver's leadership and policies.

The Press Speaks

Dispatch in the *Jewish Morning Journal* December 14, 1944

Washington—The incident of the Palestine Resolution is far from over. Political circles in Washington are wondering what has happened. Senators and Representatives are receiving many telegrams from all parts of the country which ask about the Palestine Resolution and its fate.

In these Washington political circles there is much discussion of the incomprehensible position taken by the Roosevelt Administration with reference to the Resolution, of the actions of Zionist leaders during the crisis and of the uncompromising position taken by Congress in favor of the Resolution . . . Learning that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was determined to act favorably on the Palestine Resolution and that interference on the part of the Administration was useless, the State Department contacted Dr. Wise in New York and requested that the Zionist leadership withdraw the Resolution. A delegation of Zionist leaders from New York met on Friday with Mr. Stettinius, as well as with a few leading Senators, and declared that the Zionists are not insisting on the Resolution.

Editorial in the *Jewish Morning Journal* December 22, 1944

The Jewish masses will receive the news of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council with deep regret. . . . Did the Emergency Council have the right, especially at this time, to bring about Dr. Silver's resignation? His resignation at this particular moment signifies that the Emergency Council gives its approval to what took place in Washington, that the Emergency Council justifies the obstruction . . . which kept Congress from passing the Palestine Resolution, and that the Council places itself in opposition to the aggressive and clear policy of Dr. Silver—a policy which is founded on Jewish rights in Palestine, the right to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration and the right to a Jewish Commonwealth . . . Now especially the Emergency Council should not have displayed weakness. Now especially it should have stood firm on all Jewish demands in Palestine. If there were circumstances in Washington which led to a request by the State Department and the White House that the Resolution be deferred because of the general international

situation, we shouldn't have sacrificed the man who personified our maximalist program, the man who brought this program before the entire American public.

At this moment we cannot afford to indicate lack of confidence in an outspoken Zionist policy—even when such a policy encounters difficulties. One thing is certain—such lack of confidence should not have been displayed by Zionists . . . It is, therefore, of supreme importance that Dr. Silver's resignation shall not be accepted. Not only must Dr. Silver be recalled to serve at his post, but the leadership of the Emergency Council must be reorganized in order to do away with personal friction and in order to make it clear to all that American Zionism is moving forward, not backward.

Editorial in *The Day* December 23, 1944

Everything was quiet—perhaps too quiet—in the Emergency Council until Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland appeared on the scene as co-chairman of the Council and conducted an aggressive, dynamic policy in connection with the adoption of the Zionist Resolution in Congress.

Dr. Silver was successful in gaining many friends for the Resolution in the Senate and in the House. He and his Zionist friends were also successful in including a "Jewish Commonwealth" plank in the platforms of both political parties, and also worked hand in hand with Senator Wagner, President Roosevelt's very close friend and sponsor of the Zionist Resolution in the Senate. In short, under Rabbi Silver's leadership Zionism became an important issue in American politics, and the question of a Jewish Commonwealth became a subject with which the entire public sympathized fully.

As a consequence, Dr. Silver became the most popular figure in Zionist circles, and it was generally acknowledged that a new star had arisen on the political horizon of Zionism in America . . . The time of hat-in-hand politics is over. Only an aggressive, dynamic policy can lead to success; and Rabbi Silver is clearly the man to be entrusted with such a policy . . . The Emergency Council must be re-organized. Outside influence and political misunderstandings must be set aside and Rabbi Silver must remain at his post to serve the best interests of Palestine and of the Jewish people.

**Dispatch in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 25, 1944**

The resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, brought about by members of the Council opposed to his aggressive and militant Zionist policies, has aroused American Zionists. There is a split in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America, but an overwhelming majority of informed Zionists are supporting Dr. Silver.

**Dispatch in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 27, 1944**

The conflict in Zionist ranks over the resignations of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise as co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council—a conflict which has until now been kept within Jewish circles—was yesterday brought out into the non-Jewish world. The entire non-Jewish press carried the story of the resignations prominently and presented a one-sided picture because the facts came from only one side—in this case Dr. Wise's side—while Dr. Silver refused to make any statements.

**Dispatch in the *Jewish Daily Forward*,
The Day and the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 28, 1944**

At a meeting of about 150 Zionist leaders from Greater New York, Long Island, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and Connecticut . . . a resolution expressing complete confidence in Dr. Silver and his policies was unanimously adopted.

**"The Crisis in American Zionism" by L. Kussman
Article in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 28, 1944**

I don't know whether or not Dr. Silver has broken discipline. I only know that as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council he took the only position which a Zionist leader can and must take in the present tragic hour for the Jewish people. This is not a time for "shtadlanut" or subservience to the powers that be. Only an aggressive Zionist policy may yet be victorious. We have been overfed with promises. For over five years the White Paper has been hanging like a sword over our necks. During this period the enemy has drained off a third of our blood. And what have our good friends in Washington and London done to make the future easier for us? In the fight against the White Paper they put obstacles in our path.

What are we depending on? What are we waiting for? We—the well-fed Jews of America—can wait. But what of Hitler's victims in the cellars, in the forests, even those in liberated, but destroyed, homes. An hour's procrastination may mean the loss of a thousand Jewish lives. How could a Zionist leader take even the smallest step to permit the Palestine Resolution to be killed? . . . The crisis in American Zionism can and must end with a victory for aggressive Zionism and its spokesmen.

**"The Bubble Has Burst" by Aaron Pechenick
Article in *The Day*
December 28, 1944**

For some time now a certain group within the Zionist Organization of America has resented Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's great success and has sought various methods through which they could "trip him up" . . . When the leaders of the Council, Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, were achieving many triumphs for Zionism and were mobilizing American public opinion in support of our political demands, no one dared to "press the issue." . . . Now, however, when the Palestine Resolution has failed of passage in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, they have found the opportune moment.

**Editorial in *The Day*
December 29, 1944**

It appears that Rabbi Silver's opponents have fought him with most ungallant methods. Over a period of many months all sorts of intrigues were carried on against him. It has become clear that within the Zionist Organization of America there were people who wanted to get rid of Rabbi Silver under any circumstances.

**Dispatch in the *Jewish Daily Forward*
December 30, 1944**

A vast majority of Zionists throughout the country sympathize with Dr. Silver and also uphold his methods. . . . The Zionist meetings which were held a few days ago, including the meeting which took place in Dr. Goldstein's synagogue, spoke out clearly in favor of Dr. Silver's policies.

**Article in *The Day* by S. Dingol
December 30, 1944**

Dr. Wise is by nature one who "gives in." He doesn't always stand by his opinions, and quite often he is willing to adopt someone else's opinion as his

own . . . In a political sense Dr. Wise is an administration man. This applies to both American and Zionist politics. He is aggressive in words, but timid in deeds. He wants to see deliverance for the Jews—but it must come through Roosevelt. He wants to see a Zionist resolution in Congress—but it must have Stettinius' approval. And if the President is in no hurry and Stettinius doesn't give his approval? Then, according to Dr. Wise's method: "We must wait patiently for deliverance and hold off action on resolutions."

But Dr. Silver says: "We must bring the pressure of public opinion to bear on them, and then the President will move more quickly and Stettinius will give his approval."

**"Why Dr. Silver Resigned From the
Zionist Emergency Council" by Jacob Richman
Article in *The Day*—December 31, 1944**

The pressure exerted by the Administration upon Congress to refrain from repeating what the President himself had said only a few weeks earlier appears wholly unwarranted in the circumstances. Whatever may have been done by Dr. Silver or any other Zionist leader by way of encouraging Congressmen and Senators to proceed with the Resolutions cannot, objectively speaking, be regarded as exerting undue pressure or "irritating" the President. As between the President and ourselves, it is we who are the aggrieved party, not he.

To force the resignation of a Zionist leader because of his vigorous advocacy of the Congressional Resolution is a political blunder of the first magnitude. By sacrificing its leader, the Zionist movement completely exonerates the President and the State Department and declares itself to be guilty and at fault. I am convinced that the vast majority of American Zionists reject this position. On the contrary, we feel let down and bitterly disappointed by the incomprehensible interference of the Administration, and about the last thing we are disposed to do is to throw our greatest spokesman and most effective leader to the wolves as an act of appeasement . . .

Those who have undertaken to force Dr. Silver out of the leadership have assumed an awful responsibility. American Zionism is at the crossroads. It is called upon to decide not a legal and technical question of "discipline," but the great and momentous issues of the type of leadership it is to have and the kind of policy it is to follow. Dr. Silver has stated his position clearly in his last public statement. He stands for "a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place." That is the real issue and on that issue I am persuaded the mass of American Zionists will stand with Abba Hillel Silver.

**"The Crisis in the Zionist Leadership" by David Pinski
Article in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 31, 1944**

It is more than a month since the Second American Jewish Conference took place, but I am still under the spell of the extraordinary address delivered on its first day by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. That address remains unforgettable for it captured one's heart and one's mind completely. I can still hear and see and feel it being delivered. It was at once weighty in content and wonderful in form; it took hold of the audience, carried it away, lifted it to great heights. It gave the garb of beautiful and appropriate language to thoughts of rare profundity. In it the tragic destiny of an entire people was expressed with overwhelming force—force born of a combination of extraordinary oratorical ability and the dynamic energy of a leader, moved to the very core of his being by his people's sorrow.

The speaker's voice was gentle and full of sadness, the depth and genuineness of his feeling were evident in his face, in his very gestures, his outstretched hands, his posture! Millions of Jews have been massacred, our people is being destroyed. "How long can a people bear agony, mass-murder, abasement, shame?"—That cry, the cry of a tormented people, made itself heard through him. But his voice grew strong, his face was lit with the fire of wrath, his hands became clenched fists, his figure grew straight again, when he thundered out his rage against those who keep us from reaching our people's just and sacred goal.

The tone changed once more when he spoke of promise of aid—there was a note of comfort and joy in his voice and bearing. Point by point and with keenness and wisdom he analyzed the Palestine Resolution for which he sought to find support among members of the Senate and in the Executive branch of the Government.

One felt absolute sincerity—the power of truth—in his every word. The great audience had sat in enraptured silence throughout the address. When it came to an end, they rose as one man and began to sing *Hatikvah*. There was no such inspired, enthusiastic singing in all the three days of the Conference. The session was concluded at once: a discussion of business matters was obviously impossible in a moment of such ecstasy. For hours thereafter delegates spoke with amazement of the masterly speech made by the great leader.

But in the corridors ugly rumors were whispered. It was said that before and during the speech the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Zionist Emergency Council were busily occupied defaming their great colleague, Dr. Silver. Not one of them sat on the platform while he spoke. They circulated among the delegates and

spread dark rumors about Dr. Silver's work in Washington. They blamed him violently for the fact that the Resolution stated that Palestine was only "eventually" to become a Jewish Commonwealth. They knew, to be sure,—as everyone does—that Dr. Silver was not responsible for the introduction of that word. They even hinted that they planned to send telegrams to Washington, asking for deferment of action on the Resolution. If anyone ventured to say a kind word about Dr. Silver, they insisted that such praise stemmed from ignorance; they who were intimately acquainted with Dr. Silver knew better.

It was incredible. I was desperately anxious not to believe my ears. Buttonholing one of the key men in the Zionist Organization of America, I asked him—as a test-case—what he thought of Dr. Silver's remarkable address. The answer was cold-blooded: "Lies, all lies. A good dramatic presentation by a skilled actor. That's all."

There you have it: a full-fledged whispering campaign, the tactics aimed at undermining and discrediting Rabbi Silver with the intention of "purging" him altogether.

Dr. Silver left soon for Washington to carry out there the mission entrusted him. He left firmly convinced that his labors would result in success, in victory for the cause of Zion. He hoped that the Palestine Resolution would be adopted for it was "not an act of fanatics or dreamers" but "the answer to all the trials and tribulations of our people." Besides, had he not in his pocket the telegram of Congressman Bloom assuring him that the Resolution had all the chances of passing?

Yet when he came to Washington he found an unexpected opposition and real stumbling blocks. The new Secretary of State, the President himself and what is more, the deeds of his own colleagues arrayed against him. Was he to retreat? To abandon the cause? The justice of the cause, the tragic situation and the very honor of the Jewish people compelled him to continue fighting. We had implicit faith in the promise given us by both parties and by the President himself, and it was our duty to insist that the promise be kept. Dr. Silver remained at his post to carry on the work if need be, despite the attitude of the State Department, the President and of his own colleagues. He lost the battle. But it would have been equally lost if he had renounced the struggle in Washington.

We are all acquainted with the sequel to that brave fight. Dr. Silver's enemies in the Zionist Emergency Council demanded his resignation and they triumphed. Dr. Silver resigned.

When Dr. Silver accepted the chairmanship of the

Council, expectations ran high everywhere. His subsequent achievements justified all the hopes pinned on him by the Zionist movement. Under his competent and energetic leadership, the American Zionist Emergency Council really came to life and vigor. How can one account then for this sudden warfare against Dr. Silver and his forced resignation? The contention is that Dr. Silver pursued an aggressive and militant policy which called forth all this antagonism. He is accused of having behaved as if we Jews were really an important power, whereas the others felt that we could only plead and beg and hope for mercy and charity. When it was hinted from "on high" that we ought to postpone our requests for "a little while," we should not have been insistent. We should have armed ourselves with patience and waited.

But what of our honor, the honor of the Jewish people? What a queer notion. Who ever speaks or thinks of that? Why indulge in such high sounding terms? Aren't we only that "worm Jacob"? Yes, Israel is only a worm. Indeed, all our folk wisdom resolves itself in cringing and crawling.

When the State Department said that the adoption of the Resolution "at this time was not wise from the standpoint of the international situation"—a statement which was no more valid than a similar previous declaration of the War Department—Rabbi Stephen Wise immediately decided that the Resolution was not timely and in accordance with conditions and should be withdrawn. But Rabbi Silver continued undaunted to work for a change of official attitude and at the same time continued to win additional support for the Resolution. And he did it, indeed, for the sake of Jewish honor and the dire need of our people.

How could they permit themselves to stifle with the meaningless words "international situation" the bitter outcries of the unparalleled tragedy of the Jewish people? And aren't we American citizens who have a right to demand that the promises made us when our votes were needed should be honored after we have given our votes?

Who is right? Wise or Silver? Which policy is the right one? Perseverance or weak-kneed yielding? Why not consult the sentiments of the Zionist masses, the voice of the people which is the voice of God? Do not the leaders of the American Zionist Organization have any faith in the rank and file of the membership? Is the Palestine Resolution their own private concern? Or are we to believe that the conflict in the Emergency Council was not the result of an honest difference of opinion regarding principles and policies, but the outcome of petty and ugly bickerings of the "top men" who cannot agree on how to divide the "honors" among themselves? Woe unto us if the latter be true!

**"Dr. Silver Served Zionism Loyally and
Wholeheartedly While His Opponents
Played Politics" Article in *The Day*
December 31, 1944**

A number of legends about Dr. Silver's personality and leadership have cropped up. For example, the following argument is being heard: since the Chief Executive conducts the foreign policy of the United States, it is necessary to have as Zionist plenipotentiary to the President a sort of "Hof-Jude," a member of the President's inner circle . . . Now Dr. Silver—so it is said—is a Republican and is therefore undesirable at the White House, whereas Dr. Wise is "persona gratissima." For this reason—the argument goes—Dr. Silver should be removed from the political leadership . . . It is not true that Dr. Silver is a Republican. He was at one time a supporter of Willkie, as were many good Democrats, because he did not wish to break the two-term precedent . . . As to the allegation that a certain Zionist is "persona gratissima" at the White House, one might well say: "Prove it to me!"

In the face of the dreadful tragedy that has overtaken the Jewish people during all twelve years of the present Administration, these so-called "connections" availed us not at all. We received no help whatsoever—not even a friendly gesture. If anything was attained, it was only during the last few months—thanks to the pressure of an aroused Jewish and non-Jewish public opinion. Washington still respects the voice of the people.

**Editorial in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
December 31, 1944**

If ever there was a time when the higher interests of Zionism demanded unity and the setting aside of personal differences, that time is now. If Dr. Wise complained that there was no harmony between the co-chairmen, then certainly Dr. Silver had a much greater complaint—that he received no cooperation from the leadership of the Zionist Organization of America even though the Z.O.A. Convention in Atlantic City gave its whole-hearted endorsement to his aggressive policies. . . . As for the principles involved here, no one will venture to deny that there is need for an outspoken, militant Zionist policy. We cannot be satisfied with appeals for charity . . . We must be heard and understood. We must walk through the open door of political action and not through the back-door of "shtadlanut."

**Article by Jacob Fishman in
the *Jewish Morning Journal*
January 1, 1945**

The twelve members of the American Zionist Emergency Council who voted Dr. Abba Hillel Silver out of the leadership of American Zionist political work have demonstrated that they have no desire to heal the dangerous breach in American Zionism. They have also slapped the face of Jewish public opinion, which has, in my opinion, manifested overwhelming opposition to the maneuver aimed at Dr. Silver.

When one reads the pronouncement at the end of Dr. Israel Goldstein's statement to the effect that "Zionism is a democratic movement," one feels like asking Dr. Goldstein: when did the Z.O.A. administration receive a mandate from the Zionist membership to carry on a political campaign directed against Dr. Silver or to seek out his "sins"? Quite the contrary—at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America in Atlantic City Dr. Silver's policies were approved unanimously; and the delegates understood already then that a behind-the-scenes campaign was being waged against him by the Z.O.A. administration . . .

This affair will not be forgotten so soon by the Z.O.A. membership. The day of reckoning, when all those responsible for this maneuver will find themselves in Dr. Silver's present circumstances, will come. In my judgement this most recent development is convincing evidence that a "New Deal" in the leadership of the Z.O.A. is needed.

**Article by M. Rivlin in the *Jewish Morning Journal*
January 1, 1945**

As democratic individuals we must all accede to the will of the majority. It must be pointed out, however, that so far as we are able to judge, the action of the Emergency Council was that of a majority of the minority. Not only the members of Mizrahi and Poale Zion, but the Z.O.A. and Hadassah rank and file are overwhelmingly in favor of Dr. Silver's position and actions. And it is certainly no exaggeration to say that the vast majority of Zionists were opposed to the removal of Dr. Silver.

**Editorial in the *Jewish Ledger* (Hartford, Conn.)
January 5, 1945**

If the Democratic Party and the Democratic leadership, safely entrenched now for four more years, feel themselves so confident and so brazen as to repudiate the party platform and the promise solemnly made by its

candidate, then the situation becomes all the more bitter because it is so unspeakably, indescribably unworthy.

That is bad enough, but when this setback occurred it appears that some of our Jewish politicians within the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America (which, be it remembered, does not speak for organized Zionism but represents only one party, one section, one group of American Zionists) undertake to utilize this present moment to play unworthy, opportunistic internal politics, that is tragic and exceedingly painful. When, under the circumstances, an attempt is made to look for a scapegoat and that scapegoat becomes Dr. Silver, who more than any other individual in American Zionist ranks, has vitalized the movement, has given it a major place not only in American Jewish life but in American life generally; when some of the "Poo Bahs" in the Z.O.A. party councils . . . begin to vent their jealousies, their envies, their personal dislike against the one leader who in a year and a half has done most to place a Jewish Palestine in the center of American consciousness—we have a situation which is most unfortunate and exceedingly sad.

We are not trying to write a brief in defense of Dr. Silver. He usually can take care of himself. We do not mean to say that Dr. Silver was flawless in all that he said and did. But we do say that the manner and moment of forcing Dr. Silver out of the American Zionist Emergency Council leave a bad taste in the mouths of those of us who ask no offices, want no personal preferment, play no politics, ask for no favors, draw no salaries, feather no nests, but who are just the rank and file of Jews who are interested in the creation of a Jewish homeland! . . . The whole situation smells with machine politics, the machine which has become the administration of the Zionist Organization of America, and the odor is not pleasant even as the technique and procedure are not edifying in the least.

Editorial in the B'nai Brith Messenger
(Los Angeles, Cal.)
January 5, 1945

The acceptance of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation . . . is far from being a sign of enlightened leadership in this most critical juncture of Jewish history. At a time when youthfulness, aggressiveness and determination of purpose are so much needed in Jewish leadership, there seems to have been little justification in taking advantage of an impasse between Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Silver to request the latter's resignation . . .

The fact that 100 Eastern Zionist leaders have

already placed themselves on record as having "unshakable and abiding confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" and in his policies; the fact that he has the support of Labor Zionists, the Mizrahi, and a good portion of Hadassah, as well as a great number of general Zionists, is an indication that Dr. Silver may soon again return to the leadership he has so well earned.

Editorial in the American Jewish World
(Minneapolis, Minn.)
January 5, 1945

It is tragic that Dr. Silver's resignation should have been precipitated by an act of his which . . . represented the only just, self-respecting and constructive position which American Jewry and all fair-minded Americans must take. The Jewish tragedy is too great to let it become a mere plaything for politicians. We know where appeasement policies lead to. We are convinced that our cause is just and that as such its way of progress is not through "backstairs diplomacy." Certainly this is no time for timid leaders.

Article in The Day by S. Dingol
January 6, 1945

When I ask myself which of the two opposing groups in this controversy is right, I arrive at one logical conclusion—Dr. Silver is right. And the reasoning is quite simple. When two groups bring their arguments into court and both insist that they are in the right, the judgement of an impartial jury is sought.

Such an impartial jury—one which had no stake in the personal disputes within the Zionist Organization of America—existed in the American Zionist Emergency Council. This jury consisted of the representatives of Mizrahi and Foale Zion . . . These two groups, which were part of the Emergency Council since its inception and which were fully informed on all that was transpiring there, voted to retain Dr. Silver in the leadership after the controversy was thrashed out in a series of debates. This is a clear indication that Dr. Silver is right.

Dispatch in the Jewish Morning Journal
January 8, 1945

At the meeting of the Z.O.A. Administrative Council a motion was made expressing confidence in Dr. Silver's leadership and calling for his return to the leadership of the Emergency Council. This motion, introduced by Emanuel Neumann in an attempt to re-

store unity in Zionist leadership at this critical moment, was defeated by a vote of 66 to 30.

Speaking in behalf of the resolution which endorsed the action taken by the Z.O.A. Executive were Dr. Goldstein, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. James Heller and Judge Louis Levinthal. Speaking against this resolution were Emanuel Neumann, Jacob Fishman and the "rank and filers" . . . A painful scene took place while Dr. Neumann was making his presentation. Dr. Wise, it is reported, interrupted Neumann's remarks and exclaimed that the latter is carrying on a "sewerage campaign." Neumann asserted that Dr. Wise is taking advantage of his years, and then left the platform. He received an ovation as he returned to his seat . . .

Before the vote was taken, a question was raised as to whether members of the Z.O.A. Executive should be entitled to vote on this question, inasmuch as their own actions were under review. It was pointed out that there were 25 members of the Executive, as well as 20 members of the Administrative Council who were personal appointees of Dr. Goldstein, making a total of 45 "sure" votes for the administration.

Article by Leon Crystal in the Jewish Daily Forward January 9, 1945

The conflict was brought on by a group of general Zionists who are attempting to gain control over all Jewish organizations and activities . . . Dr. Nahum Goldmann, together with other members of the so-called "Wise group," employed the name of President Roosevelt to spread false rumors. The purpose was to undermine Rabbi Silver and place him in such a position where he would be forced to resign as leader of the Emergency Council.

Editorial in The Day January 10, 1945

District after district—Brooklyn, Long Island, Baltimore, Hartford—wherever the Zionist masses have had an opportunity to express their opinion, has spoken out in support of Dr. Silver. Zionist groups everywhere have demanded his return to the work of the Emergency Council, feeling that without him the Council will lack the energy, the driving force which Dr. Silver brought to American Zionism. But the wishes of the present leaders of the Zionist Organization of America, the men who are now in the saddle and hold the reins of leadership, are quite different. The Administrative Council of the Z.O.A. wasn't big enough to adopt a resolution expressing thanks for Dr. Silver's accomplish-

ments as co-chairman of the Emergency Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee.

Article by Leon Crystal in the Jewish Daily Forward January 11, 1945

Dr. Silver is accused by the "Wise group" of "breaking discipline" . . . Rabbi Wise has, time and again, "broken discipline." But he was never punished for it. Quite the contrary—he was rewarded by being elected as sole chairman of the Council. And Dr. Silver was forced to resign by the "Wise group" for "breaking discipline." It is quite clear that the clique which now has the upper hand in the Zionist Organization of America, as well as in the Emergency Council, sets up two standards of "justice"—one for its own members, but quite another one for those with whom it is "settling scores."

Editorial in the Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle January 12, 1945

We note with satisfaction the commendable position taken by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council this week in unanimously adopting a resolution sharply censoring the American Zionist Emergency Council for "the manner in which Dr. Silver was deprived of his leadership as co-chairman of the Council and chairman of its executive committee," and calling for a "further and far-reaching reorganization, which shall include Dr. Silver in a position of executive leadership."

Editorial in the Jewish Ledger (Hartford, Conn.) January 12, 1945

Our suggestion is that the time has come for someone, perhaps some group within Zionist ranks, to take the initiative to do some thorough housecleaning . . . There are entrenched and vested interests. The difficulty is great, but it should be done, and done soon.

Editorial in the Jewish Ledger (Rochester, N. Y.) January 12, 1945

The feeling prevails in the Jewish press and in private conversation that, by discouraging Dr. Silver, even forcing him to resign, the way was cleared for certain ambitious gentlemen to gain dominance over Zionist affairs in this country . . . It was not a fair fight fought out in the open on the floor of the Zionist convention with the ribbon going to the winner. On the contrary, it was a dark and foul fight, waged behind

closed doors and smoke-filled committee rooms, where the umpires—the great body of American Zionists—were given no chance to deliver their verdict.

**"Zionist Position Is Being Weakened By
'Green Light' Politics" by Gedalia Bublick
Article in the Jewish Morning Journal
January 12, 1945**

The present position of American Zionism is in grave danger of being weakened by the "green light" strategy, which brought about the removal of Rabbi Silver from his position of leadership. Some Zionists believe that until we get the "green light" signal from the powers that be, all we can do is wait and do nothing.

This strategy is wrong. We are demanding what was promised us in signed agreements concluded in Washington as well as in London; we are demanding the righting of a wrong committed against us; we are demanding what is due us. How ridiculous to argue that one must ask permission before demanding payment of a debt! What ignorance of the most elementary principles of political action!

The forcing of Dr. Silver's resignation after the deferment of action on the resolution amounts to an open declaration to the State Department and to the British Colonial Office to this effect: "You see, we Zionists are not so set on our demands. We wish to cause you no embarrassment. We shall wait, wait and wait until it will be your pleasure to tell us that we may act. There was a black sheep in our midst who made demands, but we have cast him out. You will have no trouble with us from now on. We shall maintain a weak policy, and it shall be as you wish . . ."

**Article by S. Dingol in The Day
January 13, 1945**

Leaders of the Zionist Organization of America have a complaint against the Jewish press and certain writers—why do they continue to comment on the dispute within the American Zionist Emergency Council? The Emergency Council is already reorganized, they argue. In any case, nothing will be done before the next Z.O.A. Convention in October. So why not be nice to the new Emergency Council . . .

There can be only one answer: if the press refrained from commenting on situations after "reorganizations" have taken place, and if it allowed misdeeds to be forgotten, it would not deserve to hold its present prominent place in American public opinion.

To keep silent about misdeeds after they have been committed would only encourage bad leaders to further

damaging action; society would then be confronted with a fait accompli.

**Article by Leon Crystal in the
Jewish Daily Forward
January 13, 1945**

By injecting the politics of the two major American political parties into the Zionist conflict, and by bringing President Roosevelt's name into its battle against Dr. Silver and his supporters, the "White group" has harmed, not only itself, but the entire American Zionist movement.

**"The Silver Issue and Z.O.A. Regional
Membership" by Jacob Richman
Article in The Day
January 14, 1945**

The defeat of reasonable proposals, the rejection of all counsels of moderation looking to a peaceful solution of the crisis cannot be explained on grounds of high policy. The ruthless elimination of a leader of Dr. Silver's stature with his brilliant record of achievement was bound to entail consequences of a most serious nature. Was the anti-Silver group so lacking in imagination, so consumed by passion that they were blind to all storm signals? Could they not foresee the inevitable consequences: a violent reaction in the whole Jewish press, the upsurge of an outraged public opinion, the revolt among the Zionist masses, the rift within the Movement and the harmful repercussions in the political world both here and abroad? Where was their caution, their sense of responsibility, their vaunted statesmanship when they deliberately plunged the Zionist Organization into the abyss of bitter internal strife at a moment like this?

Belatedly, they are now attempting to allay the storm of indignation they have aroused by representing their action as the consummation of the "democratic process" and by appealing to the Zionists' sense of discipline to accept the result. The Council was hastily "reorganized"—without Silver—and the reorganization "ratified" by a heavily weighted ZOA Executive and an Administrative Council packed with personal appointees of the President. The Zionist masses were confronted with a fait accompli.

But all indications point unmistakably to the fact that the course pursued by the ZOA Administration was essentially undemocratic and ran squarely counter to the wishes and sentiments of their constituents. Region after region declared itself against the elimination of Dr. Silver and for his recall to leadership and the restoration of unity.

"What of the Palestine Resolution?"

By Jacob Fishman

Article in the *Jewish Morning Journal*

January 14, 1945

Dr. Silver's political opponents have begun to belittle the entire idea of a Congressional Resolution. For the time being they are doing it only in private conversation, but they will probably soon be asserting publicly that the Resolution need never have been introduced in Congress and that its political value is inconsequential. It is only the President's good will that matters, for it is he and not Congress who determines American foreign policy . . . The more one surveys the situation, the clearer it becomes that the way to a satisfactory solution of the Palestine question must be paved by a Congressional Resolution passed before the United Nations organization is established.

Article by L. Spizman in *The Day*

January 18, 1945

All Zionists, including Dr. Silver's bitter opponents, admit that until Dr. Silver took over the leadership of the Emergency Council, there was inactivity and stagnation on the American Zionist political front. When Dr. Goldstein speaks of the victories which the Zionist Organization of America helped to achieve—President Roosevelt's pre-election letter, the Palestine plank in the Democratic party platform, etc.—he forgets somehow that all this was accomplished as a result of the large-scale political program of the Emergency Council under Dr. Silver's leadership.

If the Zionist leaders in America were concerned only with the higher interests of Zionist policy, they would not allow Dr. Silver to fall at this time, even if a portion of their complaints against him were justified. Dr. Silver's removal constitutes a "green light" for the anti-Zionists in the Administration—and there is no lack of them—and amounts to an admission that the weaker, opportunistic element has emerged victorious in the Zionist movement. And if the Jewish press, the Zionist masses—*Pode Zion*, *Mizrachi* and the Zionist "man in the street"—do not show active concern and reveal the true sentiments of American Jewry, then Dr. Silver's removal from the leadership of American Zionist political work can become an unforgivable political blunder with extremely tragic consequences for all devoted Zionists.

