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American Zionist Policy Committee, general, 1944-1945.

דער טאג

The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1944

THE PRESENT GRAVE CRISIS IN AMERICAN ZIONISM

RABBI SILVER'S RESIGNATION. — AN UNFORTUNATE
CONFLICT. — IT MUST BE RESOLVED !

THE conflict that has arisen in the Zionist Emergency Council at this time is regrettable for many reasons.

Firstly, the Emergency Council is the only organization in which all the various Zionist groups are united insofar as general Zionist political activities are concerned. In this particular body, the American Zionist groups have risen above party politics and organizational interests and have worked together for the common Zionist goal—for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

If in this sacred and important work there should be no complete harmony, it would be a great Jewish tragedy.

Secondly, the Emergency Council is representative of the best minds and the most important leaders in the Zionist movement in America.

And if the best minds and most important leaders working for the same goal cannot agree on a program of united action and if these clashes have been the cause of voluntary or forced resignations, it is not only a great blow to the American Zionist movement, but also a great step backward in the fight for Palestine as a Jewish homeland.

Those who have followed events in the Zionist movement, have long known that everything has not been as it should be and that there was no true harmony among the Zionist leaders.

Because of the importance of the Zionist ideal and the urgent interests of Palestine, we would like to raise this conflict to a high level and look at it as a struggle for principles instead of a clash of temperaments. Unfortunately, it must be observed that principles play an insignificant part here. The best that can be said is that though there is a genuine conflict over strategy, it is unfortunately not entirely free of petty politics and personal jealousies.

Nothing was quiet—perhaps too quiet—in the Emergency Committee, until Rabbi 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 the Zionist movement 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. Therefore it was both natural and human that certain Zionist leaders should have perhaps felt overshadowed, although they were gratified at the success of the Zionist resolution in Congress.

The elections took place and the Zionist resolution was thereupon deferred by Congress at the request of the President and the State Department; after which the rejoicing subsided and there remained only the jealousies. Then began the squabble as to who was to be blamed for the failure. Dr. Silver's friends charge that the hat-in-hand politics of the other group, and the weakness of its backbone, led to the President's being brought into the situation.

This is scarcely the time to go into a detailed distribution of praise or blame of this or that Zionist leader. Two things however are clear, and these must be kept in the minds of every American Zionist: 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.

Insofar as the Zionist resolution is concerned, its withdrawal is most certainly a set-back, but this must not be overemphasized. The President has made it clear in an official statement relayed by Senator Wagner at the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City last October that he favored a Jewish Commonwealth and if elected would help in its adoption. If, due to tactical reasons the President was opposed to the Senate's adoption of the resolution, it should be apparent that he considered this resolution at this time as a hindrance rather than a help to the establishment of the Jewish commonwealth to which he had pledged himself; and we must accept this viewpoint.

This, however, increases the personal responsibility of the President to make good his pledge and it does not mean that he goes back on the firm promise that he had made to the Convention at Atlantic City.

Therefore the position of those who consider the defeat of the resolution as a major defeat for Zionism is mistaken as well as injurious. This must be regarded as a tactical maneuver backward such as is made, at times, by a general on one wing in order to increase his strength on another.

Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver are equally essential to the future success of our political efforts in behalf of Zionism; to drop, at this moment, the leadership of Dr. Silver would be a serious injury to the cause.

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.

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 declarations 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 resigna-

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 RESOLUTION. — DR. SILVER'S RECORD OF REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT. — AMERICAN ZIONISM MUST HAVE HIS LEADERSHIP.

By JACOB RICHMAN

(President, South Philadelphia Zionist District)

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 telegrams 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 declaring 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 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 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.

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 grata" 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 object subservience 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.

File

Policy Comm.

January 5, 1945

MEMORANDUM

To: Mr. D. L. Weckler
From: Harold P. Manson

I am sending you the attached background material on the forthcoming meeting of the ZOA National Administrative Council in the hope that you will regard it as worthy of incorporation into your paper's story on the meeting.

I am also enclosing important news items for immediate release. With many thanks.

1-20-45

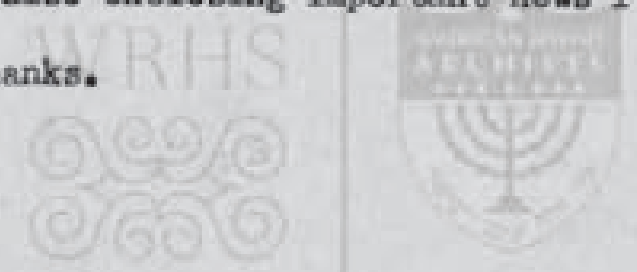
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TELEGRAM SENT TO ANGLO-JEWISH PRESS

Dr. Israel Goldstein's statement has just come to our attention. We who have served as Executive Director and Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council and are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture at variance with the truth as we know it and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing the resignation of our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity, public opinion will overwhelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

- 1) Dr. Silver categorically refuted the charge that he contravened decisions of the Emergency Council, and the Council at its meeting of December 20th exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting a resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.
- 2) Dr. Goldstein himself on December 5th sent telegrams to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee urging favorable action on the Palestine Resolution thereby doing precisely what he is charging Dr. Silver with having done. This is running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.
- 3) Other leaders within the Council, and Dr. Wise in particular, throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline, frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts, with great detriment to the cause. This Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

4) The group in control of the ZOA had bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning, despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas, and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

5) The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies calculated to undermine his position.

We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our posts.

Harry Shapiro
Formerly Executive Director

Harold Hanson
Formerly Director of Information
American Zionist Emergency Council

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER'S RESIGNATION

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A MEMORANDUM

The appalling and long festering situation within the American Zionist Emergency Council which led to the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee is known to very few. Those of us who had been in daily contact with the political work of our movement but who could not in conscience continue after Dr. Silver and his program were ruthlessly sacrificed, have resolved that you shall have the facts. You who have done such a magnificent job during the past year, are entitled to the truth.

In a memorandum dated December 12th, you were informed of much that had transpired in Washington in connection with the Palestine resolutions. That memorandum avoided any reference to the shocking conditions which obtained in official Zionist circles during this period. But after all that has taken place, and with wild rumors agitating our people throughout the country, we regard it as a solemn duty to pass on as many of the important facts as can be encompassed within the space of this memorandum.

At a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council on October 30th and at a subsequent meeting, it was agreed that the "green light" should be obtained from the State Department and the President before we pressed for action on the resolution. This was done, not out of a desire to avoid offending the State Department or the President, but to protect ourselves against the kind of opposition which we encountered last Spring. No one anticipated any serious difficulty in view of Secretary Stimson's letter lifting the military ban, the President's own statement of October 15th, etc. Accordingly, Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Dr. Nahum Goldmann called on Mr. Stettinius on November 9th to get the "green light."

Mr. Stettinius had no opinion of his own, but said that he would consult with the President. It is altogether false to suggest, as has been suggested, that Dr. Silver or the other members of the delegation which called on Mr. Stettinius gave any promise, expressed or implied, that we would give up the resolution if the State Department or the President registered objections. If anyone gave such a promise, it was done before or after the interview with Mr. Stettinius - and not by Dr. Silver.

At a meeting of the Emergency Council on November 21st, Dr. Wise reported that on November 15th Mr. Stettinius had telephoned to him and had said that the President thought we should not proceed with action on the resolution and that the matter should be left with him for a little while longer. In the discussion that followed, it was clear that the Council was not satisfied that Mr. Stettinius' reply definitely closed the matter. On the contrary, it was felt by quite a few that a mistake had been made in going to Mr. Stettinius in the first place, that we should have assumed that the "green light" had, in fact, been given by President Roosevelt in his statement of October 15th. Dr. Silver urged that a strong effort should be made to induce the President to change his mind, but Dr. Wise argued against such action, declaring that the President was leaving the country almost immediately. Dr. Wise emphasized further that Congress would adjourn in a few days and that he had been assured that our resolution could not possibly be acted upon in the closing days of this Congress. Dr. Wise was badly misinformed in both of these matters.

The Council agreed that a strong effort should be made to reach President Roosevelt. It was clear from Dr. Wise's attitude that if the matter were left to

him, no earnest effort would be made to urge the President to change his mind. As far as he was concerned, the resolution might just as well die.

The President was not in Washington and could not be reached. It was not until December 2nd, 11 days after the meeting of the Council, that Senator Wagner, who was deeply committed to the resolution, wrote a personal letter to the President, in which he explained the situation as he saw it and appealed to the President to withdraw his objections. Meanwhile, important events had already taken place -- without any pressure on Dr. Silver's part. For many months your committee, along with the other local Emergency Councils, had been interviewing your Senators and Representatives, Congressmen-elect and other public officials, and obtaining pledges from them to vote for our resolution. All members of Congress received our book, "America and Palestine" which contained the printed opinions of nearly 400 members of the 78th Congress. Senator Wagner informed the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America that the President's statement clears the way for Congressional action on the Palestine resolutions. Secretary Stimson had lifted the military ban. The ZOA Convention called for speedy action on the Palestine resolution. Congressman Bloom had announced that he would summon a meeting of his Committee to consider the Palestine resolution on November 15th. In short, the Congress, which all of us had been cultivating for a full year, was set for action and the sponsors of the resolutions insisted upon discharging their obligations to the Jewish people.

Dr. Silver had wired Dr. Wise on November 22nd, the day after the Council's meeting, to this effect: "Because of strike here (in Cleveland) could not reach you by telephone. Strongly urge you to contact Bloom immediately and urge him to see the Chief and persuade him to give clearance to resolutions... Please inform me by telegram or telephone results of conversation with Bloom."

Dr. Wise never replied to this telegram.

On the very day that Dr. Silver arrived in Washington (Nov. 27) he went to see Congressman Bloom to urge him to get in touch with the President. Congressman Bloom, a staunch supporter of President Roosevelt, declared that he did not need any new "green light." He had already made his own soundings. He stated that he was going forward with the resolution. Congressman Bloom requested that Dr. Silver write him a letter indicating approval of the course he was following. Dr. Silver complied with Mr. Bloom's request in order that the resolution be kept alive pending negotiations with the Administration. As you know, favorable action was taken in the House Foreign Affairs Committee on Wednesday, November 29th.

When Dr. Silver met with Senator Wagner on Tuesday, November 28th, the Senator had no plans to see the President to persuade him to remove his objections, despite the fact that Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman had seen Senator Wagner in Atlantic City on November 26th. But Senator Wagner was, nevertheless, determined to go into the meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the next morning and have his resolution considered. On that same Tuesday, Mr. Shulman telephoned Senator Wagner's secretary in Washington and gave him many reasons as to why the Senator should use his efforts to postpone consideration of the resolution by the Senate Committee. This was not Mr. Shulman's mission. Three men -- Dr. Silver, Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman -- had been authorized and directed to try to persuade the Administration to change its mind, not to urge Senators and Congressmen to desist from working for the passage of the resolution.

As on earlier occasions, our leaders were working at cross purposes. Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman were pressing Senator Wagner to have his resolution shelved, and

Dr. Silver, following the clear line indicated by the Council, was urging the Senator to get in touch with the President. Senator Wagner found himself the victim of two opposing forces pulling in different directions. He was telephoned a score of times from New York by people, all of whom spoke in the name of the Emergency Council or of Zionists. Senator Wagner was baffled and confused -- and understandably so.

On Saturday evening, December 2nd, when Dr. Silver arrived in Pittsburgh to attend the American Jewish Conference, the situation was the following: the resolution in the Senate was hanging fire, pending word from Mr. Stettinius and a reply from President Roosevelt to Senator Wagner's letter. Senator Wagner and Dr. Silver were awaiting an appointment with Mr. Stettinius scheduled for noon on Monday. There was little doubt that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee was determined to act -- without being prodded or pressed. The House Foreign Affairs Committee had already acted favorably and its action had been warmly hailed by the Jewish press, by the Jewish public and by most of the leaders of the Zionist parties.

When he arrived in Pittsburgh, Dr. Silver planned to call together the members of the Interim Committee, consisting of the co-chairmen of the Council and the representatives of the Jewish Agency, which, the Council had ruled, was to consult on urgent political affairs between meetings of the Emergency Council. To his amazement he discovered, upon his arrival, that Dr. Israel Goldstein had during the day called a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Z. O. A. to discuss the Palestine Resolutions, despite the fact that neither the Interim Committee nor the Council had as yet discussed the matter, and that Dr. Silver, who was closest to the whole situation, was not present to supply accurate information. The halls of the William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh were buzzing with rumors, fragments of information and misinformation. What Zionist purpose Dr. Goldstein intended to serve by calling this meeting, at such a time and place, where hundreds of delegates including non-Zionists were gathered not for a Zionist convention but for the American Jewish Conference, is incomprehensible. Nothing but mischief could result from such hasty and ill-considered opinions expressed on insufficient and largely inadequate data. Here was the start of a campaign to "run down" the resolution passed by the House Committee and to discredit Dr. Silver, whose name had been so closely identified with the resolution.

Dr. Wise declined to attend the meeting of the Interim Committee which Dr. Silver had called in Pittsburgh. The other members of this Committee who did attend received all the essential facts from Dr. Silver.

Dr. Wise called an unauthorized meeting of the Emergency Council in Pittsburgh for Sunday evening, December 3 (the Council's Constitution clearly provides that no special meeting of the Council can be called without three days' notice.) This meeting resulted in nothing except a request that Dr. Silver meet with the heads of the four parties represented in the Council to consider what should be done in case the President persisted in his objection. Dr. Silver had to leave for Washington immediately after his report to the American Jewish Conference, and rushed from the platform to the train.

On Monday, December 4, Dr. Silver, together with Senator Wagner, had an interview with Mr. Stettinius. Both were shocked and amazed when they were shown a telegram sent by Dr. Wise from Pittsburgh to Mr. Stettinius, which in so many words stated that while Dr. Wise wished the resolution passed, he was prepared to acquiesce in its deferment if the Administration so desired. This, in effect, told the Administration that the Jews of America would quickly reconcile themselves to the deferment of the resolution, and that Dr. Wise, co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, could be counted upon to defend the Administration's stand.

When considered in retrospect, it becomes quite clear that Dr. Wise's unauthorized telegram, sent without the prior knowledge of the Council or of Dr. Silver, sealed the fate of the Palestine resolution.

Mr. Stettinius told Senator Wagner and Dr. Silver that he would immediately transmit to the President the case as presented to him by them. (He characterized the case presented by Dr. Silver as "unanswerable.")

It must be borne in mind that every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee received telegrams from the President of the ZOA, urging favorable action on the Palestine resolution. Similar telegrams were sent by the heads of the other parties. The telegram sent by Dr. Israel Goldstein on December 5th opened with the statement: "We earnestly urge you to report favorably the Palestine resolution for adoption by the present Congress." As of Tuesday, December 5th then, the presidents of the Zionist parties in the United States -- including Dr. Goldstein -- were officially urging the Senate Committee to act, not to defer action! If there was a decision against taking such steps and if the decision was binding and unalterable, then clearly the sending of such telegrams by the Zionist leaders was either a violation of these decisions or a reversal of earlier decisions. It is as clear as a pikestaff that if the resolution had been approved, all the Zionist leaders would have eagerly shared the credit for that achievement. Now that it has been deferred, the situation is, of course, quite different ...

What happened in the meetings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, you have learned from our earlier memorandum. It was quite clear to the State Department that the Committee was intent upon reporting favorably on the resolution. The State Department then adopted another method to achieve its end, the deferment of action on the resolution. They tried to get the Zionists themselves to withdraw the resolution. The Zionists were to assume the role of lobbyists against their own measure. Someone got in touch with Dr. Wise, presumably on Wednesday, December 6th or early Thursday morning, December 7th, for by Thursday noon Senator Connally was informing Senator Taft that the resolution would not pass the Committee, because Dr. Wise and the Zionists of New York would soon be heard from. On the afternoon of the same day, Mr. Stettinius telephoned Senator Wagner and asked him whether he had already heard from Dr. Wise and the Zionists of New York about withdrawing the resolution.

Dr. Wise lost no time in complying with the request made of him. He called two meetings, again in violation of constitutional principles, and at these meetings it was decided to send a delegation representing the 4 parties in the Council to Washington to arrange for the deferment of the resolutions. The Misrachi Organization voted against this proposal and refused to participate in the delegation. The delegation, headed by Dr. Israel Goldstein, arrived in Washington on Friday morning, December 8th. It had been instructed to see Dr. Silver before going to the Capitol and that nothing was to be done until they had spoken with Dr. Silver. But by 8:30 A. M., Dr. Wise had already telephoned Senator Wagner, again urging him to ask for deferment.

The delegation was advised by Dr. Silver that it should not make the Zionist movement ridiculous in Washington by requesting the shelving of a resolution which all of us had been urging upon Congress for almost a year. Dr. Silver pointed out that the Senate Committee was pressing for it, that it was not the duty of Zionist leaders to press for deferment, that it was enough to indicate to the State Department that the Zionist leaders were not pressing the resolution but that the matter was in the hands of the Senate Committee, which was bent on action.

