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American Zionist Policy Committee, Zionist controversy,
miscellaneous, 1945.

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—

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 Shtadlanut 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 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 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.

The Silver Issue and Z.O.A. Regional Membership

After the Hasty Reorganization of the Executive the Membership Speaks. — Democracy Contravened. — The Explanation.

By JACOB RICHMAN

Member of the Pennsylvania Bar.

In my article two weeks ago, I predicted that whatever reorganization was carried out in the American Zionist Emergency Council, the controversy would probably continue to agitate the public for months to come. Events have borne out my prediction. The reorganization has taken place but the controversy has not abated.

Dr. Silver's resignation was accepted by a majority vote against the wishes of two of the parties, in disregard of sound advice and in defiance of public opinion. The representatives of the Mizrahi and the Poale Zion, the veteran Zionist leader, Louis Lipsky—and other persons of influence and experience as well as the Jewish press counselled delay—urged and pleaded for no immediate action on the resignation. They advocated a cooling off period and an opportunity for disinterested efforts to heal the breach and restore unity. But the "compact majority"—the ZOA administration group and their allies among the Hadassah leaders—refused to heed these pleas coming from all sides. They wanted Dr. Silver's head and they wanted it in a hurry.

Why this haste? They had before them—or behind them—the comparatively recent incident of Ben Gurion's resignation as Chairman of the Jewish Agency Executive. Ben Gurion had leveled against Dr. Weizmann substantially the same charge that has been leveled against Dr. Silver: carrying on political activity on his own instead of on the basis of collective judgment and responsibility. He, Ben Gurion, had not been consulted by Dr. Weizmann on various occasions and Weizmann was saying and doing things contrary to what Ben Gurion claimed to be the policy of the Executive. Ben Gurion wanted to force Dr. Weizmann's resignation by tendering his own. A rather striking parallel to the Wise-Silver situation here!

A BETTER EXAMPLE

But what happened in that case? Neither the Yishuv nor the Zionist world would hear of resignations. Zionist public opinion insisted that both leaders remain at their posts and compose their differences. The crisis in the

World Executive hung on for several months without bringing its work to a standstill. Ben Gurion's resignation remained pending while efforts were made to bring about an understanding and a reconciliation. A delegation of the Executive made a journey to London specially for this purpose. In the end these efforts were successful. The crisis was resolved: both Weizmann and Ben Gurion retained their positions and after today collaborating in the leadership of the Zionist movement. It may be no more than a truce, but in critical times like these, even a temporary truce is preferable to internecine war and a public controversy.

Why then was this example not followed? What was to be lost by delaying action on the resignations and permitting a cooling off period? If Dr. Silver had committed a "crime", as his opponents charged, surely there was no danger of his jumping bail and skipping their jurisdiction. There was no possibility that their quarry would elude them and escape the retribution they had in store for him. In the meantime the work of the Council need not have stopped. A small interim committee could have carried on. Surely there was plenty of talent to draw from among the ZOA and Hadassah leaders who were so eager to take over. Such an arrangement was in fact proposed by the Poale Zion and earnestly advocated by others but was rejected out of hand by the ZOA group.

The defeat of these 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.

THE MEMBERSHIP SPEAKS

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. The Brooklyn Region, the largest in the country, with a membership of over 10,000, led off by adopting strongly worded resolutions disapproving the action of the Administration and calling for a special convention. The resolutions were adopted by overwhelming votes after three successive meetings and after a full dress debate in which the Administration's case was amply presented by no less a spokesman than Dr. James G. Heller. Brooklyn was followed by Long Island with its 6500 membership and Long Island by Connecticut. A similar position was taken by the Baltimore Zionists. A similar resolution was adopted by the leaders of the Pittsburgh district, representing a membership of 6000. There is considerable evidence that while in the Administrative Council Mr. Neumann's resolution demanding the recall of Dr. Silver was defeated by 2 to 1, sentiment throughout the country is 4 or 5 to 1 in the opposite direction. A true regard for the principles of democracy would have suggested giving an opportunity for all districts and regions to express themselves

on the issues before and not after action was taken.

WEIGHING THE CASE

As for the "case" itself, the essential evidence is all in. A careful reading of the various statements and memoranda issued by both sides yields a fairly clear picture of what had transpired. Dr. Silver and his supporters attached great significance to the Congressional Resolution, in which the whole Zionist Movement had invested a year of intensive effort. The Zionist Convention at Atlantic City had adopted by a unanimous vote a decision calling for the passage of the resolution. This constituted a clear mandate to the leadership, a mandate given not before, but after the President's statement of October 15th. Dr. Silver was intent on carrying out this mandate while taking the necessary precautions to secure the approval of the State Department. To him and to his followers the "green light" was not an end in itself but a means to ensure the passage of the Palestine Resolution. He believed throughout that the "green light" could and would be obtained if the Movement remained united in its determination and if the full impact of its united will were conveyed to the State Department and the President. But his heroic efforts to accomplish this result were deliberately frustrated by some of his colleagues who were more concerned about their remaining in the good graces of the powers that be.