Article by Philip Slomovitz in
the *Jewish News* (Detroit, Mich.)

January 26, 1945

American Zionists are lining up in the current

internal issue. While the executive and administrative committees of the Zionist Organization of America have taken a stand against Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his group, a number of districts throughout the land are supporting Dr. Silver's militant viewpoint and are demanding his return to leadership . . . It should be possible to reach a decision by a plebiscite of Zionists.

This commentator urges such action as speedily as possible, and he sincerely hopes that the stand will be in support of Dr. Silver's return to national leadership in the Zionist movement . . . Dr. Silver is a consistent and vigorous fighter for justice for Jewry and Palestine, and the Zionist constituency will surely reject any plan to eliminate him from leadership.

The errors committed by our leaders in control of the movement must be corrected immediately and Dr. Silver must be recalled to active service. The Zionists of America must act . . . promptly—and this commentator urges that they act in support of Dr. Silver.

"Whither U. S. Zionism?" by William Kleinfeld

Article in *The Day*

January 28, 1945

When Silver took over the command, the great offensive was on at last. He believed in what he was doing and did it superbly. Inspired by his magnificent courage, steeled by his inflexible determination, the movement mobilized behind him and went forward with a rush to take position after position. The impact was terrific; the advance seemed irresistible. It was a headlong thrust—a frontal attack upon official indifference on the one hand and the unseen forces of anti-Zionism on the other. Clashes there were bound to be and strong resistance, but we were on the march! Were we going to press on to the end?

It was not to be. From the circle of Silver's immediate associates—his colleagues—the old cry arose: Beware! Caution! Let us arrest this impetuous drive. We must not; we dare not. The risk is too great; the outcome in doubt. This man is dangerous; he must be removed. And Silver was "relieved" of his command.

What of the future course? Where do we go from here under the old-new leadership? Will it be the old policy of "caution," of picking up crumbs of consolation from the tables of the mighty and hoping for the best? Or will it be a continuation of Silver's political offensive under old-new generals? Will it be a cross between the two or a wavering oscillation between the one and the other?

These are the questions which weigh upon the minds and hearts of American Zionists. They explain the outburst of indignation over Silver's retirement and

the insistent demand that he be recalled to leadership. They also explain why the controversy refuses to subside.

"The Need for Dr. Silver's Leadership"

By Louis J. Gribetz

Article in the *Brooklyn Jewish Center Review*

January, 1945

The conduct of the (Z.O.A.) Administration is contrary to the expressed will of what appears to be already a major segment of the rank and file of loyal Zionists throughout the land . . . Reinforced by the entire Yiddish press, other Zionist bodies, and the great body of individual Zionists, they declare Dr. Silver's services to Zionism to be indispensable, and vigorously demand his retention in office.

The heart and mind of the Zionist public beat spontaneously in unison with the aspirations and activities of Dr. Silver. Ardent and true Zionists know that there is no more sagacious, loyal or indefatigable servant of the cause than he. With scorn they reject as egregiously magnified and as specious the charge that he breached the discipline of the organization and thereby merited the ostracism inflicted . . . In this crucial, tragic hour of Jewish life, the matchless courage, fervor and resourcefulness of Dr. Silver are sorely needed. The Zionist masses cannot afford to be deprived of his stimulating and sustaining guidance. Their whole-hearted and persistent cry for his return to leadership cannot be stifled or ignored.

"The Crisis in American Zionism"

Article in the *Jewish Spectator*

January, 1945

No doubt, the deferment of the Palestine Resolution is a great set-back and a severe disappointment. However, to hold Dr. Silver responsible for it and make him take the full blame is about the most unexpected

and unintelligent reaction one would have expected from the Zionist leadership. If not for Dr. Silver and his activities, American Zionism might never have been able to gain the powerful political support which opened the road for the projecting of the "Palestine Resolution" and the inclusion of the "Palestine Plank" into the platforms of the Democratic and the Republican parties.

Dr. Silver's merits for the Zionist movement, and more particularly, the Zionist Emergency Council are singularly valuable and distinguished. He is among the ablest men in the movement and the Jewish people and Zionism can ill afford to lose his dedicated services at this crucial moment . . .

Observing the American Jewish scene as a whole and the Zionist scene in particular, one cannot help feeling that intellectuality and intelligence, coupled with broad general knowledge and comprehensive Jewish spiritual-literary attainments, are the qualities least desired in a Jewish leader.

It is high time for the *anshei ho-ruech*—the men of intellect and the deed born of the intellect—to grasp firmly the reins of leadership instead of permitting the mediocrities to rule and ruin.

"Lack of Statesmanship"

Editorial in the *Bnai Zion Voice*

January, 1945

Had the passage of the (Palestine) Resolution failed merely because of governmental intervention and nothing else was involved, the Zionists would have faced their disappointment with determination to overcome all difficulties. But the incident was used to feed internal factionalism, to give vent to personal animosities and to establish—in the heat of the moment, in a mood of anger and indignation—the guilt of the leadership of the Council, specifically of Dr. Silver. Thus, the political crisis served to break the Zionist front.

From the Rank and File

Resolution adopted by Brooklyn, N. Y. Zionist Region
Membership 10,420
January 3, 1945

The Executive Committee of the Brooklyn Zionist Region, having considered the crisis in the political affairs of the Zionist Movement in this country and the events which caused such crisis, at two special meetings held on December 18, 1944 and January 3, 1945 hereby RESOLVE as follows:

(1) We deplore the ill-considered action taken by the ZOA Administration which brought about the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as Co-Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and Chairman of its Executive Committee, and regard such action as inimical to the best interests of the entire Zionist Movement.

(2) We affirm our unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policies, which we hailed and approved in the political resolution unanimously adopted on October 16, 1944 at the 47th Annual Zionist Convention at Atlantic City.

(3) We call upon the Administrative Council of the ZOA, scheduled to meet on January 7, 1945, to take the necessary steps for the calling of a special session of the delegates elected to the 47th Annual Zionist Convention for the purpose of dealing with and acting upon the problems which brought about the crisis aforementioned.

Resolution adopted by Connecticut Zionist Region
Membership 4129
January 3, 1945

We deplore the rift which has occurred within the ranks and leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council. We recognize that difficulties exist in dealing with various government departments and political leaders with reference to Jewish interests in Palestine. We recognize that procedures may have to vary from time to time in dealing with government bureaus and statesmen. In such dealings there may be times when progress is made and other times when reverses occur.

We regret the circumstances resulting in Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation after sixteen months as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. His leadership, as demonstrated by these months of activity, has proven to be of the dynamic, militant and intelligent type. It was his strength of conviction, his driving power, his skill as statesman, his wisdom as leader, that made American Jewry more Palestine-conscious than it has ever been.

The Executive of the Connecticut State Zionist Region pledges its continuing support of the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council under whatever leadership exists, and nothing herein stated shall in any way be construed as any reflection on the sincerity of any of the resolutions it adopted. Yet we feel that in this emergency Dr. Silver should be brought back into a position of active participation in leadership and we urge the American Zionist Emergency Council to take action to this end.

Resolution adopted by Laurelton, L. I. Zionist District
Membership 478
January 3, 1945

WHEREAS the resignation of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver from his position as Co-Chairman has been accepted by the Zionist Emergency Council, following objections to his actions with respect to the recent vote of the House Foreign Affairs Committee on the Palestine resolution.

BE IT RESOLVED that this Board advise the Long Island Zionist Region

(1) That this Board recalls the several requests made upon this District by the Zionist Organization of America and by the Zionist Emergency Council to support the pending Palestine Resolution and to implement such support by action;

(2) That the policy of appeasement has not proven effective and should be discontinued;

(3) That this Board is of the opinion that the Palestine planks in the recent political platforms and the letter from the President to Senator Wagner read to the convention should be considered honorable commitments by honorable men as they were undoubtedly intended to be;

(4) That this Board acclaims the action of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs as a proper and consistent corollary to the party planks;

(5) That this Board regrets and is deeply concerned over the acceptance by the Emergency Council of Dr. Silver's resignation;

(6) That this Board urges that the Emergency Council request Dr. Silver to reconsider his resignation, so that the Emergency Council and all Zionists may continue to avail themselves of the militant spirit, the integrity and the zeal of Rabbi Silver which has so long served Jewry and Zionism, and so that American Zionists may continue to march forward together.

Resolution adopted by Long Island Zionist Region
Membership 5490
January 4, 1945

RESOLVED that we address ourselves to the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America to request that some methods be devised whereby Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver should be reintegrated into the leadership of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council.

Resolution adopted by Pittsburgh, Pa. Zionist District
Membership 4132
January 4, 1945

RESOLVED that it is the opinion of this meeting that the present breach in the ranks of the Zionist Leadership in America is deplorable, and that every effort be made to restore unity in the Zionist Leadership, and restore the active services and leadership of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver in the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

AND BE IT RESOLVED FURTHER that a copy of the foregoing resolution be sent to Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the

Zionist Organization of America, and to Mr. Daniel Frisch, Chairman of the National Zionist Administrative Council.

**Resolution adopted by Cleveland, Ohio Zionist Society
Membership 1600
January 7, 1945**

RESOLVED that The Cleveland Zionist Society, numbering sixteen hundred enrolled Zionists, expresses its complete confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who as Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council rendered such distinguished and universally recognized service to the cause of Zionism.

RESOLVED that The Cleveland Zionist Society whole-heartedly approves his political activities in connection with the Palestine Resolution which was introduced in Congress and condemns the action of the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Emergency Council who forced the resignation of Dr. Silver at a time when his services to our movement were most needed.

WE FURTHERMORE denounce these same representatives for their obstructionist tactics throughout Dr. Silver's administration.

We are convinced that this unwarranted action does not represent the true sentiment of the Zionists of America and of American Jewry.

**Resolution adopted by Charleston, W. Va. Zionist District
Membership 276
January 8, 1945**

After reading the statements issued in the recent controversy, the Charleston, W. Virginia District records with deep concern the difficulties that have beset the Zionist cause. It condemns the tactics and policies of the ZOA members on the Emergency Council that have led to the resignation of Dr. Silver. It further expresses its support of Dr. Silver and his vigorous espousal of our cause, and urges that he be recalled to the leadership of the Emergency Council, which he vitalized and headed with such distinction.

**Resolution adopted by Milwaukee, Wis.
Zionist Emergency Council
January 9, 1945**

WHEREAS the magnificent achievements of the American Zionist Emergency Council have been aborted and halted by the unfortunate dissension which has arisen in the leadership of the Council, and since the primary objective of the Council is the welfare of Palestine, the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council feels it incumbent upon itself to express its alarm and condemnation of the unfortunate situation which has arisen in the ranks of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

We, of the local Emergency Council, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, have been constantly motivated and stimulated in our action to greater and greater effort in fulfilling the mandates of the American Zionist Emergency Council. We deplore the manner in which Dr. Silver was deprived of his leadership as Co-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Executive Committee, and feel that his absence as Co-Chairman has

shaken our confidence in the program and future of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

We view with apprehension and disfavor the present structure of the reorganized American Zionist Emergency Council, and we call for a further and far-reaching reorganization, which shall include Dr. Silver in a position of Executive leadership.

**Resolution adopted by Uniontown, Pa. Zionist District
Membership 267
January 10, 1945**

We view with deep regret the breach in leadership of American Zionism that led to the retirement of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from the position he has occupied in the American Zionist Emergency Council with such marked success.

We feel that the great respect and admiration we have for the vigorous leadership of Dr. Silver is reflected in the minds of many Zionist leaders throughout the land.

At this critical period in our Zionist history the movement must not dispense with the gifted services of Dr. Silver.

The dangerous breach must not be permitted to widen.

We, therefore, call upon the national administration of the Zionist Organization of America to take immediate steps toward recalling Dr. Silver to political leadership with the sole purpose of restoring unity of action within the entire Zionist movement so that a Jewish Commonwealth can be established in Palestine as soon as humanly possible.

**Resolution adopted by Meriden, Conn.
Zionist Emergency Council
January 10, 1945**

WHEREAS the American Zionist Emergency Council, under the inspiring and devoted leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, has during the past sixteen months of its existence done a remarkable job in educating public opinion to the cause of Zionism and in taking effective measures to bring about expressions of sentiment favorable to the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine by both major political parties in America in their election platforms, by both the Presidential candidates in the recent national elections, and, but for the intervention of the State Department, would, we are certain, have brought about the passage of the Palestine Resolution in both Houses of the Congress.

AND WHEREAS we are firmly convinced that the resignation of Dr. Silver as Chairman of the Executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council will be a serious detriment to the effective functioning of that body, and a blow to Zionist Emergency Councils all over the country who have come, justly, to look to Dr. Silver for inspiring and efficient leadership.

AND WHEREAS we believe that in this hour of unprecedented tragedy for our people, our great leaders should be able to rise above petty personal differences, which we regret to say, after reviewing carefully both sides of the question, seem to be the basic issue in the controversy between Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver.

We, the Zionist Emergency Council of Meriden, Connecticut, met in session on January 10, 1945, earnestly submit to the American Zionist Emergency Council our plea that this tragic breach in our ranks be healed, and that the way be found for restoring Dr. Silver to leadership in the Zionist Emergency Council of America.

**Resolution adopted by Brownsville (Brooklyn, N. Y.)
Zionist District
Membership 365
January 11, 1945**

WHEREAS we view with deep regret the breach which has arisen in Zionist ranks at a time when we must redouble our efforts to secure the implementation of the magnificent expressions of support for our cause which were secured during the last year under the dynamic leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,

AND WHEREAS we reaffirm our confidence in Dr. Silver's leadership and in his policies, and being convinced that under his direction the political phase of our movement reached unprecedented heights,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon the Executive of the Zionist Organization of America to reestablish unity in the ranks of American Zionism, and to heal the breach which has arisen—a luxury which the Jewish people can ill afford under the present tragic circumstances—by recalling Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the leadership of American Zionist political work.

**Resolution adopted by Oil City, Pa. Zionist District
Membership 69
January 11, 1945**

We deplore the resignation of our great and courageous leader Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. We wholeheartedly approve and support his militant policy and future leadership. May the Lord strengthen him in his righteous fight for his people and bring about the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

**Resolution adopted by Dallas, Texas
Zionist Emergency Council
January 15, 1945**

WHEREAS, the Dallas Zionist Emergency Council regrets the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from the co-chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council; and

WHEREAS, the Dallas Zionist Emergency Council is fearful that the work accomplished through the guidance of Dr. Silver may be lost;

BE IT RESOLVED that the Dallas Zionist Emergency Council urge upon the American Zionist Emergency Council the continuance of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as a leader for the Zionist cause;

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Dallas Zionist Emergency Council impress upon the American Zionist Emergency Council the need for aggressive, militant action to work towards the approval of the resolution for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine by the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees and the United Nations.

**Resolution adopted by Hollywood, Cal. Zionist District
Membership 50
January 16, 1945**

The present rift in American Zionist leadership is an unfortunate occurrence to be deplored by every conscientious Jew, Zionist or non-Zionist.

At the time when unity of purpose and unity of action are essential; when the co-operation and services of all men of good will are urgently needed; when Palestine and the entire Jewish people face unprecedented ordeals and obstacles, the resignation of Dr. Silver, one of the most outstanding leaders in American Zionism, as well as the elimination of other constructive forces from the Emergency Council affects Zionist influence and interest for Palestine, not only among the various parts of the non-Jewish community in this country, but inner Jewish circles as well.

Not going into details as to who is responsible for the present crisis created by the unfortunate action of certain groups, the Hollywood Zionist District assembled at its meeting on January 16, 1945 at the assembly hall of Temple Israel resolves:

1. That immediate steps be taken to bring Dr. Abba Hillel Silver back to the leadership of the Emergency Council.

2. That the Emergency Council be reorganized by including representatives from the various Zionist groups throughout the land and thus not to leave the shaping of policy to a few men of the administration.

**Letter to American Zionist Emergency Council from
Maine Zionist Emergency Council
January 17, 1945**

On Sunday, January 7th, our Committee met and unanimously agreed to register with the Council our deep disappointment with the tragic happenings to our cause during the past thirty days. We deeply resent the attitude of the Council towards Dr. Silver because we have felt that the dynamic and successful program carried on by the Council was due, directly, to the energetic and statesmanlike leadership of Dr. Silver.

We had hoped that the Council would carry out the resolution passed at the Zionist Convention which wholeheartedly endorsed the administration of Dr. Silver.

We are fully cognizant that the resignation of Dr. Silver culminated as a result of the embittered battle that has been raging for some time between Drs. Wise and Goldstein on one side and Dr. Silver on the other side. It seems to us that the former have been determined to undermine the confidence that the Zionists have had in Dr. Silver's leadership with the motive of dominating the policies of the Council to please their personal inclinations and whims, without regard for the opinions of the rank and file.

For the sake of our cause, we are demanding that the National leaders of the Council drop their personal animosities and unite their energies and efforts in order that we may achieve our goal speedily. We further ask the Council to recall Dr. Silver as Chairman of that body to carry on our fight to a successful conclusion.

PHIL W. LOWE, *Chairman*

MAINE ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

**Resolution adopted by Order Sons of Zion,
Hashachar Camp No. 70
January 21, 1945**

The Executive Board and members of the Hashachar Camp No. 70 of the Bnai Zion were bitterly disappointed by the action of the Zionist Emergency Council, which forced and accepted the resignation of Rabbi Silver as co-chairman of the Council.

The membership feels that this action was unwarranted and hereby publicly proclaims its disapproval of such acts and deeds.

The membership also feels that the services which Rabbi Silver has rendered to the Zionist cause are incomparable, and that through his efforts the Zionist movement has won a great many friends and a host of new followers.

Therefore, the members of the Hashachar Camp are in agreement with the Mizrahi and Poale-Zion Organizations in their demand to call Dr. Chaim Weizmann and David Ben-Gurion to the United States for arbitration.

**Resolution adopted by Richmond Hill, L. I. Zionist District
Membership 459
January 24, 1945**

We view with deep regret and concern the retirement of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from the position he has occupied in the American Zionist Emergency Council and the breach in the leadership of American Zionism. At this critical time the Zionist movement can neither dispense with the services of a man of his abilities nor permit the dangerous breach to widen.

We convey to Dr. Silver our sincere affection and admiration for his work in the Zionist cause and affirm our confidence in the policy he has advocated.

With the best interests of the Zionist movement in mind, we call upon the national administration of the Zionist Organization of America to take immediate steps for the prompt recall of Dr. Silver to active political leadership and the early restoration of unity in the Zionist movement.

**Resolution adopted by Camden, N. J.
Zionist Emergency Council
January 28, 1945**

Neither men alone nor issues alone can determine Zionist

Political Policy. We feel strongly that the adoption of a forthright, aggressive policy is desirable. On the basis of past experience, we believe that Rabbi Silver embodies this approach, and urge that he be placed in a position of leadership.

**Resolution adopted by St. Louis, Mo.
Zionist Emergency Council
February 8, 1945**

RESOLVED that the St. Louis Zionist Emergency Council views with deep concern the retirement of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from the position of Co-Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and Chairman of its Executive Committee. World Jewry in general and the Zionist movement in particular can ill afford at this critical time to suffer a breach between such eminent leaders as Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and obviously all efforts must be made to effectuate unity between these two great leaders without undue delay.

FURTHER, the St. Louis Zionist Emergency Council, without any attempt to pass upon the merits of the pending controversy, respectfully insists that the national administration of the American Zionist Emergency Council forthwith invite Dr. Silver to resume his positions in the leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council jointly with Dr. Wise to the end that harmony be restored in the ranks of American political Zionism.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the national administration of the American Zionist Emergency Council, to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, to all Chairmen of the local Zionist Emergency Councils throughout the country; also to the national heads of the four groups affiliated with the American Zionist Emergency Council.

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Report of President Roosevelt in Person to the Congress on the Crimea Conference

Following is the text of President Roosevelt's address to Congress yesterday on the Crimea Conference, as reported by THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Mr. Vice President, Mr. Speaker and members of the Congress:

I hope that you will pardon me for the unusual nature of coming down during the presentation of what I want to say. I know that you will realize that it is a lot easier for me to sit in the White House than to come down here, but I have decided to do so because of the fact that I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip.

First of all, I want to say that it is good to be home. It has been a long journey and I hope you all will agree that it has been, in fact, a fruitful one.

Speaking in all frankness, the question of whether it is entirely proper to tell you is a great question in your hands. The subject is, in fact, the subject of the American people's confidence in the general conclusion reached in the Crimea Conference, and also their own active support. The subject will not have produced lasting results.

And that is why I have come before you at this hour. I want to make a personal report to you and at the same time to the people of the country. Many months of effort have been made to get the subject before you, but I have decided to do so because of the fact that I have just completed a 14,000-mile trip.

I am returning from this trip with a great deal of information and a great deal of confidence. I want to say that I am confident that the American people will support the conclusions reached in the Crimea Conference, and also their own active support.

And for every one of us, I want to say that I am confident that the American people will support the conclusions reached in the Crimea Conference, and also their own active support.

I come from the Crimea Conference with a great deal of information and a great deal of confidence. I want to say that I am confident that the American people will support the conclusions reached in the Crimea Conference, and also their own active support.

There were two main purposes in this Crimea Conference. The first was to bring about a general agreement on the part of the Allied powers, and the second was to bring about a general agreement on the part of the Allied powers.

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THE SCENE IN CONGRESS AS THE PRESIDENT MADE HIS ADDRESS YESTERDAY



Mr. Roosevelt speaking to the joint session from the well of the House chamber

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President Put Many Interpolations in Text; Started With Apology for Remaining Seated

WASHINGTON, March 1 (AP)—President Roosevelt took his carefully prepared congressional speech for an emotional lullaby ride today. The Chief Executive, a steady as a plumb line when he is in the mood, however, in and out of his prepared text as he gave Congress a personal report on the Crimea Conference.

A crack at "poor America" in world affairs, a remark about his own health and some of his appeal for congressional support of world peace plans all were interpolated, apparently voiced by the President in the spur of the moment.

Many of the changes were made in the President's speech. An example was the President's apology to Congress for his absence from the Crimea Conference. He explained that it was a relief not to have the burden of world peace plans on his shoulders when he must stand before Congress for such a speech.

One of the spots where Mr. Roosevelt left his seat to drop in remarks was in the section on the Crimea Conference. He said that he was glad to be able to tell the Congress that the Crimea Conference was a success.

He also interpolated a remark about the American people's confidence in the general conclusion reached in the Crimea Conference, and also their own active support.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE
55 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

A CHALLENGE TO AMERICAN JEWS

The Roosevelt and Churchill Reports bring us bitter disillusionment and throw light on the helplessness of the American Zionist leadership.

Excerpts from an article in the Jewish Morning Journal by David Eldelsberg
March 5, 1945

Mr. Churchill's remarks on the Palestine question are by no means insignificant. They may not have been openly hostile but they were certainly not friendly. Their implications were deeply disheartening to us and their tone was one of flattery to the Arabs. We would be making a fatal mistake not to take Mr. Churchill's remarks seriously. So clever a statesman and so adept a master of words as the Prime Minister does not use phrases carelessly.

What precisely did Mr. Churchill say? He assured his listeners that there had been no general conference about conditions in the Middle East, and as proof of that, he pointed to the absence from Cairo of the Regent of Iraq and the Emir of Transjordan. He then discussed his luncheon with that "most remarkable man, King Ibn Saud" and said, "Although we did not reach a solution of the problems of the Arab world and of the Jewish people in Palestine, I have hopes that, when the war is over, good arrangements can be made for securing the peace and progress of the Arab world and generally of the Middle East..."

The cynical implications of this one sentence are horrifying. It is far from a frank and open statement but it makes several things very clear. In the first place, Churchill obviously did discuss the Palestine problem with the King of Saudi Arabia, though the two reached no agreement. In the second place, Churchill deliberately omits all mention of the interest of world Jewry in Palestine. He restricts himself to mentioning the problem "of the Jewish people in Palestine." That is very different from the problem of the Jewish people in relation to the political future of Palestine. We are face to face here with the sadly familiar policy enunciated by English statesmen every so often: that the present Jewish population of Palestine represents England's fulfillment of her promise to the Jewish people, and that now the Yishuv must be fitted into the general scheme of the Arab world. This is the policy behind the White Paper and behind all the ignoble schemes of the Colonial Office affecting the future of the Jews in Palestine. It is notable that although Mr. Churchill's sentence begins by mentioning "the problems of the Arab world and of the Jewish people in Palestine," it ends by forgetting the Jews and looking forward to "the peace and progress of the Arab world" only. In the course of a few seconds the Jewish problem had been forgotten!....

What is clear is this: as far as the British Government is concerned, it is not ready to give any recognition to the Jewish people at the coming United Nations' Conference, and it is not retreating even one step from the policy laid down in the White Paper of 1939. The doors of Palestine remain shut in the faces of homeless Jews; the political situation becomes constantly cloudier and "the architect of the Jewish future" (as Mr. Churchill will be remembered to have described himself recently) is busy building Arab defenses against the Jews.

The situation is a grave one but we must force ourselves to understand and evaluate it properly. We are a most unfortunate people, but we need not be a foolish one. We will be both foolish and disloyal to ourselves if we here in America silently accept Mr. Churchill's cynical edict on our future.

American Zionism is disorganized to its very core. The attempts that are being made to hide this fact are more dangerous than the fact itself. Our political activity is paralyzed; our present leadership has neither a program of work nor a plan appropriate for this grave period. It hasn't the strength to undertake the tremendous battle which must be waged in the next few weeks. Those leaders who had fought for Zionism energetically and with vision, and who have great achievements to their credit have been thrust aside, and we now remain with a leadership which for years distinguished itself by its helplessness and its tendencies towards appeasement. It is a leadership of obstructionism, of petty personal jealousies, of exceptional ability in forcing out the only persons who can work and who wish to work and who have shown how to work. All that this present leadership can tell us is to do nothing - it has already received promises from the White House. All should be left in "his" hands ...

It may be that the promises from the White House are sincere and binding, worth quite as much after election as before; it may be that American political and State Department leaders are less expert than Mr. Churchill at using words to conceal the truth. All this may be true - but is this the time simply to sit and wait for a friendly glance or a sympathetic hint which may or may not come? Have we left everything in the hands of the "architects" of our future in London and Washington, and is there nothing we ourselves should do? What small people in the world conducts its affairs in such a manner? Is there any other nation that satisfies itself with ambiguous hints and promises, that bases its national policy on whispered requests to "leave it to me?"

If we accept the policy of waiting and leaving everything to the "architects" till after the war, while all around us the world goes up in flames, then we must follow the present Zionist leadership and do nothing to disturb its peace. But if we realize how grave and how urgent this moment is, how disastrously near we are to losing Palestine, then we cannot afford to wait for a Zionist Convention, which may perhaps not take place at all this year. The Zionist masses throughout this country must at once take it upon themselves to recall those persons who, through base maneuvering and personal intrigues have been driven from leadership. These men of action who know how to storm American public opinion must once more be given the reins of our work and we must rally around them, strengthen their hands and follow in the paths they point out.

There are only a few weeks left before that San Francisco Conference at which there will be represented many a small people with far less right to representation than ours. We must at least fight for representation, we must at least press and urge that the Conference include our cause on its agenda. The fact that this Conference is taking place on American soil gives us great opportunities for work, opportunities which we could not possibly have had in Yalta or Cairo. Those opportunities can be utilized if we have leaders speaking in our name with courage and with vision.

We must win passionate American sympathy for our attempt to ~~keep~~ the voice of the Jewish people from being silenced at the United Nations' Conference, to keep our claims, our needs and our just demands from being ignored, ~~as they have been at all conferences until now~~ - even in the report of our great friend, President Roosevelt. The fate of Palestine is in the balance now and we dare not tolerate anyone who tells us merely to be quiet and to wait. Mr. Churchill's ~~critical~~ speech, President Roosevelt's evasions are a challenge to all Jews, a challenge which we must accept with the dignity and the courage of a self-respecting people.

Press Release:

American Zionist Policy Committee

55 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

3/5/45

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER URGES ZIONISTS TO MOBILIZE BEHIND VIGOROUS, MILITANT POLICY

- - - - -

New York - In response to numerous inquiries addressed to him regarding Prime Minister Churchill's statement on the Palestine question and President Roosevelt's brief reference to the Jewish problem there, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, today made the following comment:

"Prime Minister Churchill's statement with regard to the Palestine question and President Roosevelt's passing reference to the Jewish problem there will come as a shock only to those who have been misled into expecting an imminent decision favorable to our cause. Mr. Churchill has made it clear that no decision on Palestine has been taken, nor is one contemplated until the end of the war. In my opinion there was never solid ground for anticipating a positive pro-Zionist declaration to issue from Malta, Yalta or Egypt. I made no secret of my views, but always cautioned against false hopes and unfounded optimism. Repeatedly I warned my fellow Zionists that our battle was far from won and advocated a policy of constant vigilance and unrelenting militant action along our whole political front to ensure ultimate victory. For this I was bitterly attacked and my policy denounced by those who thought they knew better, who imagined themselves to be in the know, and who fostered a false atmosphere of inflated expectation. They attached exaggerated importance to their personal standing in official circles. They decried public agitation and the pressure of public opinion as harmful and a Congressional Resolution on Palestine as superfluous, untimely and inconsequential. They believed the time had come for our 'diplomats' to take over. Events have proved them to be hopelessly in

the wrong. The new Zionist line they have adopted already stands defeated and discredited.

"Where do we go from here? Are we to be doomed again to subsist on pledges while fulfillment is repeatedly deferred? It is pertinent to recall that it is now almost six years since the White Paper was issued and almost five years since Mr. Churchill took office. During these years Jewish blood has flowed in torrents but the Palestine issue still remains where Chamberlain left it. No doubt a few crumbs of consolation will be thrown our way in the form of some immigration permits - granted perhaps 'with Arab consent,' as envisaged in the White Paper - in lieu of the basic political solution so long overdue and so persistently postponed.

"In the face of this new and bitter disappointment, our movement must recover its sense of reality, shake off illusions and gird itself for the great struggle which still lies ahead. We must rally our forces and mobilize all our resources once more for a united, all out effort to bring about the realization of our historic aspirations. The future of Israel is at stake. This is no time for weakness and cautious 'moderation.' The moment calls for high courage and a return to a vigorous, militant policy."

Dimagel told me
that Weinberg had
wired him + told
him to make sure
that tickets are
reserved for him.