The delegation saw Mr. Stettinius, Senator Wagner and Senator Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and discussed various compromise proposals which had been considered in the discussion with Dr. Silver. The delegation made it clear to Mr. Stettinius that the Zionist leaders were not pressing for action. While the Secretary of State thought well of a compromise whereby the resolution would be voted out by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee with the understanding that it would not come to the floor of the Senate for final action at that session of Congress, this proposal was turned down by Senator Connally. The anti-Zionist elements in Washington who were anxious to see the resolution shelved, felt very confident -- the very presence of the delegation of Zionist leaders outside the doors of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee indicated that the plan to get the Zionists to disown their own measure was succeeding. Members of the Senate Committee saw what was happening. The Jews themselves were divided and did not know what they wanted after they had conducted an intensive campaign in behalf of the Palestine resolutions for almost a year -- and all this was happening only 48 hours after the very same Zionist leaders had sent telegrams to every member of the Senate Committee urging favorable action on the resolution!

The delegation of Zionists was actually invited by Senator Connally to come in and address the meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Fortunately, they refused this invitation.

What took place at the last two meetings of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee you have learned from the earlier memorandum. You know that the State Department has assumed full responsibility for the deferment of action. You have seen the statement issued by the State Department. You know, too, the attitude of the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as indicated by the statement which twelve of its members -- seven Democrats and five Republicans, constituting two-thirds of the Committee members who considered the resolution -- made: "... we wish to record our own personal approval of the Resolution."

When Dr. Silver presented a complete report of what had transpired in connection with the resolutions to the Emergency Council on December 20th, he made a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the present situation and submitted a program of action which he urged the Council to consider. He also urged that a sub-committee be appointed to make a careful study of the Council's organizational structure with an eye to the greater efficiency and the smoother functioning of the Council and the avoidance of such tragic pulling at cross purposes in the future.

Dr. Silver's statement and an account of what transpired at the last two meetings of the Council cannot be covered adequately in this memorandum. Suffice it to say that the small group which had been quietly opposing Dr. Silver and frustrating some of his most important efforts almost from the very moment he was named to lead American Zionist political work, refused to deal with questions of policy. They were out to "get" Dr. Silver. This clique, composed chiefly of the representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Council, created an "issue" -- Dr. Silver had "contravened" the Council's decisions. They could not wait to settle their score with him immediately. A motion to censure Dr. Silver was squarely rejected. However, a motion calling for the resignation of "all officers" of the Council was made, following which another motion to table this last proposal was defeated. Dr. Silver then resigned.

The ludicrousness of the trumped up charges against Dr. Silver becomes obvious after one surveys the account of what really took place in Washington. It should be added that there have been occasions when there was contravention of the Council's decisions, when Zionist leaders had acted independently and broken

discipline, and when such actions had damaging effects on our work -- but the gentlemen of the Z. O. I. in the Council not only refrained from censuring such acts, but condoned them, actually gave them moral support and encouragement. Dr. Silver was not one of the leaders whose actions were under fire. But that is a story requiring a chapter of its own.

Here, then, is an important part of this tragic story. We have dealt with first things first, and have given you an account of some important happenings in connection with the Palestine resolutions. Other important aspects of this critical situation, as well as a discussion of the basic and vital question of policy involved here (which is really the core of the problem) must be dealt with separately. This basic question of policy should be fairly clear to you from this memorandum and from Dr. Silver's statement of resignation: "I shall continue to advocate ... a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

Harry L. Shapiro

Formerly Executive Director,
American Zionist Emergency Council

Harold P. Manson

Formerly Director of Information,
American Zionist Emergency Council

#3

STATEMENT BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

I have been requested to comment on the statements issued by Dr. Israel Goldstein which purport to give the facts connected with the controversy which developed in the American Zionist Emergency Council. Dr. Goldstein's facts suffer from deft distortions, twists and significant omissions, which give a false and misleading account of what actually transpired.

1) Dr. Goldstein states that at a meeting of the Emergency Council on October 30, it was unanimously decided not to press for the resolutions unless and until the preliminary approval of the Executive branch of the Government shall have been secured. No such decision was taken by the Emergency Council on October 30. In fact no decisions whatsoever were taken at that meeting. The minutes of the meeting quote me as saying: "We will not go ahead with the resolution without fully canvassing the situation. If the answer from the State Department is at all vague, I would not recommend proceeding with it." This precaution was suggested, not out of a desire not to offend the State Department or the President, but in order to protect ourselves against the kind of surprise which was jumped on us last Spring. The Council wanted to make doubly sure before it moved; but no one really expected any opposition in view of all that had transpired in the preceding months.

At that same meeting I reported (and I quote from the minutes of the meeting) "that in anticipation of the reconsideration of the resolution when Congress reconvenes, the Emergency Council has been engaged in stimulating afresh the interest of the members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. The local emergency committees in communities in which these members resided had been asked to approach them again and to bring them up to date on recent developments and to suggest that early action on the resolution, when Congress reconvenes, would be desirable. The results so far are gratifying."

Thus the Council, on October 30, was fully informed that continued activities in behalf of our resolution were going on and would continue in Washington and all over the country. It is false to suggest even by implication that the Emergency Council at its meeting on October 30 ordered all of our activities in behalf of the resolution to be discontinued. It merely directed that we explore the mind of the State Department on our resolution, and there was a consensus of opinion that if the State Department's attitude was found to be negative, we would then not proceed with the resolutions. Until such time, however, activities in behalf of the resolution were not to be discontinued, nor was word to go out that we were even considering a possible postponement.

Inquiries were accordingly made at the State Department, and at the meeting on November 21, Dr. Wise reported "that Mr. Stettinius had telephoned him and informed him that he had seen the President who urged that nothing be done about the bill at this time and that the matter be left in his hands a little while longer."

This, however, did not satisfy the members of the Emergency Council. Many felt that they had made a mistake in deciding to make inquiries at the State Department in the first place. We might have assumed that the withdrawal of the military objections, the party platforms which included Palestine planks and the statement of the President himself on October 15 were sufficient "green light" to go ahead.

At this meeting, and here again I quote from the minutes, "there followed a lengthy discussion, and it was finally decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President through Senator Wagner, and perhaps others. It was

agreed to leave it to Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Shulman to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President." There was no other action taken at this meeting.

In other words, the Emergency Council, upon second thought, was not satisfied to have the resolution shelved just because the State Department and the President had indicated their objection to the resolution. They were not content to let it go at that. They wanted persuasive influence to be brought to bear upon the Administration to change its mind.

Dr. Wise strenuously objected to this line of procedure. He did not want the President "annoyed" by our insistence and our persuasion. He reluctantly yielded to the pressure of the Council and thereafter, far from using his energies vigorously to persuade the Secretary of State and the President, he seriously interfered with me in carrying out the clear mandate of the Council.

2) Dr. Goldstein forgets to mention the fact which I made known to the Council that the day following the November 21 meeting, I wired Dr. Wise urging him to get in touch with Congressman Bloom to see the President. Dr. Wise never replied to this telegram.

3) No one interested in the passage of the bill ever saw the President on the resolution at that time or since. He was out of Washington. All our information has come through Mr. Stettinius. The first and the only personal contact with Mr. Stettinius to carry out the wishes of the Council could not be made before December 4. It was made by Senator Wagner and myself. Senator Wagner was not in Washington before the preceding Tuesday and our appointment could not be made before the following Monday.

4) But by December 4 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had already met and had considered our resolution. In fact, at the request of Senator Taft, our Palestine Resolution was to have been considered by the Committee on November 22, but out of courtesy to Senator Wagner who was out of the city, the consideration of our resolution by the committee was postponed to November 29. I reported at the meeting of our Council on November 21 that such a meeting of the Senate Committee had been scheduled for the next day, but had been postponed to the 29th.

Senator Taft requested consideration of the resolution on his own initiative. He was neither requested nor urged by me. Already on November 11 (please note the date) Senator Taft wrote me: "I have had to delay my return to Washington until Thursday, but I hope we can proceed with the Palestine Resolution immediately." He was one of the co-sponsors of the resolution. He had resented the postponement of the resolution last Spring. It was he who had kept after the military until he obtained the letter from Secretary of War Stimson withdrawing their objections. As soon as Congress reconvened, he began pressing for his resolution, just as we all did, including the delegates at the Convention of the ZOA at Atlantic City.

5) Dr. Goldstein suggests that if I had not brought pressure on Congressman Bloom to take the matter up with his committee, no action whatsoever would have been taken in Congress. I did not arrive in Washington until November 27. By that time a meeting of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, as I indicated above, had already been set for November 29, and the Senate Committee was prepared to act favorably on our resolution at that meeting.

It has been suggested that I should have asked the committee to defer action. Why? This was certainly not my mission nor mandate in Washington. I was there to see

whether I could persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to the passage of the resolution. Failing in that, the Council would then have to decide what to do, since the first report of the President's disapproval did not close the matter as far as the Council was concerned. I had not yet had the opportunity to contact either the State Department or the President. I was not to see Mr. Stettinius until December 4. Until I had had the chance to persuade them and failed, I could not go, nor did the Council obligate me to go, to the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ask them, many of whom had been critical of the State Department's intervention and of the President's action last Spring, to postpone action on our Palestine Resolution for which the Jews of America had so persistently pressed up to the very last. We were not pressing for the resolution. The pressure came from the Senate Committee itself which was so much interested in the Palestine Resolution that it met on four successive occasions to consider it and it insisted time and again on approving our resolution in spite of two personal appearances before it made by the Secretary of State and in spite of other pressure brought by the Administration against it. Even when the resolution was finally postponed as a result of the persistent pressure from the State Department and the President, two-thirds of the members of the Senate Committee signed a round robin in which they stated that they would have voted for the resolution were it not for this insistence of the State Department and the President.

Congressman Bloom had publicly announced right after the President's statement of October 15 that he would summon a meeting of his committee the day after Congress reconvened. He was eager to move forward. I called on him for the purpose of getting him to contact the President and State Department. He did not feel that the State Department had to be consulted about it. It was none of its business, he stated. Prior to my arrival in Washington, and in anticipation of the meeting of his committee, he had had printed as a House document, the Palestine endorsements made by the four hundred congressmen and senators which appeared in the volume, "America and Palestine," recently published by the Emergency Council. It was Congressman Bloom's own idea and all credit is due him for it. Congressman Bloom was somewhat concerned with the fact that he might be blamed if he moved forward and the resolution failed of passage in his committee. He wanted us to share in the responsibility for moving ahead. I reassured him on that score, and at his request, I wrote him a letter following our interview in which I backed him up. Congressman Bloom convoked his committee on November 29, the very day on which the Senate Committee met to consider our resolution. Bloom was undoubtedly encouraged to move forward rapidly by the fact that the Senate Committee had scheduled a meeting on November 29 and was expected to act favorably on the resolution.

6) When we finally got to Mr. Stettinius on December 4--and here Dr. Goldstein's memory again conveniently fails him--we were shown, right at the outset, that fatal telegram of Dr. Wise which was dispatched without the knowledge of either Senator Wagner or myself and without any authorization from the Council on the very eve of our interview, a telegram which was calculated to nullify the effectiveness of our mission to the Secretary of State. This telegram which in so many words told the Secretary of State, and through him the President, that Dr. Wise and many of his associates would readily and without protest accept their decision with reference to the resolution, broke the back of the entire effort which the Council had resolved to make in order to change the mind of the State Department and of the President. Our only hope lay in persuading Mr. Stettinius, and through him, the President, that the entire Zionist Movement and the entire Jewish people of America were solidly united in demanding action on the resolution which had been hanging fire for over ten months, and that their hopes, which had been raised so high by all that had transpired during the year, would be dashed to the ground if it became known that the President insisted on a second deferment. Dr. Wise's telegram which was sent

from Pittsburgh at the time of the sessions of the American Jewish Conference, and presumably with the knowledge of Dr. Goldstein, deliberately wrecked this effort and torpedoed the resolution.

7) Dr. Goldstein has another serious lapse of memory. On December 5, he sent the following telegram to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "We earnestly urge you report out favorably Palestine Resolution for adoption by present Congress ... Your Committee's favorable action would be deeply appreciated as fulfillment President's magnificent message to last Zionist Organization Convention and overwhelming American opinion as expressed recently in both party platforms."

Why did Dr. Goldstein violate the "unanimous decision" of the Emergency Council in urging Senators to act on the resolution when he knew full well that no "green light" had been given? If Dr. Silver is guilty of a breach of discipline, what about Dr. Goldstein? But the gentleman was playing safe! If the resolution passed he would share in the credit. If it failed - why he would see to it that the failure would all be blamed on Dr. Silver.

And having sent this telegram, why did he appear in Washington forty-eight hours later to urge the same Senators not to pass the resolution?

And having come to Washington to persuade the Senators not to pass the resolution, why did he permit himself to be persuaded by me not to carry out his mission? Instead, he and the other members of the committee went to Mr. Stettinius to tell him that the Zionists were not pressing for the resolution but that the pressure came from the Senate Committee itself (which, of course, was the truth). Is Dr. Goldstein unwilling ever to assume responsibility for what he does, or says, or writes? Is the fault always that of someone else?

8) Dr. Goldstein again has a convenient lapse of memory when he fails to mention that at the Executive of the Emergency Council which met in Washington on Monday morning, December 11 (and which by the way was the only authorized meeting of the Emergency Council since the meeting on November 21 -- the other meetings of December 7 and 9 being rump meetings called by Dr. Wise in contravention of the clear provisions of the constitution) it was agreed that nothing be done to interfere with the passage of the resolution on which the Foreign Affairs Committee was to act that very afternoon, but instead Mr. Stettinius should be asked to issue a statement that his appearance before the Senate Committee did not indicate a change of attitude on the part of the President. Nothing was to be said to Mr. Stettinius about deferring the Palestine Resolution. Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldstein concurred on this, and I joined in the delegation to Mr. Stettinius with that understanding and only on that basis.

9) Dr. Goldstein stated that the resolution which was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee was regarded by many Zionists here and especially in Palestine as a "watered-down" resolution because the word "Jewish" was omitted before "Commonwealth" and the word "ultimately" was retained. How, then, is one to account for the fact that the presidents of Hadassah, Mizrahi and the Poale Zion, as well as Mr. Lipsky of the Jewish Agency Executive, hailed the resolution in public statements? Dr. Wise told Congressman Bloom and me on the very day that it was voted that it was "a very good resolution." The Jewish press likewise welcomed it heartily, and the American Jewish Conference, meeting in Pittsburgh, acclaimed it.

It might be in point here to recall that at the Hearings before the Committee on Foreign Affairs - on February 8 - Dr. Goldstein was asked by Congressman Schiffler: "You do not propose immediately to have a Commonwealth?" To which Dr. Goldstein

replied: "No; we could not propose it as an immediate step, because we realize there would have to be a Jewish majority in the land before we could act for the implementation of a commonwealth, and the achievement of a Jewish majority will undoubtedly take some time." (See p. 119 of the Hearings.)

10) Dr. Goldstein is guilty of a distortion when he states that at the final meeting of the Emergency Council, where I announced my resignation, I asked to be made the sole leader in the Zionist movement in America with absolute unconditional power. "When this condition was not agreed on," states Dr. Goldstein, I "handed in my resignation." There is not a scintilla of truth in all this. I stated at the meeting that the present set-up of dual or multiple leadership in the Council has led to serious conflicts in the past and had culminated in the present crisis. I advised a re-organization of the Emergency Council with an eye towards the elimination of conflicting leadership and the centralization of authority. In connection with that, I read at great length a letter which I wrote to Dr. Wise in 1943 at the time when he and Dr. Weizmann asked me to take over the leadership of the political work of our movement. In that letter I stated that if Dr. Wise wished to continue as the active political leader of the movement, no one was thinking of supplanting him. I assumed that he wished to be relieved of it. "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 I will say that Dr. Wise is head of the political work of the Emergency Council and there is no need for drafting me or anyone else."

Dr. Wise knew exactly under what conditions I assumed the office at his and Dr. Weizmann's urging. The purpose was to eliminate the very unfortunate overlapping and cross-purposes in our political work which brought the Emergency Council to bankruptcy two years ago.

My resignation, as everyone knows, was not prompted, as Dr. Goldstein asserts, by the refusal of the Emergency Council to accept my suggestions for re-organization. These suggestions were not even considered at the meeting and have not yet been acted upon. It was a motion to request all the officers of the Emergency Council to resign, a motion which the Council refused to table, which called forth my resignation.

THE FOLLOWING SECTION (#11) IS CONFIDENTIAL AND NOT FOR PUBLICATION.

