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Sack, Leo, 1945.

LEO R. SACK

July 13, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver,
Mayflower Hotel,
Plymouth, Massachusetts

Dear Dr. Silver:

Congratulations are in order for Palestine and for the Zionist Organizations of the United States and the world.

For yourself, all that I can say is that, aside from your eagerness to serve constructively, you are letting yourself in again for a long period of grief and disillusionment. Nevertheless, I do hope and pray that some damn fools will have more sense from here|in than they had in the years 1943-44.

For myself, I am perfectly delighted and I am confident that once again our movement, and our part in the movement, will go forward with intelligence and constructive leadership.

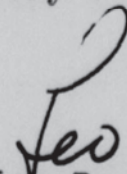
I understand that you are going to London. This would preclude, I assume, any trip by you to Washington at present. So I will be in New York next week to see you and at the same time to accept Harry Shapiro's invitation to attend the dinner for Emanuel Neumann.

If you can perceive no objections, I will get to New York on the afternoon of the 18th which is the day before the dinner, and if you are in town that day, we will have a chance to talk because there are a lot of things I want to give you a fill-in on. Otherwise I will see you in the morning of the 19th.

I have been trying to get you on the 'phone all morning to extend congratulations in person since war regulations prohibit me from sending you a congratulatory telegram.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Silver and again my warmest congratulations to the Zionist Movement.

Very sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

LRS/rmp

MEMORANDUM

To Harry L. Shapiro

Date August 17, 1945

From Leo Sack

Subject: Text of President Truman's statement on Palestine

Herewith follows exact text of the questions and answers pertaining to Palestine at President Truman's press and radio conference at the White House on Thursday, August 16, 1945:

Question: -

"Mr. President, was anything about the Jewish National State discussed at Potsdam?"

Answer: -

"There was. I discussed the matter with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Atlee, and we are still discussing it."

Question:-

"Not with Stalin?"

Answer: -

"No, there was nothing he could do about it."

For the moment this was all that was said on the subject but a few minutes later an alert reporter not caring to see the President's view left unclarified brought up the subject again. He inquired:

Question: -

"Mr. President, what was the American view on Palestine put forth at Berlin?"

Answer:-

"The American view of Palestine is, we want to let as many of the Jews into Palestine as it is possible to let into that country. Then the matter will have to be worked out diplomatically with the British and the Arabs so that if a state can be set up there, they may be able to set it up on a peaceful basis. I have no desire to send 500,000 American soldiers there to make peace in Palestine"

There was no further questioning.

LS:MH

Personal

LEO R. SACK

Saturday, P. M., Aug. 25, 45

Dear Doctor Silver;

Welcome Home.

I am truly sorry that I can not go up to New York on Monday because I knew the meetings will be interesting and stimulating, but I have been spending the week in the Dentist's chair and I have to go back on Monday and on Tuesday and probably Wednesday. I am getting new dentures, up and down. In the meanwhile I don't look very Kosher, and have, therefore, been staying close to home except for trips to the dentist.

I did go to the Capitol, however, today to talk to Wagner who saw the President briefly on Thursday when he had lunch at the Senate.

I had hoped that Wagner got an ear full but he told me that the President did not give him much of a report on his talks with Churchill and Attlee because too many other Senators were present. He did quote the President as wanting to talk to him more fully about Palestine. No time was fixed, so I, therefore, suggested to Wagner that he make an appointment for some afternoon next week and that

3 he invite you to accompany him,
Wagner agreed to this but said
"it will have to be week after
next because next week I have
got hearings." (This means the
week of September 3rd.)

I hope this will be agreeable
to you. If so please advise me
and may I suggest that you
personally telephone the
Senator next week; refer to his
conversation with Leo Sack on
Saturday, Aug. 25, and get
together with him on a date
for Wagner to suggest to the
President. In addition you
might suggest to Wagner

4

that you are anxious to see him
in order to give him a report on
the Congress as well as current
British opinion. (He will like that.)