The chief piece of concrete evidence that has been produced against Dr. Silver to sustain the charge of "contravening the decisions of the Council" was the letter he wrote to Congressman Bloom at the latter's request on the eve of the meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House, urging Mr. Bloom to proceed as he had planned to proceed in securing an affirmative vote by his committee. Dr. Silver took this action on November 28th in order to keep the Resolution alive pending an interview which he and Senator Wagner were to have with the Secretary of State a few days later for the purpose of securing official approval to the passage of the Resolution in both Houses. If Dr. Silver exceeded his authority in

writing that letter, he could be criticized at most for an excess of zeal in taking the step on his own responsibility.

But what is one to say of what followed? When Dr. Silver and Senator Wagner called upon Secretary Stettinius on Monday, December 4th, to persuade him and win his support, they were confronted with the fatal telegram which Mr. Stettinius had received that very morning from Dr. Wise indicating that he and his associates were quite ready to acquiesce in the deferment of the Resolution. It was a secret telegram. It was sent without the knowledge and approval of the Emergency Council. Neither Silver nor Wagner were informed about the sending of the telegram or its contents. It contained the words "this telegram is for you alone." Clearly and obviously it was designed to wreck the mission of Dr. Silver and Senator Wagner and to torpedo the Congressional Resolution.

No amount of explaining will justify this act—an act which it is best not to characterize.

BEHIND DR. WISE

It is inconceivable that Dr. Wise should have committed so appalling a breach of Zionist discipline and a violation of his obligations towards both Senator Wagner and Dr. Silver entirely on his own responsibility. He is not in fact the real party to the controversy with Dr. Silver. Behind Dr. Wise's impressive front is a group of men who have exploited his prestige, his sensibilities and his grievances and used him in their long premeditated attack upon Dr. Silver's leadership. They are men of lesser stature and tall ambitions who had run the Emergency Council before the advent of Dr. Silver and whom Dr. Silver's assumption of leadership had necessarily displaced. Viewed against that murky background of resentment and personal hostility, the elimination of Dr. Silver was not an act of justice but a gross miscarriage of justice. It was not dictated by purely objective political considerations but the consummation of a vendetta. It was a ruthless and destructive act, hurtful to the cause and menacing the unity and integrity of the Organization. It will not be easily forgiven or forgotten by the Zionists of this country.

FEB 27 1945
~~HPM~~
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February 26, 1945

Memorandum on meeting of executive board members (about 80 persons), New York Region, Hadassah Business and Professional Women, at the Hotel Gotham in New York City on Sunday, February 25.

In the course of her reply to pointed questioning from the floor following her talk on Zionist political affairs, Mrs. Samuel Halprin gave this account of certain actions of Dr. Silver in re the Dewey and Roosevelt statements:

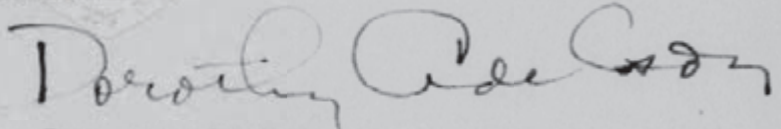
Contrary to some reports, she said, the statement from the President had been obtained prior to the Dewey statement. However, when it was brought in to an Emergency Council meeting, the members thought that it would be possible to obtain a better statement. When Dr. Silver learned that a Roosevelt statement had been obtained, he went out and obtained a statement from Dewey without informing the other Council members and gave this statement to the press. Dr. Silver kept the news of the Dewey statement from the Emergency Council members until near the very end of the meeting. In the meantime, he urged that the Council drop the matter of the President's statement altogether—this while they were still ignorant that the Dewey statement had been obtained and released.

The indictment of Dr. Silver implied in this story acted as a crushing rebuttal to the questioners.

Today, I telephoned Mrs. Halprin to make sure that I had heard correctly and so as not to misquote her. She corroborated the account point by point, and repeated that she had been present at that Council meeting. I asked whether the story was intended to imply that Dr. Silver had favored Dewey at the expense of Zionism, and she interrupted to say that she implied nothing; she was merely stating the facts.