11) Dr. Goldstein refers to a memorandum which Dr. Nahum Goldmann sent me purporting to be a report of what the Secretary of State had told him and Dr. Wise in reply to the request of the Council to issue the statement which is referred to above. I was a member of the committee which called upon Mr. Stettinius to request that statement. The reply of Mr. Stettinius was not given in writing to the Council, but orally to Dr. Goldmann and Dr. Wise who happened to be calling on the Secretary of State on another mission. Dr. Goldmann sent me the following memorandum a few days later:

"Mr. Stettinius called Dr. Wise and me into his room before meeting with the delegation. He told us that he had been in touch with the President about the statement which we had suggested he should issue. He said that the President was in a very bad mood because we had gone ahead with the Resolution instead of acquiescing in his request to hold the matter up for the time being. He sought to bring pressure to bear through the Senate. He felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him, and Mr. Stettinius said that in the circumstances it was difficult to discuss such questions with him at this time. It would not be possible for him (Mr. S.) to issue the letter suggested."

I was surprised and disturbed by this report, for in my two previous contacts with Mr. Stettinius there was no indication whatsoever given that the President was in a very bad mood or that he felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him.

Dr. Goldmann did not treat that "information" as confidential. He conveyed this "information" to newspapermen in New York. A panic mood was being fostered among Zionists with the design -- as later events showed -- to bring about my resignation.

In preparation for my official report to the Emergency Council, which was to be given on December 20, and in order not to do any injustice either to the Secretary of State or to the President, I made inquiries as to whether this memorandum of Dr. Goldmann correctly represented what Mr. Stettinius had said, and whether perhaps he had been misquoted, or misunderstood.

I received a reply to the effect that Dr. Goldmann's memorandum "was not quite in accordance with the Secretary's record. The Secretary told Dr. Wise that he had been in touch with the President as he had offered to do regarding the statement which Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver had requested him to make. The reaction that Mr. Stettinius obtained was that the President felt that this group should have confidence in his handling of the matter and that it would not be appropriate for Mr. Stettinius to issue the statement. Mr. Stettinius asked Dr. Wise if he would be good enough to give this information to Dr. Silver."

This, of course, is a radically different version from that of Dr. Goldmann's. There is nothing here about the President being in a very bad mood, or feeling that the Zionists had lost confidence in him. But Rabbi Goldstein, far from being shocked at Dr. Goldmann's amazing misquotation of a most critical report and far from regarding it as something "scandalous," denounces rather my fact-finding inquiry as something "scandalous"...

12) There are many other things which this Rabbi chooses to forget. Already at the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City he and his little cabal were preparing the way for my elimination. The Resolutions Committee of the Convention had prepared a resolution which wholeheartedly endorsed my administration and called for a continuation of the dynamic and successful program of the Emergency Council "under the present leadership." At a subsequent meeting, Dr. Goldstein demanded the elimination of the words "under the present leadership." He made that request, he said, in the name of Dr. Wise with whom he had spoken by telephone in New York. I stated, of course, that as far as I was concerned, I intended to hold my office not a single day longer than the Emergency Council wished me to, and that, of course, I would agree to the elimination of the words "under the present leadership."

The ZOA Administration had a difficult time at the plenary session of the Convention to put through the resolution without the words "under the present leadership." I personally had to step forward and beg the delegates to agree to the omission of those words. But my friends and I knew all along what was in the mind of Dr. Goldstein and his clique.

13) Many will recall the fight which raged at the ZOA Convention in Atlantic City about my annual report which the administration was determined to schedule at the very end of the Convention when most of the delegates would have gone home, in order to make small change of it. Dr. Goldstein had to yield to the pressure from the delegates but the whole miserable affair was another result of the embittered and venomous policy of undermining, belittling and discrediting which Dr. Goldstein and his friends had been carrying on throughout the year.

14) The Rabbi has since carried out a successful purge of Silver adherents on the Executive of the ZOA and among the representatives of the ZOA on the Emergency Council. His efficiency in perfecting his political machine should be the envy of Tammany Hall.

For further information write to:

Harry L. Shapiro
250 West 57 St.

Room 1030
New York 19, N. Y.

WHY THEY RESIGNED

Reprinted From
THE DAY
January 7, 1945

New York.—Two leading executives of the American Zionist Emergency Council today announced that they have resigned in protest against "the crippling of Dr. Silver's program" by those members of the Council who forced Dr. Silver to resign as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee. The resigning executives are Harry L. Shapiro, Executive Director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, the organization's Director of Information.

The text of their letters of resignation, submitted to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the Council, follows:

HARRY L. SHAPIRO TO RABBI WISE

"Dear Dr. Wise:

"It is with regret that I find it necessary to tender my resignation as the Director of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I do this in protest against the calculated action of those members of the Council, which forced the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and in order to dissociate myself from the group which perpetrated this destructive act to our cause, namely, the present representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Council, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Robert Szold and yourself.

"The records of the Council show that on several occasions you willfully violated decisions of the Council of the highest importance. To mention three occasions: (1) Your cancellation—without consultation or authorization—of the appointment which had been secured for yourself and Dr. Silver with the President for February 2, 1944; (2) The series of infractions of decisions of the Council connected with your visit to the President on October 11th; and (3) Your unauthorized telegram to Secretary Stettinius on October 4th, intimating your acquiescence in the deferment of the Palestine Resolution—a telegram which you sent without the knowledge of the Council or of Dr. Sil-

THE FULL RESIGNATION TEXTS OF TWO DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, SHAPIRO AND MANSON.

ver on the very day he was to confer with Mr. Stettinius.

"It is difficult to believe that you, Dr. Wise, who in the past have made so many contributions to our people's cause, deliberately chose to contravene the authority of the Council and injure the interests of the movement. Even at this late date, I choose rather to believe from my knowledge of the background that you were influenced by the small group now in control of the Z.O.A., who long sought to undermine Dr. Silver's leadership and involve him in failure. Unfortunately, you have allowed yourself to be guided by these men and you were, in my opinion, exceedingly ill advised in doing so.

"You cancelled the long sought appointment with the President on February 2nd because of a lecture engagement you had in the West. There is good reason to believe that if the meeting with the President had taken place as planned, the fate of the Palestine Resolution in Congress would have been different, and that it would have been approved by Congress early this year. As it is, a second appointment with the President was secured only on March 9th through Dr. Silver's efforts, after the intervention of the Military. Another meeting with the Under Secretary of State, to be followed by another meeting with the President later in the year, were likewise frustrated due to the interference of one of your close associates.

"Dr. Silver has been accused of contravening a decision of the Council with reference to the Congressional Resolution, but it is significant that the motion proposed by Rabbi James Heller censuring Dr. Silver, was squarely rejected by the Council and failed of passage at the meeting of December 20th. I further call to your attention that no censure or

other penalty was exacted of you for your repeated violations of decisions of the Council, and that Dr. Silver never pressed for such disciplinary action against you, though you did not offer the Council on those occasions the courtesy of an explanation of your acts. Now the resignation of Dr. Silver has been forced through the efforts of the Z.O.A. bloc, while you have retained the Chairmanship of the Council. This double standard set up by the Z.O.A. Administration group gives little hope that future political decisions and actions of the Council will be conducive to the best interests of the Zionist cause.

"The chief victim of these deplorable machinations which were carried on systematically for many months, culminating with the forcing of Dr. Silver's resignation—in effect a political assassination—will not be Dr. Abba Hillel Silver but, unfortunately, the Jewish people and the Zionist cause. Dr. Silver's absence from the political helm of our movement at this critical moment is a luxury which our people can ill afford. If the Council pursues a policy of waiting and waiting for the "green light" from the powers that be—a revival of the shadlanut attitude—then I see no adequate reason to continue the large-scale public relations program of the Council. That would be a waste of money and energy, to which I cannot be a party.

"History will pass judgment on the violence which you and your associates have done to the vital interests of the Zionist movement.

"Sincerely yours,

"Harry L. Shapiro."

HAROLD P. MANSON TO RABBI WISE

"Dear Dr. Wise:

"It is with a feeling of deep regret that I have observed the recent developments within the

American Zionist Emergency Council. For more than a year I have tried to serve our Movement with all the energy, resourcefulness and devotion that I could muster. Throughout this period I have supported the policies advanced by Dr. Silver, which I believed to be the wisest in the situation. I have viewed the policies of his opponents on the Council with mistrust and disfavor and am convinced that, moved by personal considerations, they have crippled Dr. Silver's program, which produced the great achievements of the past year. I am also convinced that if these men continue their present tactics, they will lead the Zionist Movement either to a complete standstill or to moral and political bankruptcy.

"But I look forward to the time when our Movement will resume the dynamic and courageous policies pursued during the past year, which I am convinced will lead to the fulfillment of our people's historic hope.

"In these circumstances, candor impels me to tender herewith my resignation as Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

"Sincerely yours,

"Harold P. Manson."

JOINT STATEMENT BY SHAPIRO AND MANSON

We who served as Executive Director and Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council and are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account, incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture at variance with the truth as we know it, and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing the resignation of our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity, public opinion will over-

whelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

1) Dr. Silver categorically refused the charge that he contravened decisions of the Emergency Council, and the Council at its meeting of December 20th exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting a resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.

2) Dr. Goldstein himself, on December 25th, sent telegrams to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee urging favorable action on the Palestine Resolution, thereby doing precisely what he is charging Dr. Silver with having done. This is running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.

3) Other leaders within the Council, and Dr. Wise in particular throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts, with great detriment to the cause. This Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

4) The group in control of the Z.O.A. bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning, despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas, and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

5) The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies, calculated to undermine his position.

We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our respective posts.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

Formerly Executive Director—
American Zionist Council

HAROLD P. MANSON

Formerly Director of Information—
Amer. Zionist Emergency Council

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January 24, 1945.
Uniontown, Penna.

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
5 Prospect Place, Tudor City
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

Just arrived home from New York and found your welcome letter of the seventeenth awaiting me. In answer wish to state that I will, within the next two days, prepare a letter to the Emergency Committee Chairmen who are checked in green crayon on the list you sent me. This letter will urge them to wire the presently constituted Emergency Council requesting that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver be invited to attend the Atlantic City Conference and be given the opportunity to explain his actions with the sole purpose of recreating unity of action toward one common objective, the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine as soon as humanly possible.

In the same letter I will urge that a resolution be presented and PASSED at the Atlantic City Conference for the purpose of the immediate recall of Dr. Silver to active political leadership of the Emergency Council, the organization that within a short period of time and under the direction of Dr. Silver has been the most dynamic and motivating force in the Zionist movement.

The Uniontown Zionist District passed a resolution similar in substance to the one I hope is forthcoming at the Atlantic City Conference. I will attend the Conference in A.C.

I will mail you and Dr. Silver a copy of the letter when it is prepared and I will return the mailing list to you as soon as said letters are mailed.

With kindest personal regards, I remain

Cordially yours,

Lea

C O P Y

January 25, 1945

(copy)

Ernest E. Barbarash
Washington, D.C.

THE LAST ISSUE OF THE NEW PALESTINE CONTAINS A SIX COLUMN STATEMENT PROMINENTLY FEATURED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA CONCERNING MY RESIGNATION FROM THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND GIVING HIS VERSION OF FACTS LEADING UP TO DEFERMENT OF OUR PALESTINE RESOLUTIONS IN CONGRESS. SERIOUS CHARGES ARE MADE AGAINST ME. MANY OF DR. GOLDSTEIN'S STATEMENTS ARE FALSE OR INACCURATE. IN JUSTICE TO ME WHO AM A VICE-PRESIDENT OF ZOA AND WHOSE POLICIES THE AMERICAN ZIONIST CONVENTION IN ATLANTIC CITY LAST OCTOBER UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED AND BELIEVING THAT NEW PALESTINE WISHES IN ALL FAIRNESS ALSO TO PRESENT OTHER SIDE OF THE CONTROVERSY IN WHICH ZIONISTS OF AMERICA ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED I REQUEST THAT YOU GRANT ME EQUAL SPACE IN THE NEXT OR IN EARLY ISSUE OF NEW PALESTINE TO ANSWER DR. GOLDSTEIN. KINDEST REGARDS.

A H SILVER

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

C O P Y

January 26, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
East 105th Street and Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

On December 30th, 1944, the entire staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council decided to inscribe your name in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund.

At a later date you will receive the certificate, which we did want to reach you on your birthday, but technical delays in its preparation have unfortunately made this impossible. Therefore, please accept this letter in its stead, as a token of our high regard, and with our very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

THE STAFF

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Uniontown, Penna.
January 26, 1945.

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
5 Prospect Place, Tudor City
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

Enclosed is a copy of the bulletin-letter
which I mailed to all those invited to attend the
meeting in Atlantic City.

Might not be a bad idea to have more copies
made and mail them to the remainder of the Emergency
Committee chairmen.....might help to create a national
clamor for Silver. I mailed Silver a copy. If you want
to make the copies and do the mailing you have my per-
mission.

My total campaign expense thus far has been
\$12.87.....I think that will be the final amount.

The mailing list is also being returned
under separate cover.

With kindest regards, I remain

Cordially yours,

Lester Cohen
Lester Cohen

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

Uniontown, Pa.
Jan. 26, 1945.

Dear Fellow Chairman:

As chairman of the Uniontown Zionist Emergency Committee I wish to take this humble means of enrolling your support in a movement to recall Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to active political leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the early restoration of unity of action in the Zionist movement.

I ask this favor in behalf of Jewry and at a time when you will be preparing to leave for the meeting in Atlantic City on February 3 and 4th.

The appalling actions that led to the present grave crisis have no place whatsoever in the Zionist movement. The conflict that has arisen is regrettable for reasons too numerous to mention.

If there is no harmony within the groups that comprise the Zionist Organization of America if the best minds and most important leaders cannot agree on a program of united action....if all the constructive work consummated the past twelve months is to be wasted we are faced with a great Jewish tragedy indeed.

Our sacred and important work call for "straight from the shoulder" talk and action. There is no place for conflict over strategy. No room for petty politics! No time for personal jealousies and private enterprise! And regardless of who is to blame for the unfortunate conflict within the ranks THERE IS NO EXCUSE for the matter becoming public property to provide ammunition for the poisonous guns of the anti-Zionists and to dampen the spirit of thousands of loyal Zionists throughout the country.

These are critical times. Jews are suffering and dying and the need for a Jewish homeland in Palestine is greater now than ever before. The American public has been geared up to a favorable pitch and the majority of government officials know that we are justified in our demands. America's leadership in the war places her in a position to demand justice for the Jewish people who comprise the most persecuted minority in the world.

Knowing the past history of our long fight and knowing the accomplishments of the Emergency Committees during the past year under the great leadership of Dr. Silver leads me to believe that ONLY an aggressive, dynamic, unified policy can lead to total victory.

We must not falter for a moment! We must not decrease the tempo of our progress! We must continue under the same kind of leadership and activity that achieved such marked success during the past year! The challenge is before us!

The responsibility of establishing a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine is too great for any one person to assume. It necessitates the unified cooperation, untiring effort and personal sacrifice of every good Jew. Outside influence, political misunderstanding and personal jealousy must be set aside at once. The entire future and best interests of Palestine and the Jewish people are at stake.

I urge you to demand from the presently constituted Emergency Council that Dr. Silver be invited to the Atlantic City meeting and be given the opportunity to explain his actions and give his own unadulterated version of the events that transpired the past few months which led to his resignation. Wire New York at once and ask this favor in the true spirit of Judaism and Zionism....for the good of all!

I further urge that you support a movement to have a resolution passed at the Atlantic City meeting calling upon the national administration of the Zionist Organization of America to take immediate steps with a view to the prompt recall of Dr. Silver to active political leadership and the early restoration of unity in the Zionist movement. I shall deem it a privilege to cooperate with you to see that such a resolution is passed.

With all due respect to Dr. Goldstein, Dr. Wise and many other Jewish leaders it is my sincere and honest belief that the Emergency Committees throughout the nation, directed for the most part by the superlative leader, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, have been the most dynamic, the most motivating and most successful forces ever to advance the Zionist movement.

If you honestly feel that there is merit to my suggestions please cooperate with the above requests.

With appreciation and hoping to have the pleasure of greeting you in Atlantic City, I remain

Cordially yours,
LESTER COHEN.

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

UNIONTOWN, PENNA.



Mr. Harry L. Shapirc
5 Prospect Place, Tudor City
New York 17, N. Y.

C O P Y

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

1720 - 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.

January 28, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Ansel Road
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I have your telegram of January 25th.

In response to the request of Zionist groups a few days ago to publish a resolution backing up the administration in this controversy, Dr. Goldstein advised me that The New Palestine ought to consider this controversy as closed in view of the fact that the Administrative Council has heard both sides and has voted on the matter. He also said that "the impression he gets from many Zionists is that they are sick of this controversy and resent its prolongation."

I conveyed your request to Dr. Goldstein. He reiterated the view expressed by him a few days ago as indicated above, but said that inasmuch as a request comes now from a vice-president of the organization, he would submit it to the next meeting of the Executive.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Ernest E. Barbarash

EEB:bff

The Temple

EAST 105th STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 28, 1945

Mr. Harold P. Hanson
5 Prospect Place
New York, N.Y.