WRHS



Samuel Klusner
Jewish Ledger
50 Trumbull St.

Hartford Conn

o Sending Silver's statement special delivery
~~promised to~~ ~~give it~~ front page this week

Abraham J. Klusner

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date March 6, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

CONFIDENTIAL

Widespread disquiet has been aroused in Zionist circles in this country as a result of the recent statements of the President and the Prime Minister on their conferences abroad. It had been hoped that following these conferences there would be some clarification of the Palestine issue and of plans for the future of the Jewish National Home. The failure of the President and of Mr. Churchill to give any clear indication of what is intended or even to give recognition in the course of their public statements to the tragedy of European Jewry has been interpreted in terms ranging from disappointment to despair. For your confidential information and guidance, we are sending you this note to give you an idea of the situation as we see it at present.

By way of background, it is important that certain facts should be borne in mind. The meetings in Yalta, Malta and in Egypt were secret meetings. So far very little authentic information is available on what was discussed and what conclusions if any, were reached. The first task of the Emergency Council must obviously be to obtain full information with regard to these conversations. Various steps have been taken towards that end. Undoubtedly similar action is being taken in Cairo and London and we hope before long to know a good deal more than we do at present. A second factor to be borne in mind is the reaction of the Zionist leaders in Palestine. From press reports this week we know that at a meeting in Tel Aviv on March 2nd, Mr. Ben-Gurion referred to Mr. Churchill's statement in which the latter envisioned "good arrangements for securing peace and progress in the Middle East" as a hopeful sign. Furthermore Dr. Weizmann in terms of a dispatch received today stated at a meeting of the Actions Committee that he believed "that we are approaching better days," that he was "convinced that at least the younger ones among you will be privileged to live in a Jewish State" and that "there is no ground for pessimism, although no reason for excessive optimism." In assessing the significance to be attached to these statements it must be recalled that not merely has the Jewish Agency a very effective intelligence service in the Near East and that accordingly our leaders there are likely to have more knowledge of what transpired in the Cairo discussions than is available to us here, but also that a few days ago the British Minister Resident in the Middle East, Sir Edward Grigg, called on Dr. Weizmann and had a long conversation with him and that this meeting was preceded a few days earlier by a four-hour talk which took place between Dr. Weizmann and Lord Gort.

In his statement to the House of Commons, Mr. Churchill emphasized that no solution of the Palestine question was to be expected until the end of the war. We deplore this announcement and must continue to press for an early decision on the major issue. At the same time it is important

that we should realize that Mr. Churchill's attitude on the question of timing remains in fact unchanged. As you will know, on several occasions during the war Dr. Weizmann had the opportunity of meeting with him. The last occasion was shortly before Dr. Weizmann's departure for Palestine when he had a prolonged interview with Mr. Churchill. In the course of that conversation Mr. Churchill, while reiterating his own friendship for the Zionist cause and his determination to see that justice was done to the Jewish people repeated what he had said previously that no decision could be expected before the end of the war. So far as the President is concerned, when, prior to his departure, he was seen by Dr. Wise and also by Senator Wagner, he indicated that the matter of Palestine would be taken up in his discussions abroad. That no finality was reached in the course of those talks in no way contradicts what was stated by him either to Dr. Wise or to Senator Wagner.

Nevertheless that no decision was reached has been seized upon in certain quarters to suggest that the Jewish people has already been let down if not indeed betrayed by the leaders of the Democracies. We suggest that before any such conclusion is warranted it is necessary to know a great deal more of what actually took place. Above all it is impossible to ignore the reaction of our own leaders in Palestine who are unquestionably better informed on the whole situation than we are here.

At the same time we must guard ourselves from wishful thinking. Looking at the situation as it stands today it is obvious that the most immediate and urgent problem that faces us, pending the major decision, is that of ensuring that the gates of Palestine shall not close within the coming few weeks. The last of the immigration certificates under the Palestine White Paper have already been distributed. There are no more certificates in the hands of the Jewish Agency and no more Jewish immigrants will enter Palestine after the beginning of April. On the other hand the situation of European Jewry continues calamitous. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are living under conditions of physical and spiritual degradation and for most of them it will be essential to provide new homes abroad. Efforts are being made by UNRRA and the Intergovernmental Refugee Committee to divert groups of Jewish refugees to camps in North Africa and elsewhere. This unnecessary prolongation of Jewish misery must be resisted.

We must forthwith embark on a major campaign to enable the Jews of liberated Europe to enter Palestine without restriction. In Palestine Mr. Shertok and Dr. Weizmann have been pressing this issue with the British Government. Similar action has been taken in London. At the same time the leaders of the Emergency Council have had interviews in Washington with the British Ambassador and with the Acting Secretary of State. But if the pressure here and abroad is to be successful, it is imperative that American public opinion be mobilized in its support. The following immediate steps are about to be undertaken by the Emergency Council. In some of them your cooperation is essential.

- (a) A number of mass demonstrations are being planned by the Council in conjunction with the American Jewish Conference in major cities throughout the country.
- (b) A statement to be signed by as many State Governors as possible is being prepared and will be sent out to key chairmen in the respective states for action.
- (c) The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine are to be mobilized in support of the immediate objective outlined above.
- (d) Newspaper and radio commentators must be seen and given the necessary information so as to obtain all possible publicity for our demands.

We shall be sending you relevant material within a day or two. In general the time has come again for a specific piece of action directed towards a constructive end. We look to our Local Emergency Councils to activate American public opinion and to bring home to the authorities in Washington and in London the keen anxiety with which the present situation is regarded and the urgent necessity for action directed to immediate large-scale transfer of Jews from the European countries to Palestine. This does not mean that we ignore our major objective. The aim to re-establish the Jewish Commonwealth must continue as basic in our propaganda. But the apparent delay with regard to a decision on the major issue makes it the more imperative to redouble our efforts to secure the immediate opening of the gates of Palestine to mass Jewish immigration.

AL:CK



MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees ^{Date} March 13, 1945

From Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

Since our preceding memorandum of March 6, two items in the New York Times, dealing with Palestine, have attracted wide attention (see copies attached). The following will clarify, for your information and guidance, the attitude of the Zionist Emergency Council in regard to these reports.

The essential need of the Jewish people remains the establishment of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth. Only the Commonwealth would put an end to the basic problem of the homelessness of the Jews as a people and would make possible the rehabilitation of the more than a million Jews in various countries of the Old World, shaken by tragedy and facing a future without hope.

As concerns the position of the Arabs in the Jewish Commonwealth, full equality of civic and religious rights for all the non-Jewish inhabitants of the Jewish Commonwealth, irrespective of their numbers at any given time, has been reiterated by Zionist spokesmen over and over again as an integral part of the Zionist program. Full communal autonomy in regard to religious, educational and social institutions would also be assured. This is fundamental in our thinking and needs no further emphasis.

It is obvious that the achievement of the Jewish Commonwealth connotes large Jewish immigration and such preparatory steps in Palestine, including the necessary administrative conditions as will make possible speedy progress in the desired direction. In order to initiate without delay the rescue of the trapped Jewish masses, to contribute to the relief of racial tension in the Old World, and to cut as short as possible the present state of uncertainty in Palestine, these measures must be inaugurated immediately.

This fundamental position of Zionism remains unchanged, and should be our answer to any rumors, suggestions, or proposals with which we may be confronted. It remains the basis of our demands and should govern our appeals to public opinion and our negotiations with the Powers of the world.

It is impossible to say, for the moment, to what extent the attached report from Jerusalem is based on fact or, if it be correct, to gauge the motives of those promoting the reported plan. Speculation on either point would be futile. What is important is for us to realize that many such schemes will be proposed from various sides with a view to sidetracking our integral Zionist program, and we must be prepared to maintain our position vis-a-vis all such schemes.

It should be specifically emphasized that insofar as the alleged scheme of the Foreign Ministers of Arab-speaking States contemplates an arbitrary limitation on Jewish immigration or abandonment of the hope for a Jewish Commonwealth, it is completely unacceptable. It ignores the essential needs of the Jewish people and therefore flies in the face of a basic reality.

On the other hand, the very appearance of the report indicates that even the most intransigent opponents of Zionism can no longer close their eyes to the need for speedy large-scale Jewish immigration into Palestine. Insofar as British opposition to the immediate opening of Palestine to Jewish immigrants was explained by the fear of Arab revolt, this report shows, as we have always maintained, that such fear is utterly baseless. For the Foreign Ministers of the Arab countries are here stated to be ready to agree to the entry of another 300,000 Jewish immigrants. Our only reaction to the report should therefore be that no shred of an excuse remains for keeping Palestine closed to further immigration pending a decision as to the country's political future; and that while discussions are continuing with reference to the future status of Palestine, large-scale immigration of Jews should be resumed at once.

In the light of the above outline our action remains unchanged and is directed to: the Jewish Commonwealth, immediate mass immigration and a decision at the earliest possible moment. We repeat from our last memorandum the action on which your cooperation is requested.

- (a) A number of mass demonstrations are being planned by the Council in conjunction with the American Jewish Conference in major cities throughout the country. If your city is one in which such a demonstration is to take place, you will be receiving further instructions shortly.
- (b) A statement to be signed by as many State Governors as possible is being prepared and will be sent out to key chairmen in the respective states for action.
- (c) The American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine are to be mobilized in support of the above objectives.
- (d) Newspaper and radio commentators must be seen and given the necessary information so as to obtain all possible publicity for our demands.

AL:CK
Encs.

From New York Times, Sunday, March 11, 1945

ARAB COMPROMISE ON JEWS REPORTED

Christians Would Hold Balance of Power Under Plan for Equal Palestine Populations

By Julian Louis Meltzer

Jerusalem, March 10 - The Foreign Ministers of Arab States, who drafted the constitution of the proposed Arab league at their recent Cairo conference, are understood to have decided to recommend a compromise solution on Palestine for acceptance by the Palestinian Arabs, according to a well-informed Arab source here.

The compromise is said to include the principle of equal political and civil rights for Jews and Moslems, leaving to Christian Arab residents of Palestine the power of veto. The Arab Foreign Ministers would be prepared under this plan to obtain agreement from Palestine Moslems to early Jewish immigration of 200,000 to 300,000 persons. This, they feel, would provide some relief for Jewish refugees.

Under such a plan, Moslem leaders argue, the 700,000 Jewish inhabitants would be increased to 1,000,000 within a short period, equal to the Moslem population. There are about 150,000 Christian Arabs, who would thus hold the balance of power.

A local Arab political observer said the Arab reaction might at first be acrimonious, especially among younger elements who hold violent nationalistic views, but that the general feeling ultimately would be to accept the plan.

Britain then, he said, would turn over its Palestine mandate to a permanent United Nations authority that would emerge from the San Francisco talks.

The main Zionist complaint against the compromise plan is that it is designed solely to meet the Palestine problem without remedying the world Jewish situation. While some Zionists believe that surviving Jewish communities in Europe will improve after the war and the urgency of Jewish migration problems will be removed, Zionist leaders like David Ben Gurion, chairman of the Jewish Agency executive here, assert that the need for Jewish migration will persist.

While accepting the principle of political parity with the Arabs, the Zionists insist that Jewish immigration into Palestine must be unconditional and unlimited. They declare the Jews need Palestine as a rehabilitation center and as an area in which to regain political statchood.

immigration is not disclosed. The Christian Arabs, about 150,000 in number, are not included in the equation, which gives them the balance of power. In the event of a solution on these lines, or presumably any lines that could be agreed upon, the British are said to be ready to turn over the Palestine mandate to a permanent United Nations Authority.

The Zionists will undoubtedly reject the plan as it stands. It denies their demand for unlimited immigration, prevents them from ever becoming a majority, and blocks their central aim of setting up a Jewish nation and making Palestine a Jewish state. For this aim they have planned, toiled, agitated, invested vast sums and vaster energy to transform the stony hills of their Promised Land into a garden. Hitler helped them by making Europe into something worse than hell for Jews; but aside from the victims of Hitler, the settlers in Palestine constitute perhaps the happiest and most satisfied colony on this sad and war-weary earth.

But the elements of the situation are changing. The Arabs are changing, as this initiative signifies. So are the relations between the Middle East and the western world. In no foreseeable time will the lot of the Jews surviving in Europe, and those who elect to go back, be what it was in the last hideous decade. The victors will see to that as sternly as they see to the disarmament of Germany. If we are going back into such conditions and such a world, the war will be lost and Palestine will be no safer than Czechoslovakia was, or the United States would be. Moreover, the Jews from eastern Europe will not be permitted to emigrate to Palestine.

These considerations have nothing to do with the Zionist case, one way or the other, but they might induce the wiser leaders to study the Arab proposals as a basis for discussion. The Arabs have strengthened their position by taking the initiative, and the plan gives them a permanent majority by putting the Christian Arabs into a special category. But if the principle of compromise is accepted, and the problem can be solved by direct negotiations between Arabs and Jews, the terms can be changed. The crux of the matter is that the cards are evidently stacked for a compromise, and this alters the position of all the parties to the dispute.

From New York Times, Monday, March 12, 1945

ABROAD

Arabs Propose Compromise on Palestine

By Anne O'Hare McCormick

The New York Times correspondent in Jerusalem reports that at the meeting held recently in Cairo to draft a constitution for the proposed league of Arab states the Foreign Ministers recommended a compromise solution on Palestine to the Palestinian Arabs. The first point of interest in this recommendation is that it comes from the Arabs. Before the Cairo meeting there was no evidence that the Arab leaders were ready to offer any positive suggestion for the settlement of one of the thorniest of post-war problems. Their uncompromising opposition to any extension of Jewish immigration into Palestine and the uncompromising stand of the Zionists for unrestricted immigration and a Jewish state combined to create a deadlock from which there seemed to be no way out.

The second point of interest is that the suggestion is made by the Arabs at the very moment when they are getting down to business in organizing a united Arab front. Until now seasoned observers in the Middle East never believed that the Arab states could get together, even in the loosest form of federation. And it will be loose; in discussing the prospects in January, members of Arab governments made it very clear that their separate "independence" was their first concern.

Nevertheless, the project is going forward. The Arab nations are closer now than they have been in modern history. There will certainly be some form of Arab union. Pan-Arabia is set to be a political factor in the new world. Former doubters finally admitted this, but added that only one tie binds these disparate nations, and that is their common opposition to Zionist expansion.

Yet the first thing the Arab Ministers do when they begin to organize is to offer the only constructive suggestion they have ever publicly put forth on the Palestine question. A month ago the Palestinian Arabs were standing firmly on the British White Paper and declaring they would fight any extension of the immigration quota when it expired in June. Now the Foreign Ministers propose that up to 300,000 more Jews be admitted at the earliest possible date.

This is news, indeed, and news of great significance. Not only does it indicate a change in Arab policy inside Palestine, for when the Ministers say they "would be prepared to obtain agreement" from Palestine Moslems, it means that agreement has been secured. It follows too closely on the meetings of President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill with the Arab leaders not to be a sequel to those talks, especially since it fits in with the British desire—not so evident in times past but pushed hard lately by Lord Gort and Sir Edward Grigg—to get Jews and Arabs to settle the question among themselves. And since the United States, in pledges from both parties, has assumed direct responsibility in the settlement, the President is also anxious for a solution that might satisfy the Zionists without antagonizing the Arabs.

The proposed plan won't do that. According to Mr. Heltzer's report, it provides for equal political and civil rights for Jews and Moslems by bringing the Jewish population up to 1,000,000, to match the Moslems. It would establish the parity advocated by Dr. Judah Magnes, though whether parity is to be maintained by his formula of balancing the higher Arab birth rate by more Jewish

Press Release:

American Zionist Policy Committee

55 WEST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

Lackawanna 4-7319

3/22/45

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DR. SILVER DEMANDS ACTION NOW ON JEWISH STATE

- - - -

(NOTE: A PAMPHLET CONTAINING THE FULL TEXT OF
DR. SILVER'S ADDRESS WILL BE AVAILABLE NEXT WEEK)

New York -- Declaring that "refugeeism may yet defeat Zionism,"

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, called for a decision now on a Jewish State and demanded "that the primary and original purpose of the Palestine Mandate be re-affirmed forthwith, that it be implemented, and that its implementation be assured by giving the Jewish people control over immigration."

Speaking before an audience of 1600 Zionists, including standees, who had gathered to honor him at a Testimonial Dinner in the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on Wednesday evening, March 21st, Dr. Silver said:

"It is of a Jewish State that we must speak today, with clear and unmistakable speech, even trumpet-tongued, lest in this strident, clamorous day our voice and the precise intent of our urgent cause be drowned out. It is not helpful at this moment to dilate on how long it will take to set up such a Jewish State in actual running order. We need the political decision now!...

"It is not for us at this time to stress Palestine as a place of refuge for homeless Jews and concentrate in this brief, tense hour of fugitive political opportunities, when the great bell of history is tolling for us the final summons, on immigration certificates for refugees - if what we have in mind is national restoration and a Jewish State...Those who tell us to forget or forego our national claims at this time so as to reenforce our refugee claims are talking sheer nonsense. Thus far the refusals have stood as adamant against their humanitarian pleas as against our national demands....

"It is not for us to talk of partition or bi-nationalism if we really mean a Jewish State....The postponement of a decision as to the status of Palestine until after the end of hostilities is a severe blow to all the essential preliminary planning and organization, and it may seriously affect the flow of immigration after the war and the country's ability, through unpreparedness, to absorb it... What may be contemplated, if...rumors have any substance, is, I am afraid, another White Paper - a final payoff, and liquidation of the Zionist Movement...

"One wonders whether these reported proposals are the result of the conferences which Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt had with Ibn Saud and the other Arab Chiefs-of-State a few weeks ago. One wonders why Arab states were consulted in the first place about the fate of the Jewish National Home....Are Jewish rights to be made dependent on Arab consent?...It would seem that Ibn Saud is now the chief figure consulted by Great Britain and the United States about the future of the Jewish National Home...Is this man to be the arbiter of our destinies? Now that Ibn Saud has reiterated his unyielding opposition to the Jewish National Home and this time to the President of the U.S. and the Prime Minister of Great Britain, now that the long cherished and fostered Ibn Saud approach upon which so much had been staked has proved a dismal failure, will the democratic leaders still persist in trying to find an Arab solution for the Jewish problem?

"Not all who talk about a Jewish Commonwealth really have faith in it. Time and again, in negotiations with opposing groups, or facing official opposition in government circles, the buckle under. The Jewish Commonwealth suddenly becomes nebulous, a far-off "End-Ziel" to which one pays ritual lip-service, but which for all practical purposes is brushed aside. Only "zealots" and "extremists" keep pressing for it, even when important people are annoyed by it...

"It is of course clear that two men will have much to do with the final settlement of the Palestine issue - Mr. Churchill and Mr. Roosevelt. They are great and good men and are well intentioned towards us...It would be a mistake, however, to leave the entire fate of our movement in the hands of these two statesmen..... These two men are too big and politically too experienced to interpret honest differences of opinion and the cry of a sorely pressed people for action, as personal hostility. Only little souls stoop to such conclusions... Let these men become aware and be guided and sustained in their own purpose by the awareness that our cause is overwhelmingly approved by the people of America and of Great Britain, and that it is one of the great and urgent causes of our day in which mankind as a whole is deeply concerned. Zionist leaders who cannot wholeheartedly join in such an effort, or who are too entangled in party politics to appraise situations objectively and to follow an independent Zionist line should step aside. We have nothing to lose now but our illusions. We have a new life to build for our people!"

District Doings U

Manhattan Tells Story of ZOA in Metropolitan Press

NEW YORK, N. Y.—The Manhattan Zionist Region has embarked upon a huge project, building good will for the Zionist Organization through the medium of the Metropolitan press. A series of full-page ads conveying the message of the Zionist Organization of America to the New York public has been inserted in the city dailies. The first advertisement, containing a message of good will on Lincoln's Birthday brought in 1000 responses from the general public, responses coming from as far as San Francisco, California. The second insertion by the Manhattan Zionist Club resulted in a deluge of inquiries from the public and the meeting advertised, featuring Ludwig Lewisohn, was so overcrowded that the police had to be called in to disperse the crowds.

Every district in Manhattan is planning to insert advertisements specifically featuring the work of the Zionist Organization. The money to cover the cost of this program is being raised by private subscription. Copies of the ads may be obtained on inquiry from the director of the Manhattan Region, Manuel Posy, 41 E. 42nd Street, New York City.

Reit Issues Membership Call

The districts in Manhattan have rallied to the membership call proclaimed by Judge Hyman J. Reit, regional president, and a number of individuals have brought in over 50 new members. Philip April, chairman of the membership committee of the Manhattan Zionist region, has personally been responsible for bringing in over 120 new members; Louis J. Berkowitz, of the United Zionist District, has brought in 69 new members; Rabbi Jacob Radin, of Inwood Zionist District, has topped the 50 mark; Samuel Berman and Edward H. Moss, of the 7th Zionist District, have over 50 new members each to their credit. The most outstanding membership achievement of the year so far has been that of Link Scheffres, of the Yorkville Zionist District, who, although a new member himself, has brought in 83 new members to date. Mr. Scheffres was brought into the Zionist Organization by Isidore Silver, president of the Yorkville Zionist District, and is head of the cotton-converting firm of A. Scheffres, is president of the Tompkins Avenue Boys' Club and is president of the Young Men's Philanthropic League of New York. He promises that every person whom he has known within the last 20 years will, before the end of the year, become affiliated with the Zionist Organization of America.

To Honor Wise

Manhattan Region is very happy to announce that the Congregation of the Free Synagogue, whose Rabbi is Dr. Stephen S. Wise, are in the process of forming themselves into a Zionist district to be known as the Stephen S. Wise Society of New York. The organization work is being conducted by Rabbi Edwin Klein, assistant to Dr. Wise.

Herbert C. Pell Speaks

With Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, acting as host, Herbert C. Pell, former U. S. Representative on the Allied War Crimes Commission in London, addressed a Zionist conference at the Hotel Commodore on Sunday, March 25.

Society Conducts Second Institute

The New York Zionist Society conducted its second Annual Institute in conjunction with the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, a district of the Zionist Organization of America, on Sunday afternoon, March 18. The speakers were Joseph Isaacs, delegate of the Histadruth to the Hechalutz in America, and Shmuel

Ben Avi, Palestinian representative of the Hashomer Hatzair.

The evening session was devoted to Zionist policy in America, with Moshe Boukstein of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, and Harold Manson, former director of information at the American Zionist Emergency Council, as speakers.

Inwood Hears Celler

The Inwood Zionist District, at a public demonstration on March 8, acted as host to the Hon. Emanuel Celler, United States Congressman from Brooklyn, to an overflow crowd. Congressman Celler spoke on the need for unity in American Jewish life and stressed the importance of membership in the Zionist Organization of America. As a result of his appeal, 50 new members enrolled in the Inwood Zionist District.

The 7th District recently conducted a public forum at which time representatives of all the major political parties were present and presented their platforms. The general Zionist point of view was presented by Mrs. Emanuel Halprin of Hadassah.

The German language speaking districts of Manhattan will hold a mass demonstration on March 20, at which time Nahum Goldmann, member of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency for Palestine will be guest of honor.

Hakoah Celebrates 35th Anniversary

Hakoah is celebrating its 35th anniversary and is conducting a mass demonstration on April 7, at which time the Hebrew Arts Committee will put on a program. Word has reached Hakoah that in the event that Dr. Chaim Weizmann is present in the United States on this date he will render a message of greeting from the World Zionist Organization. Hakoah, the Zionist Sports Club, originated in Vienna and has been completely transplanted to the United States and become absorbed into the American scene.

The Yorkville Zionist District had a mass meeting on February 13, with an address by Capt. Peter Dreyfus of the French Army. Capt. Dreyfus spoke of the Zionist movement in occupied Europe and pleaded for a strong Zionist movement in this country to help save the remnant of European Jewry.

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Press Release:

American Zionist Policy Committee

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5/28/45

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

WESTCHESTER ZIONIST REGION DEMANDS UNITY THROUGH THE RECALL OF DR. SILVER

- - -

CALLS ON ZOA ADMINISTRATION TO SEEK PERMISSION FOR NATIONAL CONVENTION

- - -

New York -- The Annual Conference of the Westchester Zionist Region, comprising over 2,000 members of the Zionist Organization of America, adopted by a vote of 41 to 18 a resolution calling upon the Administration of the Z.O.A. to "restore unity to our ranks immediately through the recall of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the active leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council and to establish that cooperation with Dr. Silver which will make possible the carrying on of Zionist political work with the greatest effectiveness." This was announced today by Joseph W. Greenleaf, chairman of the Conference Committee.

The Conference also adopted a resolution calling upon the President of the Z. O. A. and the Zionist Executive "to bend every effort towards the securing of permission from the Office of Defense Transportation to hold a National Convention at the usual time." Copies of both resolutions will be sent to the members of the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Z.O.A., to the members of the American Zionist Emergency Council and to the Presidents of all Zionist Districts and Regions in the United States.

The resolution demanding unity in Zionist ranks through the recall of Dr. Silver was vigorously opposed by Robert Szold and Herman Weisman, both leading spokesmen for the present Z. O. Z. Administration. They were answered by

Mr. Greenleaf, by Charles Ress, co-chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and by other spokesmen of the Region, including Rabbi Louis Simsovitx of Portchester, Wolf Feldman of Yonkers, Louis Brown, Jacob Zuckerman and Rabbi Milton Elefant of New Rochelle, Jacob Lukashok, president of the Westchester Region, was chairman of the meeting.

The text of the resolutions follows:

"WHEREAS, the Westchester Zionist Region, comprising over 2,000 members of the Zionist Organization of America, deeply conscious of the tragic plight of our people and of the historic responsibilities now confronting American Jewry, is resolved to bend every effort towards the achievement of Zionist aims in this final hour of decision, and

"WHEREAS, the critical position of Zionism following the Conferences at Yalta, Egypt and San Francisco, makes it imperative that American Zionists unite immediately behind a program of vigorous political action which will utilize the best talents and most effective spokesmen in our movement, and

"WHEREAS, in the face of our overwhelming responsibilities and our people's tragedy, the effectiveness of American Zionism today is impaired by disunity and the expulsion from supreme command of some of our most capable leaders, and

"WHEREAS, we are greatly concerned by the failure of the present administration of the Zionist Organization of America to give heed to the demands of individuals, Districts and Regions throughout the United States to restore unity to our movement through the recall of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to active political leadership;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Westchester Zionist Region, in convention assembled on this 27th day of May 1945, calls upon the President, National Officers, Executive Committee and the Chairman of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America to restore unity to our ranks immediately through the recall of Dr. Silver to the active leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council and to establish that cooperation with Dr. Silver which will make possible

the carrying on of Zionist political work with the greatest effectiveness, and

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this Resolution be sent to the members of the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Zionist Organization of America, to the members of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and to the Presidents of all Zionist Districts and Regions in the United States."

- - -

"WHEREAS, decisions affecting the future of Palestine and of the Zionist movement are being taken by leaders of the United Nations in their various conferences; and

"WHEREAS, problems affecting the future of our movement require the concerted efforts and careful deliberation of our entire organization; and

"WHEREAS, the highest deliberative body of our organization is the Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America;

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Westchester Zionist Region calls upon the President of the Zionist Organization of America and the Zionist Executive to bend every effort towards the securing of permission from the Office of Defense Transportation to hold a National Convention at the usual time;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that we call upon the President of the Zionist Organization of America to call such a Convention at the usual time, so far as is consistent with government regulations;

"AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that copies of this Resolution be sent to the members of the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Zionist Organization of America and to the Presidents of all Zionist Districts and Regions in the United States."

P. 32
Onward

Report

OF THE

Second Annual Conference

OF THE

MANHATTAN REGION

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



SUNDAY, JUNE 10, 1945

9:30 A. M.

HOTEL PARK CENTRAL

7th Avenue and 55th Street

New York City

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FOREWORD

The officers of the Manhattan Zionist Region take great pleasure in forwarding this booklet containing some pertinent notes on the work of the Manhattan Region as summarized at its Second Annual Conference held on Sunday, June 10, 1945.

We point with pride at our accomplishments, not at our overwhelming numbers, nor at the fact that during the past year there has been any solution of the Zionist problem, but we do believe that in the fight in which we are engaged a contribution has been made, a contribution which has added to the strength of the Zionist movement throughout the world.

In the past there was a void in Zionist life in New York City because of the absence of a Region. Since April, 1944, this shortcoming has been corrected when the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America granted to Manhattan its charter enabling it to operate as an organized Region.

As in all National movements in American life, Jewish or otherwise, the showcase of the accomplishments of that movement have been the achievements marked up in the borough of Manhattan, so the officers, Executive Committee, Districts, and lay members of the Region have attempted to create in New York City a Region which will be the showcase of American Zionist life.

We believe some steps have been taken in that direction. We know that you, the recipient of this booklet and a member of our movement, will do whatever you possibly can to

- A) Make your District the best in the Region
- B) Make your Region the best in the country
- C) Make your movement the best in the world

By so doing you will make your contribution in the fight being waged by the Jewish people for a Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine, freedom wherever they may be, and a better world in which the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine will take its rightful place as a member nation of a world of nations living in peace and with all the members of humanity enjoying the right to live as free men irrespective of race or creed.

M.P.

MANHATTAN ZIONIST REGION

OFFICERS

Judge Hyman J. Reit	- - - - -	President
Max S. Schoenholt	- - - - -	1st Vice President
Irving Galt	- - - - -	2nd Vice President
William M. Waldman	- - - - -	Treasurer
Jacques Torczyner	- - - - -	Secretary
Robert Seelav	- - - - -	Chairman, Administrative Committee
Manuel Posy	- - - - -	Director

CHAIRMEN OF REGIONAL COMMITTEES

Philip April - - - - -	Membership Committee
Paul Kaminsky - - - - -	Finance Committee
Louis Dince and Marcus M. Zetkin - - -	Jewish National Fund Committee
A. W. Scheffres - - - - -	War Activities Committee
Dr. Ben N. Eddidin - - - - -	Education Committee
Samuel L. Brennglass - - - - -	Public Relations Committee

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Milton B. Perlman
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Boris Shteinshleifer
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Raphael Pinchas
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Max Levy
Paul M. Fulton
Abc Shapiro
Walter Frankel
Louis Kolodney
Marcus M. Zetkin
Arthur Lebensoz

Max Levy (Staten Is.)
J. Golub
Dr. Maurice Kovnat
Louis Dince
George J. Perlman
Dr. Alfred Kestenbaum
Dr. Friedrich Steiner
Mrs. Sabine Passweg
Ludwig Aron
Mrs. Elizabeth Eliasberg
Max P. Birnbaum
Ernest Stiassny
Simcha Kling
Irving Tarnopol
Joseph Bernstein
Harry Chancer
Dr. David Tannenbaum
William Zuckerman
Judge Benjamin Greenspan
Sol Lewine
Morris Yasky

MANHATTAN DISTRICTS

NEW YORK ZIONIST SOCIETY - meets at the S.A.J. Building, 15 West 86th Street, on Sunday evenings.
Pres.-Dr. Jacob S. Golub, Membership Chairman-D.A. Levine

GRAMERCY PARK - meets at the Community Synagogue Center, 325 East 6th Street, on the last Sunday of each month.
Pres.-Maurice Spalter, Membership Chairman-Lewis Rosenstroch

WASHINGTON SQUARE ZIONIST SOCIETY - serves as a unit of Gramercy Park, sharing same officers.