I explained to Wagner why
you should accompany him, not
only in order that you as American
head of the Zionist movement
should get a complete picture,
but also in order that you
can bolster Wagner's arguments
and at the same time stiffen
Truman's spine.

Wagner got the impression in
his brief talk with Truman
that he was sold a bill of
goods by the British on
possible Arab disturbances;

5 Also that the British are having
doubts about the Commonwealth
Wagner said he asked Truman
"what's the difference between
an Arab Commonwealth and a
Jewish Commonwealth?"
"That's right," he said
Truman said x

I hope, therefore it will be
possible for you to join Wagner.

Because of certain acts of
God and man, I think you will
find Wagner more helpful and
cooperative than when you saw
him last fall. For one thing
his physical and mental
condition is better. He is
not so harassed. Another

6
thing - and this is most important -
he is getting recognition from the
White House as the chief Senate
spokesman for our cause. He
got no such kudos from F. D. R.
This flatters him. He yet may
be of real help to us. Certainly
he is willing and with
Shulman no longer in the
picture he won't be confused
nor misguided.

When I get my new teeth -
next week, I hope - and can go
out in public I would like
to talk to you face to face. If
necessary I will go to Cleveland
if that suits your convenience.

7 For your further information,
Wagner like all of us is much
amused over repeated statements
from Cairo that Iben Saud got a
promise from F. D. R. that he would
not support the Zionist cause.
Wagner does not believe this
(nor do I). He says that
Roosevelt told him upon his
return from Yalta that he had
not changed his position
+ that he "would get the
Commonwealth at the Peace
Table."

Anyway, since there was
an interpreter present when
Roosevelt spoke to Iben Saud

8 I suggested to Wagner that he
privately request Jimmy Byrne to
advise him just what was said.
I am sure there is some sort
of a Memoranda in the State
Department on this matter. He
said that he would.

It is my idea that if Wagner
gets this information that he
issue a forthright statement
of denial which you and I,
perhaps, will help him prepare.

Please excuse longhand
but no stenographer is available
this Saturday afternoon.

Kindest regards and Again,
Welcome Home. Sincerely,
Mr. Silver. Fred Black

STATEMENT DICTATED TO RABBI SILVER
BY LEO SACK

9-14-45

The President has no comment whatsoever on the reputed statement by the former Senator Gillette. For your confidential information, Leo, there is something of that sort pending, but Gillette was not authorized to say anything. If and when any announcement is to be made, it will be made by the President at a press conference where it should be made.

There never was any intention of discussing this matter at this time because it is still in a stage of negotiations. Somebody has blabbed when they should have kept their mouths closed. It has created a very embarrassing situation. There are complications involved. Thus things should never have been discussed. The President is very much annoyed. It is very embarrassing the way this matter has worked out. This is not a denial that the thing has not been done, but that the manner ~~is~~ in which ~~is~~ it was announced was out of order.

Leo Sack letter re

Summer Welles

WRHS



see

11-1-45

LEO R. SACK

November 15, 1945

Dear Doctor:

The enclosed is for your further
information.

Sincerely,



1945

MEMORANDA OF CONVERSATIONS BY LEO R. SACK ON NOVEMBER 14TH
FOLLOWING THE MORE THAN TWO HOUR MEETING IN THE SENATE COM-
MITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

When the Committee adjourned about 12:40 P. M. on Wednesday, November 14, Senators were in a great hurry to get away, not only because the Senate was in session upstairs but also because many of them were anxious to get to the special unveiling of President Truman's painting in Leslie Biffle's office and then attend the luncheon which had been arranged for the President. For this reason Senators were very brief in their comments on developments within the Committee.