My dear Harold:

I am returning herewith the material which you sent me. I am also sending along another Yiddish article written by Spizman with two paragraphs marked off for inclusion; also an item from the Detroit News. ✓

I am also including the resolution which was adopted by the Hartford Zionist Region. I would suggest that you do include the quotation from the article in the Brooklyn Jewish Center Review by Gribetz. In your foreword, you might state, among other things that what are included in the booklet, are extracts. ✓

I note that you did not send along the resolutions adopted by the Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Bronxville, etc. Zionist Districts. If you do not have them, please obtain them immediately. I think that it would be well, if in connection with each resolution, you would indicate the number of registered Zionists in each district. Brooklyn, for example, has ten thousand members. The ZOa membership report, presented at the Atlantic City Convention, which is easily obtainable, gives, I believe, the membership of each district. ✓

I am also sending along the resolution which was adopted by The Cleveland Zionist Society. I have not been able to locate the resolution from Maine. My impression is that there was such a resolution. You might contact Israel Bernstein or someone else in Portland Maine. ✓

Someone has told me there was a meeting of Jewish editors in Chicago about two or three weeks ago, and that they passed a resolution asking for my return to leadership. ✓

As far as the format is concerned, I would suggest that we use the same size and type that we used for my report, "A Year's Advance." I'd like a neat and impressive job.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AMS:BX

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 30, 1945

*Answered
H.A. Levy*

Mr. Harold Manson
5 Prospect Place
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Manson:

I am enclosing herewith another resolution which I received from the Richmond Hill Zionist District. Please add it to our booklet. You might also wish to add a paragraph or two from the fine article which appeared on Sunday in the "Day" called "Whither U. S. Zionism?"

Please rush the job. I would appreciate it if you would let me see page proofs of it.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

.HS:BK

P.S. Also add extracts from the fine editorial which appeared in the "Jewish Spectator" of January 1945, which I am enclosing herewith.

*Did you see the cartoon in the "Inter-American
News", Denver?*

January 31, 1945

Mr. Lester Cohen
c/o Cohen's Furniture Company
Uniontown, Pa.

Dear Les:

I have received yours of the 26th which contained the bulletin-letter which you mailed to the invitees of the meeting in Atlantic City this coming weekend. Your communication is a very good one and I do hope that it will have the desired effect.

No doubt you will be in touch with some of our friends at the Atlantic City meeting in order that they might stand with you in your attempt to put forth the intended resolution. Of course, you may be met by a ruling of the Chair to the effect that the meeting was not called to consider resolutions and therefore your suggestion is out of order. I do not know how to advise you in case of such an eventuality. What I do know is that we can depend upon your ingenuity to overcome such a barrier.

If the matter of the controversy should be discussed at the meeting, I know that you and several others will make the point that it should not be discussed unless the meeting has an opportunity to hear both sides of the question.

Attached is a check in the amount of \$12.87 for your expenses as indicated in your letter. If there are further monies which you need to expend, please call upon me for them.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

Harry Shapiro

HS:jg
Enc:

P.S.: I have not had the opportunity to discuss the matter with Dr. Silver of our mailing copies of your bulletin to the entire country. If he agrees, I shall certainly accept your suggestion.

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 a 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 prophecy 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 position 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, of 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 those 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.

* * * *

CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM
521 UNION TRUST BUILDING
PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA

February 5, 1945

We have all been shocked and bewildered by the events of the past weeks. Suddenly and without warning we learned that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has been eliminated from the political leadership after a year of prodigious activity and unprecedented political achievement.

This blow to our movement was dealt by the ZOA administration without troubling to ascertain the views and wishes of its constituents. No attempt was made to compose differences among the leaders and preserve Zionist unity. All proposals for a cooling off period, all counsels of moderation were rejected. The Emergency Council was hastily "reorganized" with a slate of officers which added no new talent, but excluded the strongest figure in American Jewish life and the most dynamic and resourceful leader in American Zionism. Thus, at a most critical time, we have been confronted with a fait accompli, an open breach and a bitter controversy.

That such incredible things could happen in the way they did, points to serious internal conditions which must be corrected if we are to avoid major setbacks. The leadership of the ZOA has revealed an appalling ineptitude and an incapacity to deal in a statesmanlike manner with such crises as are bound to arise. It has acted precipitately and arbitrarily. It has either mistaken the sentiments of the great body of American Zionists, or deliberately ignored them.

This is but the climax of a general trend which has long disturbed many thoughtful Zionists. Side by side with the gratifying numerical growth of our organization, there has been going on a moral deterioration at its center and a steady weakening of its democratic fiber. Lay leaders in all communities have been receiving orders and assignments which they have cheerfully carried out, but they have not been encouraged to express themselves or to participate effectively in the shaping of Zionist policy.

Vitally important posts and committees in the national setup have been increasingly filled by mere satellites or by persons who are considered "safe." Criticism is frowned upon and the critics eliminated. Esteemed and seasoned Zionist leaders, such as Emanuel Neumann, Elihu D. Stone and others have been replaced by yes-men lacking their standing, experience or qualifications. Even our National Convention - the ultimate source of democratic authority - has all but lost its original character of a deliberative assembly and has become a sounding board for a small group of leaders who occupy its platform year in, year out.

Today the important political gains we have made under Dr. Silver's brilliant leadership are imperilled. There is a danger that the militant spirit he has infused into our ranks will be allowed to die and his dynamic

- 2 -

policy abandoned. There is danger that when the powerful momentum he has imparted is spent, our movement will relapse into the state of auto-paralysis and political impotence in which it was bogged down before Dr. Silver took over the responsibility from the very hands which are now lifted against him.

The time has come for those of us who are leaders and workers in our respective communities, and are deeply concerned about the future of our movement to act and make our influence felt. To this end a number of us have decided to associate ourselves nationally under the name of the American Zionist Policy Committee. Its purposes may be briefly stated as follows:

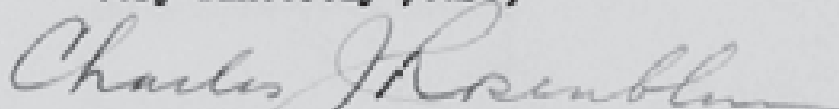
- (1) To deepen Zionist thought and the understanding of Zionist problems on the part of our lay leaders and the rank and file.
- (2) To advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.
- (3) To strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs.
- (4) To revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement, so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists.

Our activity will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council. As Dr. Silver has repeatedly urged, all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor. Our Committee will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the ZOA. It will carry on a campaign of education. It will also lay plans for carrying out necessary reforms in our organization.

We have taken this initiative upon mature deliberation and after consultation with Dr. Silver, who, we hope, will head our committee in an active or honorary capacity.

On behalf of my associates and myself, I invite you to indicate your adherence to our views and your willingness to serve on the national council of the American Zionist Policy Committee now in formation.

Very sincerely yours,



Charles J. Rosenblum

5 Prospect Place
New York 17, N.Y.
February 6, 1945

Rabbi Leon Feuer
Collingwood Temple
Collingwood Avenue
Toledo, Ohio

Dear Leon:

No doubt you're thinking that we have been neglecting you by not sending all of the information with reference to the new set-up, which will do the job for Dr. Silver at the next Z.O.A. convention. The truth of the matter is, as you can guess, we have been very busy trying to tie together hundreds of loose ends. One of our big problems has been to get an office. These are scarcer than hemb' teeth in New York.

By this time you have received the letter which Charles Rosenbloom has sent in order to form the American Zionist Policy Committee. As you can guess, we will use this organization to needle the current leadership into aggressive action and to build a machine whereby we may be able to capture the next convention.

Emanuel Neumann has told me that you wish to be our "gaulleiter" in your part of the country. It is my opinion that the return card which Rosenbloom encloses in his letter will not be sufficient to enlist leading Zionists in our organization. It is necessary that they be followed through locally. In the conversation which I had today with Dr. Silver, he is in just for today, he suggested that I send you the names of those Zionists which we have invited in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, in order that you might be able to follow up some of these people. All the argument necessary is to be found in Rosenbloom's letter. With all the other information which you have on the current controversy and the maneuverings prior to the last flare-up, you should be able to do a good job on this subject.

Attached is a list of names from the states mentioned above who have been invited to be members of the national council. If there are others which we may have missed, you have the privilege of personally inviting them to come along with you. Please bear in mind that what we are interested in are real community leaders.

It will be our purpose after the national council is organized to release to the public our purposes, program, personalities, etc. We shall try to build state and community committees. The objectives of these committees will be to capture the vote of the delegates who attend the next Zionist convention. In addition to this, they will carry on local discussions for Zionist education.

One of our big problems at the moment, is the raising of adequate monies to carry on our preliminary activities. As soon as we have a small field staff in the country, that aspect will be considerably eased. Both Silver and Neumann have told me that you are having a campaign to raise approximately \$1500 in Toledo. As soon as you get this together, it would be a good idea to send the check to Dr. Silver. Have the check made out to "Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman." In that way contributors will be able to deduct their gifts when the government grants us our right to this deduction. We have made application for it, but have had no reply as yet.

Rabbi Leon Feuer

February 6, 1945

One of our headaches of the moment, is the building of a testimonial dinner to Dr. Silver, which is scheduled for the night of March 21st. Abe Tuvim is assuming the responsibility of carrying this project through. It is a very difficult job but I am certain that it will be a highly successful affair.

After the coming Monday, we will be established in an office at 55 W. 42nd Street in New York. It may interest you to know that Ruth Epstein is coming to work for us as well as Harry Steinberg. Up to now, Manson and myself have carried on. It has been difficult to do this without an office but we have made some progress. From now on, things will move at faster pace. Within the near future it will be necessary that we meet with some of our people throughout the country, and at that meeting I am looking forward to seeing you. In the meantime, I remain, with kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,



HLs:jg
Enc: 1

INDIANA AND OHIO

Rabbi A. J. Feinberg
Temple Beth El
5820 Hohman Street
Hammond, Ind.

Jack A. Goodman
Nat. Silk Hosiery Mills
502 N. Davidson Street
Indianapolis, Ind.

Rabbi Israel Chodos
3357 Ruckle Street
Indianapolis, Ind.

Jacob Weiss
5744 Washington Blvd.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Lazare L. Goodman
401 W. Kessler Blvd.
Indianapolis, Ind.

Maurice Tucker
1239 E. Wayne Street
South Bend, Ind.

Lewis Satin
2014 S. 6th Street
Terre Haute, Ind.

Rabbi Leon Fran
610 Boulevard Bldg.
Detroit 2, Mich.

Abe Srere
Acme Mills Co.
5151 Lorraine Ave.
Detroit, Mich.

Herman Gessner
The Fair Store
Escanaba, Mich.

Rabbi Jerome G. Folkman
1312 Thomas St. S.E.
Grand Rapids, Mich.

Chas. E. Schwartz
70 W. Exchange St.
Akron, Ohio

Dr. Edward M. Feinan
212 1st Nat. Bank Bldg.
Canton, Ohio

Jacob W. Mack
209 E. 6th St.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Judge Jos. E. Silbert
City Hall
Cleveland, Ohio

Oscar Berman
Crown Overall Co.
3rd, Plum & McFarland Sts.
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dr. Emanuel Gamaron
Union of Amer. Heb. Congs.
34 W. 6th St.
Cincinnati, Ohio

A. M. Luntz
2831 Drummond Rd.
Shaker Heights, Ohio

Max Simon
700 W. St. Clair Ave.
Cleveland, Ohio

Rabbi Armond E. Cohen
1117 E. 105th St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Sidney N. Weitz
940 Leader Bldg.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dr. F. M. Falkman
14128 Superior Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Yarvin A. Kane
3081 Washington Blvd.
Cleveland, Ohio

L. W. Neumark
Printz Biederman Co.
1974 E. 61st St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Albert Schiff
35 N. 4th St.
Columbus, Ohio

Fred Yenkin
2735 Powell St.
Columbus, Ohio

Paul J. Gaiser
503 Keith Bldg.
Dayton, Ohio

Morris Mandelsohn
609 City Bank Bldg.
Youngstown, Ohio

Rabbi Samuel Gup
1865 Franklin Ave.
Columbus, Ohio

Leonard Becker
1366 Cory Drive
Dayton, Ohio

Lester Alexander
2120 Glenwood Ave
Toledo, Ohio

Oscar Altshuler
203 Terminal Bldg.
Youngstown, Ohio

Philip Blomovitz
2114 Penobscott Bldg.
Detroit, Mich.

5 Prospect Place
New York 17, N.Y.

February 7, 1945.

Mrs Samuel W. Halprin,
Hadassah,
1819 Broadway,
New York City.

Dear Mrs Halprin:

It has been reported to me from several reliable sources that your report, given to the recent Hadassah Board meeting, contained a number of inaccuracies, one of which concerns me directly.

You reported that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver had retained me to help carry on his fight against the leadership of the ZOA at an annual salary of \$20,000. Such a defamatory charge, designed to inspire hostility against Dr. Silver, is untrue and has no basis in fact.

You, Mrs. Halprin, are a prominent leader of a very responsible organization, Hadassah, which is conducting a fund-raising campaign for the rescue of our people and the upbuilding of the Jewish Homeland. The degree of support which Hadassah receives depends, in great measure, on the confidence which the American Jewish community has in the integrity of Hadassah's leaders.

As an obligation and responsibility which you owe to Hadassah, you should have checked this story, as well as the other "facts" which you used for your report. Had you inquired as to the validity of the statement you would have received a categorical denial. Since you have failed to do this, I am constrained to send a copy of this letter to the members of the Board of Hadassah in order to rectify the mistaken impression created by your statement.

Sincerely yours,

Harry L. Shapiro.



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LEON ISRAEL FEUER, Rabbi

2335 Collingwood Avenue
TOLEDO 10, OHIO

February 8, 1945

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Mrs. J. Eugene Farber
President of Sisterhood
Seymour Mindel
President of Brotherhood

Mr. Harry Shapiro,
#5 Prospect Place,
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Harry:

Thanks for your letter. I shall be very glad to follow up the names on the list which you sent me. Many of them I know personally and I will write to them. As soon as the returns come in, will you send me a list of those who have accepted membership on the committee and I will then make it my business to keep in personal and regular touch with these communities.

I am also enclosing a tentative list of additional names of the people who I think ought to be invited to join from this part of the country and I shall add to that list from time to time.

I am now engaged in trying to raise some money locally. It is not going to be easy, because as you know, Goldberg, the Conservative Rabbi, is an "administration" man and he is fighting hard to keep his own people from participating in the movement, but you can count on me to link him in the long run.

Keep me in touch with things so that I in turn can follow up in this area.

With kindest regards, I am,

Sincerely,

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer

LIF-s

FEB 23 1945

COPY

9 February 1945

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom
521 Union Trust Building
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

My dear Charles:

I have your circular letter of February 5. I am glad to learn that you are forming the American Zionist Policy Committee. The objectives of the Committee seem to me wise and courageous and have my full approval, but, as you know, I have not been a member of any Zionist organization since 1922, and I feel that I can probably be of greater service to your Committee's goals as a sympathetic observer than as a participating member. I have discussed this matter with Dr. Silver, and he agrees with me.

If there is anything specific that I can do, especially with respect to Point One of your program, which should be extended from the Zionists to all American Jewry and the entire American people, I will be glad to do it.

Be well and be merry.

Cordially yours,

H. M. Kallen

55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.
February 9, 1945

Dr. Abe Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

There are several matters which I want to call to your attention. First, is that I spoke with Louis Lipsky as per our arrangement, and asked him whether he would consent to serve with the others as one of the co-chairmen. He told me that he had informed Neumann that he did not desire to serve as a co-chairman, but would be glad to be on the sponsors committee and speak at the dinner if requested to do so.

I have conveyed this information to Mr. Neumann and Mr. Shapiro. So far as the letter-head is concerned, we are not listing sponsors as yet and whether we will list Mr. Lipsky's name as a sponsor depends upon your directions.

I spoke with Mr. Kenen shortly after my conversation with Mr. Lipsky, and Kenen informed me that he understood that Mr. Lipsky was to speak at our dinner. I told Kenen that this was not my understanding and that Lipsky was not listed as one of our sponsors. Kenen replied that this was strange, saying, "You know where he stands, don't you?" My answer was, "No, we don't know where he stands, he doesn't say." I am quite sure that this information has been relayed to Mr. Lipsky.

I talked to David Wertheim, the morning after our last meeting and he assured me that it was not his understanding that the invitation extended to him was along Party lines. He is not making it a Party matter. He did say that because of the implications, it was necessary for him to get an okay from one or two of his leaders. Thus far, he has not called me and we are going to let it ride for a few days.

Things are coming along as can be expected, and the response from our workers is heartening.

All of us send our very best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Abe Ruvim

AT:jg

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 12, 1945

Mr. Abe Tuvim
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Tuvim:

Thank you for your kind letter of February 9. I cannot see how we can invite Mr. Lipsky to speak at the dinner when he is unwilling to lend his name as one of the co-chairmen. We shall, of course, be happy to include his name among the sponsors if he so desires.

I think that an invitation should be extended to Mr. Wallace and Mr. Sumner Welles to be among the co-chairmen.