MANHATTAN ZIONIST CLUB - meets at Steinway Hall, 113 West 57th Street, bi-weekly.
Pres.-Raphael Pinchas, Membership Chairman -Adolph Flax

RIVERSIDE ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the Riverside Synagogue, 110th Street and Riverside Drive.
Pres.-Robert Seelav

YORKVILLE ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the Y.M.H.A., 92nd St. and Lexington Avenue, on the 2nd Tuesday in each month.
Pres.-Isadore Silver, Treasurer-Max S. Schoenholt, Membership Chairman-Louis Watstein

WEST SIDE ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the B'nai Jeshurun Community Center, 270 West 89th Street, on the first Monday of each month.
Pres.-I.J. Caplan, Secretary-Jacques Torczyner, Membership Chairman-Samuel Berman

HAKOAH - meets at the Clubhouse, 245 West 72nd Street, every night.
Pres.-Otto I. Herbst, Vice Pres.-Paul M. Fulton

WASHINGTON HEIGHTS - meets at the Temple Gates of Israel, 560 West 185th Street, on the last Thursday of each month.
Pres.-Louis Kolodney, Chairman of Ex. Committee-Marcus M. Zetkin

STATEN ISLAND - meets at the Jewish Community Center, 475 Victory Blvd., on the third Wednesday of each month.
Pres.-J. Golub, Treasurer-Dr. Maurice Kormat

INWOOD ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the Inwood Hebrew Congregation, 111 Vermilyea Avenue.
Pres.-Irving Galt, Executive Vice Pres.-Louis Dince and Rabbi Jacob Radin

JACOB EHRLICH SOCIETY - no scheduled meeting place. Pres.-Dr. Alfred Kestenbaum, Secretary-Mrs. Sabine Passweg

THEODOR HERZL SOCIETY - no scheduled meeting place. Pres.-Ludwig Aron, Secretary-Mrs. Elizabeth Eliasberg

IGUL - no scheduled meeting place. Pres.-Ernest Stlassny, Treasurer-Stephen Cody

JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY - meets at the Jewish Theological Seminary, 3080 Broadway.
Pres.-Simcha Kling

UNITED ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the West Side Synagogue, 347 West 34th Street, bi-weekly.
Pres.-William M. Waldman, Membership Chairman-Louis J. Berkowitz

FT. TRYON - meets at the Ft. Tryon Jewish Center, 496 Ft. Washington Avenue, on the first Monday of each month.
Pres.-Morris Yasky

SOCIETY FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF JUDAISM - meets at the S.A.J. Building, 15 West 86th Street.
Mrs. H. L. Reiss-Zionist Liaison Officer

HAMILTON GRANGE ZIONIST DISTRICT - meets at the B'nai Israel, 610 West 149th Street, on the 2nd Tuesday and last Wednesday of month.
Pres.-Judge Benjamin Greenspan, Treasurer-Sol Lewine, Secretary-William Zuckerman

DISTRICTS IN FORMATION

District 88 - meets at the Fraternal Clubhouse, 110 West 48th Street.

District 89 - Stephen Wise Society, constituting the congregation of the Free Synagogue.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES OF MANHATTAN ZIONIST REGIONAL LEADERS

JUDGE HYMAN J. REIT -- President of the Manhattan Zionist Region, member of the Seventh Zionist District and former Seventh Zionist District President. A leading New York jurist having formerly served on the New York bench, Judge Reit has been a member of the Zionist Organization of America for the last 26 years and was the first President of the Washington Heights Zionist District. For many years he led the U.P.A. campaigns in upper Manhattan and was one of the early collaborators of Dr. Chaim Weizmann when the Keren Hayesod was initiated in the United States in the early 1920's.

MR. MAX S. SCHOENHOLT -- Vice President of the Region and Treasurer of the Yorkville Zionist District. A newcomer to Zionist ranks, he has been one of the men responsible for the phenomenal increase in the membership of the Yorkville District in its six-year old history. Mr. Schoenholt is associated in business with the Wechsler family of the Wechsler Coffee Company. Together with Major Abraham Wechsler, Mr. Edward I. Wechsler, Lt. Col. Harry F. Wechsler, and Mr. Isadore Silver, now President of the Yorkville District and leading New York restaurant operator and owner, he has induced the powerful Restaurant Trade Association to associate closely with the Zionist Organization of America.

HON. IRVIN GALT -- Vice President of the Region, President of the Inwood Zionist District, Assistant Attorney General of New York State. In the past three years, as President of the Inwood District, he brought his District to its all time record of having over 500 members. As a Jurist Doctor he has earned a name for himself as a lawyer, and as a young man has a great future ahead in the Zionist movement.

MR. WILLIAM M. WALDMAN -- Treasurer of the Region, President and founder of the United Zionist District which now has a membership of over 300 meeting in the West Side business area of Manhattan, a veteran of the Zionist movement, and one of the Z.O.A. leaders in Long Island. As a resident of Long Island he devoted himself exclusively to the building of the Region and since he took up permanent residence in Manhattan he has managed the financial affairs of the Region. Mr. Waldman is an attorney.

MR. JACQUES TORCZYNER -- Secretary of the Region, member of an illustrious European Zionist family, his father, Numa, having been the President of the Belgian Zionist Federation for ten years right up to his emigration to the United States in 1940. Mr. Jacques Torczyner, while in Belgium, was editor of the Belgian Zionist Federation's official organ. For the last three years Mr. Torczyner has been the Secretary of the Seventh Zionist District during the period in which the District grew from an original membership of 250 to the record breaking District in the country of over 3,500 members.

MR. ROBERT SEELAV -- Chairman of the Administrative Council of the Region, and Chairman of the Riverside Zionist District. Mr. Seelav has for many years been associated as the attorney for theatrical interests in New York, and is the author of the books, "Is There a Lumber Trust?", "Government Homes for the Poor", and "Justice for the Poor". Mr. Seelav's connections with other organizations and with prominent people associated with the government of our City, State, and country, has created much good will for the Zionist movement.

MR. I. J. CAPLAN -- Treasurer of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund, and outstanding New York accountant. Mr. Caplan is President of the Seventh Zionist District. He at one time was President of the New York Association of Accountants, and as a comparative newcomer into the Zionist Organization of America has carved a niche for himself as a leader of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund and the successful President of the country's largest Zionist District.

MR. PAUL KAMINSKY -- Chairman of the Finance Committee. Mr. Kaminsky, prominent New York clothing manufacturer, as the head of the Finance Committee of the Region conducted the Manhattan Regional drive for the Metropolitan Zionist Fund and raised, through his personal efforts, the largest single sum in the Metropolitan area. Mr. Kaminsky at one time was a noted Talmudical scholar and has been a member of the Zionist Organization of America for the past three years.

MR. PHILIP APRIL -- Chairman of the Membership Committee, prominent New York business man associated with the men's and women's hat industries. Mr. April has the record of having brought in more new members into the Zionist Organization of America than any other man in the country. He is a member of the B'nai Jeshurun Congregation by heredity, his great-grandfather having been a member as far back as 1801.

MR. LOUIS DINCE -- Chairman of the Jewish National Fund Committee, Chairman of the Executive of the Inwood Zionist District, and one of the founders of the Manhattan Region. By profession he is an accountant and is a veteran of the Zionist movement having been associated for many years with the activities of the Bronx Zionist Region.

MR. MARCUS M. ZETKIN -- Associate Chairman of the Jewish National Fund and for the last fifteen years a leader of the Washington Heights Zionist District. Mr. Zetkin is one of the oldest veterans of the Zionist movement in the city. A member of the original field staff of the Keren Hayesod, Mr. Zetkin acted as a recruiting officer for the Jewish Legion during the last war.

DR. BEN N. EDIDIN -- Chairman of the Education Committee, and one of America's outstanding Jewish educators and author of educational treatises. Dr. Edidin is a member of the New York Zionist Society and is a Director of the Extension Activities of the Jewish Education Committee in New York.

MR. MAX LEVY -- Chairman of the Youth Commission, and a veteran Zionist. Mr. Levy has figured prominently in the Zionist life of the city for the last 25 years. A former leader of the Washington Heights Zionist District he is now a Vice President of the Seventh Zionist District. Under his leadership, the Youth Commission of Manhattan has become the testing ground for all Youth Commission enterprises throughout the country, he having introduced seminars, weekend camps, etc. Mr. Levy is a New York attorney.

MR. A. W. SCHEFFRES -- War Activities Chairman. Mr. Scheffres is a member of the Yorkville Zionist District and has only been a member of the Zionist Organization of America for the last few months. In this short period he has brought in over 100 new members and headed the successful Manhattan Regional Seventh War Loan Drive which, although it sought a goal of \$15,000,000, has to date raised over \$50,000,000. Mr. Scheffres, a leading New York City cotton converter, has been associated actively with the Young Mens' Philanthropic League of New York and is a past President of the Tompkins Avenue Boys' Club. He is the grandson of one of the charter members of the original American Zionist Federation, the predecessor of the Zionist Organization of America founded in 1897.

MR. MANUEL POSY -- Director. He represents the National headquarters of the Zionist Organization of America and has been assigned as Director of the Manhattan Region. He was formerly associated with the United Jewish Appeal of New York. Mr. Posy at one time was President of the Greater New York Region of Young Judea and is a veteran of World War II.



SECOND ANNUAL CONFERENCE COMMITTEE

It is the desire of the Officers and Executive Committee of the Manhattan Zionist Region to precede the transcription of the proceedings of the Manhattan Zionist Regional Conference with a note of appreciation to Mr. Irving Galt, Chairman of the Conference Committee, who for many weeks gave of himself untiringly to bring to the Conference the success it enjoyed.

It was also the intention of the Regional Committee to thank the personnel of the Conference Committee for their cooperation, support, and advice which guided Mr. Galt in his deliberations.



MORNING SESSION

Hon. Hyman J. Reit, presiding

Mr. Irving Galt, Conference Chairman, called the meeting to order at 10:40 A.M.

"It gives me great pleasure to welcome you in the names of the officers of the Region and Conference Committee as delegates to this Second Annual Conference of the Manhattan Zionist Region. It is encouraging that so many of you have turned out at such an early hour on such a day as this. The proceedings will be comparatively brief. The speakers will not talk at very great length, and I too shall adhere to that principle in my remarks of welcome, especially inasmuch as I shall have a chance to preside at the Afternoon Session. Judge Reit will preside in the morning and during the Luncheon Session.

Due to a number of unforeseen circumstances beyond our control, there is a need for revision in the program. It is not yet certain whether Mr. David Ben Gurion will be here. He is enroute and it is possible he will be able to be with us. In the event that he does not appear, in his place, we are fortunate, in that we will be able to hear Rabbi Judah L. Fishman, the leader of the Mizrachi faction of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. At the luncheon, we shall also have an address by Dr. Emanuel Neumann. I neglected to mention that we had also scheduled Mr. Louis Lipsky, but he is still in San Francisco. His place in the program will be taken by Dr. Israel Goldstein, originally scheduled to speak at the luncheon.

The program this morning consists of business matters of the Region. It is substantially as planned originally, a report by Judge Reit, a report by our Executive Director, Mr. Pogy, and a report by Mr. Jacques Torcszyner, our Secretary. Resolutions will not be heard until the afternoon, immediately after the Luncheon Session.

Fellow delegates, our esteemed and worthy President, Judge Reit!"

REGIONAL PRESIDENT'S REPORT -- HON. HYMAN J. REIT

"It is just ten months since I last addressed a representative gathering of delegates of Manhattan Districts and on this occasion I address you to take note of some not unworthy accomplishments of the Manhattan Region during the last year.

Today, June 10th, 1945, marks the end of our first full working year as an organized entity of Manhattan Zionist Districts. Last September the first Conference of the Manhattan Zionist Region gave its blessing to what was then a new enterprise - the Manhattan Zionist Region. It was on April 17th, 1944, that the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America granted a Charter to the Manhattan Zionist Region, and for the first time in the history of the Zionist Organization of America the community which is the show-piece of the nation received the opportunity of performing a Zionist task as a community - a task which has been so well fulfilled that it justifies the confidence of the National Organization in granting a Charter to us and justifies the faith of Manhattan Zionists who believed a job could be done.

Our first year of existence was not an easy year - it was a year wrought with difficulties and political instability - a year in which there had been violent clashes among the policy makers of the National Organization and in which the political ebb of our Zionist fortunes has been at its lowest. Everywhere in the Organization there was disillusionment and pessimism, but Manhattan Zionists, together with their fellow Zionists throughout the nation, rallied to the Zionist cause and despite everything have made progress in this difficult year possible. Not only did the Manhattan Zionists rally, but have created of the Manhattan Region the foremost and finest of any Zionist entity in the country and has established a series of "firsts" which have made Zionist history and will, in the future, lead to the further strengthening and consolidation of our gains within the movement.

At this time I must pay special tribute to the loyal band of workers within the Region who, despite differences of opinion in how the Zionist movement should be led, laid aside their opinions in order to do as good a job as they knew how for their Districts and for their Region. These differences crept into the Regional Executive meetings but it is to the credit of all people concerned that any disagreement found, by these people, with the Region, was expressed in renewed and accelerated work for our common cause.

Our best indicator of accomplishment is the membership figure of our Region now as compared to a year ago when we were in our earliest infancy. To date there are about 7,000 paid up members and about 1,500 members who have yet to renew their dues, giving us a total of 8,500 members on the books of the Districts of the Manhattan Region. A year ago today our entire membership, paid and unpaid, comprised just 4,500 people. A year ago today there were just 14 Districts in the Manhattan Zionist Region - today there are 20. Although we are not the biggest Region in the country, we occupy third place in the National roster - our rate of increase is the best in the country. Perhaps the only reason why Brooklyn Zionist Region exceeds us in membership is because of the fact that there are twice as many Jews living in the Borough of Brooklyn. We hope that the Brooklyn Zionist Region will continually increase in size and in strength but before we of Manhattan are through we hope to equal them in numbers. As we gather strength and experience we shall exploit the areas in the Borough which have not yet been touched by the Zionist movement and it is my solemn wish that for every Postal Zone number in Manhattan there be a Zionist District.

There are a number of phases of activity in which Manhattan really took the lead and established a precedent for the Zionist Organization of America, which are now being copied by every city in the country.

We are the first Region to have a Public Relations Committee which was not purely a paper affair, but directed and activated many projects which have caught the imagination of American Zionists.

Despite untold difficulty, set-backs and opposition, the Manhattan Region was the first organized Zionist group to combat and nullify the work of the Berkson boys in the Metropolitan area. Seven newspaper ads were inserted in the New York Post, advertising the benefits and the accomplishments of the Zionist Organization of America. We stressed the long history of the Zionist Organization of America and proved that we are the organization that is legally recognized as the spokesman for the Zionist masses in this country, having a history that goes back to 1897. To the first ad inserted on February 8th, 1945, one thousand and fifty two mail responses were received from the public, and many letters expressed the gratitude of the New York Jewish population to us for taking to the press and exposing, politely but assuredly, the Berkson propaganda, which without the press must fail. They have been able to only insert two ads since we took to the press.

Additionally, our advertising gave some of our Districts a much needed stimulus and it was not an unusual occurrence in Manhattan this year for people to be turned away from Zionist meetings as there was no room to accommodate the large crowds.

We were at the same time this year, through our public relations program, able to bring such outstanding figures as Dean Alfange and Dorothy Norman of the New York Post, to our side. I believe it would be only fair to say, at this time, that Mr. Samuel Brennglass, of the Yorkville Zionist District, who acted as Chairman of the Public Relations Committee, Mr. Karl E. Ettinger, of the Gramercy Park District, who in his own right is a professional public relations consultant, made it possible for this advanced program to become a reality. I regret Mr. Brennglass is sick and cannot be with us today. We thank him for his past contribution.

To Mr. Ettinger goes our sincerest thanks for giving such valuable advice and assistance in drawing up the text of the ads and letting us into some of his trade secrets, which put us in the front ranks of Public Relations Committees throughout the country.

We should take note that our public relations program and the text of our ads have been sent, by the National Office in Washington, to every single District and Region throughout the country. One last remark on public relations. The ambitious program was started to enroll the "Landsmanschaften" into the Zionist Organization of America, which culminated in the beginnings of the enrollment of one large family society in a Zionist District, the first meeting of which was held last Wednesday, June 6th. I believe that the lessons learned by the Region, through its Public Relations Committee this year, will be of untold benefit, and nothing more can be said than that we gave the Committee full right to proceed next year, so that at our next Conference they may come with a much more formidable record.

The Committee will welcome new members and interested people who wish to give of their time to take their place among some of their fellow Zionists to whom Zionist public relations means a great deal. Of course, there were many of us who were present at the Pythian Temple Rally who will remember that great occasion and thus they will realize that advertising and good public relations pay.

Our Educational Committee, headed by Dr. Ben Edidin of the New York Zionist Society, established a precedent in Zionist education that has been copied by many other Regions and Districts throughout the country.

Through the cooperation of the New York Zionist Society and its President, Dr. Jacob S. Golub, we were able to bring to the Zionists of Manhattan, who thirsted for Zionist information, a series of seven forums, which presented to New York Zionists some leading exponents of the different phases of Zionism. Such outstanding personalities as Dr. Abraham Halkin, among others, lectured weekly to representatives of Zionist Districts gathered at the Jewish Theological Seminary, answered their questions and gave them information that they needed so sorely, so that they, in turn, could keep the large memberships of their Districts informed as to the philosophy of our movement and the problems confronting it.

Our Youth Commission, led by Max Levy, had a very busy year. We hope that their work was made easier by the fact that the Manhattan Region this year provided them with the funds which enabled them to carry on. A subsequent and fuller report will be given on their activities.

I think at this time it would be only fair to mention that the lead was taken in organized fund raising through the efforts of the Manhattan Zionist Region. Through our efforts the Metropolitan Zionist Fund was created. Through the Metropolitan Zionist Fund many Zionist activities have been facilitated to the benefit of all Regions and all Districts in the Metropolitan area, and Manhattan, because of its ability to raise large sums of money, was able to bring to Zionists outside of our Region, educational and other benefits which normally would have been denied them. On this activity too, a more detailed report will be given, but I must point out that the major burden of running the fund was carried by Mr. I. J. Caplan, President of the 7th Zionist District, who is also the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund. Mr. Caplan, in his capacity as Treasurer, has diverted money into activities and into Zionist Regions where they needed the money and activities the most. He has carried the burden solely and without much assistance but of all the outstanding Zionist contributions made by individuals this year, Mr. Caplan has made the greatest. I take this opportunity of paying public tribute to him and thanking him on behalf of the whole Zionist movement for his magnificent effort.

I hope that at sometime during the course of the morning there will be further discussion on the Metropolitan Zionist Fund so that we may be guided as to our further participation. I want this to go on record emphatically -- the Manhattan Zionist Region did the most for the Metropolitan Zionist Fund and in direct benefits received the least, but we have done a Zionist duty by providing the less affluent Regions and Districts services which have helped them become better and more intense in their organization. Of course, at this time special tribute should be paid to Mr. Paul Kaminsky who, through his personal efforts made the Manhattan Region the most important factor of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund.

Among the series of "firsts" we have standing out as a star in his own right, our beloved membership Chairman, Mr. Philip April, who unrelentingly applied himself to his job and as an individual brought in more than 200 new members to the Zionist Organization of America.

Membership is of primary importance. Our goal is to increase in size and in strength. Every Committee has an indirect objective, the strengthening of Zionist membership. Good public relations and good education will tend to increase Zionist membership and that is why it is so important to have an effective membership committee. Once again, Mr. April would not have been able to do his job unless he had the assistance of the Membership Chairmen and Membership Committees of our constituent Districts. To them and to our lay membership we owe our sincerest thanks.

With Mr. April, Mr. Samuel Berman, Mr. A. W. Scheffres of Yorkville, Rabbi Jacob Radin of Inwood, Mr. Edward Moss of the 7th District, Mr. Nathan Zucker, outshone themselves by bringing in more than 50 new members apiece. There are over 70 members of the Manhattan Region who obtained citations to the "Chai Club" and through the collective efforts of all concerned there are more than 2700 new members of the Zionist Organization of America in the Borough of Manhattan.

Our most recent accomplishment was that of our participation in the 7th War Loan Drive. Mr. A. W. Scheffres, Chairman of the War Bond Drive, has released the latest figure, and todate we of Manhattan have raised over \$25,000,000 in War Bonds; over \$10,000,000 in excess of our quota of \$15,000,000.

At this time I must note the great contributions made to our cause this year through their Districts and through the Region of gentlemen like our devoted Secretary, Mr. Jacques Torczyner, our Vice Presidents, Mr. Max Schoenholt and Mr. Irving Galt, our Treasurer, Mr. William M. Waldman, and the loyal members of the Executive Committee of the Region.

No report could be complete without mentioning the contributions made by the four Zionist districts of Manhattan who had their origins in what was at one time Germany and Austria, and who for the last 30 years have been carrying on maximum Zionism - first in Europe and now in the United States -- the Theodor Herzl Society, the Jacob Ehrlich Society, Igul, and Hakoah. They have added dignity to our organization and have displayed the true spirit of Americanism by becoming an integral part of the Zionist scene. We particularly facilitate Hakoah on the completion of 35 years of service. Beginning now the next 35 years has begun and it is my fervent hope that in the very near future Hakoah will take the lead in organizing a sports and recreation program among all the Districts, first in Manhattan and then throughout the country. Plans are now being drawn up by which Hakoah will be able to write a new chapter in their history through a program that it will initiate of "Zionist strength through play".

The 7th Zionist District has retained its right to be called the largest single Zionist District in the country and the Yorkville Zionist District has reached the 1,000 membership class. Inwood and Washington Heights have increased their strength and particularly in Washington Heights Zionism has once again become a potent factor in community affairs. Mr. Marcus Zetkin and Louis Kolodney did a yeoman job this year and Louis Dince, Rabbi Radin and Irving Galt have carried the ball for Inwood.

Each Zionist District, without exception, in Manhattan has boasted this year of increased activity and increased membership. We think the creation of the Region had something to do with it. I must commend particularly the Manhattan Zionist Club, all young men and women, which under the leadership of Raphael Pinchas, firstly has doubled its membership and secondly became the model District which has no equal in any part of the country.

I cannot help but express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the man who has been at my right hand all the time, and who saw neither rain nor sunshine in carrying out his duties. I am speaking now of our Director, Manuel Posy. You know our Districts throughout the city of New York were in rather a weak condition, and a good deal of work was required. It never made any difference whether it was Monday night, Tuesday night, Wednesday night, Thursday night, Friday night, or Saturday night, whenever we had to send him to any kind of a meeting, either to present a problem, or to help them organize, or do whatever was necessary, and I have yet to see Mr. Posy decline once to attend to his duties because of personal reasons.

He has devoted himself to Zionism and Regional work first, and everything else has been secondary, and for that I am extremely grateful to him, and I am sure the Region feels likewise.

We also have an office staff, and while we are not hard taskmasters, work must be done, and there is more and more work each day, as our membership increases to 10,000. Naturally we depend on our clerical help to do the work and do it conscientiously. While they are all very good, I want to take this occasion to thank the one who is our Secretary, and who does most of the work for our Region, Miss Sylvia Lenowitz.

I think that I have done all that was asked of me as President of this Region during the year. I know there might have been some criticism, there might have been some unpleasantness, but in the main I think this year has been satisfactory. We can only do what we are called to do and do it conscientiously with a sincere heart, and with a hope that our thoughts and ideas will be realized. I could not have accomplished anything in this Region without the assistance of the officers, the members, and you ladies and gentlemen, the delegates to this Conference, who with the Administrative Committee compose the leadership of our Region. To all of you I express my sincere thanks and appreciation."



"Last September I rendered a report to the First Annual Conference of the Manhattan Zionist Region. At that time I spoke in the terms of the future. Our Region was new. Our machinery had not yet been set up and the only thing we had to guide us was the will to serve and the desire to render a service to the constituent groups of the Region so that we could all mutually benefit and make our work more effective in the perpetration of the ideal that we all serve.

In many quarters there were grave doubts as to whether it would be possible for a Region to function in an area that had never had a Region before. The leaders of the Region plus the good will of the Districts were determined that the contributions they could make to the Zionist cause, despite everything, could best be served by a strong organization in Manhattan which, if possible, could become the showcase of the Zionist world. It was in Manhattan to which all Zionist leaders came. It was from Manhattan that many Presidents of the Zionist Organization of America had originated, and yet a peculiar paradox existed in Manhattan. There was no integrated entity representing the Zionist cause on a borough-wide basis.

In the heated controversial issues that often confront our organization, the furor is of such greatness at times that we sometimes forget the only objective of the Zionist Organization of America and of its Districts and members. That is, the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine. This objective is more important than any of us, and it has been the intention of every project initiated within a District or the Region whether it be social, cultural, economic, or spiritual to bring us one step nearer to the accomplishment of our ultimate goal. I will endeavor in this report to show how, out of the simple and early beginning of a Region just a year ago, a great contribution has been made to the political fight for a Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine.

Everything that has been done has helped in that direction and even though Zionist fortunes have been at its lowest ebb an effective fighting weapon has been created that will be able to deliver one of the final blows in our struggle for freedom. Last year at this time we were just thinking of committees and thinking of ideas, and thinking in terms of personnel to man our ramparts. Today we can look back at a year of activities emanating from Regional committees and emanating in Districts that have never been performed before. The beauty of our inter-district cooperation and Regional activity has been the cementing of friendships and the bringing together of people from different sections of the borough who never before had the occasion to meet or work with each other.

The gauge of achievement is measured in terms of increase; unselfish increase given to every District.

Figures speak for themselves. To date we have 8,246 members on our books. Even disregarding the unpaid members, we still have an increase of 1,500 members over and above the final total at the end of last year. This year there has been a great quantity of unsolicited members who have sent in applications and dues to the Regional Office because of an aggressive policy which brought to the Manhattan public the message of the Zionist Organization of America. There has been constant contact between the Regional Office and the Chairmen of the Membership Committees of each District. We believe that because of a contact created this year it was possible for the District to facilitate their membership activities. It was the intention of my office to give every District, large or small, the maximum amount of attention so that they can build their memberships.

The office, out of necessity, integrated the activities of the different Regional committees so that membership, public relations, education, etc., became dependent upon each other. Each committee complemented each other. Mr. April convened meetings of the Membership Committee and through his personal example of having the record in the entire nation in the securing of new members inspired groups for renewed activity.

Many records have been accomplished this year. Six of our Districts, namely Gramercy Park, the Manhattan Zionist Club, Yorkville, and Inwood, more than doubled their last year's membership. The Seventh Zionist District reached an all time high by obtaining over 1,000 new members, giving them todate the leadership in the whole country in the size of their District. Every single District in Manhattan has had an increase in membership. As this report is to become a public record I want to pay tribute to each Membership Chairman in each District and their committees for the courageous tasks they performed.

For the first time in many years the cultural and educational programs of the Districts became more intense. Compared to previous years there were more Zionist cultural meetings conducted by each District. It was easier for Districts this year to obtain services from the Regional Office which made it possible for all Districts to have continuous programs and speakers supplied to them. There was never an occasion during the year in which the Regional Office did not come through and provide the material for a District to conduct an adequate program, programs intended to increase the Zionist intensity of the rank and file members of all Districts. We are very fortunate in Manhattan by having as one of our Districts the New York Zionist Society which, in content of its membership, has the highest intellectual level of Districts in the entire country. The New York Zionist Society provided the Region with Dr. Edidin, who acted as Chairman of the Education Committee of the Region. The New York Zionist Society supplied us with talent which enabled us to conduct a forum of seven lectures which gave to the people present a deep insight into the Zionist problem and philosophy. We hope that the recipients of this course were able to convey to their Districts the knowledge they obtained and so strengthen the content of their respective meetings when they congregated together. Dr. Jacob S. Golub, President of the New York Zionist Society, cooperated and made the forum possible.

On the political front the Manhattan Region was the inspirer of the great Lewisohn Stadium Rally of April 29th, and because of a phone call received in the Regional Office and because of a telegram sent out by Judge Hyman J. Reit, our President, the greatest political demonstration in the history of American or world Jewry was held on the memorable April 29th.

During this year, the activities of the Zionist Organization of America in the borough of Manhattan received more newspaper publicity than ever before in the history of all the Districts of Manhattan. The Public Relations Committee, under the chairmanship of Mr. Samuel L. Brennglass, met at frequent intervals and a three-fold project was initiated.

1. Newspaper advertising
2. Community rallies
3. Incorporation of "Landmanshaften" groups into the Zionist Organization of America

Our newspaper ads had a very peculiar beginning. On a dismal night sometime in early January when it was so wet that it was impossible for a dog to walk through the streets, a small group of four people including myself gathered at what was supposed to have been a Membership Committee meeting of the Seventh Zionist District.