Mrs. Halprin asked what I wanted the information for, and I said that as a journalist it was my business to be informed. She declared that she had spoken to Hadassah "within the family" and did not think it was my place to write anything about her speech, if that was my intention. She said that, if she wanted to engage in public controversy with Dr. Silver, she had plenty of platforms and writing space at her disposal, but she implied that Hadassah's policy was to avoid public discussion of the rift and that I would be disloyal in promoting such discussion.

I then asked her what her sources were for her assertion at yesterday's meeting that the Zionist leaders had reason to believe that the question of Palestine had come up at Yalta and Malta, in the face of the statement by a highly-placed British official, reported in the JTA of February 23, that "no plan for Palestine was discussed at the conferences held by Roosevelt and Churchill with the Arab kings." She answered that, although they had not as yet had an opportunity to see anyone who had returned from the conferences, the Zionist leaders had reason to believe, before Roosevelt left (*italics mine*) that the Palestine situation would be taken up at the Big Three conference!


Dorothy Adelson

MAR 9 1945
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MEMO TO EXECUTIVE BOARD MEMBERS, NEW YORK REGION HADASSAH B. AND P. GROUPS

At the meeting of the Hadassah B. and P. New York Region on Sunday, February 25 at the "otel Gotham, a statement was made from the platform concerning Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's actions in connection with the Roosevelt and Dewey statements on Palestine. Since this statement reflected on Dr. Silver's integrity and the sincerity of his Zionism, many Hadassah members were relieved to find that it did not check with the facts.

The allegation was as follows: A statement from President Roosevelt on Palestine was brought in to the Emergency Council executive meeting on October 12. When Dr. Silver learned that a Roosevelt statement had been obtained, he went out and obtained a statement from candidate Dewey without informing the other Council members, and gave this statement to the press. Keeping the news of the Dewey statement from the Emergency Council members, Dr. Silver urged that the Council drop the matter of the President's statement altogether.

The minutes of the October 12 executive committee meeting of the Emergency Council tell a different story. During the first part of the meeting, the discussion centered about the fact that Dr. Stephen S. Wise had disobeyed instructions from the Council and had obtained a statement from the President without telling Dr. Silver, his co-chairman, anything about it. Dr. Silver had learned of it only from the report in the New York Times that morning. Censure was also expressed of Dr. Wise's statement as he was leaving the President, as reported in the press, that he did not know for whom he would vote, for the President or for the Democratic candidate. It was said that it was not proper for a Zionist spokesman to give the impression that the whole Zionist movement was tied to the Democratic party.

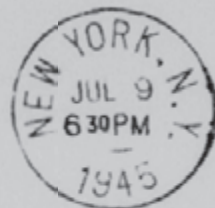
Dr. Silver at no point suggested that the Council drop the matter of obtaining a statement from the President altogether. He said (quoting the minutes) "he had not seen the final draft that had been submitted to the President for approval. If the message embodies what he indicated with the objectionable phrases out, it is not a bad statement, and may do us good. It puts the President in support of the plank in the Democratic Party platform."

Dr. Silver then stated that, to indicate that there is no partisanship in the Zionist movement, he had procured a statement from Mr. Dewey. After the Dewey statement was read to the committee, Rabbi Miller recalled that it had been decided ~~there~~ at the last meeting that, following a statement from Mr. Roosevelt, we should try to get one from Mr. Dewey.

Thus, the incident as recorded in the official minutes completely belies the impression given at the Hotel Gotham meeting that Dr. Silver, in his implied partisanship for Dewey, was trying to suppress the President's statement altogether. After investigating the story about Dr. Silver and finding it incorrect, several Hadassah members who were present at the Hotel Gotham meeting decided it would only be fair to let the facts be known to as many as possible of those who had been misinformed.

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GRAND CENTRAL
ANNEX



Mr. H. Manson
American Zionist Policy Committee
55 West 42nd Street
New York City

JUL 10 1945

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THE WOMEN'S ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA, INC.
H A D A S S A H
1819 Broadway, New York, N.Y.

File

July 6th, 1945.

Dear Chapter President and Political Chairman:

As you know, for some time now a committee appointed by the Zionist Organization of America has been exploring the possibility of resolving the controversy relating to the American Zionist Emergency Council.

A formula for reorganization has been accepted by the Z.O.A. Executive Committee as a basis for further negotiations. This formula has not yet been presented to the National Board of Hadassah or to the Emergency Council but will be discussed next week by both these bodies. We will let you know as soon as possible what action flows from the forthcoming discussions.