I have just spoken to Mr. Goodman and Mr. Steinberg in Miami. I am leaving for Miami tomorrow evening, arriving there Thursday morning.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK

(Circular stamp with initials)

American Zionist Emergency Council

ST. LOUIS CHAPTER

618 WAINWRIGHT BLDG.
ST. LOUIS 1, MO.

Chairman,

I. R. GOODMAN

Vice-Chairman,

RABBI A. E. HALPERN

MRS. BABETTE K. LIPSITZ

Secretary,

ABRAHAM LEVIN

Treasurer,

EDWARD WITTCOFF

February 13, 1945

Mr. Lester Cohen
Cohen Furniture Co.
Uniontown, Pa.


Dear Mr. Cohen:

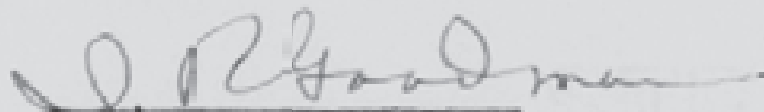
In accordance with the decision of the Zionist Emergency Council of St. Louis, representing all four major Zionist groups, we are herewith enclosing a copy of a resolution which was unanimously adopted.

We will greatly appreciate your immediate cooperation in the taking of the necessary immediate measures to effectuate the objectives of our resolution.

Sincerely yours,

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL OF ST. LOUIS


Abraham Levin, Secretary


I. R. Goodman, Chairman

RESOLUTION

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted by the Zionist Emergency Council of St. Louis on Thursday evening, February 8, 1945, at a special meeting held at the Y. M. H. A. - Y. W. H. A. in St. Louis.

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 two 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 and also to the national heads of the four groups affiliated with the American Zionist Emergency Council.

7 file

TRANSLATION OF ~~THE~~ STATEMENT BY DR. STEPHEN S. WISE, WHICH WAS FRONT-PAGED
PROMINENTLY BY THE "FREIHEIT" ON THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1945:

"The 12th of February will henceforth ~~be~~^{be} doubly hallowed because of the pronouncement which was issued from the conference in Yalta. This is a great stride forward to victory. It is a still greater stride towards ~~the~~ world peace. The heads of the three governments, ~~have~~ have done their utmost to defeat the fascist powers, have refused to heed the words of the Nazis and to become divided among themselves into warlike camps. America, Britain, and the Soviet Union, have become one power, a great indivisible power for peace.

"The Magna Carta is one of the historic names and achievements ⁱⁿ all of history. The document of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin will be known for generations as the 'Maxima Carta' ~~giving~~ charter of human freedom for all peoples who wish to be free, who do not wish to be slaves. The fact that ~~soon~~ a conference for world organization and security will be convened in San Francisco is symbolic of the unconquerable will of the United Nations to translate theory into practice, belief into action. The 'Federation of the World' marches forward. We have passed through the valley of the shadows; now we go forward to the mountains of light, freedom, and peace.

Philip H. H. [unclear] [unclear]
entrained [unclear]

February 16, 1945

Rabbi Leon I. Feuer
Collingwood Avenue Temple
2335 Collingwood Avenue
Toledo 10, Ohio

Dear Leon:

Thank you for your letter of February 8th. I had not replied because I was in the midst of setting up a new office.

To date, the following have sent in their acceptances for the membership of the National Council of the American Zionist Policy Committee:

Rabbi A. J. Feinberg, Hammond, Indiana (Now Chaplain at Camp
Robinson, Little Rock, Arkansas)
Jack A. Goodman, Indianapolis, Indiana
Lezure L. Goodman, Indianapolis, Indiana
Lewis Sutin, Terre Haute, Indiana
Philip Slomovitz, Detroit, Michigan
Charles E. Schwartz, Akron, Ohio
Dr. Edward M. Feiman, Canton, Ohio
Judge Joseph H. Silbert, Cleveland, Ohio
A. M. Luntz, Cleveland, Ohio
L. W. Neumark, Cleveland, Ohio
Lester Alexander, Toledo, Ohio

The results to date are very promising. We now have approximately 100 people on our National Council. They come from 28 States and are representative leaders of 58 of our larger Cities. As yet, I have had no replies from the West Coast, but it is too early to expect them. It is my understanding that you are going to be in Detroit on the 20th. I sincerely hope that you will be able to get the entire group to come along with us. I hear through the underground that Crohn is doing a job for the "Administration". Rabbi L. Fram has not sent his return card. He as well as the others may be wavering and you will have to do some tall bolstering. Significantly absent also are Oscar Altschuler of Youngstown, Leonard Becker of Dayton, Albert Schiff and Fred Yenkin of Columbus, Maurice Tucker of South Bend, Jacob Mack and Oscar Berman of Cincinnati.

As you know, Charles Rosenbloom has left for Florida and I have no way of sending a follow-up letter under his signature to the men whom you suggested. It is my intention to take care of this by sending a letter and enclosing Rosenbloom's call and asking them to join up. I think that I will have Neumann do this as soon as he returns to New York. He is away for a few days.

Incidentally, I invited Rabbi Leiberman of Canton, but the letter was sent to him at his former address in Wheeling, West Virginia. He must have it by this time.

You will remember that Dr. Silver spoke in Columbus about two weeks ago, and Fred Yenkin who is the President of the District gave him his promise to help him in raising funds for the Policy Committee. He requested that Dr. Silver have me send him a letter, which would include a quota for Columbus. I sent this letter on February 5th and asked the group there to raise \$2000. As yet, I have not heard from him and it might be a good idea for you to follow up on this matter.

If you would get some of the other communities within the area for which you have indicated your willingness to help, to raise funds for our project, it would be most helpful. It is impossible to set quotas for communities because we are limited to the communities who are with us and cannot count on the ones who stand with the "Administration". I have worked out a budget with Dr. Silver, and if we are to do a bang-up job, it will cost about \$150,000. Within a few days, it is my hope to send out two or three field men in order to give the local organizations some impetus. Through a number of our friends, we have covered a great number of communities. To date, I am satisfied that the "Administration" is very nervous, and we are making some progress.

At a Regional Meeting which the Emergency Council held in Atlantic City two weeks ago, there was some discussion on the current controversy. About twelve local Committee Chairmen participated in the discussion and you will be glad to learn that eight of them spoke in favor of the return of Dr. Silver to political leadership. Joseph Halbert of Atlantic City and Lester Cohen of Uniontown, Pa., spearheaded the attack. Halbert proposed a resolution which called for the return of Dr. Silver, but Judge Levinthal who was in the Chair, ruled the motion out of order. Then there was precipitated a heated discussion, and Ellis Goodman of Camden, requested the Body to rule on the decision of the Chair, whereupon Wise injected himself into the picture and inferred that if the motion was put to vote, that he would have to resign. Whereupon, Halbert withdrew his resolution.

It is my opinion that the Balibatin of the Emergency Council did not have everything their own way at the conference nor will they have, when they go to Boston for a Regional Conference one week from this coming Sunday. Elihu Stone is organizing the opposition there. I have learned that there will be a similar meeting in Chicago for your area on March 11th and 12th. We will have to get some of our friends together out there. At these conferences, regional, by reason of O.D.T. Regulations, they bring all of their big-guns out. The lineup at Atlantic City included, Wise, Goldstein, Mrs. Epstein, Shulman, Levinthal, Nahum Goldmann, Greenberg, etc. The "line" at the Atlantic City set-up was do to the effect that Wise had met with the President to prepare him for the coming conference of the "Big Three" and they expected results from the meeting of the "Big Three". As yet, there is no public announcement that the subject of Palestine was discussed at the meeting in Yalta. I presume that the next "line" will be the preparation of Government officials for the San Francisco meeting of April 25th.

We are busily working on the development of the Testimonial Dinner for Dr. Silver which will be held in New York on March 21st. We are hoping to make a public announcement two weeks in advance of the dinner indicating the house is sold out.

Over the weekend, we will send you a pamphlet. It will give a translated digest of what has appeared in the Yiddish press upon the controversy, excerpts from editorials which have appeared in the Anglo-Jewish press and copies of about twenty resolutions that have been passed by Districts and Regions calling for the restoring of Dr. Silver to the political leadership. It will be very interesting. Last Sunday night the Tri-State Region Administration Committee met in Pittsburgh and passed a resolution unanimously for the return of Dr. Silver. This followed a debate between Neumann and Levinthal.

I have given you a lot of gossip, but I think you are entitled to all of the information, and had I the time I would write more.

Kindest Regards

Cordially yours,

HLS:RB



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2/11/45

Dear Harry:

Enclosed are rough notes I took
of the proceedings in Atlantic City -
also statement by Greenberg. Meant
to send them to you long ago;
however, I just found notes which
were misplaced.

Heuman may want to see them.
I spoke to him in Pittsburgh where
he did an excellent job debating
Judge Levinthal.

Kindest regards.

Lee C.

TRUE ZIONISM

For Tony's
2/19/45 file

The gentlemen of the Z.O.A. Administration are now crying, "Peace." The American Zionist Emergency Council has been "reorganized," they argue, and further exploration of the issues involved in the current Zionist controversy will only serve to agitate the rank and file further. So, we are now informed, it would be best to drop the entire matter.

While we can readily understand why such an attitude would be highly desirable to the small group now in control of the National Administration - the group which forced Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to resign from the leadership of American Zionist political work and which scrapped his vigorous policies despite the fact that these policies had received the fullest support of the Zionist masses, we regret that we are unable to comply with the Administration's request that the issue be regarded as closed. Too much is at stake here for the future of our entire movement. Involved here is the basic and all-important issue of the type of policy which our movement is to pursue during the critical months which lie ahead, and despite repeated assurances by Administration spokesmen that no question of basic policy is involved, ~~now~~ the rank and file seem to feel otherwise - witness the ~~score of~~ ^{large number of} resolutions which have been adopted by Zionist Districts and Regions throughout the country demanding the return of Dr. Silver's policies; witness the universal disapproval, even contempt, with which the Jewish Press has greeted the "reorganized" Emergency Council's "green light" strategy.

And while the question of public opinion on the Zionist controversy is under review, it is significant to note that the self-same individuals who are now deploring open discussion of the controversy, refused to heed all counsels of moderation, all warnings that their calculated actions directed against Dr. Silver would lead to an inevitable explosion in Zionist ranks.

Sincere Zionists reserve the right to express themselves openly and fearlessly on the burning issues of our time. Any other policy would lead to stagnation and moral bankruptcy.

HPM

~~For Silver~~
Confidential file

MEMORANDUM

Given to Benin - 2/19/45

In accordance with your request, I am submitting a memorandum containing the facts on Israel Mereminski's role in the present Zionist controversy. This startling information was supplied by Max Zaritsky, who urges that his name be kept out of the story - if you should decide to write an article on the subject.

As you know, the A.F. of L. Convention, which met in New Orleans in November, adopted a magnificent Palestine resolution, as well as a strongly-worded committee report on the Palestine question. Highlighting both documents was a demand for speedy and favorable action by Congress on the then pending Palestine Resolution.

The resolution was brought to the Convention by Mr. Zaritsky who, with the assistance of other outstanding A.F. of L. leaders, brought about its passage. (As an interesting sidelight, I might add that Mr. Mereminski has, in private conversation, claimed credit for the A.F. of L. resolution.)

Mr. Zaritsky now informs us that, ^{from} ~~for~~ having achieved the passage of the measure introduced at the Convention, Mr. Mereminski tried to bring about the elimination of all reference to the Palestine Resolutions pending in Congress. Fortunately, Mr. Zaritsky ~~and the~~ others rejected his counsel in this matter.

Bear in mind that this was taking place in November, at a time when the American Zionist Emergency Council was bending every effort to clear the way for action on the Palestine Resolutions. (But as your own articles indicate, Dr. Silver's opponents were already busily engaged in "playing down" the Resolutions and in evolving methods to tie Dr. Silver's hands.)

Mr. Mereminski's behavior at the A.F. of L. Convention becomes all the more astounding when we recall that American Labor Zionists had taken an unequivocal position in favor of action on the Palestine Resolutions. Poale Zion's representatives on the Council spoke out time and again in support of the course of action proposed by Dr. Silver. - And here was the spokesman for Palestine Labor in the U.S., taking a line diametrically opposed to that of his American chaverim.

Mr. Mereminski owes the Labor Zionists of America an explanation.

February 19, 1945

Mr. I. R. Goodman, Chairman,
Zionist Emergency Council of St. Louis,
618 Wainwright Building,
St. Louis 1, Missouri.

Dear Mr. Goodman:

I received your letter of February 13, and the copy of the Resolution, and I regret to advise that I feel your action was a bit hasty and perhaps ill-advised.

No one appreciates the ability of Dr. Silver more than I, and my affection for him is very deep and sincere, however, he has shown his strength and his character by publicly stating he is not leaving the Zionist cause, but is going to carry on and urges all others to do likewise. To try to force an issue to bring two great personalities together - like he and Dr. Wise - at this time, I feel is not the wisest course. Certainly, we should wait until the President has returned and until such time as Dr. Wise, who is now at the helm, has had an opportunity to carry on and to develop what plans he may have in mind. After all, the job of running the Emergency Committee is not of necessity a co-Chairmanship job. That was the mistake to begin with, and now that it has been rectified, why disturb the waters more?

Dr. Silver has plenty of opportunity ahead of him to continue his great work. He is a young man and in due time will lead our great cause, I am sure, but at this time Dr. Wise, who is loved and esteemed by all, should be given every opportunity to carry on. We should not try to force these two men together in heading our Emergency Committee, no more than the American people would try to force Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mr. Dewey to jointly head our government. Both are great Americans; both are sincere, upright men, and so it is with our own leaders.

Please excuse this lengthy note but I have felt that I should record my feelings in this matter since you were kind enough to write me a letter sending me a copy of your Resolution. We must not forget that Dr. Wise has proven himself one of the greatest leaders of Israel, and all America - Jews and non-Jews - have paid tribute to him as one of the greatest living Americans.

Sincerely yours,

JL:EB

Julius Livingston

FEB 23 1945

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PRESIDENT
JULIUS C. LIVINGSTON

SUITE 404 PALACE BUILDING
P. O. BOX 1787
TULSA 1, OKLAHOMA

February 20, 1945

TELEPHONE 3-2442

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro, Acting Secretary,
55 West 42 Street,
New York 18, New York.

Dear Harry:

Received your wire a few minutes ago and I am enclosing copy of a letter which I sent to Mr. I. R. Goodman, Chairman, Zionist Emergency Council of St. Louis. I believe this expresses my viewpoint and it is the reason why I did not send the signed card to the Rosenbloom group.

I have nothing but the highest regard and admiration for Rabbi Silver, and I think he is one of the greatest living Jews and also one of the greatest living Americans but, at the same time, I feel that at this particular time Rabbi Wise should be left at the helm and should be permitted to guide our destinies as far as the Zionist program is concerned, without any further disturbance. Particularly, do I think that nothing should be done until the President returns and Dr. Wise has had ample opportunity to confer with him. I think this move, Harry, is ill-advised.

I am stating this without ill feeling in any way for any one in the entire Zionist organization. I think the copy of the letter which I am enclosing fully states my view.

With kindest personal regards.

Sincerely yours,

JL:RB
Enc.


Julius Livingston

FEB 21 1945

CLASS OF SERVICE

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

WESTERN UNION

1201

(18)

A. N. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

SYMBOLS

- DL - Day Letter
- NL - Night Letter
- LC - Deferred Cable
- NLT - Cable Night Letter
- Exp Radiogram

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NAC39 22=FL DALLAS TEX 23 21 1142A

HARRY L SHAPIRO, ACTING SECRETARY=

:55 WEST 42 ST:

=REGRET UNABLE TO ACCEPT INVITATION TO SERVE NATIONAL
COUNCIL OF AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE UNTIL I
AM MORE FAMILIAR WITH ITS PURPOSE=

:HERMAN P TAUBMAN.

February 22, 1945

Mr. Herman P. Taubman
808 Guldstates Building
Dallas, Texas

Dear Mr. Taubman:

I am deeply grateful to you for your response to my wire of February 20 requesting your acceptance of membership on the national council of the American Zionist Policy Committee.

Enclosed is a copy of the letter which Mr. Charles Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh has sent you on February 5, outlining the general purposes of that Committee. In addition to the aims as described in that letter, we expect to do the following:

1. Our Committee will be the "watch-dog" of the Zionist movement in order to force the present leadership in the ZOA to carry through a militant and aggressive Zionist political program.
2. We will publish a Zionist bulletin which, unlike present Zionist publications, will bring the current story of our movement to the rank and file of the ZOA. We hope that it will be readable and sufficiently interesting to capture the attention of those, who we now regard as "five dollar contributors."
3. We will organize state committees and local chapters in order to activate ~~the~~ the rank and file, and to prepare them for the next ZOA convention, whenever it may be held.

That the uncalled for political lynching of Dr. Silver could have occurred at so critical a time in the affairs of our movement is a reflection of the incapacity for leadership of the current ZOA heads. Being closely associated with all the gyrations and maneuverings which took place in the Emergency Council during the latter months of 1944, it is my impression that those who now head the ZOA are more interested in their own political security than they are in the welfare of the movement.