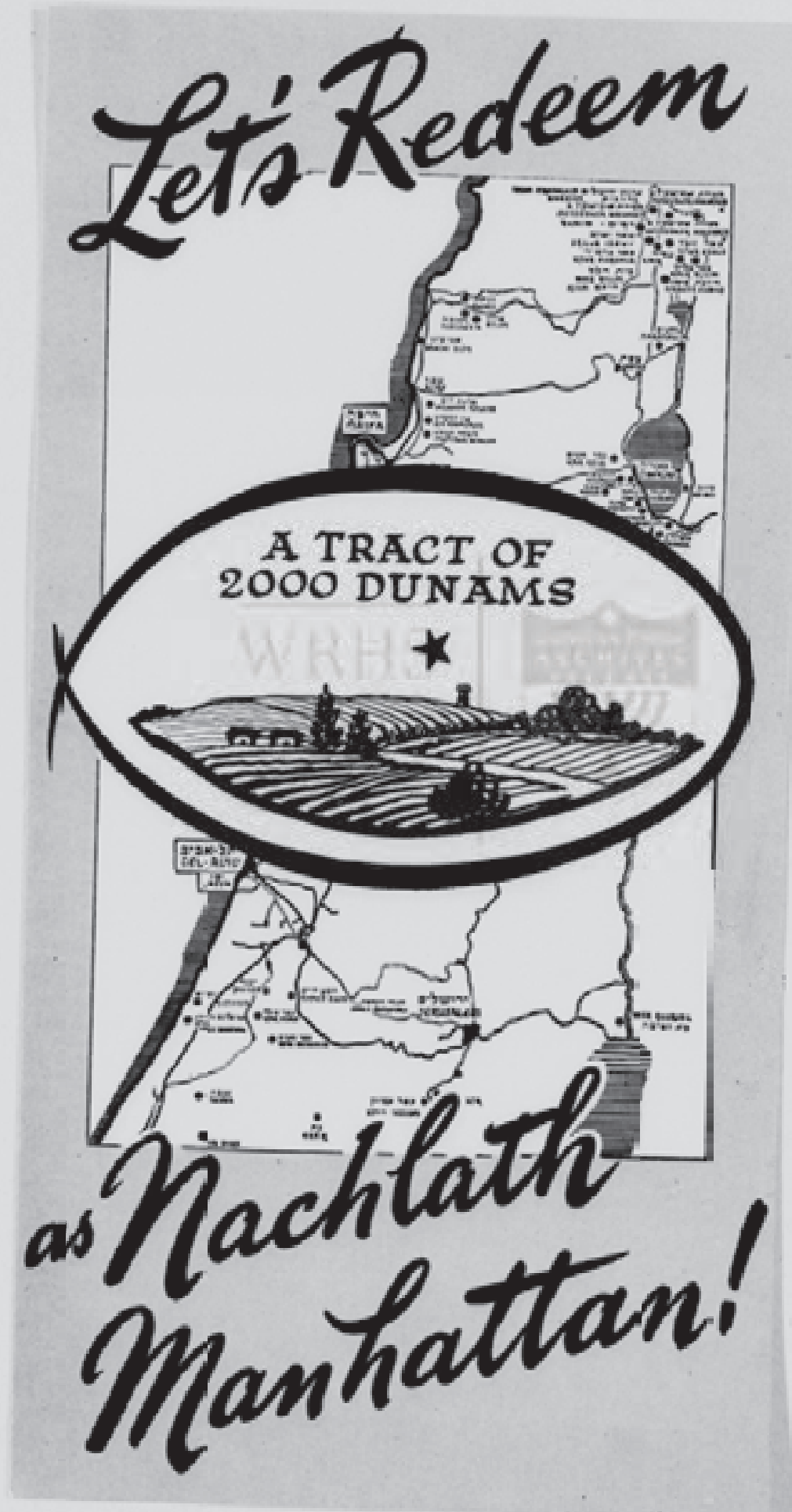
During the course of discussion between Mr. Samuel Berman, Chairman of the Membership Committee of the Seventh Zionist District, Mr. Edward H. Moss, and Mr. Joseph Aaron, it was suggested that it would be a nice thing if it were possible to have a monster rally to commemorate a public holiday in the United States and to tie that rally up with a Jewish theme. Discussion evolved around the possibility of imitating the Berkson Group by placing ads in the Metropolitan press. I, at that time, remembered the statements made by Mr. Ettinger of the Public Relations Committee, who advocated advertising, but we had no budget for this project. Mr. Berman, Mr. Moss, and later Mr. April, personally contributed the money to make an ad possible. The first ad to appear in the New York Post advertising the Lincoln Day Rally, the function that became a reality and that previously had been cleared through the Public Relations Committee, resulted in a political tie-up between Lincoln, the great Emancipator, and Jewish freedom. On February 12th, thanks to Mr. Berman, Mr. Moss, Mr. April, and Mr. Ettinger who drew up the ad, the Manhattan Region came into its own by conducting its first public demonstration. It was not with bad results. 150 new members enrolled into the Zionist Organization of America that night.

Dean Alfange became a symbol of the Christian interest in the fight for Jewish freedom. Over 1,000 responses were received in the mail from the public. This ad was followed by six other ads all composed by Mr. Ettinger to whom we owe a deep vote of thanks. Here is a cross-section of what has happened. The Manhattan Zionist Club, as a result of an ad, obtained 60 new members in one night and the doors of the City Center where the meeting was being held were broken down by an anxious crowd attempting to get in. The Yorkville Zionist District obtained over 150 new members because of an ad advertising Pierre Van Paasen. They turned away as many people that attempted to obtain entrance into the 92nd Street "Y" as were sitting in the audience. Last but not least, the Seventh Zionist District in response to an ad appearing last month had over 1,000 people come and listen to Gerold Frank, correspondent who was at the Moyné trial. This was good public relations. 200,000 readers of the New York Post read about the Zionist Organization of America. They learned that we were an old and legitimate organization and had a record of achievement, and that it was through OUR movement the Jew's salvation would come.

Last Wednesday night, on June 6th, Irving Galt and I had the pleasure of addressing our first "Landsaanschaften" group, the Isadore Gans Benevolent Society, and as a result of that meeting the 300 members of that Society are affiliating enmasse with the Manhattan Zionist Region. They will conduct a Zionist political program within their organization and carry on as a routine Zionist District. We made a good beginning, and I hope and pray that within the next year there will be many hundreds of these groups in order to give us the strength which we must have.

Manhattan adopted a Jewish National Fund program, "Nachlath Manhattan". We wish to raise \$50,000 for a special piece of land for returning veterans of the Jewish Brigade. About \$23,000 of the \$50,000 has been raised. The Committee is going to make a determined effort to make up the balance so that we may have this piece of territory set aside for us.

The attached pamphlet explains the "Nachlath Manhattan" project.



The attached pamphlet explains the "Nachlath Manhattan" project.

FOR RESCUE AND RESETTLEMENT

What is to be the fate of the surviving remnants of European Jewry? Will the tortured victims of the Axis aggression be compelled to remain at or to return to the scenes of unspeakable crimes and torture? Will Jewish life be reconstructed, and will this reconstruction primarily mean, for a great many of the survivors, the opportunity to bury the horrifying past and go Zionward, to rebuild their own lives and to build a happy future for themselves and their people?

The answer has been formulated in the Zionist program for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth which will be a part of the new democratic world order. This aim has the backing of a united America as epitomized in the endorsement of the two major political parties in the recent Presidential election campaign, and in the historic declaration by President Franklin D. Roosevelt, who pledged:

"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."

The establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth means Rescue and Resettlement. This program depends, for its effective fulfillment, upon the availability of extensive *land tracts* which, as national property, are to be placed at

the disposal of the pioneers and refugees coming to the shores of Eretz Israel.

The current program of the Jewish National Fund is dedicated to this purpose. To this end the Keren Kayemeth is called upon to invest in the year 1945 a sum of approximately \$10,000,000. This investment is to be made in accordance with a program for new land purchases that has been formulated and announced at the "Kol Adamah" convention held in Jerusalem, in September, 1944.

40 NEW SETTLEMENTS PLANNED

Through its varied means of fund raising, large and small, the Keren Kayemeth, in the 43 years of its existence, has been entrusted by Jewish communities in all parts of the world with an amount exceeding \$40,000,000. By the end of 1944, the agricultural development for which the land of the Keren Kayemeth is the foundation, has been universally recognized and acclaimed as the backbone of Jewish Palestine today. On the tracts of national soil, now comprising 750,000 dunams, 190 settlements have been established.

The plans of the Keren Kayemeth for 1945 and the years immediately after call for the purchase of various tracts comprising at least 250,000 dunams. These lands will serve as the foundation for the establishment, in the near future, of another 40 agricultural colonies. Eight of these settlements will accommodate the post-war needs of the demobilized members of the Jewish Brigade who are now fighting under the Blue White Flag of Zion for the liberation of mankind and the realization of the Jewish Commonwealth of Palestine.

OUR CONTRIBUTION: NACHLATH MANHATTAN

Of the \$10,000,000 which has to be raised this year for the implementation of these plans, American Jewry is expected to provide the lion's share.

U. S. Jewry has in recent years played the leading part in the progress of Palestine land acquisition. This is the way it should be since we, the strongest Jewish community in the world, must shoulder the task of Rescue and Resettlement.

The Zionists of Manhattan, acting through the Manhattan Zionist Region, have taken the initiative to make a substantial contribution toward the new advance.

The Manhattan Zionist Region, confident of the support of its membership and of all co-operating groups and organizations in the city of New York, gave its pledge to the Jewish National Fund to raise, with the aid of the traditional Keren Kayemeth methods, a sum of \$50,000 during this year.

When this sum is made available, the Jewish National Fund will be enabled to acquire, as part of the program above described, a tract of 2,000 dunams. In consideration of this effort and the amount which it will be instrumental in securing, the Jewish National Fund has agreed to name the redeemed area *Nachlath Manhattan*.

"*Nachlath*" is a Biblical term which means *land heritage*. This Hebrew word is a symbol for the continuity of ownership, and expresses the everlasting character of the union between the People and the Land of Israel. The name of Manhattan Jewry is to be conferred upon the redeemed tract in accordance with a well-established pattern that has been followed for many years. Quite a number of American Jewish communities have had their names perpetuated upon the soil of Eretz Israel because of their contribution to the progress of Palestine land redemption.

The Nachlath Manhattan program gives us the opportunity to earn this credit and honor.



This amount is to be raised by means of the traditional and well-known Keren Kayemeth techniques. Those who will participate in the land redemption program by contributions that will make possible the acquisition of ten (10) dunams of land will receive beautifully engraved dunam land certificates for the respective number of dunams. Entries into the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund on the basis of a gift of \$100 will make possible the acquisition of four (4) dunams of land. Contributors of \$25 will have to their credit the redemption of one dunam of land.

Pressing our demand for the rescue and rehabilitation of European Jewry, and striving for the establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, our primary duty is to provide the *land foundation* upon which the Jewish Commonwealth of tomorrow will rest. Contributions toward the Nachlath Manhattan program will effectively serve this urgent purpose of Rescue and Resettlement.

PARTICIPATE IN RESCUE AND RESETTLEMENT

NACHLATH MANHATTAN COMMITTEE
JEWISH NATIONAL FUND
41 East 42nd Street
New York 17, N. Y.

I desire to participate in the acquisition and reclamation of the land tract for Nachlath Manhattan, and in consideration of similar gifts made by others, I hereby subscribe the amount of \$..... as my contribution toward the Jewish National Fund's "Land for Rescue and Resettlement" program.

Name.....

Address.....

City..... State.....

NACHLATH MANHATTAN COMMITTEE

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND, INC.
41 East 42nd Street New York 17, N. Y.

Officers of the Committee

LOUIS DINCK, *Chairman*
MARCUS ZETKIN, IRVING TARNOPOL, *Associate*
MANUEL POSY, *Secretary*

Officers of the Manhattan Zionist Region

HON. HYMAN J. REIT, *President*
MAX S. SCHOENHOLT, *First Vice President*
IRVING GALT, *Second Vice President*
WILLIAM M. WALDMAN, *Treasurer*
JACQUES TORCZYNER, *Secretary*
ROBERT SEELAY, *Chairman, Administrative Committee*
MANUEL POSY, *Director*

Executive Committee

Ludwig Aron
Joseph Bernstein
Max P. Birnbaum
Samuel L. Erenglass
I. J. Caplan
Dr. Ben Edilin
K. E. Eitinger
Elizabeth Eliasberg
Albert Engelman
Julius Feigenbaum
Walter Frankel
Paul M. Fulton
Herman Glazer
Jacob Goldenkoff
Dr. J. Golub
Dr. Alfred Kestenbaum
Simcha Kling
Alexander Kremenetsky

Louis Kolodney
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Bernard L. Newmark
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Milton B. Perlman
Raphael Pinchas
Abraham L. Sainer
Harry Schanter
Abe Shapiro
Boris Shneinshteller
Dr. Friedrich Steiner
Irving Tarnopol
Dr. D. I. Wanderman
Marcus Zetkin
Henry Zimet

I take great pleasure at this time in submitting the report of Mr. Max Levy, Chairman of the Manhattan Youth Commission. I quote:

'Our Manhattan Zionist Youth Commission under the joint sponsorship of the Region and the New York Chapter of Hadassah has carried on youth activities during the past year, and feels that some progress can be reported. We are not at all satisfied with the scope of our work. The need is basic for bringing Zionist education and contact with our interpretation of Jewish history to our growing youth. The future of the Jewish people depends upon the adequate enlargement of these activities. We are, of course, aware that Zionist youth work is not the only work among young people that is being done; but we, nevertheless, have a deep responsibility as Zionists in educating and preparing youth to participate in Jewish affairs with a sound background. The problem with which we must deal is the rapid enlargement of our work to embrace far more persons than we have so far had the opportunity of reaching.

Our principal emphasis is in the maintenance of Young Judea clubs. We have this year thirty-two such groups distributed throughout the entire Region. Each group is under the guidance of a leader, and, accordingly, the training and development of competent leadership is one of our major jobs. We established during the past year, in cooperation with the Bronx Zionist Youth Commission, a Leader's Training Institute designed to provide leaders and potential leaders with knowledge of Jewish and Zionist history and modern techniques of group direction. The Institute, held this year for the first time, was, under the direction of Mr. Boris Shteinshleifer and Rabbi Erwin Zimet, a promising innovation. It was attended by about seventy-five, chiefly from Junior Hadassah Chapters and some young men from our Masada groups. The Leader's Institute will be resumed, and is, in our judgment, an indispensable element of youth work.

There were held, under our sponsorship, two weekend conferences by our young people. These conferences were held Fridays to Sundays outside of the City, and constitute miniature conventions in which those in attendance engage in discussion, living together in a Zionist atmosphere, and there are notable speakers and musical features.

The Young Judea groups hold joint functions on appropriate holidays, and there conduct their affairs on a unified city-wide basis.

The projects of the groups under the direction of the leaders, and guided by the excellent material made available by National Young Judea, are calculated to train and inspire the children to Zionist thought and action.

We have two excellent Masada groups whose members are of intermediate age (over seventeen). These groups are virtually Junior Zionist Districts which carry on fine Zionist discussion and cooperate in Zionist work, including fund raising chiefly for the Jewish National Fund.

This year arrangements have finally been completed by the National Youth Commission which will make it possible to develop intensively Zionist groups among college students: a field which for some years has been in a confused state because of the differences that developed with Avukah. This intercollegiate Zionist body has now been reorganized, and we hope to have effective campus work as a result. In Manhattan there are several universities and colleges in which we cannot afford to leave Zionist organization undone.

The Manhattan Zionist Youth Commission has cooperated with Junior Hadassah, and both we and Junior Hadassah feel that its work has been improved through our sponsorship and guidance.

We have given assistance, supervision and financial subventions to our Masada groups and to Junior Hadassah's projects.

As the season's end approaches, we are receiving applications for scholarships to the Brandeis Summer Camp where also the emphasis, by exceptional intellectual and social facilities, is to prepare the students for Zionist youth leadership. The applicants are selected from our youth with suitable background and promise, and the cost of camp attendance is paid by our Commission.

The effective development of our work upon an adequate scope is restricted by the limitations of our financial resources. It is essential that Zionists, through the ZOA and Hadassah, should provide a budget which will permit youth activity to be conducted upon the scale which the inescapable obligation compels. It is our purpose in the ensuing year to engage a competent fulltime director and reach out on a widely expanded basis to bring the Zionist idea to a widened circle of presently unaffiliated young people. We shall concentrate even more upon the training of leaders and initiate other projects which we dare not any longer neglect, and in which the Jewish future is bound up. For this purpose a budget in keeping with the tremendous importance of the task will have to be provided by Zionists.'

Last, but not least, I think that all of us should take note that even though we were the leaders in many directions, that leadership was possible because of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund. The financial statement of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund is attached as a supplement to my report. The financial report indicates that although we raised the most money, a great proportion of that money was spent in other Regions so that we were in the position to render assistance in sections of the Metropolitan area where Districts and Regions not having the ability to do as well as us had their Zionist program strengthened.

I think it is only fair, that attached to the permanent record, a hearty vote of thanks be given to Mr. I. J. Caplan and Mr. Paul Kaminsky who have done more to make this Fund possible than any other individuals in the United States. Mr. I.J. Caplan is the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund, and Mr. Paul Kaminsky was the Manhattan Campaign Chairman and personally raised more than half of the money contributed by Manhattanites. Because of M.Z.F., we had an organized Education Bureau which provided your Districts with programs and speakers, the Radio Program, we had material aid to the Membership Committees, we had a public relations program, and we had some money available for Youth work.

I hope that as a result of this Conference, there will be renewed support for the Fund next year so that the Metropolitan Zionist Fund can make many more things possible, and will make it possible for Greater New York to have a Zionist movement, which in strength and size will equal the greatness of the general Jewish population in New York City.

I wish to thank you for your good will and support and hope that we will accomplish all that we are striving for."

METROPOLITAN ZIONIST FUND INC.

SUMMARY STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
FOR PERIOD BEGUN AUGUST 8, 1944 AND ENDED JUNE 13, 1945

ANALYSIS OF RECEIPTS

Manhattan	\$31,636.95
Brooklyn	24,448.58
Bronx	6,302.50
Westchester	4,770.00
Miscellaneous	882.00
	<u>\$68,040.03</u>

ALLOCATION OF FUND DISBURSEMENTS

	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>GENERAL</u>	<u>MANHATTAN</u> (32%)	<u>BROOKLYN</u> (32%)	<u>BRONX</u> (25%)	<u>WESTCHESTER</u> (10%)
CAMPAIGN EXPENSES	\$17,766.88	\$17,766.88				
CASH TO DISTRICTS	7,874.71		\$3,693.87	\$2,899.90	\$ 794.06	\$ 486.88
EXPANSION FUND	15,000.00	15,000.00				
CONTRIBUTIONS	100.00	100.00				
MEMBERSHIP	8,793.05	4,561.91	1,127.11	1,144.60	1,267.79	691.64
EDUCATION	4,209.98	3,404.23	260.00	208.50	312.25	25.00
PUBLICITY	817.18	817.18				
RADIO	5,245.78	5,245.78				
CASH TO REGIONS	7,700.00		2,450.00	2,450.00	1,800.00	1,000.00
		<u>\$46,895.98</u>	7,530.98	6,708.00	4,174.10	2,203.52
ALLOCATION OF GENERAL ITEMS			15,241.19	15,241.19	11,724.00	4,689.60
TOTAL	<u>\$67,507.58</u>		<u>\$22,772.17</u>	<u>\$21,944.19</u>	<u>\$15,898.10</u>	<u>\$6,893.12</u>

SUMMARY

CASH RECEIPTS	\$ 68,040.03
Less: CASH DISBURSEMENTS	<u>67,507.58</u>
EXCESS RECEIPTS OVER DISBURSEMENTS	\$ <u>532.45</u>

RECONCILIATION

CASH IN STERLING NATIONAL BANK	\$ 2,618.15
Less: Withholding Tax	\$ 101.10
Zionist Org. of America	1,541.54
Due to Districts	<u>443.06</u>
	<u>2,085.70</u>
	\$ <u>532.45</u>

OUR NEXT YEAR'S PROGRAM -- MR. JACQUES TORCZYNER, REGIONAL SECRETARY

"Fellow Delegates:

I had thought that my report would come after the discussion, but I find that my report will be a subject of discussion.

First of all, the strength of our Region comes from the friendly cooperation between its President, officers, and members of the Executive Committee. Our President, Judge Reit, has a very good habit. He always puts before us a goal that seems unobtainable, and when the year ends, we find that we have attained it. He put before us the goal of 10,000 members, and I don't doubt that we will end the year with 10,000 organized Zionists in our midst. We have had only a few officers, which is good because that gave us the opportunity to work together, to act together as a team, and nothing is better than teamwork in Zionist activity.

So many compliments were already paid to our Director, Mr. Posy, that I not only will congratulate him, but will ask him, in the name of my father, not to telephone so often in the morning. He is one of those good Executive Directors, who, when they have a matter on hand, act on it immediately, and the success of this Region is due to the fact that he is a devoted Zionist.

The main purpose of the Zionist movement is to get more and more members, and with men like Philip April, and the others on his Committee, it is easy to get new members. They bring them in fifty at a time. Making new members is very good, but more important than that is the proper method for retaining these members and making them working Zionists. How can you make an interested Jew a working Zionist?

I am happy to hear that finally Hadassah and the Zionist Organization of America have decided to establish in New York, what we call a "Beth Zion". We welcome that because it is the only way to bring Zionist life into New York. It is the only way to afford an opportunity for our youth to meet. You would be surprised to learn that the more Zionist a congregation and Rabbi, the less opportunity we have for Zionist groups to meet there. The only thing that will solve the problem is a "Beth Zion".

We must give our membership local projects to work for. The Metropolitan Zionist Fund was one of those projects. That Fund was spent in New York for New York Zionists. We wanted money raised for Zionist projects in New York to be spent right here, and therefore it was so easy to get so much money, and we were able to raise money that was invested in work right here and not in trips all over the world that we don't want. We have to bring to our membership worthwhile Zionist projects, and if you give a man a project to work for, he will work for it and therefore you make him an active Zionist.

That is one of the ways, but there are others. You cannot learn Zionism at lectures and mass meetings. You have to bring to the people Zionist books, and I therefore welcome the project of the Zionist Organization of America on Zionist publications, like the Wolfsohn book and the forthcoming Rothschild book. We have to bring these books to the homes of our people not only for them to read, but also for their children. Through books and magazines that are readable and interesting, you will bring people to Zionism. In my five years of experience here, I have learned that the Jews of New York are Zionists at heart, and it is only our work to make active Zionists of them. We have meetings of Districts and the Region here. Let them come to our meetings, and give them good speakers, and interesting programs, and don't always ask them for funds, because that keeps them away.

Zionist membership not only wants to come to meetings, Zionists want to know what is going on. Therefore, you have to give them political reports. If the news is good, I assure you they can take it, and if it is bad, Zionists should know what the real situation is. Zionists want to study. There are among us many men who want to study Hebrew, the History of Zionism, the History of the Jews, life in Palestine. We have to give them that opportunity. We must also give them something to discuss and work with because men like to discuss problems, and through a discussion you clarify ideas. We should give them journals, not like the "New Palestine". The "New Palestine" has been divided. In one we have no news, and in the other we have little news. In one we have long-winded articles that nobody can read, and in the other pictures from all over the country. We are interested in knowing what goes on in New York, and I think it is worthwhile for the Z.O.A. to cut out four pages about Altoona, etc., and to put in more news about New York City. Perhaps in the coming years, we will have the opportunity to make of the "New Palestine" a live Jewish review.

Finally, I want to speak about the general problems of our Manhattan Zionist Region. We cannot allow the kind of situation to exist where if Judge Reit had not called Mr. I. J. Caplan, the Lewisohn Stadium Rally would not have been held. Therefore, the Manhattan Zionists and the Regions in New York have decided to form an Interregional Council that will undertake all these matters that require political action in New York.

All over the world in Schuls, women are separated from men, but in the Zionist Districts they meet together. Here the women are not separated from men in the synagogues, but in Zionist work it is different. There is a Hadassah, and the Z.O.A. That situation has to be changed. We have to find a way to get together more often. We must find a way also to know our friends of the other Zionist parties. They are all Zionists."

Mr. Torczyner here talked about the need for "returning to the rightful place of leadership those who deserve it", and pointed to the instance of Mr. Philips of the State Department, and the "approval" of an Arab League, and the lack of Zionist leadership to respond to it.

"We have therefore, a need, a great need for a militant, active Zionist policy. We want the Jews of the world to be recognized among the United Nations. We want our leadership to be united, and that they should act together, all of them, for the welfare of our cause. There is no time now for controversy, or for quibbling among personalities. The time has come for dynamic leadership in Zionism for this is the last minute.

Too often we forget what the main purpose of Zionism is. It is not only the rescue of refugees. It is not only the fight for a bill of International rights. It is not only the fight against anti-Semitism. It is the solution of the Jewish problem in its entirety, by the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This is our aim, and if we fight for it, we shall win!"

MORNING SESSION DISCUSSION

The Regional President, in opening the discussion, brought to the attention of the delegates present the fact that he had been appointed to serve on a Z.O.A. committee which was negotiating with Hadassah the feasibility of purchasing property in New York City to be known as the Henrietta Szold Youth House. He indicated it was to be a permanent memorial to Henrietta Szold, the outstanding Hadassah and Zionist leader. He suggested that discussion be directed on the potentiality of that house being purchased to serve a more general purpose.

Discussion from the delegates indicated that it was the wish of the Manhattan Region to obtain suitable premises which would be used as a "Beth Zion" and to house the offices, library, recreation center, and auditoriums of all the Zionist groups in New York. There should also be room provided for adequate meeting places and conveniences for Zionist youth.

It was pointed out that the amount of money paid in rents for office space by general Zionist groups in New York would more than pay the cost of the upkeep of such premises. It was further indicated that there was a crying need for a "Beth Zion" in the city which housed the largest Jewish community in the world.

Delegates from the floor pledged money towards the upkeep of such premises when purchased for the first five years of its existence. The project as summarized in the preceding lines was put into a motion and unanimously accepted.



REPORT OF NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE -- MR. I. J. CAPLAN, CHAIRMAN

"I know that we are all very happy to note that we are assembled and are enjoying the reports of such marvelous progress that has been made in such a short time. All these things were discussed by the Nominating Committee and in forming our opinions, we took into consideration the activities of the officers, the potentialities for next year, and we wish to present the report of the Nominating Committee.

Pursuant to my designation as Chairman of the Nominating Committee which consisted of the following members:

Mr. Bernard Neumark -- D4
 Rabbi Irving Zimet -- D6
 Mr. Max Birnbaum -- D81
 Mr. Louis J. Berkowitz -- D84
 Mr. Philip April -- D7

for the purpose of selecting a slate of officers for the Manhattan Zionist Region for the ensuing year, I hereby report as follows:

A meeting of the committee was held at the office of Mr. I. J. Caplan, 19 West 44th Street, New York City, on May 24, 1945, at 5 P.M., with the following members present:

Rabbi Irving Zimet -- D6
 Mr. Max Birnbaum -- D81
 Mr. Louis J. Berkowitz -- D84
 Mr. Philip April -- D7

Candidates were carefully considered for the offices of President, 1st Vice-President, 2nd Vice-President, Treasurer and Secretary.

After carefully considering the merits of all potential candidates for the respective offices, the committee unanimously decided to recommend the following for your consideration:

For President	Hon. Hyman J. Reit
For 1st Vice-Pres.	Max S. Schoenholt
For 2nd Vice-Pres.	Irving Galt
For Treasurer	William M. Waldman
For Secretary	Jacques Torczyner

A motion was made and seconded that the entire report of the Nominating Committee be unanimously adopted. The Conference so moved.

A motion was further made, seconded, and unanimously adopted that in view of the fact that Mr. Manuel Fosz, who was not an elected officer of the Region, nor could he be elected since he is a paid worker, be voted a note of sincere thanks for his diligent and remarkable work for the Manhattan Region.

The Morning Session adjourned for the luncheon at 12:55 P.M.

LUNCHEON SESSION

Hon. Hyman J. Reit, presiding

INVOCATION BY RABBI JACOB RADIN

"Our God, and God of our Fathers, Thou hast granted unto our forefathers a land, and Thou hast, in Thine infinite wisdom, caused them to be dispersed over the face of the earth. Throughout these long years, we have never forsaken nor forgotten the Land of our forefathers. In prayer and in outpourings of our hearts, we have expressed our undying love for Eretz Israel. Suffering and martyrdom have we courageously endured, O God, in the confident hope that Thou wouldst return and return us to our Homeland.

At the present critical point of our long history, Thou hast given the nations of the world an opportunity to repent of their sins toward Thy people and to atone for the degradations they have heaped upon us. Guide and teach them. Fill their hearts with understanding and discernment to see that only justice is done to Thy people. Only by establishing once more Eretz Israel as the Jewish Commonwealth may they establish peace on the face of the earth. Confound our enemies, for they know not, nor do they seek the ways of Thy teachings. Hasten, O God, the day when rulers of empires will acknowledge principles above opportunism, honesty above compromise, steadfastness above appeasement. Guide the leaders of Thy people and fill their hearts with love and with clear vision. Bless us with the words of Thy prophets, 'Fear not, for I am with Thee. I will bring Thy children from the East, and I will gather them from the West. I will say to the North, give up, and to the South, keep not back, bring my sons from far and my daughters from the ends of the earth.'

Amen."

PRESENTATION OF AWARDS AFTER CONCLUSION OF LUNCHEON

Hon. Hyman J. Reit stated, "We are very proud to greet a number of men and women in the Region who have done splendid work in connection with the membership drive and other Regional projects which are still continuing, and the Committee is going to present a beautiful plaque for 'extraordinary service'. It is presented to the following people:

Judge Hyman J. Reit
Max S. Schoenholt
Irving Galt
William M. Waldman
Jacques Torczyner
Robert Seelav
Karl E. Ettinger
Boris Shteinshleifer
Raphael Pinchas
Samuel L. Brennglass
Herman Konner

Paul M. Fulton
Marcus M. Zetkin
Mrs. Elizabeth Eliasberg
Samuel Berman
Paul Kaminsky
Philip April
A. W. Scheffres
Edward H. Moss
Louis J. Berkowitz
Rabbi Jacob Radin
Max Schildkraut

I hope that next year when we will meet again, our membership will be around 15,000 or 20,000, and I shall have the privilege and pleasure of giving out at least two thousand plaques.

It now gives me great pleasure to introduce to you one who needs no introduction. To me he is just Mendel Fisher, Director of the Jewish National Fund.

He will be followed by an address by none other than Dr. Emanuel Neumann."

ADDRESS BY MR. MENDEL N. FISHER, DIRECTOR OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

"Mr. President, Mr. Neumann, Fellow Zionists:

First of all, I should like to express my deep appreciation. I want to take this opportunity to thank the Region for extending this invitation to speak at this session of the Conference. I think I am voicing the sentiment of all Zionists when I express our deep sense of gratification for the splendid leadership of this Region. I refer to Judge Reit and to Mr. Torczyner, and to all of the men and women that have helped make this Region such an outstanding one in the country. You will be interested to know that in this particular area, the Jewish National Fund raised this year, approximately \$20,000, and that as usual, the 7th Zionist District provided about \$16,000 of the amount raised. And so, I should like to express our thanks to Dr. Gross, the Chairman of the Jewish National Fund in District 7, and to his associates.

It will be my function this afternoon to try and give you a factual picture of our work in Palestine as it relates to the present and to the future, and, as Zionists, I hope that this sober consideration of the facts and the particulars will give us that inspiration and that confidence which we need in these difficult and turbulent times.