Senator Taft, who left before the other Senators, told me that there had been a confused report on the President's attitude. Senator Connally, for example, was quoted as telling the Committee that "Truman said passage of the Resolution will tie his hands." But Senator Taft quoted Senator Barkley, who arrived at the meeting shortly before 12 o'clock because he had been in conference with the President and other Democratic leaders at the White House, as not confirming Connally's interpretation of the President's attitude. "All that Truman said," according to Barkley, "was that it would be less embarrassing to him if we waited until Attlee got out of the country." Barkley's questioning of the accuracy of Connally's report was very annoying to the Texas Senator.

Taft told me that the Committee seemed anxious ~~that~~ to amend the text of the original resolution in order to link the preamble with the decision by the Governments of the United States and Great Britain to appoint a joint commission to investigate all of the ramifications of the Palestine question and the problem of Jewish migration. For this reason, Taft said a vote had been postponed. Senator Taft was of the opinion that the Committee would accept the resolution with this amendment.

Subsequently I saw Senator LaFollette who was quite annoyed at the delay within the Committee. LaFollette, however, had a luncheon engagement with his host waiting near the committee entrance, and all that he told me at the moment was

that the Resolution was being referred to a committee of five Senators for amendment, with instructions to this committee to confer also with Secretary of State Byrnes.

Next I saw Senator Guffey and Senator Wagner who came out of the committee room together. Wagner seemed distressed as well as anxious to get upstairs where he was to participate in a pending debate on a housing bill. He said that Joe would tell me all about it. At the outset Senator Guffey told me, "we had the votes to pass it today and we will pass it next week." Then Guffey went on to explain that Tom Connally vigorously objected to action today and had insisted that the matter be referred to a special subcommittee which he would appoint. Guffey seemed to think that the subcommittee would not be a friendly one but he was happy because it was specifically agreed within the committee that although not a member of the Foreign Relations Committee Senator Taft would be consulted on the draft of the amended resolution. Guffey repeated, "We had the votes to pass it today but we did not want to make a show-down fight." Then Guffey went to the luncheon with the President.

Next I saw Wagner who was hot and bothered, and impatient, not only because of what I since learned was a rather rough session within the committee, but also because he was scheduled to be recognized in the Senate speedily in reference to the housing bill. Wagner more or less confirmed what Guffey said, and seemed to think that the Resolution would be passed on Monday.

Up to this point none of the reports were adequate in my opinion, and none of them were sufficiently detailed. For the next hour, however, it was impossible to see any Senators because all who knew about the story were tied up in the luncheon for the President.

Subsequently I saw Senator LaFollette. He had more time then and he told me that the chief reason for delay this morning other than the desire to amend the Resolution was the physical presence of Prime Minister Attlee in the United States. The Senators felt, he said, that it would have been a mark of discourtesy to have

passed legislation critical of Britain while Mr. Attlee was a guest in the country. "We could have voted out the Resolution this morning" La Follette said, "but it would have been a divided vote. I think it was better that we delayed action so that we could have as much unanimity as possible. I believe the postponement will accomplish this. Bob Taft agreed to the change and while Wagner was reluctant, he too agreed. I also think the change should be made."

"I wanted Jim Byrnes to come up this morning and I told the Committee that I was damn tired of these dilatory tactics. I said that this is the same sort of thing we had last year. At my insistence Tom telephoned Byrnes and while I did not hear what Byrnes said, Tom reported that he could not come down because he was tied up at a conference with the Secretaries of War and Navy." (I later learned that this was true.)

Senator La Follette told me that if when the Committee convenes next Monday the dilatory tactics are still pursued he intended to do all in his power to force a favorable report. He expressed the opinion that "we have the votes". Then Senator La Follette expressed his horror and his amazement, as well as his lack of understanding of a governmental policy which has been so indifferent to the tragic plight of the Jewish people in Europe throughout these years. He could not understand, he said, why Mr. Roosevelt, who rode into office election after election on Jewish votes from New York City and other metropolitan areas, had been so utterly callous not only to Jewish suffering, but to forthright personal as well as party pledges to the Zionist cause.