It will interest you to know that we invited one hundred seventy-five Zionist leaders throughout the country to membership on our national council. Thus far one hundred twenty-six have accepted. Their letters are enthusiastic and they are assuming their responsibility because they want to make certain that there shall be no recurrence of another controversy as was precipitated by the ousting of Dr. Silver.

February 22, 1945

Because Dallas is a strategic metropolitan center in the Southwest, we have invited not only yourself, but Eugene Soler and I.S. Adelman to membership. As yet we have not heard from them.

Please do not get the impression that we are, by our organization, trying to destroy unity in the Zionist movement. You will note from Mr. Rosenbloom's letter that he says, our activity will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Emergency Council, that all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor, and that our Committee will operate within the framework of the ZOA. In other words, we are the "loyal opposition" to the ZOA. We are loyal to the aims and purposes of the ZOA, but are opposed to the manner in which affairs of the ZOA are conducted by the present leadership.

On March 21, New York Zionists are giving a testimonial dinner to Dr. Silver and immediately before the dinner we will try to get together a number of people from the country - we are limited to fifty by the ODT regulations - in order to formulate the practical aspects of our program.

I believe that I have given you a full explanation of the American Zionist Policy Committee, and I hope that you will find it possible to accept the invitation which has been extended to you by Mr. Charles Rosenbloom, who issued the call for the organization.

I shall be pleased to hear from you at your earliest convenience.

Kindest personal regards.

Cordially yours,

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
Acting Secretary

HLS:cs
Enclosure:

FEB 23 1945

File N. 9.

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

February 22, 1945

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Shapiro:

In building up our Policy Committee, I would suggest that you procure a list of the delegates who attended the Atlantic City Zionist Convention. That list was probably printed in the Convention or post-Convention issue of the New Palestine. Eliminate the names of those who are clearly in opposition; also the names of those who have already come on our Committee and send an invitation to all the others. In all likelihood those are the people who will be elected again to the next Zionist Convention and these are the people whom we want to get on our Committee.

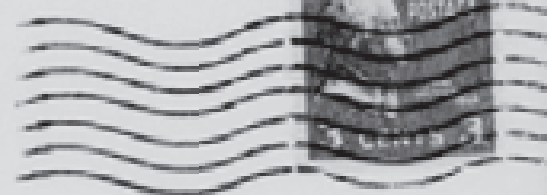
I do not believe that it would be necessary to bother Mr. Roserblooom to sign the additional letters. They can be signed for him in our office.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:EK



Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

FEB 23 1945

February 22, 1945

Mr. Horace M. Kallen
66 West Twelfth Street
New York 11, New York

Dear Horace:

I now have your splendid letter in response to my letter of February 5. I am sorry that a reply has been delayed so long but my absence from the city has necessitated this.

Your very kind offer to lend assistance as well as your words of approval and encouragement are both exceedingly welcome. I understand your reasons for not wishing to associate yourself officially with the Committee but you may be sure that your services will be sought for we realize fully how valuable they are to the Committee's objectives.

With kindest personal greetings, I am

Sincerely yours,

Charles J. Eisenbloom

FEB 27 1945

NA

LOUIS E. LEVINthal
606 City Hall
Philadelphia

CONFIDENTIAL

February 23, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York City

Dear Dr. Wise:

I do not know whether you have already seen the enclosed resolution adopted unanimously by our local Emergency Council. It is my impression that the overwhelming majority of the Zionists throughout the country agree wholeheartedly with the views set forth in these resolutions.

With kind personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

LOUIS E. LEVINthal
(signed)

Particularly ST Louis, Pittsburg, BALTIMORE,
BROOKLYN, LONG ISLAND, etc
HL

At a meeting of the Philadelphia Zionist Emergency Committee held on the 13th day of February, 1945, in Room 1900 North American Building, Philadelphia, the following resolution was submitted and after full discussion unanimously adopted:

Whereas, there has recently developed a bitter controversy on the Zionist scene in this country brought about by the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as Co-Chairman of the Executive Committee of said Council;

And whereas, the American Zionist Emergency Council has recently been reconstituted by the election of Dr. Stephen S. Wise as its sole Chairman and of Mr. Chaim Greenberg as Chairman of its Executive Committee, and by the formation of an Administrative Committee under the Chairmanship of Mr. Herman Shulman;

And Whereas, there has been considerable objectionable agitation in the public press relative to this controversy and concerning the reconstitution of the Emergency Council,

Be it Resolved that we, the members of the Zionist Emergency Council of Philadelphia, desire to be recorded as supporting wholeheartedly and loyally the American Zionist Emergency Council as now reconstituted;

And further we feel that continued public agitation such as has unfortunately been carried on is bound to prove harmful to the sacred cause to which we are dedicated.

We appeal for an immediate cessation of this public agitation and for a dedication of the maximum energies of all Zionists along constructive rather than divisive lines to the end that we may speed the day of the realization of our aim to reestablish Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth.

yellow
February 27, 1943

Mr. Julius C. Livingston
Mazda Oil Corporation
Suite 404, Palace Building
Tulsa, 1, Oklahoma

Dear Julius:

I have your letter of February 20th and thank you for it. From what you have written, I believe, you do not have the correct appraisal of the reasons for setting up the American Zionist Policy Committee. I quote from the letter which Charles Rosenbloom sent you on February 5th. He says:

"Our activity will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council. As Dr. Silver has repeatedly urged, all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor. Our Committee will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the ZEA. It will carry on a campaign of education. It will also lay plans for carrying out necessary reforms in our organization."

It will not be our purpose to interfere in any way with the work of the American Zionist Emergency Council. In fact all of our people are eager to help in its program whenever we are called on.

You will be interested to know that just a few days ago, Dr. Silver learned that Colonel Harold Hoskins, a rabid anti-Zionist, was to be appointed to succeed Dean Landis as the U.S. Director of Supplies in the Middle East. He immediately communicated with the Emergency Council and they sent a protest to Washington on the appointment. To date, Colonel Hoskins, as far as we know, has not had his appointment confirmed. This is merely an example of the kind of cooperation that we are eager to give.

We are concerned chiefly with two types of work both within the framework of the ZOA. They are: 1) To bring to the rank and file of the membership of the ZOA real enlightenment on Zionist subjects, chiefly in the field of political activity. It is our belief that there are too many "\$5.00 members" who do not know the score, who are a detriment to the movement rather than a benefit. 2) It is our purpose to remove from the present leadership of the ZOA, the "machine" which now purports to speak for American Zionism. It is this group, which through its machinations has deprived the movement of its most able political leader at the most critical moment in its history - the moment when we can least afford to do without him. This group is more concerned with its own internal and official security than it is with the welfare of the movement.

In all of the events, which led to the ousting of Dr. Silver, I was on the inside of the whole picture and observed everything that happened. It would have been much easier for me not to have taken a position. I could either have remained as the Director of the Emergency Council (they have not yet been able to find my successor) or have taken a job with one of the fund-raising agencies for which you know I am qualified. These jobs would have been easier and pleasanter, and I would be much happier in one of them. I want to say frankly that I utterly dislike the job which I am now doing, but my sense of justice has not permitted me to do otherwise. While I need no excuses for my activity, yet, I wanted to make perfectly clear to you my position in this controversy.

There are other key Zionists who feel as I do and see no contradiction in being a member of our group and at the same time carrying on other Zionist activity. It will interest you to know that Mr. Rosenbloom invited 175 key Zionists throughout the country to membership on the National Council of the American Zionist Policy Committee. To date, 151 have accepted Mr. Rosenbloom's invitation. Among them are some very prominent Zionists including Gershon Fenster of your city. Some of the others are: Rabbi Irving Miller, Dr. Samuel Margoshes, Dr. Jacob Fishman, Emanuel Neumann and Abe Goodman (Treasurer of the ZOA) of New York, Judge Benjamin Lencer of Pittsburgh, Elihu S. Stone of Boston, Abraham Goldstein of Hartford, Conn., Rabbi Gerson Kadas of Kansas City, Samuel Weinstein of Portland, Oregon, and a host of others. Of those who have affiliated, there are 30, who are members of the National Administrative Committee of the ZOA. All of these people could not be in error.

In view of the above, I hope that you will reconsider your decision and will join with us in the very important task that we have ahead.

Kindest regards to yourself and Gertrude,

Cordially yours,

HLB:ny

Harry L. Shapiro
Acting Secretary

February 27, 1945

Mr. Lester Cohen
Cohen's Furniture Store
Uniontown, Pa.

Dear Les:

Long before your letter arrived, we had word of your valiant stand at the meeting in Atlantic City. From all the reports which I had, I gathered that you and the others, while not carrying your resolution, had not come off second best in the discussion. I checked with quite a number of those who attended and according to them your group gained, from a public relation standpoint, a real victory.

I was glad to see that you had returned your card to Mr. Charles Rosenblom and have assumed membership on the National Council of the American Zionist Policy Committee. It will interest you to know that we are gaining strength daily and the "Administration" is nervous over our activity.

Following the meeting, I conveyed a description of your activity to Dr. Silver and he asked me to tell you that he was deeply grateful to you and the others for your position.

Kindest personal regards,

Cordially yours,

HLS:ny

Harry L. Shapiro

P.S. The rough notes which you took were very interesting and I am returning them to you for you may wish to have them for your record.

H.L.S.

מיר באדייערן, מעהר קיין רעזערוואציעס נעמען זיך נישט אן

די דר. אבא הלל סילווער באקעמט קאמישע באדייערס זעהן וואס זי איז אנטוישען די הונדערטער מענטשען וואס האבען זיך געווענדעט נאך רעזערוואציעס פאר'ן באקעמט לכבוד דר. סילווער'ן. וואס וועט פארקומען מיטמאד אווענט, דעם 21סטען מערץ, אין דעם גרויסען באר-ציוער פון האטעל קאמאדאדא.

אלע טייטשע ווינען שוין פארנומען און מעהר קיינע רעזערוואציעס קענען מיר נישט אנעמען.

אברהם נודמאן, פעדעסער.

מאדק שונערמאן, פריזשעלע אבא הלל פיליטע באקעמט קאמישע.

AREA HILLEL SILVER TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE

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MAR 2 1945

Confidential

HPM

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MANUSCRIPT SERVICE

for

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY
COMMITTEE

SUBJECT

LEARNED ABOUT MOSLEM AND JEWISH PROBLEMS
FROM IBN SAUD PERSONALLY

Date March 1, 1945

Station WEAF and all
major networks

Time 12:30 P.M.

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1706 THE NEWS BUILDING
220 E. 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Murray Hill 2-6406

RADIO REPORTS, INC.
MANUSCRIPT SERVICE

March 1, 1945

SPECIAL FOR AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

LEARNED ABOUT MOSLEM AND JEWISH PROBLEMS FROM IBN SAUD PERSONALLY

Franklin D. Roosevelt, President of the United States, at 12:30 p.m. over WEAF (N. Y.) and all major networks:

The following is a portion of the text of the speech:

"On the way back from the Crimea I made arrangements to meet personally King Farouk of Egypt, Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, and King Ibn Saud of Saudi-Arabia. Our conversations had to do with matters of common interest. They will be of great mutual advantage because they gave me and a good many of us an opportunity of meeting and talking face to face, exchanging views in personal conversation instead of formal correspondence. For instance, on the problems of Arabia, I learned more about that whole problem, the Moslem problem, the JEWISH PROBLEM, by talking with Ibn Saud for five minutes than I could have learned in the exchange of two or three dozen letters."

Night letter

MARCH 7, 1945

CHARLES ROSENBLUM
~~551 UNION TRUST BUILDING~~
~~PITTSBURGH, PA.~~

P.O. Box 389
Hollywood, Florida

DR. SILVER IN NYC YESTERDAY. HE HAD FOLLOWING NIGHT LETTER SENT IN YOUR NAME TO MEMBERS NATIONAL COUNCIL PLUS SEVERAL OTHER KEY ZIONISTS? QUOTE: IT IS PROPOSED TO SEND TO ZOA PRESIDENT, ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, AND MAKE PUBLIC FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SIGNED BY PROMINENT ZIONISTS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY? QUOTE: WE ARE DEEPLY PERTURBED BY STATEMENTS OF CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT IN RELATION TO PALESTINE WHICH HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY ZIONISTS WITH FEELINGS OF DEEP DISAPPOINTMENT. THIS BLOW COMES AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE BEEN WEAKENED BY A BREACH IN OUR LEADERSHIP AND RESULTANT CONTROVERSY AND ARE ALSO EMBARKING ON INDEPENDENT UPA CAMPAIGN. WE EARNESTLY WARN OF CRITICAL SITUATION DEVELOPING WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES TO OUR ORGANIZATION AND ZIONIST CAUSE. PROMPT ACTION REQUIRED TO HEAL THE BREACH AND RESTORE TO OUR MOVEMENT ITS FULL STRENGTH, UNITY AND SENSE OF CONFIDENCE? WE URGE EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND ZOA ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TOWARDS (1) REORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL (2) ADOPTION OF FIRM LINE OF MILITANT POLITICAL ACTION (3) PROMPT RECALL OF DR. SILVER TO LEADERSHIP. THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN A SPIRIT OF DEVOTION TO HIGHEST INTERESTS MOVEMENT AT MOMENT OF GRAVE EMERGENCY WHEN FATE AND FUTURE OF JEWISH PEOPLE ARE AT STAKE. UNQUOTE. AS MEMBER OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL ASSUME YOUR NAME MAY BE INCLUDED AMONG SIGNATORIES UNLESS YOU WIRE TO THE CONTRARY. SUGGEST HAVE ZIONIST GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS YOUR AREA ADOPT RESOLUTIONS AND SEND TELEGRAMS OF SIMILAR CHARACTER. AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE, CHARLES ROSENBLUM, ACTING CHAIRMAN, UNQUOTE. REGARDS

HARRY L. SHAPIRO

MARCH 7, 1945

ZOA PRESIDENT,

IT IS PROPOSED TO SEND TO ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, ~~AND TO PRESIDENT ZOA,~~ AND MAKE PUBLIC FOLLOWING TELEGRAM SIGNED BY PROMINENT ZIONISTS THROUGHOUT ~~THE~~ COUNTRY, ^①QUOTE: WE ARE DEEPLY PERTURBED BY STATEMENTS OF CHURCHILL AND ROOSEVELT IN RELATION TO PALESTINE WHICH HAVE BEEN RECEIVED BY ZIONISTS WITH FEELINGS OF KEENEST DISAPPOINTMENT. THIS BLOW COMES AT A TIME WHEN WE HAVE BEEN WEAKENED BY A BREACH IN OUR LEADERSHIP AND RESULTANT CONTROVERSY AND ARE ALSO EMBARKING ON INDEPENDENT UPA CAMPAIGN. WE EARNESTLY WARN OF CRITICAL SITUATION DEVELOPING WITH SERIOUS CONSEQUENCES TO OUR ORGANIZATION AND ZIONIST CAUSE. PROMPT ACTION REQUIRED TO HEAL THE BREACH AND RESTORE TO OUR MOVEMENT ITS FULL STRENGTH, UNITY AND SENSE OF CONFIDENCE. WE URGE EMERGENCY COUNCIL AND ZOA ADMINISTRATION TO TAKE IMMEDIATE STEPS TOWARDS (1) REORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL (2) ADOPTION OF FIRM LINE OF MILITANT POLITICAL ACTION (3) PROMPT RECALL OF DOCTOR SILVER TO LEADERSHIP. THIS SHOULD BE DONE IN A SPIRIT OF DEVOTION TO HIGHEST INTERESTS MOVEMENT AT ~~A~~ MOMENT OF GRAVE EMERGENCY WHEN ~~THE~~ FATE AND FUTURE OF ~~THE~~ JEWISH PEOPLE ARE AT STAKE, ^②UNQUOTE (AS MEMBER OUR NATIONAL COUNCIL ASSUME YOUR NAME MAY BE INCLUDED AMONG SIGNATORIES UNLESS YOU WIRE TO THE CONTRARY.) SUGGEST HAVE ZIONIST GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS YOUR AREA ADOPT RESOLUTIONS AND SEND TELEGRAMS OF SIMILAR CHARACTER.

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

CHARLES ROSENBLOOM, ACTING CHAIRMAN

ROOM 704, 55 WEST 42 STREET, NEW YORK

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Denver, Colo. 1574 Newton St.

Rabbi Abraham J. Belomson
1841 Mayhew Ave.
Hartford, Conn.

Judge Jacob Schwolsky
983 Main St.
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Chas. E. Schwartz
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MAR 14 1945

Atlanta 3, Georgia
334 WEST PEACHTREE ST.
March 12, 1945

KA

Mr. Charles Rosenbloom
55 W. 42nd St., Rm. 704
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Rosenbloom:

I have your telegram of the 7th, in which you request permission to use my name as a signatory and in which you suggest that I activate other Zionist groups and individuals in our area to adopt resolutions and send telegrams of a similar character.

I regret that I must decline to do so. In analyzing the contents of your telegram I can find no good reason for its release and should like to explain why. But first, let me say that I have nothing but the highest respect and admiration for Dr. Silver and realize his tremendous power and influence for good in the American Jewish community and on the Zionist scene. It is my sincere hope that we shall always have the benefit of his brilliant statesmanship in the conduct of the political affairs of our movement.