Many Zionists forget that the White Paper Policy had two main objectives. First, it was intended to close the doors of Palestine by limiting the number of Jews that could enter Palestine. And the White Paper did something else. It restricted the right of Jews to buy land, particularly in certain areas. I think all of you will agree that the two cardinal principles which must guide Zionist policy in the future is to see to it that not only the doors of Palestine are opened, but we must also realize that even under the most favorable political conditions, and we know that the political conditions today are unfavorable, it will be necessary for Jews to realize that without land there can be no Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Even if we had a more favorable political situation, we would be destined to remain a minority in Palestine without land. Without land we cannot develop the kind of a state that we envisage. So my friends, it is well for Zionists, at least once a year when we meet here, to take stock of our position, and to plan for the future.

I doubt whether many Zionists, including some of our leaders, are aware of the difficulties. We were not aware of them prior to the issuance of the White Paper. We are not conscious of them today, and yet despite all difficulties, there has been organized in Palestine today, an Arab National Fund. I think it is well that we should know the facts. The Arab National Fund has been organized not only for the purpose of raising millions of pounds for buying land for the Arabs in Palestine, but this particular group is so well organized today that even when we, the Jewish National Fund, take out options on land, Arab landlords are threatened with their lives and sometimes the title cannot pass into the hands of the J. N. F.

And so, my friends, the figures and the facts that come from Palestine do not represent the total picture of our achievements. We not only must have an "aliyah bet", but even in our land program, we are developing a program that is calculated to defeat the intentions of the White Paper, and the National Fund has faced this problem with courage, and notwithstanding the difficulties, we have acquired during the period of the White Paper, _____ dunams of land, which makes our total land acquisitions approximately _____ dunams of land, although the official figures are _____ dunams of National Fund land.

In addition, through private capital and in 34 years of work, we have acquired an additional _____ dunams, which gives us all together, approximately _____ percent of the total land area in Palestine. There are 27 million dunams of land in Palestine, under which, according to Mr. Lowdermilk's scheme, it is possible to cultivate.

You will see for yourselves that we are not only a minority in the number of Jews that have come to Palestine, but also in the amount of land we own. I ask you, fellow Zionists, how can we think, as we must, in terms of a Jewish Commonwealth which is our demand, if the land is not in Jewish possession? It hasn't been easy to acquire _____ dunams of land in the last five years. In order to acquire land in sizable proportions, we require a minimum of _____ a month. In other words, over and above the budget of _____ which is the budget of the Keren Kayemeth, we would require a minimum of _____. When you consider that our National Fund total in the last year in the United States, which was a very good and prosperous year, was _____ including the U.P.A. share of which _____ was out of box collections and other like sources, and that our share of the U.P.A. was _____, and that income for the National Fund from October 28th to June 1st was over _____, it is still inadequate because it does not provide the budget which is needed for land purchases of at least _____ a month.

And so, my friends, the Keren Kayemeth realizes that notwithstanding its remarkable achievements during the past 34 years, the fact that we have established 39 new settlements since the outbreak of World War II, despite the fact that the development of the Negev was achieved, despite the fact that we have planted over _____ million trees since our inception, the Keren Kayemeth understands that the crux of the problem in Palestine today, and I am afraid we are minimizing it, is not only our political work, which of course is important, and we must demand and demand and demand, but we must realize that land is the foundation of our economy there. We must realize that land brings men and capital, that land means a foundation for freedom for our people, because no people can be free merely by having a political charter if the land under their feet does not belong to them. We will sooner or later achieve our political goals, but land is fundamental. It is fundamental in meeting the post-war problems. We are speaking in terms of settling a million and a half Jews in Palestine, and I shall have to say that Zionism will have failed if we do not succeed in opening the doors to Palestine and bringing these Jews into the country. It is part of our program, it is inevitable, but remember, you cannot bring them in unless you provide a minimum of _____ dunams of land on which to settle a family, and for every Jew you bring in on the land, you are providing for four Jews who can be absorbed in industry. Land is fundamental even to the industrial situation of Palestine.

In a sense, I say, despite all the frustration that we have suffered, despite all the cruel policy of the British, despite the fact that the British have created obstacles for us, not only in the number of Jews who can enter Palestine, but also in the matter of land purchase, the Keren Kayemeth goes forward with its work. We are buying land today and will continue to buy it. For every dunam we buy, we are rescuing Jews, and rescue in the little sense of the word, not the abstract of the word. We are sick and tired of protest meetings. Rescue means the right of the Jew to come to Palestine and live on his soil. The only way we can acquire the soil is to buy it, dunam for dunam.

And I should like to appeal to you Zionists to acquire a sense of identity with and a sense of responsibility in relationship to the problem of land purchase. My friends, we need every Zionist to make the Keren Kayemeth, not merely a campaign, but we want the Keren Kayemeth to become part of our lives. Our movement is for Eretz Israel, and without Eretz, Israel is impossible. And so, in a spirit of faith I don't believe we should be discouraged. Of course we have been disappointed at San Francisco, but Zionism is a way of life, it must recreate and regenerate the Jew, and so when we think in terms of the future, it is with confidence and with faith and with determination that we go forward with the task of building the Jewish Commonwealth by buying the land today.

* Figures not permissible for publication.



ADDRESS BY DR. EMANUEL NEUMANN

"You gave me the honor of addressing you a year ago, as I recall, at your Regional Conference, and it is entirely possible that in speaking today, I may repeat myself. If I do, please accept that as additional evidence of the fact that I have not changed my views in twelve months.

I was very deeply moved by my good friend Mendel Fisher's eloquent plea on behalf of the Keren Kayemeth, and I subscribe to all he said. There is no doubt about it. No matter what our political problems or our political efforts are, we cannot and dare not diminish by one iota, our efforts for the Keren Kayemeth at any time, or any of our practical efforts in Palestine. But I would be less than candid with you if I did not share my conviction that this sort of activity that we are now carrying on and that we shall continue to carry on, despite all limitations and obstacles, has its national limits, and the mandatory power, the British Government, did not enact its land-legislation in Palestine for the purpose of just having such land legislation. It did not stipulate 75,000 additional immigrants under the White Paper because it wanted to have 75,000 immigrants. It is perfectly clear that the whole policy of the White Paper, and all the tremendous force of Empire which is behind that policy, is directed toward a very definite purpose, and that purpose is not to regulate the quantity of land that we may hold, or regulate the number of population or immigrants. It is directed at a greater general purpose. It is an attempt to solve the question of the ultimate political destiny of the country. It is to become ultimately an Arab state with a Jewish minority, a protected Jewish minority, or it is to become a Jewish state or a Jewish National Home, under the auspices of a Jewish majority. It is to this basic and fundamental question that the British White Paper was directed and it was completely against our interests and purposes.

When the White Paper appeared as it did, on the eve of the war, we felt that it was the last gesture of a collapsing British policy of appeasement, and a collapsing British Government. It was the Government of Chamberlain, and the policy was the policy of Munich. That has been our line of thought throughout, that the whole policy was simply the relic of by-gone days, the last remnant of a discredited policy which would collapse in the light of new days which were dawning.

Now, my friends, six critical years have passed since the five year period in which the White Paper was to operate, and as the signs multiply on all sides, we are not so confident of our original appraisal. We are not so confident that this is a discredited and discarded policy belonging to the past. On the contrary, we seem to see around us everywhere evidence of a new appeasement policy in the Near East on such a colossal and gigantic scale, so fantastic in the extremes to which it goes, that we are at a loss to understand where we are.

Our attention during the past two weeks has been divided between San Francisco and Damascus. In my opinion we must look to Damascus for the real starting point of our discussion and not to San Francisco. I'll tell you why. All that has been going on in this country and in England has been part of a process whose real interest is on a spot in the Near East. Ever since I came here from Palestine I experienced a certain difficulty in conveying to my fellow Zionists a certain sense of reality regarding the situation out there.

It is very difficult for a person who is 6,000 and 10,000 miles away and who hasn't lived in Palestine to really comprehend what is going on. And, if it is difficult for us Zionists and Jews, it is a hundredfold more difficult for the average American individual, therefore, and easy to accept the explanations handed out from official parties and from the press releases. To me the information in the recent releases are clear and of the kind with which we have become familiar in these many years, but to the average American it looks like an Arab war for independence and a fight for freedom. The fact of the matter is that most of the politics in the Near East is merely a reflection of the politics of the Western powers. The Arabs in the Near East are either direct or indirect tools, instruments and pawns of the powers, either through outright purchase, or by more subtle means. They are pawns upon a vast and slippery chessboard, manipulated at long distance by invisible players in moves which they can hardly foresee, and for purposes which they can only dimly comprehend.

In this particular case it is quite clear that it is not essentially a controversy between the Arabs and the French, but a controversy between the French and the British. The British are merely carrying out a long range policy determined many years ago and the objectives of which they never gave up, but were biding their time for the opportune moment.

The Near East has long been the center of such rivalries. For two centuries at least, the major Western powers have been trying to get spheres of influence in the Near East. The Near East was important to Germany at the time of the last war in connection with Germany's "Drang Nach Osten". At the end of the last war, several European powers were eliminated from the contest. Russia had its own problems and revolution, and was not in a position to start an imperialistic policy. Germany was licked. The Austro-Hungarian empire was dissolved, which left France, Italy, and the United States.

Under Wilson, we were against imperialism categorically and did not want the honor of being a mandatory country in the Near East. In the secret treaties Italy was to be given generously from the defeated nations territory. At Versailles, however, and afterward, Italy was somehow omitted from the new plans for the Near East, and that omission, the omission of Italy, after the secret promises had been made to her, and the sense of frustration in Italy was worked on by those who started Fascism in Italy.

That left only France. France wanted at least Syria and Lebanon. She wanted Syria in its historic boundaries. The result was a compromise. Palestine was detached from Syria and set up as a separate state. Why? On the ground that the separation of Palestine from Syria was necessitated by the promise of His Majesty's Government to set up a Jewish National Home in Palestine, and the Zionist idea and the aspirations of the Jewish people were therefore conveniently integrated within the program of the British Empire policy. Thus France got the two mandates over Syria and Lebanon. France was dissatisfied with the result, but so were the British because of the Near Eastern block under French influence and protection of Syria and Lebanon. Syria and Lebanon were not satisfied, and today we see the results. In the meantime other interests developed, and today many questions are still open and unsettled, and the cards will have to be reshuffled.

There are certain techniques, with which those of us who have lived in the Near East are well familiar. A friend of mine who came over recently told me that there is a regular schedule of rates for demonstrations, small rates for small revolutions and larger ones for larger revolutions. A few students making a little noise is a matter of 4 or 5 pounds.

If you want hundreds of people, the rates are higher. And so we have this development which is not new.

Certain charges have been made in the Near East before in the interests of one Imperialism or another. I'd like to remind you, apart from this matter, the question of Feisal in Iraq. The English went to great lengths in Iraq and very generous boundaries were set up which included foreign populations. It was not accidental that England did this. For these boundaries included the Mosul center with its rich deposits of oil and that was to be included in Iraq, which meant in the sphere of influence of England.

Four years ago Anthony Eden made a statement in Parliament concerning the coming Arab Federation. He spoke of the natural tendency of the Arabs to effect a closer and more solid union. This statement made me write an article in the "New Palestine", which was not taken too seriously, that this business of Arab union and federation has two objectives in mind. One, the intention of strengthening the Arab position in Syria and Lebanon and second, in all probability, the liquidation of the Zionist position in Palestine, and that this could be most conveniently done under the new policy of an Arab Federation, which in reality is a synonym for British Federation so that the whole area from the Nile to the Persian Gulf will be an unbroken stretch of Anglo-Arab domain.

I believe that what has been happening since then has been bearing out quite well my prognosis. A price has to be paid for this achievement, and the price which has to be paid is the strengthening of Arab forces. It should be recognized that the union of Arabs is not exactly in the interests of the British or of any other Empire, but it is the price being paid at the moment, only as a temporary measure, in order to permit Great Britain to exert this power over other powers and over the Jews in Palestine. There you have your objective.

The Arabs hate the British as much as they do the French, and the British more subtly. The Arabs have recently demonstrated this quite clearly. They were pro-Nazi and were rejoicing over our defeats and over Germany's victories and were selling land in Palestine to the Jews and saying to each other, it doesn't matter, soon Hitler will be here, and we'll have both the money and the land.

Despite all this, the British have supported them and have held out to them such things as the ousting of the French from Syria, and the defeat of Zionist objectives in Palestine.

So, one of those illusions which have gone by the board, is the illusion that the end of the war would bring the settlement of our problems. All the resources which the British Empire has at its disposal, its control of news agencies, its control of political agencies, has been harnessed in the effort to follow this policy of appeasement to the Arabs.

Throughout our Zionist history, we have been certain that there were many other forces which would check those forces which were anti-Zionist in character. We have found that this is not so, because of the inner compulsions of imperialism. Imperialism first acquires new territory, then it acquires bases to protect the territory, then it acquires new bases to protect the old bases and so this process goes on, ad infinitum.

We had thought that America, the great non-Imperialist power would be able to use its influence in the direction of making Great Britain have respect for her international commitments vis-a-vis the Jewish people and perhaps there was good basis for this hope. Britain is dependent upon the U.S. and is its ally in the world. We were also dependent upon Great Britain because of her Navy over the seven seas, but as a result of this war, the situation has changed, and Britain has gone from first position to second, while U.S. and Russia are in first place. We are still inter-dependent, but the balance of the larger world power is on the side of the United States.

We have had reason to hope that with the situation what it was, with the well-known sympathies of Americans which had been expressed, we would have the aid of the United States. But unfortunately, that too has proved an illusion, because parallel with the development which I described, and with the emergence of America as a great power, in the world, America has also been developing imperialistic tendencies of her own. We have acquired interests during this period, among other things, in oil concessions in Saudi Arabia which are of very great importance to the oil companies, and supposedly of great national importance from the point of view of the National government, and the State Department. And, if we are to have oil there, we may wish to have a pipe line, and such a pipeline costs a good deal of money. All these investments of hundreds of millions of dollars have to be protected, and so the imperialist process with which we are so familiar has begun, and is under way and that sums up very well with American interests of long standing, the old adage of the Occident, first the missionary, then the gun, and then the trader. So the Bible, and oil and imperialism do not seem to conflict at all. They are very frequently integrated.

All this, my friends, probably explains the fact that not only has the U. S. not exerted its influence upon Great Britain with respect to the Palestine policy, but on the contrary, the United States has quite evidently plunged very deep into the same pool, and is trying to out-run the British in competition for favor with the Arabs.

This Arab League was not created without the knowledge of the American diplomatic representatives. Who are they? Some of them I happen to know personally. One we have had experience with for many years and he is undoubtedly a consistent and bitter enemy of the Zionist cause. He was transferred to Rome, interned there during the war, and then came back to the U. S. and was promptly sent back this time to Beirut where he is very intimate with the American University and American Missions in Cairo. There is a Col. Hastings, who, at the time when I personally was busy getting pro-Zionist sentiment from Congressmen, was handing out confidential memorandums on behalf of the State Department and trying to convince them not to make any pro-Zionist declarations, and giving them his version of the situation in the Near East.

To sum it up, my friends, limitations of time do not permit me to go into these matters in detail, but we must recognize anew, from the evidence of the situation with Syria and Lebanon that when Great Britain has the right to send a note to De Gaulle and request him curtly to yield, to submit, my friends, nothing in my mind shows more clearly and more convincingly the difference between protection as intended to meet the pressure of public opinion, and the policy as it is carried out, than the parallel between the attitude of our government in the case of Syria and Lebanon on the one hand, and Palestine on the other.

America has a treaty with Great Britain with regard to Palestine. Britain got the Palestine Mandate to a large extent because we lent support and promised to uphold the Balfour Declaration. And yet, whenever we approached our Government, not for a greeting or a message, but for an act of policy, we found that it was a paper policy, and when it came to a note of protest or something of that sort, the position officially taken by Hull at the time, was that the Anglo-American treaty on Palestine refers to the rights of American nationals in Palestine against discriminations, and gives us no ground upon which to intervene with regard to the policy pursued in Palestine.

Here, on the other hand, is a Syrian Mandate and a Lebanese Mandate, also Mandates of the League of Nations. Our representatives there have been active in their cooperation with General Spears against the French and having done that, we promptly jump in and recognize their independence, (Syria and Lebanon) and now we have to safeguard the independence of these countries. The rights of these countries are to be safeguarded, but no heed is paid to the rights of the Jews in Palestine or any other Jews who have suffered these many years.

To go further, Arabs come to this country. Their coming here is no accident. After Yalta, there were conferences in Egypt attended by representatives of the United Nations. At that time the Arabs were not idle. They were cooking up this new and delightful dish called the Arab League. And they were allowed to make a last-minute turn-around in declaring war against the Axis, after they had been defeated, and they were allowed to do that, in order to bring them to San Francisco, to have an admission ticket to the Conference. And in San Francisco, they and the Standard Oil Company, and our State Department, had a perfectly delightful love feast, and were placed upon important committees, and out of all this business they had five votes of the forty odd in San Francisco.

These Arabs were in New York about a week ago at the Waldorf Astoria at a reception to His Royal Highness, the Regent of Iraq, at which representatives of the State Department came and spoke, not only as an act of courtesy to Iraq, an independent state, but they did that, which to my mind was not so necessary, they made public declarations that the United States approves and will support this new Arab League which has as one of its primary aims, the combatting of Zionist aims in Palestine. One of the Palestine Arabs was permitted to attend the sessions of the organization of this Arab League, and there is room for Palestine as an Arab State in that League. This is one of the goals of the League. Thus, this Arab League is introduced to the public by representatives of the State Department while these whole six years, while Jewish blood was pouring in torrents, and the White Paper was still alive, this White Paper which President Roosevelt said was never approved of, these representatives of the State Department never found it politically possible, of course, to attend a Zionist gathering and to give official sanction to Zionist opinions.

I think we are quite clear that there is this vast divergence and disport between certain statements and pronouncements which have been made from time to time in this country or by political leaders, and the actual policy pursued by our Government in the Near East. San Francisco has changed nothing. At best our efforts in San Francisco had to be nothing more than a sort of safeguarding action to prevent anything new happening which might make worse our position. Actually, Palestine was not under consideration. More vague things were under consideration.

There is this famous paragraph number five on trusteeship. I must say one word about it. This paragraph does not mention the Palestine Mandate at all. There is being set up a Trusteeship Council under the United Nations, but no one has yet decided whether countries who are dependent will be brought in under this new arrangement. The old League of Nations' Mandates will not be brought under the jurisdiction of the New League of Nations. They remain just where they are, unless the Mandatory Power and the Mandated country wish to do so, and then upon such terms and conditions as the Mandatory will set up and stipulate when it does so agree. Therefore, this paragraph five which I think is very good, and which cannot hurt us, certainly has nothing which is definitely for us. There have been other little words altered, to read "peoples", etc., but never once was Zionism or Palestine mentioned. I am very happy that we have accomplished something. I think that this effort should have been broader, and it was successful, but I hope that as mature people and Zionists, we will neither underestimate nor overestimate the importance of these things.

I have perhaps drawn a picture which will strike you as being rather a dark one. I have done so deliberately because I feel I ought to speak as I see the situation. But it does not mean that I am despondent or in despair regarding the future. It does mean that we are facing today the gravest period in the whole of our Zionist existence.

This is the moment we have been waiting for. As a result of all this change, the whole political future in the Near East will be fluid, and we now see that the currents are driving against us and not with us. The signs are unmistakable. When we hear that so great and old and staunch a friend of ours as Smuts has begun to change his position, and there has been no greater friend of ours that I have known, including Mr. Churchill, when we see all these signs and many others which I can enumerate, it would be folly on our part to shut our eyes to it. We are facing a grave condition.

One of the few forces remaining in our favor is the Yishuv. And the Yishuv, regardless of what we may still do here in this country, can be trusted to do its part. Some of us are worried that it may feel that it's called upon to do more than its part. To the extent to which we fall short in our political efforts, we are throwing a disproportionate burden upon the Yishuv. We are driving them in the direction of undertaking more than we would normally expect them to undertake. The political struggle, that responsibility rests largely upon us.

You will say that I am advocating a more vigorous and militant policy. Of course I am, but the word has a new meaning. Are we not all in favor of a militant policy? Perhaps we are. Perhaps we don't all clearly understand what is meant by that. I can start by illustrating negatively. The first step in the creation of a really militant policy is a very correct, realistic, appraisal of the political situation, and not the type of thing that was issued in a statement, allegedly made by a prominent American Zionist who recently arrived in Palestine and who said to the effect that the Yishuv was not pessimistic about the future of the country. He said that all reports reaching Zionist leaders, but which couldn't be revealed, indicated that a solution of the Palestine problem, favorable to the Jews is in the offing. The decisions might be postponed, but we must have a little patience.

This was issued in the face of what we know has been happening. This sort of thing is released and many people read it, and it is a good example of what we ought not to do. We owe it to ourselves and the Jewish people at least to appraise the political situation correctly, to diagnose it as well as we can before we proceed to a consideration of the treatment.

What would we think of the physician who thought it was a waste of time to examine and diagnose a case and just prescribed for it.

This evidently calls at this moment, for a renewal of a most vigorous and a most courageous and militant stand. As I think we will agree, we have very little to lose at this hour. It is a matter now of months, perhaps only of weeks even before the British may be forced to take up the Palestine problem to fix its policy. There is still time before the gates have been locked. It is still possible to effect the outcome. We shall not effect the outcome by proceeding along lines which are proceeding now.

I say this not by way of criticism, but I think we must recognize the fact that much has happened since we felt so happy and jubilant a half year ago of nine months ago. Much has happened. We all realize the truth of the word that the fate of the world is in the hands of a few individuals. It is true, but that is only part of the whole truth. It was a very wise Zionist leader who at the time when we hailed the planks of the both parties and the word of President Roosevelt at the last convention, said, "Do not place your trust in Princes". One of them has died. The second may well be out of his position next month. The position of the third is still an enigma wrapped within a mystery. That is not sufficient. The time has come to recognize this truth and to build upon broader foundations and to renew our great Zionist political objective. That, to my mind, is the demand and call of the hour."



This concluded the Luncheon Session. The Chair was handed over to Mr. Irving Galt, presiding officer for the concluding session of the Conference who introduced Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America.

ADDRESS BY DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

"Mr. President, and fellow Zionists:

I am very glad to greet you, my fellow Zionists and my fellow Manhattanites. I feel as a sort of "Lantzman" in your midst and therefore I take pride in the growth of your Membership in the past year and in your accomplishments. I am sure that the progress that you have made was gratifying not only to those who are interested in the Zionist Organization of America, but to Zionist leaders, regardless of party. I am sure that Rabbi Fishman, our distinguished guest will be delighted to know that the Z.O.A. today stands at the height of the membership that it has achieved in all its history.

Being a Manhattanite, I have been able to watch the work that you have done and also to watch the way in which you have distributed the burdens of responsibility. I was glad to see that you have been able to draw new men into the service of the Zionist cause. I am very glad to see that a number of men in my own congregation are today carrying important responsibilities in the Manhattan Region, and on behalf of the National Administrative Committee of the Z.O.A. I am happy to express our acknowledgement and appreciation to all of you who have worked and particularly to your leader, Judge Hyman J. Reit. It is more than a play on words to say that your President is alright. He combines personal geniality with intelligence and practicality and seasoned experience, with a knowledge of how to work with other people. In fact, he has one of the greatest gifts, the ability to work with other people so that a team works, and one part of the team works hand in hand with the other. You had a fine team and you got splendid results. Judge Reit has managed to hold together this new Region in a year of strains and tensions within the Zionist movement. So, I take pleasure in extending the thanks of the National Administration and the hope that you may grow from strength to strength.

We Zionists have got to be at the top of our strength in the year that lies before us. I have heard from Dr. Neumann the analysis of what faces us. This period immediately ahead will be the crucial period in Zionist history and we are just now emerging out of one chapter called, San Francisco, into another more important chapter. But, as Dr. Neumann has said, what happened at San Francisco should be neither overestimated nor underestimated.

It should not be underestimated. I think we ought to understand that we were confronted with great difficulties in San Francisco, the chance of losing even that precarious position which we now have under the Mandate. You must understand that the nature of the Palestine problem is a peculiar problem. We are a peculiar people. The Palestine Mandate is a peculiar mandate compared with all the others because while the other mandates are intended to protect and promote the interests of the people who live in the particular territory under the mandates, the purpose of the Palestine Mandate is not so much to protect the interests of those inhabitants who are now living in Palestine. It is to protect the interests of the Jewish people throughout the world and the rights of the Jewish people throughout the world to come to Palestine as of right and not on sufferance.

This is the argument that Winston Churchill used in 1939 when he objected to the White Paper and he said that it is not "Only to the Jews of Palestine, but to the Jews of the whole world". Of course we have our complaints against Churchill for saying one thing in 1939 and acting differently in 1945, but he was only underscoring that which is the universally admitted purpose of the Palestine Mandate.

Because the Palestine Mandate is peculiar compared to the other mandates, there was the danger lest the nations of the world who came to San Francisco, each for its own purpose, each thinking of its own particular problems and opportunities and requirements, the United States thinking about Japanese islands, and some other nations thinking about other islands, nobody was thinking about the Jewish people, with the possible exception of Great Britain which if it was thinking about the Jewish people, was probably thinking to our detriment and not to our advantage. It was therefore necessary for representatives of the Jewish people and the Jewish Agency to be present and constantly hammer away upon the conscience of the delegates there assembled that there is this Palestine Mandate, that it is a peculiar mandate, that it does make certain provisions and that those provisions must be safeguarded and no categorical formulas with regard to international trusteeships could be adopted unless they are sufficiently flexible to leave open the possibility of the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate based upon the Balfour Declaration. That was the danger my friends, and that was the need, and that was the responsibility.

When you remember that the Jewish people was not on the inside of the San Francisco Conference, but hovering somewhere on the periphery, while the Arab states were on the inside with all the prestige which that brought them and with the acclaim of great social leaders in American life, and with the help of the State Department, you can understand how serious was the danger.

I might say to you, in passing, to illustrate what Dr. Neumann told you about the relations between the Arab Delegation and the Oil Companies in America, that it so happens that one evening, my son was registering at a hotel in the West on the way to visit my daughter, and at the same hotel at that particular time, were these Princes from Saudi Arabia and they had just arrived. At the registration desk, they handed a slip to the manager, and the slip said, all the bills incurred by this delegation are to be paid by Texaco Co. That sort of thing is an open secret, that there is this alliance between the oil companies and the Saudi Arabians.

Therefore, when you consider this, that they with all that prestige and power and the Jewish people have no oil to offer, and have no armies and navies with which to threaten, I think you can understand some of the worry and anxiety which we felt and perhaps can appreciate that when we came out of the San Francisco Conference without losing that position we had before and without any impairment of our present rights under the Mandate, that is something not to be underestimated.

The fact that we are not losing is indicated by the effects of the international trusteeship provisions which appear in this morning's New York Times, and if you read them, you will notice a new special phrase.

(1) The Trusteeship arrangement for each territory should be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, and the interpretation of "the states directly concerned" includes Russia and the United States of America as well as Great Britain, because the theory is that these three governments are the residuary legatees, as it were, to the old League of Nations.

(2) You will notice the phrase (many peoples), and that plural meant referring not to the people of Palestine, but to the peoples in Palestine. The addition of that single letter "s" changed this from the singular to the plural, something which required many hours of debating and designed to safeguard our position.

Now the word Palestine was never mentioned once in all the six or seven weeks of the San Francisco Conference, but everybody knew what was involved, and the net result is that the Arabs have failed in every one of their plans and they have made many plans. I am wondering whether they may not be going back a little more sobered despite all the clamor they have made socially, because of the feeling that the overwhelming majority of the civilized nations of the world apparently attach some importance to the international promises made to the Jewish people after World War I. At least enough importance to insist that nothing shall be done or put into the trusteeship formulas which would foreclose the possibility of the fulfillment of that international promise after World War II.

I shall not go into the details of describing the various contacts with important heads of delegations, beyond saying that the American delegation has stood fast on our behalf. We had to talk to them once, and twice, and thrice, but they have stood fast, and I doubt that a dozen resolutions adopted by Congress with an affirmation of sympathy would have made them any more firm than they have been, because it was quite enough to refer, as we did to the party platforms of the two parties' Presidential candidates, and to the statements of President Roosevelt, and President Truman, that was not challenged and they stood firm, Mr. Stettinius, and Mr. Dulles, and all the others.

I think I should say also, that Mr. Frazier, the Chairman of the International Trusteeships Committee, had a fine understanding of the specific nature of our problem and has been helpful. He knows about Palestine. He told me that the soldiers coming to New Zealand from their experiences in the war, and who happened to be in Palestine, brought in fine reports which confirmed that which was told him by the Zionists with whom he had spoken, and we found the same kind of understanding at the hands of the Chinese.

I must tell you this interesting conversation with an important member of the Chinese delegation, a recent convert to Christianity by the way, who spoke to us in a way which was truly moving. He said, "Your interest and the interest of the Jewish people cut more deeply into my soul than you yourself imagine. You are my spiritual brothers. Justice must be done to the Jews if there is to be enduring peace in the world. As a student of history I know that those nations who have persecuted Jews have come to ruin and those who have befriended them have flourished". And finally he said, and this was a little amusing, also touching, "When I knew that you were coming here today, I said in my prayers to Mother Mary, your relatives are coming to see me today". And it really was wonderful to meet the type of Christian who is completely divested of all the Christian prejudice and persecutions that have accumulated in the course of centuries. Yes, Mr. Neumann, he is a new Christian, an original Christian.

Now, dear friends, I don't want any of these things to bring you into a frame of mind that all is well, but I believe it is my duty to indicate that what happened in San Francisco is not to be underestimated. Of course, it would be fatuous that we should indulge ourselves in self-congratulations. There is no room for it.

At best, it means reversion to the status quo ante. And the status quo ante means no sign of the infamous White Paper's being rescinded. The status quo ante means no sign of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth in the offing, and the status quo ante means disturbances in Syrian which, according to the word of the French Government, have been inspired by the British, and which aroused misgivings regarding the policy of Great Britain in Palestine.

Well, we have to gird ourselves for a hard battle, and we have to fight that battle not next month or next year, but now, because the next six months may be the months of decision. The time is past for enlisting affirmations of sympathy, whether those affirmations come from Churchill or Truman or the members of Congress. Yes, it is good to have them for the records, but the time is here when action has to be prodded, immediate action, and the end of the war in Europe, and the emergence of this potentially dangerous and in fact actually cancerous Arab League, compel us to demand a decision now. For, if the next six months go by and nothing happens, the situation may harden against us.