For the sake of this record and for the future, let me note here that throughout the entire period of dependency of this Resolution, dating back to the fall of 1943, Senator La Follette has been a sincere and straightforward supporter of our cause. In the past two years I have always found him willing and eager to cooperate, and forthright and honest. In the Senate Foreign Relations Committee rooms in December, 1944, when the Zionist Organization split because the Administration was giving us the double-cross Senator La Follette stood like a rock of Gibraltar for our cause. Along with Senator

Bennett Clark he was most vigorous in his denunciation in the Committee and to Mr. Stettinius' face of Administration double-talk and dilatory tactics. During the several roll calls last December La Follette always voted for our Resolution. And on the final roll call on December 11th when the Administration succeeded in forcing delay, La Follette was one of the eight Senators who stood pat. I do hope that in the Senatorial elections in Wisconsin next fall that Wisconsin Jews will be well-acquainted with the story of La Follette and will stand by him as the Ohio Jews stood by Bob Taft, because it is more apparent than ever that the sincere friends that the Zionists have in the United States Senate must be bound to us with hoops of steel. Otherwise our cause will flounder on the rocks of double talk such as we got first from Roosevelt and more tragically from the British Labor Government. And now to continue with my memorandum.

I saw Senator Vandenberg. He was vehement in his denunciation of the Administration. He insisted, "You are getting the same sort of double cross that you got from Roosevelt last fall. While this Administration tells you one thing they are going behind your back and doing just the opposite. I wish I could talk to Dr. Silver to tell him some things that he should know. That Committee has no intention of passing a friendly resolution. In addition to the "Whereas" they are not going to let the word, "they" stand."

When I suggested that the words, "the Jews" then might be substituted for "they" Vandenberg replied, "This would be even worse."

It seemed to me then that Mr. Vandenberg was reverting to his cautious, compromising attitude of last year when he suggested a final draft that was satisfactory to Dr. Silver and others, and then went into the Committee room and voted against it. So I suggested to Mr. Vandenberg that he tell Dr. Silver over the telephone the things he had in mind, in view of the fact that Dr. Silver was tied up with conflicting engagements this week and could not come to Washington. This Vandenberg refused to do, saying he would not discuss it over the telephone. Then I suggested that the Senator

call one of the young ladies from his office and dictate to her a full and complete memorandum of his views for Dr. Silver's benefit and I would see that the memorandum was delivered to Dr. Silver immediately. This Vandenberg also refused to do insisting that he would not discuss the matter except across a desk from Dr. Silver.

During his protest, Vandenberg was severe in his denunciation of alleged ineptness on the part of Senator Wagner whom, he said, had annoyed members of the Committee.

I repeated this conversation immediately to Dr. Silver but later in the afternoon I began to have my doubts, both as to the significance of Vandenberg's Jeremiahs as well as to the sincerity of his warnings. I recall that the draft of the Resolution now pending before the Committee was written by several Senators including Vandenberg, and that it was intended to, and so regarded at the time, cover objections raised within the Committee last December.

(On Wednesday, while talking to Senator Hatch I gathered that no question had been raised in the Committee in reference to the phraseology that "they may reconstitute Palestine", etc. Senator Hatch also indicated to me that the Committee did not take too seriously Senator Connally's blusterings against Wagner.)

Later in the afternoon I again conferred with Guffey and Wagner, and both seemed to think that ^{under} the Resolution, which will be brought in by the subcommittee on Monday, ^{is} ~~will be~~ acceptable ~~unless~~ it will not pass.

A final word, at this writing there are two developments which look good from our standpoint. One is that Senator Barkley is reported to be firmly entrenched on our side, so much so that because of his insistence on our Resolution he got in the hair yesterday of Senator Connally. Barkley can be, if he stands pat, a tower of great strength and support to us. The other favorable sign is that Guffey and Wagner each are showing far more fight and knowledge of the subject than they displayed last year. For example, a memorandum which I had prepared for them yesterday morning based on the compromise agreement of the day before, was used by them in the Committee, and Guffey told me he made "good use of it."