Ordinarily we would have waited until after the meetings to present the full picture to you, but there has been an attack on Hadassah by the Yiddish Press which has erroneously charged Hadassah with obstructing peace. Nothing can be further from the truth than this accusation. Those Hadassah members who have seen the proposals, while in agreement with the general directives, have made certain criticisms and recommendations for change. To interpret such recommendations as a desire to balk the peace is irresponsible criticism and must be discouraged.

We depend on you should you be approached to make it clear that (1) Hadassah is as actively interested as any other group in resolving the difficulties that have disturbed the American Zionist scene in the last few months, and in building up a strong and effective instrument for the furtherance of Zionist aims in this country; (2) Hadassah has joined wholeheartedly in extending to Dr. Silver an invitation to return to leadership; (3) Hadassah holds firm to its prerogative to judge the proposals on their merits and to give its best efforts towards reorganizing the form and structure of the Council so that it will serve the best interests of our movement.

From experience we have learned at great cost that dissension may arise as easily from badly conceived organization as from vital differences. We want to avoid this. We will support the type of reorganization that in our opinion will assure proper deliberation and consideration of the problems that face us in the difficult days ahead. You will hear from us again shortly.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Moses P. Epstein
National President

MEMORANDUM ON HADASSAH'S LETTER

To: William Edlin

July 10, 1945

From: Harold P. Manson

The following are a few observations on Hadassah's letter to its Chapter presidents which you may care to incorporate in an editorial on Hadassah's role in the Zionist controversy:

1. Mrs. Epstein's letter charges that the Yiddish press has falsely accused Hadassah of obstructing peace. The letter goes on to say that Hadassah's representatives on the Council have merely "made certain criticisms and recommendations" and characterizes comment in the Yiddish press as "irresponsible." Mrs. Epstein goes on to say that Hadassah "is as actively interested as any other group in resolving the difficulties that have disturbed the American Zionist scene in the last few months."

Let us take a quick glance at the record to ascertain whether Hadassah's protestations of innocence can be believed and whether the criticism of the Yiddish press has been as "irresponsible" as Hadassah leaders now claim.

A. Before the Emergency Council meeting of December 20, 1944, at which Dr. Silver's resignation was forced, the Hadassah Board met to consider what course its representatives should follow. The consensus of opinion was for "a cooling off period," and the suggestion was made that Hadassah's representatives on the Council be bound to insist that the matter be allowed to wait. However, Mrs. Epstein and Mrs. Halprin, the organization's representatives on the Council, insisted on the right to take whatever action they deemed necessary. Following this they met with leaders of the Z.O.A. machine and agreed to support the Z.O.A. representatives in their plan to force Dr. Silver's resignation.

B. After the meeting on December 20, when the Poale Zion and Mizrachi parties did their best to halt the "reorganization," Hadassah insisted on going through with it.

C. Many weeks later Mizrachi's representatives on the Council introduced a resolution calling for a reorganization and the recall of Dr. Silver to the leadership, but a motion was made by Hadassah's representatives to table this resolution.

D. Before the Lewisohn Stadium Rally, when it became quite clear that Zionists everywhere were demanding Dr. Silver's participation and when the Council's leaders were forced by the pressure of public opinion to invite Dr. Silver to speak, only one voice was raised in opposition - that of Mrs. Halprin, one of the Hadassah representatives.

E. At the last meeting of the Z.O.A. Executive Committee, when the Peace Committee's proposals were being debated, Mrs. Epstein, President of Hadassah, urged the Z.O.A. Executive to take no affirmative action and defer the matter indefinitely.

All Zionists who are in-the-know are very much aware of the fact that Hadassah's leaders are working hand-in-glove with Herman Shulman, who has re-

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peatedly opposed any action which might bring about a reorganization and the recall of Dr. Silver. (Mrs. Herman Schulman is a key figure in the present Hadassah leadership)

2. Mrs. Epstein's letter states that "Hadassah has joined wholeheartedly in extending Dr. Silver an invitation to return to leadership." It can be stated quite categorically that there has been no action on the part of Hadassah to justify such a statement. Hadassah should be challenged to produce evidence in corroboration of this assertion.

3. Of course, the last few sentences in the letter indicate that Hadassah is still determined to continue its obstructionist role whenever possible. From past experience we have reason to know that when Hadassah's leaders say that they will "support the type of reorganization that in our opinion will assure proper deliberation, etc.," they mean that they will make every effort to produce the type of reorganization that will tie Dr. Silver's hands and withhold from him the centralized direction of American Zionist political work.

HPM:LF

CC: Morris Weinberg



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

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MEMORANDUM

To Members of American Zionist Emergency Council *Date* July 16, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

Enclosed herewith for your information is a memorandum dated July 16
with enclosure which was sent to Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees.

HLS:CLD

Enc.