Many things need to be done. I enumerate very briefly just the points of what needs to be done. Great Britain, immediately after the election in July, has to be pressed by the World Zionist Organization for a decision, and the World Zionist Organization, in my humble opinion, will have to desist from ordinary measures, and should indicate that it would not and could not continue in office unless the situation improves. England's honor must be challenged. It was said to a group of us not long ago by an important British spokesman, and Mr. Neumann knows about it, "Gentlemen, you may think that my Government is stupid. You may think that the British are ignorant and you have a right to criticize them, but don't ever think that the British are insincere". That remark, I think, gave away the Achilles heel of the British Government. They do not like to be thought of as insincere and hypocritical, and yet what alternative is there but to come to that conclusion and was the meaning of any promise or pledge made by Great Britain to any power, great or small, any more clear than its promise to the Jewish People, and yet it is being mistreated for no other reason than that the Jewish people is a weak people without armies, without navies. If we are going to be sacrificed on the unholy altar of expediency, it will not be without our crying out wherever we have a voice, and we have a great voice in this country, against the insincerity and the hypocrisy of a Government that speaks in the name of humanity and acts in the name of brutality.

The American State department which seems to be taking its cues from the British Colonial Office will have to be challenged to adopt a policy that is consistent with the will of the American people as it has been registered in the party platforms and in all the other documents that I don't have to repeat here. It is an interesting thing, my friends, that there isn't another instance of a unanimous expression of American public opinion which has been defied and flouted by the State Department. They may adopt one policy or another in connection with some other matter and find that that policy has support in one segment or another of American public opinion, but the attitude of the State Department has demonstrated up to this point that it has to support the substantial segment of American public opinion and we shall have to see to it that the actions of the State Department squares with the registered will of the American people touching our rights in and to Palestine.

The President of the United States, whose sympathy and support of our cause is a matter of record, must be urged to impress upon the leaders of the British Government the deep concern of the American people with the need of an immediate favorable decision. These are the three lines of our policy in the next months which are clearly called for in the light of the situation.

Needless to say, it is necessary to exert every effort to have united ranks within the Zionist movement, and I believe that some of you here know that the recently appointed committee of the Z.O.A. to explore the possibilities of resolving the inner conflicts, has been meeting actively and is seeking to find the formula and is consulting with both sides, and may have a report to make very shortly.

I do not wish to close my remarks without speaking of the Z.O.A. I sometimes get the feeling, my friends, that the Zionist Organization of America, during the past year has not been the beneficiary of as much attention to its program as it was entitled to, and I can understand it. In the turmoil of political discussions which are, after all, the priority Number 1, it may not be easy to give the attention at the same time upon the day to day, and week to week, activities of the Zionist Organization, as such. But, I think it is unfair and I believe that perhaps it reflects a certain lack, if I may say so, in the make-up of the constituency of the Z.O.A. which I am convinced can be cured, but does require a good deal of education.

For example, I remember conferences going back many years, and World Zionist Congresses, at which all the attention was given to the political situation and then when those discussions were concluded, I would notice a tremendous exodus on the part, chiefly, of our American Zionists in the General Zionist movement. We were bored with these details, Keren Kayemeth, Keren Hayesod, budgets, figures, practical problems. Those were left to the experts to solve. I think that in a respect we have a lesson to learn from some of the other parties, not to overlook the prosaic details and the day to day realities which in their total spell the up-building of Palestine.

Now, with regard to the Z.O.A., I do not plan to indulge here in self-congratulations, but I think you ought to know and if you know, you ought to know a little bit more actively, that the membership of the Z.O.A., which last year took a great spurt, an increase of almost one hundred percent, has proved to be more than a fair-weather membership. We have had a difficult year. The fortunes of the Zionist movement have not been high this year, and last year many of us felt that because of the apparent seriousness of Zionist prospects, the membership would drop, but as of June 10, 1945, it is more than 115,000. It is more than a matter of membership. For years I used to hear complaints from Zionists throughout the country that it is alright to get members, but what about the content of the organization. Is the Zionist Organization of America here only for the purpose of making more members? What is the Z.O.A. doing? The U.P.A. has been taken out of its hands, the political work has gone to the Emergency Council, what is the Z.O.A. doing? I would like to say to you that the program as adopted by the Z.O.A. last Fall, is a program which is not merely on the books, it is operating.

The Committee on Unity for Palestine is fighting the anti-Zionists and the menace of anti-Zionism wherever it appears, and Rabbi Lelyveld has proved to be one of the most important assets in the arsenal of the Zionist Organization.

I am here to report to you that the Radio program, Palestine Speaks, has been speaking to millions of Jews and non-Jews throughout the land.

I am here to report to you that the Economic Department which was opened up in January 1945 is gradually bringing in many men of importance in business and will, I think, develop into a constructive arm of the Zionist movement, and I am in hopes that it will eventually bring millions and millions of dollars of capital into Eretz Israel.

I am here to report to those of you who are interested in the Hebrew world, that the Hebrew Arts Committee has produced a series of programs including drama and chorus and dance, which has widely been popular and which is redounding to the prestige of the Z.O.A. and is more important to the spread of Hebrew culture in America.

I am here to report to you that in the field of publications, the biography of Rothschild by the old Zionist Isaac Naiditch will come off the press within the next ten days, that a Palestine Year Book which will register all that has happened in Palestine and about Palestine during the past year, will be published, and that a book of Hebrew for adults, self-taught, will be off the press some time in the latter portion of the year.

I am here to report that the Youth activities have received a handsome subsidy from our Expansion Fund.

I am here to report that we are not overlooking our brothers and sisters in European countries, that we have made financial contributions toward their rehabilitation in the sphere of Zionist activity and Zionist literature, and that we shall continue to extend a hand of fellowship to Jewish communities in liberated Europe.

In other words, the Expansion Fund program is working, but I am sorry to say, that the Expansion Fund has not received as yet its proper attention from the hands of all Zionists, and I would urge those of you who are active in Districts to lose no time in making available your Expansion Fund quotas so that the work we have undertaken can continue.

So, dear friends, we come to the close of one chapter in the history of your Region in the development of Zionism, and we open another, and just as the closing of one book of the Pentateuch and the opening of another is marked by the exhortation, "Chazak, b'nizchazaik", so we come to the close of our year with that same mandate - "Chazak, chazak, v'nischazaik". Let us be strong, all of us together, strengthen the rebuilding of our people through the rebuilding of Eretz Israel as a Jewish Commonwealth, "B'm'hayra-u-b'ya-may-nu".

REPORT OF RESOLUTIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Max Levy, Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, before reading them for adoption, stated that his committee selected as the Region's most representative group for this purpose had met the previous evening. The committee consisted of the following people:

Dr. Ben N. Edidin D1
 Mr. Boris Shteinshleifer D2
 Mr. Raphael Pinchas D4
 Mr. Jacob Goldenkoff D6
 Mr. Jacques Torczyner D7
 Mr. Marcus M. Zetkin D10
 Mr. Louis Dince D30
 Mr. Max P. Birnbaum D81
 Mr. Irving Galt, Conference Chairman, ex-officio

"We hereby take pleasure in submitting the following resolutions:

Resolution No. 1

The Manhattan Zionist Region, at the conclusion of its first year, takes great satisfaction at the progress and development of Regional affairs. We are grateful for the energetic, successful leadership of our President, Hon. Hyman J. Reit, and the active, wholehearted support of Max S. Schoenholt and Irving Galt, as Vice-Presidents, William Waldman, Treasurer, and Jacques Torczyner, our dynamic Secretary; and acknowledge the service of Robert Seelav, Chairman of the Administrative Committee.

We note with appreciation the devoted work of the Committees of the Region; the extraordinary strengthening of membership through the effort of Philip April, as Chairman of the Membership Committee; the valuable educational and cultural projects initiated by the Committee on Education under Dr. Ben Edidin; the progress in public relations accomplished by Samuel L. Brennglass, Dr. Ettinger and their associates of the Committee on Public Relations; the advance in redemption of the land of Eretz Yisroel through widened support of the Jewish National Fund evoked by our J.N.F. Committee, led by Louis Dince; and Zionist activity among youth carried on by the Manhattan Zionist Youth Commission, of which Max Levy, our Regional Chairman of Youth Activities, is Chairman.

We thank the districts for their support of Regional affairs, and with enthusiasm commend the tireless diligence and capable work of management and supervision by Manuel Posy, the Regional Director.

Motion unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 2

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region expresses its appreciation for the splendid increase in membership of the Zionist Organization of America throughout the nation, and the initiation by the Zionist Organization of America of a wide and expanded program of organizational activities, under the leadership of Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 3

WHEREAS, American Zionists had anticipated the privilege of greeting in person the great and beloved leader of our movement, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, but have learned with shock of his recent illness from which happily he is now recovering, therefore, be it resolved that we transmit to Dr. and Mrs. Weizmann our affectionate greetings, our deep sympathy and our fervent hope for rapid and complete recovery that he may resume with undiminished strength his historic but difficult tasks in promoting the interests of our cause, and it is further resolved that this resolution be sent to Dr. and Mrs. Weizmann.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 4

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region sends affectionate greetings to our brethren, the surviving Jews of the liberated lands in Europe. We assure them of unrelenting effort to regain for them full political, economic and social equality with their fellow citizens in the lands of their residence, and we commend the action of the Zionist Organization of America in having given a subvention to the Zionist Federation of France for Jewish rehabilitation, and suggest similar subventions for Zionist Federations in liberated Holland, Belgium, and other countries as soon as contact can be established.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 5

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region, demands the immediate withdrawal and abrogation in its entirety of the illegal and brutal British White Paper, and, as an act of simple justice, that Palestine shall be opened to unrestricted Jewish immigration under the authority and control of the Jewish Agency.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 6

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region demands that there shall be speedy punishment for the crimes against Jews in Europe, and that at the trials for those offenses, and on Commissions for Investigation of War Crimes, official representation shall be granted to authorized representatives of the Jewish people.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 7

RESOLVED by the Manhattan Zionist Region, that the uniquely horrible plight of Jewish victims of Axis bestiality requires special consideration by the United Nations for restitution of property and compensation of losses to Jewish victims, and that accordingly the claims of Jews shall be accorded first priority by reparation agencies, national and international, and recommend that we make the following demands upon the United Nations:

1. Palestine be proclaimed a Jewish State now.

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2. The Jewish Agency shall now be authorized to bring to Palestine as many Jews as possible in order to speed development of the country's resources.
 3. The transfer of Jews from Europe to Palestine and resettlement be assisted by an international loan.
 4. Germany should pay reparations in kind to the Jewish people, which should be secured through requisitioning of German property in Palestine.
 5. All international facilities should be provided for the expedient transit from Europe of all Jews who may desire to settle in Palestine.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 8

WHEREAS, the Manhattan Zionist Region, comprising over 10,000 Zionists, assembled in Annual Conference on the 10th day of June, 1945, deeply concerned over the tragic Jewish position and the difficult struggle to attain a Jewish Palestine, realizes the grave responsibilities which rest upon American Zionists to work harmoniously to win the support of the United States Government and the American people for the militant Zionist aims which all Zionists so passionately desire, and

WHEREAS, we share the dismay of Zionists in other Regions and Districts throughout the nation that disunity in Zionist leadership has not yet been overcome,

BE IT RESOLVED that we call upon the President, the National officers, the Executive Committee and Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, and the American Zionist Emergency Council, to forthwith recall Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the active leadership of political affairs in the American Zionist Emergency Council, and also call to the Emergency Council experienced representatives who can be depended upon to support the Zionist policy of which Dr. Silver is known to be the outstanding spokesman, and

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED that this resolution be transmitted to the officers, the Executive and Administrative Committees of the Zionist Organization of America, to the members of the American Zionist Emergency Council and to Zionist Regions and Districts.

Discussion on Resolution No. 8

A motion was made and seconded to adopt the resolution. Mr. Monteficre Levy proposed the following amendment: "that we bring our influence to better understanding between Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver to further the cause of Zionism and to uphold the work of the National Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America". Upon further discussion, there was a motion to table this amendment, which, it was pointed out, would nullify the meaning of the resolution. The motion to table this amendment was called, and those in favor of tabling the amendment were 176 as against those opposed to tabling the resolution, 30. After much subsequent discussion on the resolution, the Chairman called the resolution to a vote of "ayes" and "nays". The "ayes" carried the resolution overwhelmingly, and the resolution was adopted.

Resolution No. 9

IT IS RESOLVED that the American Zionist Emergency Council is requested to furnish to Zionist Districts, information concerning its work and activities, so far as publication is warranted, to the end that Zionists shall have better official knowledge of political work and clarification of political policy than has been available.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 10

RESOLVED, by the Manhattan Zionist Region that Zionist youth activity is a basic obligation upon which depends the permanence of our historic movement, and pledges the Region and its Districts to support and enlarge the activities of the Manhattan Zionist Youth Commission to extend Zionist training upon a wider scale to growing Jewish youth and to College students, and for dealing with the special situation in Metropolitan New York, urges the establishment of a Metropolitan Youth Bureau to be maintained and financed by the American Zionist Youth Commission in close cooperation with the local Youth Commissions within the Metropolitan area, and requests the members of the National Finance Committee of the Z.O.A. who are from the Manhattan Region, to propose and support this recommendation in the Finance Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, and it is further

RESOLVED that this resolution be transmitted to the American Zionist Youth Commission, the Executive and Finance Committees of the Zionist Organization of America, and to the National Board of Hadassah.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 11

THE MANHATTAN ZIONIST REGION pledges continued and increasing support by its districts and members to the Jewish National Fund for its redemption of the soil of Palestine as the property and for the use of the Jewish people, and pledge successful fulfillment of our special \$50,000 project for "Nachlath Manhattan".

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 12

IT IS RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region regards with satisfaction its considerable share in the creation of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund to which our President, Judge Hyman J. Reit, Mr. I. J. Caplan, as Treasurer of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund, and Mr. Paul Kaminsky, as Chairman of the Manhattan Campaign, have devoted themselves so effectively, and

WE ENDORSE the continuance of the Metropolitan Zionist Fund for the ensuing year.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 13

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region welcomes the establishment of the Interregional Committee which has been formed to coordinate and improve cooperating action by the Metropolitan Regions.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 14

RESOLVED that the Manhattan Zionist Region commends the activities of the Histadruth Ivrit and the Hebrew Arts Committee in widening and increasing the interests of Zionists in Hebrew culture, and pledge these activities our complete support.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 15

IT IS RESOLVED, that at its annual conference on June 10th, 1945, the Manhattan Zionist Region, comprising over 10,000 Zionists, declares its conviction that it is imperative, pursuant to the established democratic practice of the Zionist movement, to gather in annual convention at the earliest time for deliberation and decision upon the extremely serious problems of our movement and our organization by the Zionist membership, the supreme authority whose will and decision determined in convention fixes the policy and action of our movement, and it is accordingly

FURTHER RESOLVED that the National officers and the Executive Committee are requested to exert vigorous effort to obtain government approval for convening a convention of the Zionist Organization of America at the earliest date, to the end that the customary annual convention shall not be delayed longer than is inevitable under governmental restrictions.

IT IS FURTHER RESOLVED, that this resolution shall be transmitted to the Officers, the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, and to Zionist Regions and districts.

Resolution unanimously adopted.

Resolution No. 16

The Manhattan Zionist Region notes with pride its effective participation in the Seventh War Bond Drive in which, through the fine work of our War Bond Committee led by Mr. A. W. Scheffres, has already sold among members of the Region more than \$30,000,000 of War Bonds. We express our appreciation to the Committee and to the districts for this commendable showing.

Resolution unanimously adopted."

EXCERPTS OF ADDRESS BY RABBI JUDAH L. FISHMAN OF
JERUSALEM, LEADER OF WORLD MIZRACHI AND A MEMBER
OF THE EXECUTIVE OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

"The Jewish Settlement of Palestine is deeply perturbed about world shaping events which seem to exclude the Jew from any settlement that is being made by the United Nations. Palestine is the only community in the world in which the Jewish population is dedicated to so constructing its economy that literally millions of Jews from shattered Europe will be able to enter and live in peace and prosperity with their brethren. Every other country is concerned with excluding immigrants, but Jewish Palestine welcomes them.

An independent Jewish State in Palestine is a must now and despite everything the Jews of Palestine and throughout the world will fight to remove any restrictions which prevent Jewish immigration into Palestine. No stone will be left unturned until complete Jewish autonomy is obtained. For this the Jews of Palestine live, for this they will sacrifice, and for this they will die if need be."

7/16/45

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion
342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL REORGANIZED; DR. SILVER RECALLED TO LEADERSHIP

- - - - -

DR. WISE AND DR. SILVER NAMED JOINT CHAIRMEN OF COUNCIL;

DR. SILVER IS CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE;

EMANUEL NEUMANN AND LOUIS LIEBSKY MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE

- - - - -

"ZIONIST FRONT IS ONCE AGAIN UNITED AND STRONG" -- SILVER AND WISE

- - - - -

New York -- The reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council, with Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York elected to serve as joint chairmen of the Council and Dr. Silver named chairman of its Executive Committee, was announced today by the Council's headquarters at 342 Madison Avenue, New York City. The Council speaks for all major Zionist organizations in the United States -- the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrahi and Poale Zion.

The return of Dr. Silver to active leadership of American Zionist political work marks an end to the dispute over policy which has existed in Zionist ranks since December, 1944, when he resigned. The reorganization has also served to unite the Zionist leadership of this country behind a program of vigorous action.

Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver issued the following statement on the reorganization: "It is with deep satisfaction that we announce the liquidation of the differences which have existed in the American Zionist Emergency Council during the past six months. The American Zionist front is once again united and strong. We can now speak effectively in the name of the entire Zionist membership of our country

(more)

at the forthcoming World Zionist Conference in London. Our people's resolve to work indefatigably towards the achievement of our historic goal is strengthened; and with all our resources mobilized we will bend every effort towards the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

The reorganization agreement, which was approved at a meeting of the Council held on Thursday evening, July 12th, provides that two of the Zionist Organization of America's designees on the Council shall be persons recommended by Dr. Silver and that the Executive Committee shall be enlarged by the addition of Louis Lipsky and Emanuel Neumann as members at large. Mr. Neumann led the movement to restore unity in Zionist ranks through the recall of Dr. Silver to leadership. The agreement also states that "all executive and administrative responsibility shall be vested in the Executive Committee of the Council."

Immediately following the meeting of the Council on Thursday, Dr. Silver called a meeting of the Executive Committee, at which the reappointment of an Executive Director and key members of the executive staff was approved. The reappointed executives are: Harry L. Shapiro, Executive Director; Harold P. Manson, Director of Information; Abe Tuvim, Director of Activities with Cooperating Organizations, and Harry A. Steinberg, Assistant in Charge of Special Events.

The terms of the reorganization follow:

1) The Emergency Council shall be headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as joint chairmen. They shall preside at alternate meetings of the Council.

2) Judge Levinthal, as acting President of the Zionist Organization of America, with the approval and support of Judge Morris Rothenberg and Mr. Louis Lipsky, members of the Z.O.A. Peace Committee, agrees to recommend to the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. that the Z.O.A. shall designate its representatives on the Council with the understanding that two of its designees, and their special alternates, shall be persons recommended by Dr. Silver; and that those two designees and their special alternates shall have freedom of action.

(more)

3) All executive and administrative responsibility shall be vested in the Executive Committee of the Council. Dr. Silver shall be its Chairman, and Hayim Greenberg, Leon Gellman and Herman Shulman (or their party substitutes) shall be its Vice-Chairmen. Mrs. Rose Halprin shall continue as Treasurer of the Council. (It was decided that Hadassah shall have the option of choosing a vice-chairmanship or retaining the treasurership).

4) The Executive Committee shall be enlarged by the addition of Mr. Louis Lipsky and Mr. Emanuel Neumann as members at large.

5) A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the six officers of the Council and of the Executive Committee. The Board shall meet between meetings of the Executive Committee to consider steps to be taken in line with policies already agreed upon with regard to such matters as may require prompt action, and it shall have such other functions as the Executive Committee may from time to time decide. (If Hadassah chooses a vice-chairmanship, this paragraph shall read: "A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the two co-chairmen of the Council and the four vice-chairmen of the Executive Committee, etc.")

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be the Chairman of the Board of Officers and shall preside at its meetings. In his absence Dr. Wise shall be the presiding officer.

Meetings of the Board shall be called by the Chairman whenever required and shall also be called when requested by any three members of the Board. Each of the Joint Chairmen of the Council shall have the right to name a proxy to attend meetings of the Board in his absence and to vote in his stead.

6) The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall have the right to name, with the approval of the Executive Committee, an Executive Director and other key members of the staff.

7) The members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in the United States

(more)

shall be invited to participate without vote in the meetings of the Council, of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Officers. It is understood that a similar invitation will be extended to the Joint Chairmen of the Council to participate in meetings of the members of the Jewish Agency Executive in the United States.

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AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

• LAckawanna 4-7319

July 17, 1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
FROM: ABRAHAM GOODMAN, SECRETARY

We have achieved one of our major objectives. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has been recalled to leadership and the American Zionist Emergency Council has been reorganized in a manner that will insure the carrying forward of a militant Zionist program without obstruction.

The terms of reorganization, which were approved at a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council held on Thursday evening, July 12, 1945, are as follows:

- 1) The Emergency Council shall be headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as joint chairmen. They shall preside at alternate meetings of the Council.
- 2) Judge Levinthal, as acting President of the Zionist Organization of America, with the approval and support of Judge Morris Rothenberg and Mr. Louis Lipsky, members of the Z.O.A. Peace Committee, agrees to recommend to the Executive Committee of the Z.O.A. that the Z.O.A. shall designate its representatives on the Council with the understanding that two of its designees, and their special alternates, shall be persons recommended by Dr. Silver; and that these two designees and their special alternates shall have freedom of action.
- 3) All executive and administrative responsibility shall be vested in the Executive Committee of the Council. Dr. Silver shall be its Chairman, and Hayim Greenberg, Leon Gellman and Herman Shulman (or their party substitutes) shall be its Vice-Chairmen. Mrs. Rose Halprin shall continue as Treasurer of the Council. (It was decided that Hadassah shall have the option of choosing a vice-chairmanship or retaining the treasurership).
- 4) The Executive Committee shall be enlarged by the addition of Mr. Louis Lipsky and Mr. Emanuel Neumann as members at large.
- 5) A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the six officers of the Council and of the Executive Committee. The Board shall meet between meetings of the Executive Committee to consider steps to be taken in line with policies already agreed upon with regard to such matters as may require prompt action, and it shall have such other functions as the Executive Committee may from time to time decide. (If Hadassah chooses a vice-chairmanship, this paragraph shall read: "A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the two co-chairmen of the Council and the four vice-chairmen of the Executive Committee, etc.")

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be the Chairman of the Board of Officers and shall preside at its meetings. In his absence Dr. Wise shall be the presiding officer.

Meetings of the Board shall be called by the Chairman whenever required and shall also be called when requested by any three members of the Board. Each of the Joint Chairmen of the Council shall have the right to name a proxy to attend meetings of the Board in his absence and to vote in his stead.

6) The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall have the right to name, with the approval of the Executive Committee, an Executive Director and other key members of the staff.

7) The members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in the United States shall be invited to participate without vote in the meetings of the Council, of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Officers. It is understood that a similar invitation will be extended to the Joint Chairmen of the Council to participate in meetings of the members of the Jewish Agency Executive in the United States.

Immediately following the meeting of the Council, Dr. Silver called a meeting of the Executive Committee at which the reappointment of an Executive Director and key members of the executive staff was approved. The reappointed executives, who had resigned with Dr. Silver in December 1944, and who have been conducting the activities of the American Zionist Policy Committee, are: Harry L. Shapiro, Executive Director of the Council; Harold P. Manson, Director of Information; Abe Tuvin, Director of Activities with Cooperating Organizations; and Harry A. Steinberg, Assistant in Charge of Special Events.

And so one of our goals has been attained. It is your victory. This happy event was brought about only as a result of the insistent demands voiced time and again by you and the Zionist masses throughout the country. The return of Dr. Silver to leadership through your efforts is heartening evidence of the moral strength and democratic spirit which are inherent in our movement. It is also a tribute to the healthy instincts of the American Zionist rank and file who, in this instance, have shown the way ahead; they have brought about a turning point in the history of American Zionism.

Those of us who have been in daily contact with the work of the American Zionist Policy Committee since its inception cannot allow this occasion to pass without an expression of deep gratitude and sincere admiration for Mr. Emanuel Neumann, brilliant exponent of a maximalist Zionist program, who has inspired and guided us during the past trying months. His contributions and sacrifices will remain a shining and unforgettable example of devotion to principle in the face of bitter, often acrimonious, opposition.

With his return to active leadership, Dr. Silver has taken on an enormous burden. There is little need to dwell on the grave responsibilities facing each and every Zionist during the coming crucial months. It is our duty to make the unity which has just been established count for something in the international arena. We must now pool all our energies and resources to meet the challenge of the hour. We must also remain on the alert to guard this precious unity which we have at long last attained.

The Executive Committee of the Greater New York division of the American Zionist Policy Committee and our Subcommittee on Peace, at successive meetings held in New York, voted unanimously to keep our Committee intact until all its objectives have been realized. It was emphasized at these meetings that our Committee can render a great service to the cause by watching closely the developments on the American Zionist scene and making such comment as it deems necessary. We have already accomplished much in educating the Zionist rank and file on vital questions of policy. That task is not over. All Zionists will agree that the maintenance of an alert, informed Zionist public opinion is vital to the success of the Zionist program.

Let us, then, mobilize all our resources for the great effort which lies ahead and work unrelentingly for the achievement of our Zionist aspirations - for a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth!

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

• LACKAWANNA 4-7319

July 25, 1945

Mr. Harold P. Manson
5 Prospect Place
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Manson:

On the eve of my departure for London as a delegate to the forthcoming International Zionist Conference, I feel impelled to send you a word of greeting and sincere appreciation of your consistent and effective cooperation during the past months. It was your efforts and those of other friends similarly minded throughout the country that was largely responsible for the reestablishment of a united Zionist front and the recall of Dr. Silver to political leadership.

It is indeed an extraordinary achievement of Zionist democracy. In my long association with the movement over a period of nearly four decades, I recall nothing which quite parallels it.

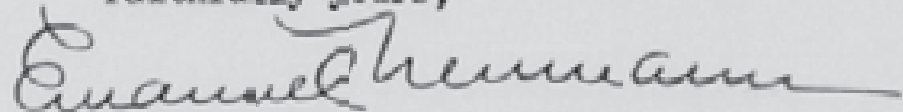
Apart from the main and primary result we have attained, there is a secondary and derivative result scarcely less important: the awakening of the Zionist masses to a full sense of their duty and responsibility. We have demonstrated the decisive importance of an informed and articulate public opinion and we have aroused an interest in the national and international affairs of our movement, which if sustained and developed will contribute powerfully to its revitalization.

Our movement undoubtedly still faces critical and stormy days ahead when crucial and fateful decisions will have to be taken. I pray that you and all our friends will continue to exercise individual responsibility and leadership in the future as you have during the past six months.

Whatever the decisions of the London Conference, I know that we can continue to count upon the devotion and the intelligent appraisal of Zionist affairs which you have displayed so strikingly heretofore.

With warmest personal greetings and thanks for your cooperation, I am, as ever

Faithfully yours,



Emanuel Neumann

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AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

• LACKAWANNA 4-7319



July 26, 1945

Your activities as a member of the National Council of the American Zionist Policy Committee have played a major role in reestablishing unity and a militant Zionist policy in our movement. The reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council would not have been possible without your efforts and the unrelenting pressure of other sincere Zionists.

But although Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has returned to the active leadership under conditions which will enable him to carry forward the type of program that you want, our obligations as members of the National Council of the American Zionist Policy Committee have not been discharged. At two successive meetings it was unanimously decided that our Committee shall remain intact and on the alert. Needless to say, even a limited program of activities will require funds, and our present financial situation makes it literally impossible to meet the request that our Committee continue to function.

Moreover, we are still faced with a deficit which consists mainly of unpaid salaries due to the men who have sacrificed so much to carry on our work over the past six months.

I am confident that you will lose no time in raising as large a sum as you can in your community, in order that our deficit may be liquidated and our Committee, which has proved invaluable to the best interests of the movement, may be continued. We who share in this great victory must also share the responsibilities of membership in the organization which made our victory possible.

Please address all communications to me at 200 Varick Street, New York City. Awaiting your reply, I am

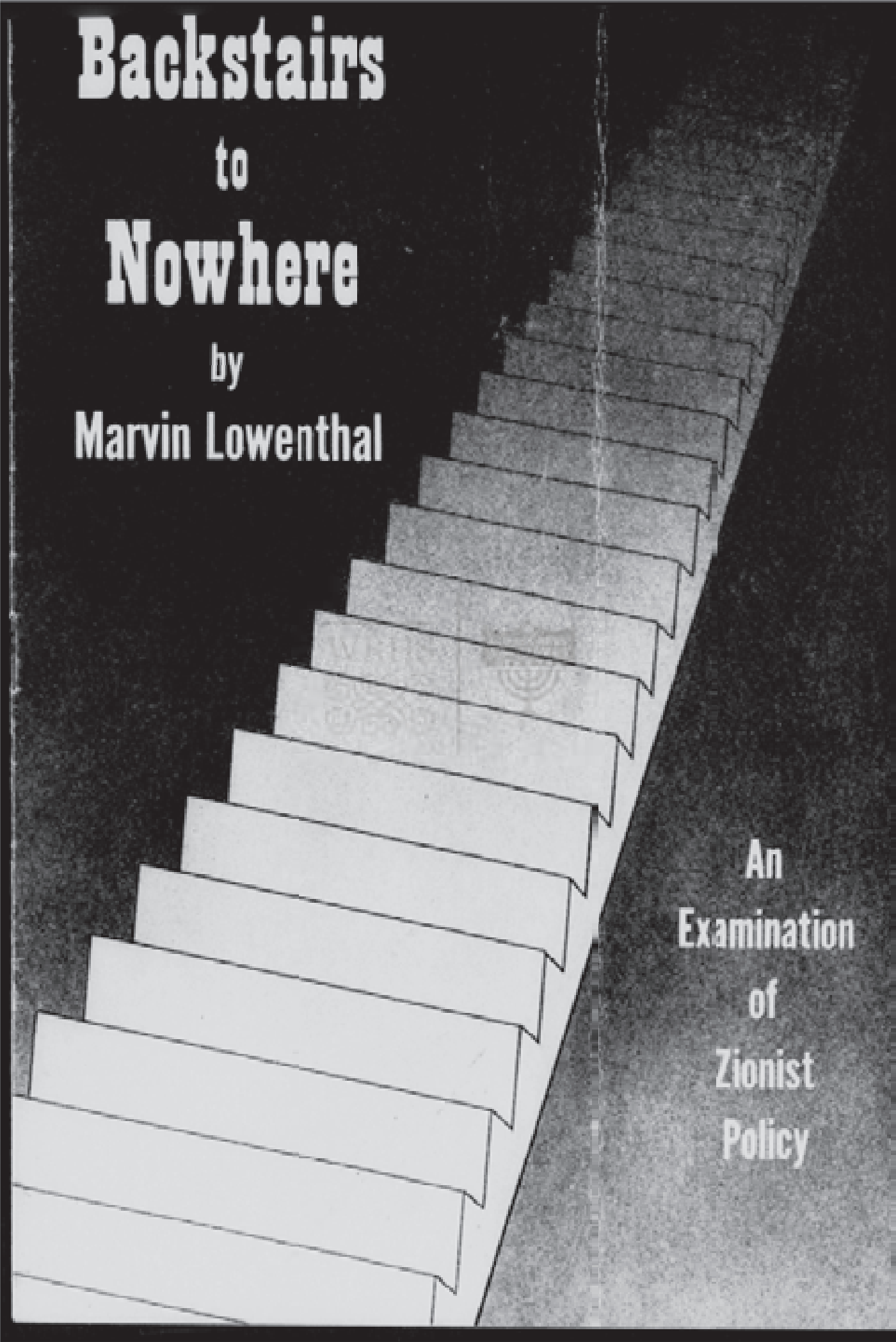
Sincerely, yours,

Abraham Goodman

Abraham Goodman
Secretary

Backstairs to Nowhere

by
Marvin Lowenthal



**An
Examination
of
Zionist
Policy**



Reprinted from the
DETROIT JEWISH NEWS
and THE JEWISH DAY

Harold P. Manson

BACKSTAIRS TO NOWHERE . . .