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL
1720 SIXTEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

LEO R. SACK

December 13, 1945

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

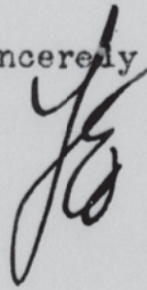
Dear Dr. Silver:

I am awfully sorry you were not here yesterday when the baby was born. An hour before the formal announcement was made, I told Emmanuel and Mr. Tulin, who had come down, that it was going to be a boy. The 17 to 1 vote would indicate that it is an eight-pounder!

I am enclosing for your archives a couple of copies of the Wagner report to the Senate. It is not as vigorous as I wanted it to be but I was out-talked by Akzin, and Delman (who is acting for Wagner), and Wagner, too, on the theory that if the report was too vigorous, Connally would become more belligerent than he is. Perhaps. Anyway, Wagner showed him the report last night before it was filed, and he didn't like that either. And he insists that he is going to go through with his opposition, because the President is opposed, but he did tell me on yesterday, and he also told Wagner, that his opposition will not include more than a brief statement of the opposition of the President.

At this moment you are flying home. All of us will be very happy to see you and I hope you will have a happy landing. Cheerio.

Sincerely yours,



LRS:cw
Encls.

P.S. For your further information, I am enclosing, first, a speech in the Senate by Senator Brewster in which he exposes British duplicity in the Middle East. Incidentally, the New

Dr. Silver

December 13, 1945

York Times carried a column of this. I was particularly pleased, may I add, with the entire operation because Senator Brewster responded on about thirty minutes' notice, we, of course, furnishing him with the basic material; and, second, the letter which Senators Wagner and Taft sent to the President which was occasioned by a nasty David Stern statement from the White House. Emmanuel Neumann is the chief author of this letter, with Dr. Akzin getting credit for several assists. Leo was in the out-field getting it inserted in the Congressional Record by Wagner, distributed to the press, and printed, and also authoring a letter to every member of the Foreign Relations Committee with a request that they please study the enclosure before the meeting of the Committee which occurred on yesterday. I am also enclosing for your files page 12063 from this morning's Congressional Record, showing officially that the Palestine resolution has been approved by the Senate Committee.

For your further information, Senator George was advised by the Committee Clerk that his colleagues had voted at a ratio of 17 to 1 in favor of the resolution, and he was asked how he wished to be recorded. He was not present at the meeting. "Absent", was the reply. He continues a die-hard. "Our President, right or wrong", says he.

L.S.R.

MEMORANDUM

FROM Mr. Leo R. Sack
TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
SUBJECT:

DATE: December 19, 1945

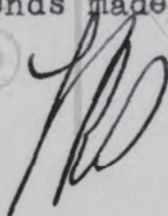
For your information, Celler said the enclosed on the floor yesterday.

Gerstenfeld tells me that wherever and whenever he can he is going to have his Reformed friends made aware of the Quisling attitude of this man.

LRS:sbr
Enc

WRHS

AMERICAN JEWISH
ARCHIVES



MEMORANDUM

FROM Mr. Leo R. Sack

DATE: December 20, 1945

TO: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

SUBJECT: SOME THOUGHTS FROM LEO SACK

The overwhelming votes in the Senate and the House of Representatives show conclusively the determination of the Congress to do something constructive toward the establishment of a national homeland for the Jews in Palestine. It is equally true, however, that a formula had to be found over which the various shades of opinion could agree. The vote indicates that the formula was found and an analysis of the debate in both branches makes it clear that any other formula at this time might have had tough sledding.

The debate in both houses is well worth all of our study for our further guidance and activities.

