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Truman, Harry S., 1944-1955.

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (*Keren Hayesod*)

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (*Keren Kayemeth*)

MIZRACHI PALESTINE FUND

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-3320 • Cable Address—Palfund

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January 3, 1944

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The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

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Dear Dr. Silver:

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At its meeting on December 28, the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal voted to combat national budgeting, which Jacob Blaustein seems intent on introducing at the Cincinnati Assembly of the Council of Federations on February 9-11. Attached herewith is a copy of its resolution.

It occurred to me that in the campaign against it, it would be helpful if the four members on the "Budget Research Committee" of the Council who oppose national budgeting would join in issuing a public statement condemning it.

The story of the fight in Atlanta exactly four years ago is, of course, still fresh in your memory. There is no need to rehearse the arguments.

Treasurer

CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM

For the sake of expediting a statement, I asked Harry Seeve, of our office, to prepare some notes. The statement is being sent you, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Charles J. Rosenbloom and Joseph Goldstein. I would appreciate it greatly if you could go over it at the earliest possible moment and make such additions, corrections or emendations as you think desirable. Would you then be willing to sign the statement and have it issued as coming from the four of you?

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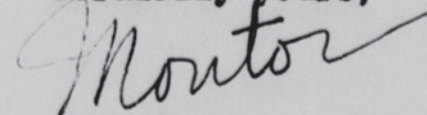
To attract the quickest and most effective possible attention to the issue, a statement of this type would be most valuable. We are, of course, exploring other methods of reaching Welfare Fund public opinion. It would be valuable beyond description if you would attend the Cincinnati meeting and help give leadership to this fight.

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With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,



Henry Montor
Executive Director

Executive Director

HENRY MONTOR

HM:BG
ENC.

January 9, 1945

Mr. Henry Montor, Executive Director
United Palestine Appeal
41 East 42nd St.
New York 17, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

Thank you for your letter of January 3. I note what you say about the action of the Administrative Committee of the UPA taken at its last meeting to combat national budgeting. I am, of course, still opposed to it, and if I attend the meeting in Cincinnati of the Council of Federations in February, I shall of course vote against it.

However, I do not wish to issue any statement at the present time which will renew the controversy with which I was prominently identified a few years ago. At that time I was National Chairman of the UPA, and it was my duty to take the leadership in fighting national budgeting. I am no longer at the head of the UPA and those who are should now step forward and take the initiative in the fight.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

Truman

The American Government at Potsdam took up the position of favouring a Jewish National State in Palestine if it could be peacefully established and maintained, said Truman at his press conference to-day, adding that he did not wish to contemplate sending half a million soldiers to maintain such a State. Confirming that he has discussed Palestine question both with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Attlee, President Truman said that discussions were still continuing. The American view, he said, was that we wanted to let as many Jews as possible into Palestine, and that the matter would be diplomatically worked out with the British and the Arabs. Truman added that Palestine has not been discussed with Stalin. Truman's *Statement* considered as official American denunciation of White Paper.

Telephoned
From JTA.
16.8.45.

1947

GENERAL ZIONIST PROGRAM

by

DR. ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN

Z O A

**PAMPHLET
SERIES**

No. 2



**ZIONIST ORGANIZATION
OF AMERICA**

GENERAL ZIONIST PROGRAM

by

Dr. Israel Goldstein

ZOA PAMPHLET SERIES

No. 2

Education Department

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

Harold P. Hanson

Published 1947

by

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA



Second Printing

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES

ONE OF the significant by-products of the Zionist Congress at Basle in December, 1946, was the emergence of the Confederation of General Zionists as an organized body with the prospect of becoming as effective as it is numerous.

That there should have been divided opinions among the General Zionist bloc on the major issues before the Congress—resistance, London Conference and leadership—was to have been expected. Divisions on these issues existed in the other parties as well. The difference was, however, that while in the other parties there was an over-riding party discipline to bind the minority, the General Zionist delegates were left free to vote as they pleased at the Congress plenum. That is why at the Congress sessions and before the eyes of the world they appeared to be more divided than the other parties.

It is therefore all the more significant that the General Zionists emerged from the Congress with an organized world confederation united on a platform of principles and a program of work as the center group in the Zionist movement. Sessions of the Confederation at Basle were both enlightening and stimulating. To many of the ZOA and Hadassah delegates they revealed General Zionist forces and talents in Europe and Palestine of whose existence they had been unaware. The sessions also created a higher awareness of the needs and opportunities for adding to the sum total of *Hatzalah* (rescue), *Aliyah* (immigration), and *Hityashvut* (colonization) in Palestine.

ORGANIZATIONAL BACKGROUND

GENERAL ZIONISM is as old as the World Zionist Organization. The organization of General Zionists, however, as a party comparable to other parties within the movement, dates from 1929. In the course of the Zionist Congress of that year the General Zionists determined upon the formation of a World Union of General Zionists. Dr. Leo Motzkin, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. I. Schwarzbart, and Mr. Louis Lipsky, together with delegates from 30 countries including a number of ZOA and Hadassah members, constituted the founding group. The Union functioned only sporadically, however, and was periodically resurrected on the eve of Congress.