The time has come—and nearly gone—for statesmanship instead of politics. We must consider measures rather than men. For months conscientious Zionists have directed or pursued lines of conduct which reflect little but bewilderment and confusion. They have advanced and retreated, tacked and veered, advocated resolutions in Congress and countermanded them, less as a result of a calculated policy than of inability to understand where they are at and how to get to where they want to go next. Division of opinion and interest has split their leadership and, if not overcome, will demoralize their ranks. Moreover, the sands of opportunity are running low. Few and brief chances for effective action remain to them before a peace conference or other decision puts a term to Zionist political achievement for long years to come.

The Arabs know what they want and how to use the means they possess to get it. The British Colonial Office and our opponents in the U. S. Department of State know what they are after and presumably, on the record, how to attain it. We, too, know what we want; but either we do not recognize the means we command to secure it—or, recognizing the means, we flounder in their application because they are frighteningly unfamiliar and hence baffling to us.

The means for action at Zionist disposal are in fact largely unfamiliar. Some of them we Jews have never employed before. Yet because they are essential we must master them, and quickly, or else resign ourselves to the defeat of our political program.

The usual explanations of the present crisis in the Zionist Emergency Council wrongly emphasizes personal animosities, prides and ambitions. This is, I believe, mistaken, because every vital movement is beset and sometimes bedevilled with private

interests. Even if Zionist leadership were at one in its immediate program it would still, like any leadership, provide an arena for conflicting personalities.

The root of the tragic dissension goes far deeper than individual rivalries and jealousies. It springs and takes its strength from a basic incomprehension. Zionists strike wildly at one another, they give personal rancour the rein to destroy not only their colleagues but the movement—and this at the most critical moment in its career—because at bottom they do not comprehend what they are about. And they do not comprehend for the sufficient reason that during the past two years they have undertaken a line of action completely foreign to Jewish history and therefore unfamiliar to the point of driving them to distraction. They rock the boat because they are like landlubbers at sea. Their feet are in a strange path and consequently they are losing their heads.

Let us examine this path. Let us understand how and why it is strange to most of us. And mastering its novel contours, let us learn to march forward sure-footed and cool-headed.

When, considerably more than a year ago, the Zionist leadership, as united in the Emergency Council, undertook to secure the passage by Congress of the Palestine Resolutions, they embarked on a course that was new to Jewish experience. Never before had Jews attempted to convert to Zionism (or anything else) the *public opinion* of a democracy, and register that public opinion, as part of the democratic process, through an act of its legislative body.

We can appreciate the startling novelty of this course only by reviewing an important aspect of modern Jewish history. It is an historical commonplace to say that Zionism provided the first democratic movement in Jewry since its dispersion. But like most commonplaces it distorts or fails to tell the whole truth.

Up until the nineteenth century Jewry conducted its negotiations with the non-Jewish world through the personal intercession of what we would now call "representative" Jews. These were self-appointed leaders, whose leadership was accepted by general and grateful consent, and who, as men of character, influence or wealth, dealt with the ruling powers of the Church and State in behalf of the Jewish community. Such leaders came to be known as *stadlonim* or "spokesmen," and their political methods were known as *stadlonut*. In fact as well as romance these methods inevitably—given the circumstances of the age—meant climbing the back stairs to the archbishop's study or the grand-duke's privy chamber, there to bargain or beg as best the spokesman could. In essence, *stadlonut* boils down to going to the kitchen door for a hand-out. But until the French Revolution and the rise of modern democracy no other method for securing even the most elemental rights was available to the Jews. By this time, after centuries of use, the method became an ingrained Jewish habit. And for too large a number of Jews it is still ingrained.

When Herzl, at the close of the past century, dreamed of a Jewish State, he acted in the traditional manner of all Jews who get an idea which they think is good for their people. He acted, that is, like a *stadlos*. He went to the counting rooms of the richest Jews extant, Baron de Hirsh and Baron de Rothschild, thinking to induce them to put up the money with which he would go to the Sultan and buy a charter for a Jewish State. When these wealthy Jews refused the money, Herzl took the most radical step in modern Jewish history. Ignoring any individual Jew, rich or poor, he turned to the Jewish people as a whole and created the first democratic movement in Jewish life. From the moment he had the Zionist Organization behind him, a body constitutionally open to every Jew and based on one vote to each member, he was no longer a *stadlos* but a democratically

elected leader. It was a big step, but it took Herzl only halfway towards a completely democratic procedure.

For even with the Zionist Organization at his back, Herzl continued the age-old policy of personal diplomacy. He addressed himself to the Grand Duke of Baden, to the Kaiser, to the Sultan, to "Joe" Chamberlain, to the Pope—to say nothing of the King of Bulgaria, Von Plehve, and anyone else who would listen. He addressed himself to everyone concerned, except the Parliaments of the great powers of Western Europe or the political parties that dominated them or the publics they represented. He was forever appearing at Zionist Congresses, and in whispers telling his intimate supporters to wait a little while longer and something magnificent would transpire. This behavior cannot be turned into a weapon of criticism against Herzl, an incomparable optimist and self-sacrificing servant. It proves, however, the power of habit—the strength of the ingrained Jewish tradition of personal diplomacy. Herzl, like his successors, was at heart a democrat, yet he could not conceive of using the processes of democracy when it came to obtaining from the non-Jewish world the grant of a Jewish State. Such use was too unfamiliar.

It may be argued that a direct propagation of Zionism among the people of Great Britain, Germany and France, and a direct approach through the people to their Parliaments, was an impossibility in Herzl's lifetime. We can never know, for it was never tried.

Such approach to peoples and Parliaments was assuredly possible during the first World War. Yet the grant of the Balfour Declaration and the British Mandate for Palestine remained the work of personal diplomacy. Three men—Balfour, Lloyd George

and Wilson—gave the Jewish people whatever status they possess in Palestine. These three men were won to the gift by a handful of devoted Jewish leaders, backed by a hard-fighting Zionist Organization. To put it crudely and simply, two Englishmen and one American were “sold” on the merits of Zionism. But neither the British Parliament nor the American Congress, still less the mass of British and Americans, were won or pledged to its program.

The grant of the Balfour Declaration was unquestionably the greatest achievement of personal diplomacy in Jewish history. It demonstrated once again that the personal approach plays and will always play one of the decisive roles in international politics. Nothing, indeed, can be gained in wisdom or practice by deriding or neglecting personal character, power and contacts.

But the fate of the Balfour Declaration proves what can be lost by relying on personal diplomacy alone. Within four years the three givers of the Declaration disappeared from power, and immediately the substance of the Declaration began to be whittled away. Through the White Paper of 1939 its substance vanished. It should be apparent to every thoughtful man—and it should be compulsory knowledge for every Zionist leader—that the enemies of a Jewish Palestine succeeded in their work of destruction because, with the exit of merely three men, there was left no *power* that could defend the Jewish right to a homeland. Neither the British Parliament nor the American Congress came to the defense of the Mandate, for it was not *they* who had been persuaded of its justice and necessity.

In fact, the White Paper of 1922, the first milestone on the road to retreat, was the result not only of Arab intransigence but

of a growing Parliamentary opposition to the Zionist policy of Lloyd George's coalition government—an opposition which the Cabinet could not ignore. When, at length, the White Paper of 1939 gave the death blow to the Homeland, a few minority members in the Parliament, old friends of Zionism, protested vigorously but, because they were few, impotently. At bottom the Governments of Britain and America failed to act in our behalf because the publics they represented had never been convinced that Zionism is one of the international "musts." If we are to learn anything from history, we must conclude that while it is important to win three men to the Zionist cause—and there are three such men today—it is more than important, it is essential, that if any future gains are to be won or kept, the Zionists must secure now and in advance of such gains the support of the British and American publics and the pledged consent of Parliament and Congress.

Upon British Jewry, of course, falls the burden of winning the informed endorsement of the British people and its appropriate expression in Parliament. American Jews must naturally confine themselves to America. Here, too, we must remember that the action initiated over a year ago in Congress is a novelty. The Joint Resolution passed by Congress in 1922, endorsing the Balfour Declaration, involved no comparable activity. At that time Senator Lodge practically dictated our foreign policy, and the task before the Zionist leaders was again the familiar one of winning over a few key men. Moreover, the resolution was ostensibly little more than the rubber-stamping of an accomplished fact. At most, between Lodge, Hamilton Fish, and President Harding the job was done. That the resolution passed both Senate and House unanimously is damning proof of how little its purport was agitated, debated or understood. The proof

is clinched by the fact that in 1939, when the White Paper blackened out the Homeland, neither Congress nor the American public emitted anything that might be called an audible protest.

Before passing on to the work lying before us, let us glance finally at the damnable proof of how bewildered, because unfamiliar, Zionist behavior has been in presenting the recent resolutions to Congress. This time—and for the first time—some of the Zionist leaders strove, and others were led, to appeal not only to Congress but, as a basic democratic procedure, to the entire American people. The pressure exerted by the public (Gentile and Jew) upon Congress was formidable. It was so formidable that to some Zionist chieftains it proved disconcerting. This became painfully evident when the adoption of Palestine planks by the two major political parties befuddled the heads of certain Zionist leaders to the point that, not being able to make up their minds whether they were Zionists or Democrats, they stumbled over their own toes. To them the Republican plank was an intrusion and its attack upon the Democratic Administration's inactivity a stroke of treason!

The confusion reached its climax after the elections. Without going into details it must suffice to say that a genuine dilemma was presented to the Zionist Emergency Council. On the one hand, President Roosevelt requested that action by Congress be postponed and that the entire matter be left in his hands for a short while. On the other hand, Congress was ready and eager to act on the resolutions. Personal diplomacy and democratic procedure ran into head-on collision. Such things happen often in the normal experience of a democracy, but seldom in the experience of Jewish leaders. On the part of many of them there was a frightened withdrawal from the horrendous crash. They

fled very naturally but very foolishly from the unfamiliar and hence dangerous democratic procedure, and took refuge on the snug and time-honored backstairs. Others—a deplorable spectacle—were so bewildered they could not tell the difference between dealing with an individual, as Jews have always done, and dealing with a body of elected representatives of 130 million people; and they persuaded themselves to go to the Senate and request postponement of their own resolutions. You can ask the Boss, you can ask Mr. Fix-It not to bother about something you had just been badgering him to do. Obviously, therefore, can't you ask the American Congress not to bother about a little matter which scores of mass-meetings, hundreds of editorials, and thousands of telegrams and memorials had been urging them to consider *at your request*? Obviously you can not, if you are to act with political sanity.

Nothing can be gained now, after the event, by discussing what might have been done. At the very least, elementary political wisdom should have dictated a course whereby the whole matter would have been left to the Executive and Congress, old hands at battling each other. If their heads had been clear, the Zionists could have easily stood on the side-lines and merely reiterated their honest demands that the President fulfill his election pledge and that Congress, committed to this course, pass the resolutions; and as to differences in timing, the Zionists should have proposed they be settled by the authorities responsible for those differences.

Instead, the Emergency Council did the most foolish thing at its command—a sure sign that it had lost control of its faculties. It split itself, it drove out some of its ablest leaders and workers; and now, when the need for brains and concerted action is para-

mount, it has deprived the Jewish people of a large measure of both.

Justification is easy. The present article is an effort to justify what happened on the broadest and most illuminating grounds—on the grounds that the Council, in appealing to democratic procedure, in going all-out to the Congress and the country, was trying something brand-new in Jewish history; and, due to the novelty of the experience, it fell into dissension, cross-purposes, and disruption.

The result has been a double defeat. Personal diplomacy, deprived of democratic support, has led to the Livadia palace in Yalta, from the backstairs of which the Jewish people were given a superb view of nowhere. The appeal to the democratic process as represented by the Congressional resolutions has likewise ended in failure, in this case partly through Zionist default.

We shall not have the time or occasion to fail again—and get away with it. Now or never we must choose the right course and stick to it, a course which while not oblivious to the backstairs nevertheless leads straight to the front door. Personal diplomacy must be employed, for without it the world's international business cannot be done. The democratic process must likewise be employed in order to put effective power behind the personal efforts and to guarantee the permanence of their results. A political enterprise is like a two-wheeled cart. We may perchance get to our destination on one wheel, the wheel of personal diplomacy. But in that case experience has shown that little is left of the cart.



AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE
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Silver
to A.Z.E.C.
Exec

As far as the President is concerned, future events will show that we have gained rather than lost ground. The report which has been widely spread that the President is angry at what has happened, as far as I know rests on no evidence. It appears to be either a surmise or an interpretation calculated to create a panic mood in our ranks and force through certain action which certain people have agreed upon.

The President, by his action forcing Congress to postpone our Resolution, has publicly assumed a solemn and grave responsibility towards our cause in the sight both of Congress and of the American people. In so many words the President told Congress, through his Secretary of State who spoke in his name: "Leave the entire matter to me! Don't do anything yourself! I will take care of the matter fully! You can trust me to look after the interest of free Jewish immigration into Palestine and of the Jewish Commonwealth when the proper time comes."

Prior to that moment, we had the pre-election promise from the President, which unfortunately many persons here and abroad had discounted as an election promise. The Arabs had done so publicly and repeatedly. Now, as a result of what happened in Washington, we are entitled to take the position that there is now a new commitment by the President through the Congress of the United States, on the basis of which that body was persuaded not to take action of its own. His intervention could be justified only on that assumption. If wisely and skillfully utilized, this development can be used as a most effective means to urge the President into action. Without such urging he has not moved in the past and is not likely to move in the future.

It is therefore tactically false on our part to unload all the responsibility for the deferment on our resolution unto the State Department, which as we all know is quite innocent in the whole matter. On the contrary,

it should be clearly and widely stated that it was the President himself who asked for the deferment on the ground that he felt that such action at this time would embarrass him. He may have been wrong in thinking so. Some of us believe that he was wrong. But that was his judgment. He has promised Congress to look after our interests at the proper time, and because of this promise Congress was persuaded, against its own will, to postpone action on our Resolution. The President has asked that we have confidence in him. We shall now eagerly and earnestly wait for the fulfillment of that promise. We would feel outraged if we were let down, but we do not expect to be let down.

This is clearly the line to follow in our press and in our propaganda -- not to heap abuse on the State Department or on Mr. Stettinius who, as we know, acted only as the mouthpiece of the President. Nor to shield the President by spiriting him out of this drama in which he was the chief actor, nor by flagellating ourselves or attempting to sacrifice this or that Zionist leader as a scapegoat for sins which we did not commit.

What has transpired in recent weeks should help further to clear away in our own minds, as the responsible leaders of our Movement, certain delusions about the President which some of us have chosen to entertain and some of us have so assiduously cultivated throughout the years.

The President is not sold on Palestine. He does not understand our Movement. I doubt whether he has read a single memorandum which we have sent to him. He entertains towards our Movement the same attitude of general good will and uninvolved benignancy which he entertains towards a dozen other worthy causes, but having no intention of pressing for them vigorously on the international scene. Engrossed as he is in a global war, he cannot be counted on to go out of his way for us unless he is goaded and prodded into it by the pressure of public opinion and by a real and earnest insistence on the part of a determined and not easily appeased Jewish community.

The President wishes to let the Palestine issue ride as long as possible, perhaps until the end of the war not only in the West but in the East. In this he probably shares the views of Churchill. In some vague way he hopes some day when he meets Ibn Saud to make some quid pro quo arrangement whereby the Jews will get something nice in Palestine. He does not know at the moment when he will meet Ibn Saud and what he will ask of Ibn Saud when he meets him, as far as Jewish Palestine is concerned. When the meeting finally takes place, if ever, the President is likely to be guided, I am afraid, by the experts in the Near East Division who as you know are bitterly anti-Zionist. The President is still greatly impressed with the united Arab opposition to our Movement and the fact, as he wrote to Senator Wagner, "that there are a half-million Jews in Palestine and on the other side there are seventy million Moslems out to cut their throats and that a massacre must be avoided. He wants nothing said or done over here, for it will add fuel to the flames."

Actually we have never had an opportunity to sit down with the President and to discuss with him adequately the Palestine question and the political realities of the situation. We had expected to have such an opportunity in August. But it didn't come off. The last attempt to do so we made in October, at your direction. The purpose we had in mind, the purpose which I certainly had in mind, was not merely to secure another message, however good, to a Zionist gathering; but to attempt at long last to come to grips with the problem of official policy and to explore with the President the directions in which he might be induced to move. That plan also miscarried, through no fault of mine. I will refer to the Presidential message a little later on.

The President will, I believe, in the last analysis, follow Churchill's lead. He is not likely to take the initiative or go beyond Churchill. Unfortunately, Churchill has come to feel strongly the opposition to our cause within his own Cabinet, his own party, and within military circles. He is

turning for support and reinforcement to the United States and to President Roosevelt. One of the reasons, you will recall, which moved many of us at one of the meetings of our Emergency Council to want Congressional action was the revelation in Dr. Weizmann's letter reporting on his last interview with Churchill how eagerly the Prime Minister was waiting for American show of support. President Roosevelt's present grasp, or lack of grasp, of our problem and his unwillingness to move energetically in our behalf -- for it is clear that if he were willing, he would most assuredly have welcomed action in Congress, action which could do nothing but strengthen his hands -- do not augur well for us. We will not improve the situation by stifling all criticism of the President, by shielding and justifying him on all occasions. This, I am afraid, is what he has come to count upon in all his relations with the Jewish people. His Administration did very little, next to nothing, during these tragic years in the field of rescue and refugee help, in spite of the great clamor which we made, but the Jews of America criticized everyone but him. Why should it be difficult to get the Zionists to adopt a similar attitude? In my humble judgment there is need for a franker, more realistic and down-to-earth relationship between the President and the Zionists of the United States -- a new relationship which might have come long ago but for a tendency in Jewish life to cling to old-fashioned and bankrupt Shtetlanut in Washington which went by the name of political action and statesmanship, and got us nothing!

Our only hope lies in making the President and his advisers realize that the Zionists do not and cannot approve his failure and that of his Administration to act for five long years on the infamous White Paper, that they are very unhappy about his ukase to the Senate not to act on a resolution which called for the free entry of Jews into Palestine and for a Jewish Commonwealth, that they have submitted to his judgment with great misgivings,

that the Zionists have a right to know what is in the President's mind and in the mind of the State Department with reference to Jewish aspirations in Palestine. The hour is late, the air is full of plans, proposals and counter-proposals. So far we have had nothing from our Government but two official prohibitions against a pro-Zionist resolution in Congress on the one hand, and his own statement, which he was unwilling to have Congress endorse!

Those who say that our political strategy is to keep the President always sweet-tempered, to explain away his every error and bad judgment in relation to our cause, and to say "yea" and "nay" whenever he says "yea" or "nay," are in my humble judgment terribly in the wrong. To criticize the President is not to attack him. He is being criticized by friends and by members of his own party frequently for what they regard as wrong policies or bad appointments, or political mistakes. So is Mr. Churchill criticized by his friends frequently. The President will gain respect for us and will lend a more attentive ear to us if we grow in independence and in dignified insistence on what we believe to be morally due us. The President must be made aware that there is a critical judgment to satisfy, an appraising eye and an uncompromising determination on the part of the Jews in the United States and non-Jews, as well, who want to see full justice to Jewish Palestine, and count upon the President because of the grave commitments he has made and the responsibility which he has voluntarily assumed to do his utmost to see that this justice is done.

We must always bear in mind that the President is constantly subject to conflicting pressures of all kinds from all quarters on all subjects. He is accustomed to it; it is his daily bread. Moreover, we are assured by some who know him best that he constantly takes these pressures and influences into account and his action is often the composite resultant of these various pressures. That is natural; that is human. This is true also in the matter of Palestine. Do not deceive yourselves. Apart from such pressure as we exert from

time to time, there are always other pressures which our adversaries are exerting in one form or another. The Arabs, British influences, American anti-Zionists, Jewish anti-Zionists and the President's letter of December 3rd to Senator Wagner clearly reflects this situation. Does anyone really think that if Zionist pressure were removed, we would gain by it? Or would not the inevitable result be that combined and continuous pressure from our adversaries would push the President further and further away from a pro-Zionist line?

I want to make it perfectly clear so that there may be no misunderstanding: I do not mean that we must attack him or that we deal with him tactlessly. Such pressure as we may find it advisable to exert from time to time must be well and wisely considered and we must be sure of our ground. It must be legitimate and appropriate. Surely no one will assert that the proposed action by Congress, repeating in substance what the President himself had said only a few weeks earlier, could be regarded by any reasonable person as being unreasonable or inappropriate. On the contrary, the veto imposed by the Administration was not reasonable in the circumstances. In this matter it is we who are the aggrieved party, not the President, and Mr. Roosevelt as a reasonable man must himself recognize this to be true. That is the only position which we can take as self-respecting men and representatives of a self-respecting movement.

What has transpired in Washington in the last few weeks points up again the consequences which flow from dual or multiple leadership in our Emergency Council. I am persuaded that had the conduct of our affairs been left in my hands and had the members of this body remained united behind me, we could have accomplished both objectives, persuaded the President to change his mind, and had the resolution adopted by the Congress of the United States. Cleavage and cross-currents in our ranks have again led to frustration, even as competition for control and prestige led to serious crises in our Council before.

Last August I felt constrained to send in my resignation to this body. At that time it was the case of Dr. Goldman who carried on independent political work, forestalling us and getting in our way. In October it was the case of Dr. Wise, acting on his own, again without the authority of the Emergency Council, in fact in clear contravention to the instruction of the Emergency Council which was that the ZOA should not request a message from the President for its Convention but that the contemplated interview with the President should be devoted to a serious discussion of Palestine, the threat of partition, etc. A request for an interview with the President had been made by Dr. Wise and myself. Dr. Wise on his own, and without my knowledge, arranged for a private interview with the President at which time he requested a statement to be read at the ZOA CONVENTION. As reported in the papers the following morning, the statement which he received from the President was a thoroughly bad one. It read that the President, as a candidate, gives his full support to the Democratic Party plank, with emphasis on the words "as a candidate," upon which the President insisted, as I learned later on. It was only by quick thinking and quick action that I obtained that very day a full endorsement of the Jewish Commonwealth and a promise to work for it if elected, from Governor Dewey, which forced the hand of the President and made him revise his position twice, with Mr. Shulman and others spending close on to \$400. in telephonic communications with Senator Wagner and the White House to achieve the result. The letter to Senator Wagner which was read at the Zionist Convention was actually no letter, but a composite of telegrams, copies of which you may be interested to see. This letter which was hailed and for purposes of our propaganda, it was most desirable to hail as a great political triumph, was obviously a pre-election promise wrested by force from an unwilling President. That his heart was not in it, that he would have preferred not to have issued it, is evidenced by his determined opposition six

weeks later to have the Congress of the United States endorse the position which he publicly took on October 15th, also by his note to Senator Wagner of December 4th.

That entire episode was the product of unauthorized and independent action on the part of Dr. Wise and a few of his confidants. It was also secretive, as far as I was concerned. Dr. Wise informed me neither of his going to the White House, of what he was going to discuss with the President, nor after the meeting what he had discussed with the President. Dr. Wise to this day has not given an explanation to the Emergency Council of why he went in contravention to the Council's instruction, and what transpired, nor why he did not inform the Executive Chairman of what had transpired. At the meeting of our Executive on October 12th, some of you expressed your indignation at this procedure but not those who are today so much agitated at what they regard a contravention of a Council decision. There the matter rested. No action was taken.

A similar unfortunate situation which led to considerable embarrassment occurred in February of last year, when at the instruction of the Emergency Council as of January 13th, an appointment was requested with the President. Such an appointment was finally arranged for us for Wednesday, February 2nd. We were at that time greatly disturbed by reports which reached us from London of an imminent announcement of a new policy for Palestine based on partition. But Dr. Wise who had a lecture tour scheduled on the Pacific Coast, asked General Watson to postpone that interview to February 14th. This was done without my knowledge and without the knowledge of the Emergency Council, some of whose members greatly resented this fact. Had we seen the President on February 2nd as arranged, possibly the fate of our resolution might have been different.

Furthermore, while we were planning to see the President on Zionist affairs, Dr. Goldmann, and I assume with the knowledge of Dr. Wise, was negotiating with Judge Rosenman to have non-Zionists and members of the American Jewish Com-

mittee included in this appointment. On February 3rd, we received a letter from General Watson, Aide to the President, stating that the President "had agreed to receive on February 14th Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Monsky, Mr. Blaustein, Mr. Proskauer, Mr. Held." The letter went on to say "I understand this conference has been requested of the President in order to discuss the continuance of immigration into Palestine and the settlement of the refugees therein. Will you please notify me of your ability to attend at this time?"

The Council voted that we should not attend such a meeting and the meeting was finally called off to the embarrassment of everyone. Working at cross-purposes, we had entangled ourselves in an unfavorable situation. We did not meet with the President until March 9th at a meeting which I requested, following the deferment of action on our Resolution as the result of the intervention of the War Department. Thus, in practically every important activity of ours during the year, the duality or multiplicity of leadership resulted in confusion and frustration.

When I assumed the chairmanship of the Executive of this Council, and co-chairmanship with Dr. Wise of the full Council, it was with the clear understanding that the active direction of the political work of our Emergency Council would be vested with me. There could not have been any doubt about this thing in the mind of Dr. Wise for he had twice appealed to me in the presence of Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Goldmann, Mr. Lipaky and others to assume that leadership, because of the low state into which the political work of our Movement had fallen. I twice declined, knowing of the nucleus of opposition to me which existed within the Council. I was finally persuaded to defy this small group for the sake of the cause, to assume the leadership. I made it very clear to Dr. Wise in a letter which I addressed to him on July 29, 1943, from which I am quoting:

"Frankly, my dear Dr. Wise, I am more concerned with your position in the matter than with Dr. Goldstein's. Both you and Dr. Weizmann approached me

some months ago with the request to take over the direction of the political work of our Movement. You felt, as many of us have felt right along, that there has been an unfortunate confusion, in efficiency, over-lapping and cross-purposes in our political work and that the situation called for complete reorganization and above all for centralization of authority. Both you and Dr. Weizmann, as well as Mr. Lipsky and others, asked me to take over this work. I demurred knowing of the determined opposition of some of the men who today control the administration of the ZOA. I told you that while I was willing to fight for Zionism, I was not willing to start a fight with Zionists for the privilege of serving the cause. You appealed to me to take over the work on the ground that you yourself are heavily encumbered with many other responsibilities, and are tired. You offered me your loyal cooperation which I knew would be forthcoming, knowing the whole-hearted support which you had given me as chairman of the UPA, an office which you also asked me to take over from you...

"When you told me yesterday over the telephone that you have been persuaded to retain the chairmanship of the Zionist Emergency Committee, I was somewhat bewildered. If it was your intention to remain in that important post, neither I nor anyone else would have considered supplanting you. The office is yours by right of service and achievement in the Movement. But I assumed all along that you earnestly wished to be relieved of it. It was on the basis of that understanding that I participated in the discussions in the last few months looking towards a reorganization. If now you feel that you wish to retain that office not in an honorary, but in an active capacity, I wish you would let me know definitely, and in making my reply to the draft letter addressed to me, I will say that Dr. Wise is head of the political emergency work of the Movement and there is no need for drafting me or anyone else, and that as far as the Presidency of the ZOA is concerned, I never sought that office, and I find opportunities for my Zionist services in other fields....

"I think the situation ought to be faced quite frankly, and attitudes should be most sharply defined or it will lead to increased confusion and bitterness which might culminate in another disastrous convention like that of Pittsburgh and Detroit."

So that when on August 9, 1943, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein and I signed an agreement in Dr. Wise's study stating "that with the concurrence of all parties, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, for long one of the most distinguished figures in Zionism, will be summoned to leadership in the sphere of political affairs by becoming the co-Chairman with me of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, and assuming also the Chairmanship of its Executive Committee, the body responsible for the centralized direction of our political efforts," Dr. Wise knew fully what I meant by leadership and by centralized direction. He understood fully that I would not assume the role of a vice-president to him or that he would retain the same authority in the political field which was his before he and others invited me to assume the political direction of our work.

Unfortunately, as soon as the reorganization of our Council began to show results and new life was infused into it, Dr. Wise evidently changed his mind and progressively during the year, began to re-assert his primary position, and towards the end, to act as though I was a secondary and almost negligible officer. I have never accepted Dr. Wise's unilateral interpretation of his role and mine in this Council, and I do not now.

It is clear, however, that this body cannot any longer continue to operate on that basis or we will be going steadily from bad to worse.

I would suggest that a committee representing all parties be appointed to look into this situation closely, to make a careful study of our organizational structure with a view to the greater efficiency and the smoother functioning of our Council, and to bring in a report for our consideration. This, I regard as of vital importance.

Text of STATEMENT BY STATE DEPARTMENT

Date?

Resolutions pertaining to Palestine have recently been before the appropriate committees of the Congress, and the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has inquired as to the attitude of the Department of State towards these Resolutions.

The Department has the utmost sympathy for the persecuted Jewish people of Europe and has been assisting them through active support of the War Refugee Board and in every other possible way. The Department considers, however, that the passage of the Resolutions at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation, and has so informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.