Prior to the roll call in each house, I was fearful that those anti-Semitic hell-raisers, Bilbo in the Senate and Rankin in the House, would barge in to our distress. Neither of them opened their mouths and I don't think either of them voted against us. In the Senate we know positively that Bilbo did not oppose us. In the House on the final vote the only nays came from Wadsworth of New York, Chipperfield of Illinois, and Smith of Wisconsin, all Republicans of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. Rankin was on the floor but I do not recall him standing up to be counted when the motion to recommit was proposed by Wadsworth.

Poor Mr. Wadsworth seems to have gone through terrible mental pains. On the day before, after Emanuel Neumann concluded his testimony, Wadsworth vigorously opposed the Resolution. Thence he changed his mind after Bloom unloosened his pleas and he voted to report the Resolution but the next day he, apparently, had changed his mind again and he did his best to defeat our Resolution.

Incidentally, it is worth noting that Dr. Silver's Congresswoman did not have the courage to show up on the floor during consideration of the Resolution. Nor did Dr. Eaton who, I am informed, voted for us with reluctance and misgivings. It was necessary, therefore, for Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts to preside as Republican Chairman. She did so with benefit to us, in my opinion. Her little speech in our behalf was persuasive. I watched the reactions of the members and I know that what she had to say was well received by her colleagues.

The most effective speech in our behalf came from Mrs. Luce. She went to town. There is so much of solid thinking in what she had to say that I commend her observations to Mr. Shapiro for fullest use in Connecticut and elsewhere. Certain sentences of her observation, delivered without benefit of memoranda, are very much worth quoting.

Very effective speeches in our behalf were made by leaders McCormack and Martin, and it should do Elihu Stone good to know that his original spade work, plus that of his friends and neighbors in Massachusetts, produced such effective results. With a reasonable degree of modesty I, too, rise to a point of personal privilege because of the performance of these two gentlemen. I labored with them

diligently and frequently from the moment our new Resolution was conceived by Dr. Silver, and I nursed them most carefully in the week following the favorable report of the Senate Committee.

The two most devastating speeches against us, it seems to me, were by Wickersham of Oklahoma, and Wadsworth. Wickersham, incidentally, exposes his great interest in the oil situation. Mr. Wadsworth, on the other hand, and this is quite contrary to his long service in the Congress, leaves himself open to an accusation of hypocrisy.

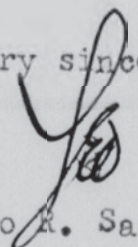
Mr. Flood of Wilkes Barre, Pennsylvania, who was brought into the picture just on last Tuesday, came through magnificently. He is deserving of our appreciation and I suggest that the Zionists of Wilkes-Barre and Scranton give him a testimonial dinner. He was forthright and intelligent, and the only coaching he had in Washington insofar as I believe, came from Congressman Celler and Leo Sack.

These observations would not be complete without a reference to Sol Bloom. As I have heretofore reported to Dr. Silver over the telephone, he came through when the chips were down. In the light of Wadsworth's performance on the floor yesterday, I am more convinced than ever that Bloom did a heroic job in the Committee on Tuesday.

Among our Jewish friends, Mr. Sabbath came through at long last, and Emanuel Celler was helpful in these closing days as he endeavored to be all along.

If I think of other brickbats or bouquets, I shall transmit them to you. With kindest regards.

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:sbr

P. S. Our strategy put into action immediately following the favorable report from the Senate Committee paid dividends. I put Bloom, Martin and McCormack on the alert at once to speed action on the measure when it came over from the Senate, and as a final safeguard we had ready a Rule from Sabbath to give us the right of way and to prevent any and all opponents from objecting to immediate consideration and delaying us indefinitely.

The Rule proved to be very necessary and as a result of its effectiveness we have today our complete Resolution.

L. R. S.

December 21, 1945

Mr. Leo Sack
3303 Woodley
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Sack:

To relieve pressure on The Temple telephones, Dr. Silver has had a private telephone installed under his name. The number will be an unlisted one. In the future, when you make calls to Dr. Silver at The Temple he would appreciate it if you would use this number -- RANDOLPH 0822.

With best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

BJK

Secretary to Dr. Silver