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees Date July 16, 1945

From Harry L. Shapiro

On Thursday night, July 12, the American Zionist Emergency Council voted unanimously to recall Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to political leadership. Enclosed is a press release which gives you full details of the approved agreement. You will note that Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Silver were elected Joint Chairmen of the Council and that Dr. Silver was named Chairman of its Executive Committee.

Following that meeting, the Executive Committee of the Council was convened and on the recommendation of Dr. Silver, I was elected Executive Director of the Council. It goes without saying that I am happy to return to my former position and to have the opportunity of working with your Committee as in former days.

At the moment, we are busily engaged in developing our program for the future. As soon as that is completed I shall be in touch with you.

Now that the breach in our movement has been healed on a national basis, I know that that unity will be reflected locally. With the mobilization of all our Zionist forces, it is our profound hope that we will go forward united to the achievement of our objective -- the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Regards.

HLS:MH
Enc.

PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations:

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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

- - - - -

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

DR. SILVER IS CHAIRMAN OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE;

EMANUEL NEUMANN AND LOUIS LIPSKY MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE

- - - - -

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

- - - - -

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

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

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

(more)

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

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

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

The terms of the reorganization follow:

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

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

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

4) The Executive Committee shall be enlarged by the addition of Mr. Louis Lipsky and Mr. Emanuel Neumann as members at large.

5) A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the six officers of the Council and of the Executive Committee. The Board shall meet between meetings of the Executive Committee to consider steps to be taken in line with policies already agreed upon with regard to such matters as may require prompt action, and it shall have such other functions as the Executive Committee may from time to time decide. (If Hadassah chooses a vice-chairmanship, this paragraph shall read: "A Board of Officers shall be created in which are to be included the two co-chairmen of the Council and the four vice-chairmen of the Executive Committee, etc.")

The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall be the Chairman of the Board of Officers and shall preside at its meetings. In his absence Dr. Wise shall be the presiding officer.

Meetings of the Board shall be called by the Chairman whenever required and shall also be called when requested by any three members of the Board. Each of the Joint Chairmen of the Council shall have the right to name a proxy to attend meetings of the Board in his absence and to vote in his stead.

6) The Chairman of the Executive Committee shall have the right to name, with the approval of the Executive Committee, an Executive Director and other key members of the staff.

7) The members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency in the United States

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shall be invited to participate without vote in the meetings of the Council, of the Executive Committee and of the Board of Officers. It is understood that a similar invitation will be extended to the Joint Chairmen of the Council to participate in meetings of the members of the Jewish Agency Executive in the United States.

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#164 - 7/16/45



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 Mizrahi 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. A. 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

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 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 and instead of acquiescing in his request to hold the matter up for the time being, had 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 envenomed 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.

PUBLIC OPINION

on the

ZIONIST
CONTROVERSY

Public Opinion on the Zionist Controversy

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

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

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

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

The Press Speaks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Editorial in *The Day* December 23, 1944

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When Dr. Silver accepted the chairmanship of the

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

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

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

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

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

**"Dr. Silver Served Zionism 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 "Hof-Jude," a member of the President's inner circle . . . Now Dr. Silver—so it is said—is a Republican and is therefore undesirable at the White House, whereas Dr. Wise is "persona gratissima." For this reason—the argument goes—Dr. Silver should be removed from the political leadership . . . It is not true that Dr. Silver is a Republican. He was at one time a supporter of Willkie, as were many good Democrats, because he did not wish to break the two-term precedent . . . As to the allegation that a certain Zionist is "persona gratissima" at the White House, one might well say: "Prove it to me!"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The fact that 100 Eastern Zionist leaders have

already placed themselves on record as having "unshakable and abiding confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" and in his policies; the fact that he has the support of Labor Zionists, the 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—Poale 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-ruach*—the men of intellect and the deed born of the intellect—to grasp firmly the reins of leadership instead of permitting the mediocrities to rule and ruin.

"Lack of Statesmanship"

Editorial in the *Bnai Zion Voice*

January, 1945

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

From the Rank and File

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The dangerous breach must not be permitted to widen.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

We deplore the resignation of our great and courageous leader Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. We 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 Brai Zion were bitterly disappointed by the action of the Zionist Emergency Council, which forced and accepted the resignation of Rabbi Silver as co-chairman of the Council.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Neither men alone nor issues alone can determine Zionist

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

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

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

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

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

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE

55 WEST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

A Little While Longer

by

RABBI LEON I. FEUER





Harold G. Hanson

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 brained 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 "gambled with the last hope of the Jewish people?" Those who sought to reenforce 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?



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55 West 42nd Street

New York 18, N. Y.