In presenting my viewpoint, let me make reference to three main points raised in your telegram:

1. Reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The Council has just been reorganized and it was done in democratic fashion by majority vote. I cannot agree to agitating for another reorganization at a time when the newly constituted body has hardly had a chance to prove itself. As far as I can see, it is on the job, as I receive regular reports from its leaders, showing that they are concerned with shaping a concrete policy in the light of the present crisis.

2. Adoption of a firm line of militant political action.

Just what is meant by that? Do you advocate slamming the door on the President and threatening Mr. Churchill? Or shall we incite the Yishuv to revolt? If either of these ideas is in the back of your mind, then I am unalterably opposed to your program. If, however, you mean that we should talk "tough" to the leaders of the United Nations, then it does not matter whether the talking is done by Dr. Wise or Dr. Silver. In neither case shall we get anywhere with it, as we lack the power to back up the words. An unkind fate has made of us a people which finds itself in an unfortunate predicament as far as "militant" political action

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Atlanta, Georgia
334 WEST PEACHTREE ST.

Mr. Charles Rosenbloom

- 2 -

March 12, 1945

is concerned. Too, while the mobilization of public opinion is a most effective weapon - and all our political efforts should be concentrated in that direction - you and I and everybody else know that this is not the only decisive factor in the solution of problems of international scope. Whatever Churchill and Roosevelt decide or fail to decide at Yalta, therefore, cannot be laid in its entirety at the doorsteps of American Zionist leaders.

3. Prompt recall of Dr. Silver to leadership.

According to the information I received Dr. Silver has stated that his resignation as chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council is irrevocable, a statement which Dr. Silver has never denied. This being the case, how can we recall Dr. Silver to leadership? Even so, I consider Dr. Silver a leader whether he is chairman or not, and I have sufficient faith in him to believe that he will give his best to the Council, of which he has remained a member. I might add that, with Dr. Silver's great powers of persuasion it should not be difficult for him to initiate what you call "militant" action in spite of the fact that he is not the titular head of the Council.

In conclusion, let me say that the general tenor of your telegram is unfortunate. First of all, it conveys the impression that the failure of Churchill and Roosevelt to proclaim the Jewish Commonwealth immediately after the Yalta conference amounts to a betrayal of our cause. If this is the way we feel about it then we are coming to conclusions which have no basis in verified facts. We are all sufficiently aware of the intricacies of international diplomacy to be on guard against surmises, rumors, and fluctuations, often contradictory statements made as "feelers". The matter is by no means settled. To inject a feeling of despair into our leaders in the various communities at this point, is to my mind neither good psychology nor realistic political action.

Secondly and lastly, you speak of healing a breach and the restoration of full strength, unity and sense of confidence. As I see it, your action in sending out this telegram can have no other effect but to intensify division, bad feeling and bring about mistrust in the present leadership of the Z.O.A. As you say, it is bad enough that we have had a controversy and are now faced with an independent U.P.A. Campaign. But if this is so, I think it unpardonable, without justifiable and well substantiated cause, to keep alive the flames of this controversy by constantly pouring oil on troubled waters. The American Zionist Emergency Council has been reorganized and the Z.O.A. officers have a mandate for the present. It is, therefore, our duty as I see it, to bury the Silver-Wise

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Atlanta 3, Georgia
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Mr. Charles Rosenbloom

- 3 -

March 12, 1945

issue until such time as national elections are in the offing and the Jewish position throughout the world permits it.

The only ones who benefit from the sort of agitation you engage in are the American Council for Judaism and all other enemies of Zionism wherever they may be found.

Very sincerely yours,

S. P. Benamy
S. P. BENAMY

SPB/ms



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334 WEST PEACHTREE STREET

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA



Mr. Charles Rosenbloom
35 W. 42nd St.
Room 704
New York, New York

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PRESIDENT

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

CHARGED TO American Zionist
Policy Committee
LA 4-7319

March 16, 1945

EMANUEL NEUMANN
c/o A. GOODMAN
3355 FLAMINGO DRIVE
MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

FOR VICTORY
BUY
WAR BONDS
TODAY

WISE SAW CHIEF ALONE. FOLLOWING TRANSLATED FROM YIDDISH TICKER:

PRESIDENT AUTHORIZED STEPHEN WISE TO ISSUE THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT

QUOTE: I STATED MY POSITION IN REGARD TO ZIONISM IN OCTOBER. I HAVE NOT
CHANGED AND I WILL CONTINUE TO STRIVE TO ASSIST ITS EARLIEST FULFILLMENT. UNQUOTE
WISE ISSUING PERSONAL STATEMENT TONIGHT. FROM INTERVIEW IS FOLLOWING
RUMOR THAT CHIEF SAID CHURCHILL AND HE IN AGREEMENT BUT SURPRISED TO
FIND SUCH HOSTILITY ON PART OF IBN SAUD. PRESS RECORDS AUTHORIZED STATEMENT
AS WHITEWASH. REGARDS

HARRY

Beth Shalom Center

MAR 25 1945

MORRIS BERICK
PRESIDENT
ROBERT NORDIN
MORRIS PERRELL
SAM EID
VICE-PRESIDENTS
ABRAHAM ZINNAMON
TREASURER
I. D. GREENBERG
FINANCIAL SECRETARY
IRVING ROTHMAN
RECORDING SECRETARY
MRS. EVELYN KOHN
CORRESPONDING SECRETARY
LEON KRONISH
RABBI
LOUIS HAYMAN
CANTOR

761 FORTY-FIRST STREET
PHONE 58-1961
MIAMI BEACH 40, FLORIDA
March 21, 1945

American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd St.
New York 18, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I received your recent press release regarding the recall of Dr. Silver. I am under the impression that Dr. Silver committed a serious breach of discipline when last fall he went to the Foreign Affairs Committee in direct violation of the Emergency Council decision not to introduce the resolution at that time. I am at a loss, therefore, to understand why you should wish to recall a man who has violated Zionist discipline. Mind you, I am not questioning the validity or invalidity of the Council's decision at that time, but I am questioning whether one can regardless of who he is has the right to violate a decision of the official political Zionist group.

If I am wrong in my assumption, I should certainly appreciate detailed information from you.

Respectfully yours,

Leon Kronish

LEON KRONISH
Rabbi

LK/agm

(17)

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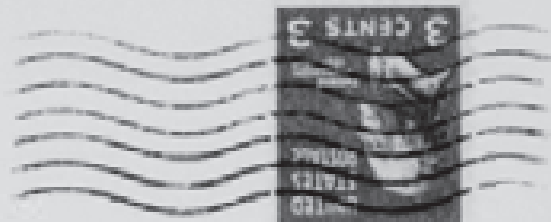
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American Zionist Emergency Council

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Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

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

March 26, 1945

At a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council last Monday night consideration was given to a telegram addressed to the Council from New York and received at this office on March 12th. The telegram calls for unity in the Zionist movement here, the reorganization of the Council, militant action and the return of Dr. Silver to leadership. Your name appears among the signatories to the telegram.

This reply is being written you at the direction of the Council and in accordance with the views expressed at that meeting. It is not proposed to enter here into the rights and wrongs of the events which led up to Dr. Silver's resignation. Suffice it to say that while a genuine difference with regard to tactics and procedure existed within the Council, there was never any question of "militant" or non-militant action. Every group represented in the Council and every individual representing these groups is deeply concerned with the achievement of our goal now and not in some distant future, and is anxious to take all necessary and appropriate measures to that end. At the same time there was a difference in judgment as to the steps to be taken at a given moment for the furtherance of our aims and since the view of the majority, reached after a full and free discussion, was not that of Dr. Silver, he tendered his resignation as Chairman.

It should be noted that there have been three elections of officers in the Emergency Council since its inception. A Co-Chairmanship was established for the first time when Dr. Silver was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee. Unfortunately it proved unworkable and the Council was faced, in the light of its experience of the results of divided responsibility, with the matter of electing a single chairman. In the existing situation it was the judgment of a majority that Dr. Wise should serve as that chairman. This action implied no disparagement of Dr. Silver's great gifts nor any lack of recognition of the splendid services rendered by him during his tenure of office. In political life, however, it is no uncommon occurrence that a leader who has served greatly under one set of circumstances is replaced by another when conditions call for a change. To present the issue as one of militancy versus non-militancy is untrue to the facts and confusing to the public, and constitutes an unwarranted imputation on those who with vigor and courage hitherto led the fight in behalf of the Jewish national cause. Moreover, in terms of realistic action, we would ask what is meant by the term "militancy"? In all Dr. Silver's statements since his resignation no hint has been given by him of a specific program of action

How can you tell the difference between the two?

different from that pursued by the Council in fulfillment of our objectives of unrestricted Jewish immigration, an immediate decision on the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth and Jewish representation at the forthcoming international conferences.

That all Zionists should, particularly at this time, bend their united efforts to the achievement of our common goal is obvious and the recent reorganization of the Council need not and should not have been made a question for disunity in Zionist ranks. Indeed when the Council was reorganized Dr. Silver announced publicly that he would remain a member of the Council and would continue loyal cooperation. That assurance was warmly welcomed by all and encouraged the hope of continued cooperative thought and action. In a movement such as ours, and indeed in any democratically constituted body, this is obviously as it should be. Majority action must govern, subject always to the condition that the minority is entitled to the opportunity so to express its point of view that it may influence the action of the majority and hope eventually by constitutional process itself to become the majority. But a majority decision should not be permitted to become the cause of bitter internal rifts and of public controversy of a character damaging to the highest interests of the whole movement.

In this connection we would commend as an example from the past the occasion when in 1931 Dr. Weizmann, as President of the World Zionist Organization, was defeated by a majority in the Zionist Congress. Dr. Weizmann, though out of office, nevertheless cooperated loyally with the succeeding administration until at a subsequent Congress he was once again returned to leadership.

It is deeply to be regretted that instead of similarly adhering to the processes of democratic action and, as originally indicated by Dr. Silver himself, of cooperating in the work of the Council while seeking in due course through the elective organs of the Zionist Organization to obtain endorsement for himself and his policies, Dr. Silver and his followers have now embarked on activities which if continued may be construed by a public, already confused, as representing a separatist political action.

Dr. Silver has the opportunity through membership in the Council to bring to bear his influence and ideas upon the action of the Council. His cooperation in its work will be warmly welcomed. But the campaign at present being conducted on behalf of Dr. Silver from an office specially established for the purpose is such as to create confusion and despondency among Zionists throughout the country and to disrupt and paralyze Zionist work at a most critical time.

Thus Dr. Silver, following the statements of Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill, without consultation with the officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council of which he remains a member, without exercising his right to come to meetings of the Council, and without full knowledge of the facts, issued a statement to the press which could only be calculated to cause an exaggerated and unjustified pessimism in the ranks of Zionists everywhere. A stream of partisan literature and press releases emanating from the office of the American Zionist Policy Committee has kept Zionists in a state of constant and unhealthy turmoil, deflecting them from the tasks at hand and hindering the fulfillment of an effective program of action. By letter and telephone and telegram Zionists throughout the country are being urged to express alarm at present developments and to demand

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quote from a conference letter

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Dr. Silver's immediate return. Little wonder that under these circumstances Zionists are confused and disheartened when they should be seeking to work together. Action of the kind here described indeed makes difficult, if not impossible, united and fruitful work by the administration in authority for the time being.

The American Zionist Emergency Council regards itself as an arm in this country of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. We are pursuing a policy the ultimate responsibility for which rests with the Executive of the Jewish Agency. Nor do we intend now or in the future to conduct an independent political line. It would indeed produce chaos and mean the end of the Zionist movement were branches of the movement in various countries to act in any other manner. It is our view that the line which we are at present pursuing, in coordination with the World Zionist leadership, is the correct one at this time. Until that line is changed no individual or group, however gifted or powerful, can engage in an independent political campaign without producing consequences of a serious character.

We would repeat once more: Dr. Silver's close collaboration in our work will be warmly welcomed. He has all the possibilities within the movement to bring his influence to bear in regard to the development of action and policy. We therefore ask, through you, that Dr. Silver be moved again to lend his great abilities to our work as a part of the Emergency Council. The Chairman of the Council has written separately to Dr. Silver asking him to attend meetings of the Council in order to share in its work and to give us the benefit of his help and advice. It is the sincere desire of all members of the Council that he will see his way clear to collaborate with his colleagues in this crucial period in Zionist history. It is in this direction that we believe that your influence should be brought to bear.

Yours sincerely,

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

AL:CK

By: Arthur Lourie
Political Secretary

We ask for your Council to give us!

how about trying to achieve unity?

was not usually thing

Q. even if it is difficult to make it appear that Silver is the insignificant + that they are the significant ones.

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*Mr. Harry Shapiro.
Please make copies
& send me back to me.
E.M.*

*LF please
HY
4/16/45
LF*

March 26, 1945

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Wise:

Permit me to thank you for your letter of March 21. I appreciate the invitation which you convey to me to attend a meeting in the near future of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Council. I shall try to attend such a meeting although at the present moment I do not know when I will be in New York again. I only returned this morning from a week's stay in New York.

I would be lacking in frankness if I were to leave you with the impression that my remaining a member of the Council in any way implies that I accept the present set-up of the Council as either a satisfactory or permanent arrangement. Since my enforced resignation, the Council, to my best knowledge, has heard from numerous Zionist groups and leaders throughout the country calling for its re-organization. This has also been echoed with remarkable unanimity by the Jewish press.

On February 21, Dr. Weizmann cabled both to you and to me "an urgent message to do everything humanly possible to resolve the differences and to remove the difficulties thus enabling all Zionists to combine for the urgent task which lies before us." Mr. Lipsky wrote to me on February 26 that he, as a member of the Jewish Agency, had been urged by Dr. Weizmann to make an earnest effort to reconcile the differences that had arisen. On March 2, I wrote to Mr. Lipsky that "if Dr. Wise is now of the opinion that the re-organization of the Emergency Council which he precipitated by his resignation was ill-advised, and that the situation now calls for my return under conditions which will enable me to carry on the active political leadership of the Council, I shall be very pleased to meet with him at a time and place mutually agreeable."

I have not heard from you as to your intentions. This, as I see it, and I believe you will agree with me, is the real crux of

Dr. Wise

-2-

March 28, 1945

matter and not whether I attend one or another meeting of the Executive Council.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BX

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver



MAZDA OIL CORPORATION

PRESIDENT
JULIUS C. LIVINGSTON

SUITE 404 PALACE BUILDING
P. O. BOX 1787
TULSA 1, OKLAHOMA

TELEPHONE 3-2442

March 28, 1945

Harry L. Shapiro
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 W. 42nd Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Harry:

Thanks so much for mailing me a copy of Dr. Silver's address. I agree with those who heard it, that it is indeed a historical document.

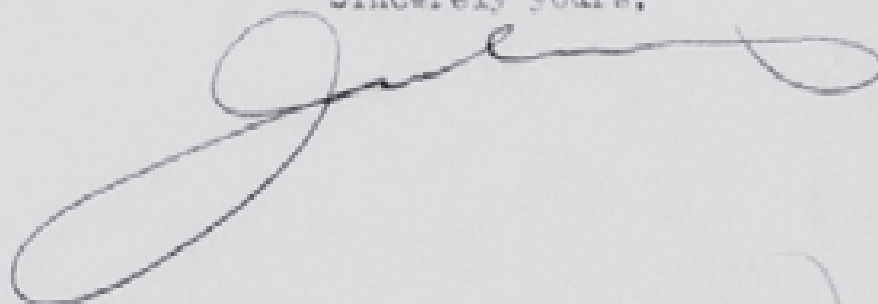
It would have been a marvelous thing if it could have been produced on a record so the record could be loaned to communities and they could hear the speech as given by Dr. Silver.

I thought his speech before the American Jewish Conference 2 years ago was tops, but believe me this one goes far beyond even that great speech. When you reproduce same in printed form, please send me a dozen copies.

Every one is well, Harry. I hope you are O.K. and that you will enjoy a most pleasant Passover.

Gertrude and the baby are grand and join me in wishing you the very best.

Sincerely yours,

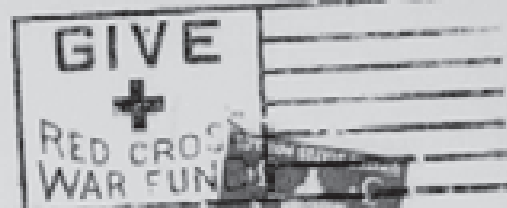


17

MAZDA OIL CORPORATION

BOX 1797

TULSA 1, OKLAHOMA



Mr. Harry L. Shapiro

American Zionist Policy Committee

55 W. 42nd Street

New York City 18, New York

APR 2 1945

The Temple

EAST 105TH STREET AT ANSEL ROAD

TELEPHONES GARFIELD 0150-0151

Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 30, 1945

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
5 Prospect Place
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Shapiro:

I spoke with Mr. Neumann, yesterday, about the reply issued by the Emergency Council to the 146 signatories of the telegram sent to it. I understand that Mr. Manson has prepared a rejoinder and that Mr. Neumann is looking it over. I also suggested to Mr. Neumann some things which should be included.

The reply of the Council goes far beyond what I am sure must have been intended by some of the members of the Council, especially the Mizrahi and the Poale Zion. There are miserable distortions and innuendoes in the reply which I am sure our friends on the Council would never have permitted had they seen the draft. There is also the attempt to represent us as fostering a "separatist movement", and the fact that we opened an office to organize the sentiment within the ZOA as a challenge of the authority of the Council. This is insolent presumption on the part of the Council which has no business to enter into the internal affairs of the ZOA. The letter deftly ignores the reaction of Zionist organizations throughout the country and the entire press.

I think, and I suggested it to Mr. Neumann, that the Mizrahi representatives on the Council, and those of our friends on the Poale Zion who are willing, should repudiate this letter at the forthcoming meeting of the Council. They should be contacted at once.

Our rejoinder should be sent out without delay. Undoubtedly this reply of the Council will find its way into the Jewish press. We ought to watch that and be prepared with our statement. It should be carefully drawn, but forceful and comprehensive.

How are you proceeding with the funds? Have you already obtained a statement for income tax deduction? We come up against this fact time and again and it is seriously interfering with our obtaining contributions.

Has Lewenthal's article been distributed to the Anglo-Jewish press? It has not yet appeared anywhere. It is important to draw in a fresh name, and especially one which carries such weight.

Mr. Harry Shapiro

-2-

3-30-45

I am sending you a copy of my reply to the letter which Dr. Wise wrote to me as well as a copy of Wise's letter.

With all good wishes for a happy holiday, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver
K

AHS:BK
Enc. - 3



VIA AIR MAIL

Special Delivery

Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
5 Prospect Place
New York 17, N.Y.

MAIL

SPECIAL DELIVERY



The Temple

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Cleveland

WILLIAM M. KRAMER
ASSISTANT RABBI

ABBA HILLEL SILVER, D. D.
RABBI

HARRY A. LEVY
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

April 3, 1945

Mr. Harold Manson
5 Prospect Place
New York 18, N.Y.

My dear Manson:

The reply which you made to the ZOA release on the committee to explore the possibility for unity should be sent immediately to all the Anglo-Jewish periodicals. Undoubtedly Goldstein's release will appear and his fake peace maneuver will mislead many Zionists; also his attempt to give the impression that we are out to drive Dr. Wise from the Emergency Council. It is important to scotch the lies immediately.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BX

file

done

April 3, 1945

Mr. Julius C. Livingston
Mazda Oil Corporation
Suite 404 Palace Building
P. O. Box 1787
Tulsa 1, Oklahoma

Dear Julius:

Many thanks for your letter of March 28th. I am glad that you agree that Dr. Silver's speech was a good one. We tried to have his speech recorded during the dinner, but because of wartime difficulties, were not able to get any of the recording companies to do the job. The printed pamphlets containing the speech will be off the press tomorrow and I will send you the dozen copies you request. The events which have transpired during the past few weeks dealing with the future disposition of Palestine are witness to the fact that Dr. Silver's policy in the Emergency Council should have been continued and that he should have been permitted, without interference from other leading Zionists, to put through the Congress Resolution.

Incidentally, if Dr. Wise had not sent his unauthorized telegram of December 4th and if the delegation of leading Zionists had not gone to Washington to stop the resolution, it would have been achieved. If the President had a resolution from Congress he would not need to think in terms of dealing with the Arabs or other anti-Zionist forces. He would have had only one course of action and that would have pointed to the achievement of our objective. If Mr. Churchill is the sincere Zionist he claims to be, such an act by the Legislative Branch of the United States would have enormously strengthened his hand.

The resolution would have given us two other advantages. They are:
(1) It would have forced the American representatives on the United Nations to see that the Zionist point of view was represented at the coming San Francisco conference. (2) By it, we could have removed from our State Department present anti-Zionist members because if Congress declared itself, these men would not represent the American viewpoint. They could have been replaced by pro-Zionists and when the President wanted information from the State Department, that information would be to our advantage, and not to our detriment. As you know, the President always depends on his Executive Department for information on any subject.

April 3, 1945

To me it is now more necessary than ever that the Jewish people should be given the benefit of Dr. Silver's leadership and his policies. I believe that at the next ZOA Convention, we will achieve this objective. Would you, when you have the time, drop me a note indicating to me how you believe the Southwest will stand on this point.

Kindest regards to yourself and Gertrude. I hope the baby is well.

Cordially yours,

Harry L. Shapiro
Executive Director

HLS:ab



April 3, 1945

Rabbi Leon Kronish
Beth Shalom Center
761 - 41st Street
Miami Beach, Florida

Dear Rabbi Kronish:

Replying to your letter of March 21st, the question you raise about the so-called "breach of discipline" committed by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver is a serious one and I believe that you are entitled to know the truth as borne out by the facts in the case. Incidentally, this is only one of the many vicious rumors that are being spread by Dr. Silver's enemies.

The facts are as follows: At several meetings of the Emergency Council held in October and November, the question of what to do with our Palestine resolution, then pending in Congress, was discussed. We had received intimations that there might be some objection on the part of the Executive branch of our government. The last meeting prior to the rift in the Zionist leadership was held on November 21st. I quote from the minutes of that meeting:

"There followed a lengthy discussion, and it was finally decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President, through Senator Wagner and perhaps others. It was agreed to leave it to Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Shalman to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President."

Dr. Silver's mission to Washington early in December (both the President and Mr. Stettinus were not in Washington late in November) was for the purpose of carrying out the mandate of the Emergency Council "to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President." His objective was not to push the resolution, but rather to persuade the Executive branch of our government to withdraw any objections it might have so that Congress will be free to act.

The action taken by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the first week in December was purely on its own initiative. Dr. Silver did not ask them to take action on the resolution one way or another. These

(and the overwhelming number of both the Senate and the House of Representatives, for that matter) had committed themselves to their constituents to act favorably on the Palestine resolution, and were now ready and eager to act. They could not understand why it was permissible for the President to make a favorable declaration on Palestine only six weeks (October 15th) prior, while their hands should be tied. It was only after several appearances by the Secretary of State, the last one bearing personal appeal from the President plus the statement issued by the State Department bearing the onus for this action, that the resolution failed of passage. Even so, you will remember the vote was 12 to 8.

Dr. Wise and Mr. Shulman at no time took the action requested of them by the Council to influence the Executive on behalf of the Palestine resolution. On the contrary they, and other Zionist leaders, collaborated with the State Department to shelve our resolution for which Zionists all over the country had been pressing throughout the entire year.

In my opinion the most competent body to judge the situation is the Emergency Council itself. On December 20th, Rabbi James Heller at a meeting of the Council, offered a motion of censure of Dr. Silver for having committed a "breach of discipline". The motion failed of passage.

I hope that I have been able to clear up this matter for you. I know that from time you will be hearing other rumors about Dr. Silver which will have about as much basis in fact as the one you brought up in your letter. I hope you will, before being influenced one way or another, take the trouble to learn the facts in each case.

With many thanks for your communication, I am

Very sincerely yours,

HLS:QFB

Harry L. Shapiro

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE
55 WEST 42nd STREET
NEW YORK 18, NEW YORK
TELEPHONE: LACKAWANNA 4-7319

Translation of a special dispatch by S. Dingol in The Jewish Day,
April 8, 1945. (Similar dispatches have appeared in the Jewish Morning Journal and the Jewish Daily Forward)

PEACE IN ZIONIST RANKS COULD BE ACHIEVED WITHIN TEN MINUTES, SAYS DR. SILVER

- - -

ZIONIST LEADER ASSERTS THAT THE DISPUTE WITHIN ZIONIST LEADERSHIP
COULD BE SOLVED EASILY WITH GOOD WILL ON BOTH SIDES. - DOUBTS
WHETHER THE COMMITTEE NAMED BY DR. GOLDSTEIN WILL ACHIEVE THIS

- - -

The furor which has arisen in American Zionist circles over Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver's forced resignation from the leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council, and the protests and demands for his return to leadership which have come from all parts of the country, have finally brought about a decision by the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America to name a committee which will explore the possibilities of restoring peace in the Zionist movement.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, named a committee of five, with Judge Louis E. Levinthal as chairman, for that purpose. The four other members of the committee are: Daniel Frisch, Louis Lipsky, Ezra Shapiro, and Dewey Stone.

When the membership of the group was made public, the American Zionist Policy Committee, which supports Dr. Silver's policies, issued a statement expressing no confidence in the committee because, with one exception, it is made up of Dr. Silver's opponents, and "not a single member of the committee represents the forces in American Zionism which have publicly demanded the recall of Dr. Silver."

April 11, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
E. 10th St & Ansel Rd.
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I am returning herewith the issue of the
Congress Weekly containing Dr. Freehof's bio-
graphical sketch of you.

With kind regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Harold P. Manson

HPM:ab
Encl.

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WRHS



Mr. Harry L. Shapiro
55 W. 42nd St.

New York 18, N.Y.

A Little While Longer

by

RAEBI LEON I. FEUER



A LITTLE WHILE LONGER

By

RABBI LEON I. FEUER

THERE are phrases which become classic because of the circumstances in which they are coined. This is one of them—"just a little while longer."

The time was last November; the occasion—the internal discussion in the Zionist movement on whether or not the Palestine Resolution pending in Congress should be pressed for action with or without the "green light." Zionist leaders were advised by the State Department to drop the resolution and leave the whole matter in the hands of the President "just a little while longer." This caused considerable disagreement, finally resulting in the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and a victory for his opponents. Now several months have passed. The conference of the Big Three is already a matter of history. So are the discussions which took place under the Mediterranean sky between the leaders of the Anglo-Saxon democracies and the potentates of the Orient. The official communiques are a matter of record, and both Churchill and Roosevelt have rendered their reports. Another chapter of Zionist political history is closed and it is time to make a rapid survey of recent events and appraise the situation as of the moment.

The official communique on the Crimea Conference was silent not only regarding Palestine but also regarding the Jewish people and its desperate plight, a fact which evoked some bitter comment on the part of Harold Laski and others. There followed a sudden burst of sensational rumors growing out of the Churchill and Roosevelt meetings in Egypt. The rumors had it that proposals had been submitted involving the creation of a united Arab

state embracing Iraq, Syria, Transjordan and parts of Palestine, and the creation of a Jewish state in the rest of Palestine to be federated with the Christian Republic of Lebanon. This caused considerable excitement in Jewish circles but turned out to be a flash in the pan. The *Manchester Guardian*, staunchest and most consistent supporter of Zionism among English newspapers, cautioned against the acceptance of "erratic, unfounded reports." Nothing more was heard about the matter; the reports died as suddenly as they were born.

Now we have the authoritative statements of the Prime Minister and our own President. The latter made only the briefest and most casual reference to the question in its Near East context. Mr. Churchill did shed a tear over the sufferings and slaughter of the Jews in Europe; but when he came to discuss the Near East, his statements were ominous and profoundly disappointing from the Jewish point of view. He declared that no agreement or decision had been reached touching Palestine, and that the question would be deferred to the end of the war. According to an Associated Press dispatch, he even intimated that the Palestine question had been "eliminated" from the agenda of the San Francisco Conference. His report was devoid of a single ray or gleam of hope for the Jewish people or the Zionist cause. The only crumb of consolation which the pro-Zionist, Lord Strabolgi, could extract from the Prime Minister's address was the fact that it contained nothing negative regarding Palestine, apparently leaving the door open for a future decision.

On the other hand, the Prime Minister went out of his way to spray the Arabs with compliments. He even praised the Egyptians for not declaring war on the Axis when their own territory was invaded. He heaped encomiums upon King Ibn Saud—an avowed enemy of Jewish Palestine—adding that Ibn Saud's aid would be needed at the close of the war "in reaching a solution of the problem of the Arab world and of the Jewish people in Palestine."

As if to complete the picture, on the same day a dispatch from Cairo reported the possibility that the Arab leaders might give their assent to a limited Jewish immigration into Palestine during the next five years as a

magnanimous gesture. It is well known that British agents in the Near East have been laboring for some time to persuade the Arabs to make such a gesture, which would put them in a more favorable light in the eyes of the democratic world without involving any political sacrifice on their part or any departure from the spirit and letter of the White Paper. It will be recalled that the White Paper provided for the discontinuance of Jewish immigration after the 75,000 certificates had been exhausted unless further immigration was agreed to by the Arabs themselves. It is entirely possible that British officials have brought the Arabs around to agree to a formula which will permit a further trickle of Jewish immigration while preserving the principles of the White Paper and without affecting the present ratio of population in Palestine or endangering the two to one majority which the Arabs now have.

Viewing this somber picture, one is not surprised at the terrible reaction it has evoked in Jewish and Zionist circles, the sense of shock and bitter disappointment reflected in editorial comment and private conversation. For us as Jews nothing has come out of Malta, Yalta and Egypt but renewed frustration, humiliation and a sense of defeat. One is tempted to clutch at a straw. We are told that certain secret agreements have been reached which it is too early to divulge. Who knows, perhaps the Jewish Commonwealth is snugly tucked away somewhere among those secret agreements, carefully hidden from sight lest the "evil eye" fall upon it! It is theoretically conceivable, but is it probable? What has been said and left unsaid by Churchill and Roosevelt offers no support for such a comforting inference.

And what of our own Zionist policy? It is proper to ask why and on what basis were such high hopes built up around the conference of the Big Three and so widely disseminated? So much had been read into the request that the issue be left in the President's hands "just a little while longer." It was whispered and bruited about that the President was deeply in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth and was determined to press for it in his meetings with Churchill and Stalin. He did not need the backing of a Congressional resolution and did not desire it. He preferred to do the job himself. He was

going abroad fully primed and could be relied upon to "bring home the bacon." Urging the passage of the resolution or bringing any other form of pressure was untimely, unnecessary and would only be resented. It would jeopardize the glorious victory which was in the offing. Dr. Silver's "aggressive" policy was a menace. As one Zionist leader put it, Dr. Silver was "gambling with the last hope of the Jewish people." For that reason he was eliminated.

What now? What conclusions and consequences are to be drawn from this new and humiliating defeat which the Zionist cause has suffered? Who has "gambed with the last hope of the Jewish people?" Those who sought to reinforce the presumably pro-Zionist position of Churchill and Roosevelt by getting the Congress of the United States on record in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth prior to the meeting of the Big Three, or those who insisted upon dropping it, relying upon a favorable outcome ostensibly "in the bag?"

We have waited "a little while longer"; how much longer are we to wait? It is six years since the White Paper was issued and it is still on the statute books. Millions of Jews have been exterminated, and the doors of Palestine remain officially closed. It is just about five years since Churchill, who has described himself as an "architect of the Jewish future," became Prime Minister. But nothing has happened. Also it is nearly five months since Mr. Roosevelt made his public declaration in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth and pledged his help to bring about its realization. What steps have been taken towards implementation?

A very heavy responsibility was taken by those Zionist leaders who interrupted Dr. Silver's great political offensive, forced his resignation in defiance of the wishes and sentiments of the rank and file, and fostered illusions and false hopes about an imminent favorable decision by the Big Three. They must now be held accountable for the negative results of their policy and for the disillusionment and discouragement which have followed.

More clearly than ever before, it will now be seen that the controversy through which we have been passing is not merely a matter of personalities,

of personal disagreements between two or three leaders. Clearly it is a case of divergent viewpoints, of different political conceptions and lines of approach. At the Atlantic City Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, it was Dr. Silver who paid the most generous and eloquent tribute to President Roosevelt for his declaration of October 15th. But it was also Dr. Silver who, in the same address, warned us that our battle days were not over, that we still face a hard struggle, and who cautioned us in the same breath—"Place not your trust in princes!" He also warned against any relaxation of effort, any partial demobilization, any suspension of our militant political action. And his line was approved by a unanimous resolution of the Convention. As against that, as it subsequently transpired, others believed that the President's declaration had ushered in a new period, the dawn of a new day in which dynamic leaders like Dr. Silver should be relegated to the background and the reins of office be handed over to more "cautious and diplomatic" gentlemen.

What has now happened proves Dr. Silver to have been right and his opponents wrong. Is it too much to suggest that the obvious consequences should be drawn, that the defeated diplomats should gracefully retire and Dr. Silver be recalled to leadership?



AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 West 42nd Street

New York 18, N. Y.



Why Dr. Silver Resigned

FROM THE

Zionist Emergency

Council



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.



Backstairs to Nowhere

by
Marvin Lowenthal

An
Examination
of
Zionist
Policy



Reprinted from the
DETROIT JEWISH NEWS
and THE JEWISH DA

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 be-levilled 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 *stadlen*. 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 *stadlen* 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
55 West 42nd Street
New York 18, N. Y.

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 "shtetlanut" 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 Loyal 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 "Hol-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.G.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 Mizrachi, 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 Mizrachi and Poale 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 "Wise 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—Pale Zion, Mizrahi 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-rumach*—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 the 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 whole-heartedly 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 whole-heartedly 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. LOWN, *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

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