The first attempt since before the War to reintegrate and reorganize the General Zionist forces was made in London in August, 1945, during the sessions of the Conference of the Actions Committee of the World Zionist Organization. The outlines of a platform were then formulated. That attempt was carried further at a Conference held in Paris in August, 1946, while the Jewish Agency Executive was meeting. A platform of General Zionism was there adopted. It read as follows:

I

1. Since the time of Herzl and the Zionist Congress of nearly fifty years ago, General Zionism has been based on the principle that the national liberation of the Jewish people can only be achieved by the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, built up by the devotion and *chalutz* labor of the whole Jewish people of all lands and of all classes.

2. The catastrophe that has overtaken European Jewry as well as the achievements and prospects of the *Yishuv* have made the establishment of the Jewish State a matter of

immediate urgency. General Zionism will demand the concentration of all the strength of our people in order to achieve this end as rapidly as possible.

3. General Zionism supports the resistance of the *Yishuv* and of the whole Jewish people against the policy of the Mandatory Power, which is betraying its international obligations and is using its power in an illegal manner in order to liquidate Zionism.

4. General Zionism will oppose any attempt to reduce the status, powers and freedom of the Jewish Agency, the only democratically elected representation of the Jewish People in regard to Palestine.

5. The whole Jewish people identifies itself with Jewish refugees and *chalutzim* who are making all efforts in order to go to Palestine from all parts of the *Galut*. General Zionism demands the fullest and most energetic assistance from all world Jewry for free immigration to Palestine.

6. General Zionism believes in the right of the Jewish people to defend itself against any attack on its security, freedom and development in Palestine. It looks upon the Haganah as the practical realization of this right. General Zionism will insist on the right of the Haganah to resist all attempts to disturb the evolution of Jewish life in Palestine.

7. The present critical position calls for the complete unity of Jewry, and General Zionism will oppose the right of resistance and the activities of all separate and irresponsible groups.

II

1. General Zionism will insist that the realization of the Zionist ideal shall be the main criterion in all Zionist work.

and that Zionist aims should prevail over all other considerations.

2. General Zionism demands the strengthening of Jewish national institutions and their endowment with the greatest possible competence in all aspects of Jewish national life. All national functions carried out by parties or groups must be under national control.

3. General Zionism demands the expansion and strengthening of *chalutz* education among Jewish Youth in all lands within a united *Hechalutz*, in which all groups shall have equal rights for immigration to an agricultural settlement in Palestine.

4. General Zionism considers the existence of a united Histadrut including all workers in Palestine, as a Zionist necessity, as well as the continued development of *chalutz* colonization and of self-help institutions of the workers in Palestine. General Zionism will also insist on full attention being given to the development of private initiative in industry, handicrafts, trade, agriculture and the professions, which has already done much and will in future serve the greatest possible number of immigrants by the provision of employment. General Zionism demands a just application of national funds to all forms of economic development in Palestine.

5. General Zionism recognizes fully the right of workers to defend their economic and social position; in the interests of the economic position of the *Yishuv* as a whole it will aim at the elimination of all conflicts between employer and employee by the strengthening of the machinery for mediation and arbitration.

6. General Zionism demands that the institutions of the

Jewish Agency which deal with the absorption of immigrants shall be so organized that every Jew, independent of his occupation and social position, shall benefit from their assistance and support.

7. General Zionism insists upon the respecting of Jewish tradition in the public life of the *Yishuv* and of the Zionist movement.

8. General Zionism believes that the Jewish future in Palestine depends largely on the encouragement of the sense of Jewish national unity in the *Yishuv* as a whole and particularly in the younger generation. General Zionism aims, therefore, at the establishment of a unified school system under national control for the whole body of children attending school, giving freedom to the expression of religious and social ideals, but in such way that party machinery shall be excluded from education, sport and other similar activities.

III

Zionist experience inside and outside Palestine has proved that General Zionism has vital tasks to fulfill in the process of the realization of the Zionist ideal: The strengthening of national unity in the face of separatist tendencies from the right and from the left; the maintenance of national equilibrium in spite of political, social and cultural divisions; the training of the Jewish people in the ideal of national unity and in national discipline. General Zionism aims at the development in the growing Jewish nation in Palestine of the highest forms of social progress, of true democracy and personal freedom, of historic Hebrew culture, and of the noble traditions of Judaism.

In order to be able to fulfill these tasks, the Confedera-

tion of General Zionists will strengthen its organization and unite its efforts in all lands, so that it may become a permanent and an active influence for service to our People and to our Homeland.

DEVELOPMENT OF PARTIES

GENERAL ZIONISM, as I have stated, is as old as the World Zionist Organization. Theodor Herzl, Max Nordau, David Wolffsohn and their colleagues thought, expounded and labored in behalf of the general aims and purposes of the Zionist movement and for the totality of Zionism. The division along party lines was a subsequent development, quite normal to every body politic. As the *Yishuv* itself became an increasingly substantial reality with daily problems and daily interests, the association of men and women into party groupings expressive of their practical and ideological interests was inevitable.

Thus developed the socialist Mapai (*Miflegeth Poale Eretz Yisrael*), the religious orthodox Mizrachi, the leftist Hashomer Hatzair, believing in a Bi-National State, the Revisionists and the General Zionists.

Each group would like to build Palestine "in its own image and after its own likeness." Every group, except one, has been receiving moral and financial support from sympathetic quarters outside Palestine. Every group, except one, has built up, with the aid of resources derived from other Jewish communities, industrial, financial and cultural institutions in Palestine for the benefit primarily of its own members.

As a result of these developments, the life of the *Yishuv*

bears the imprint of the party system deeply engraved upon its structure, its economy and its culture. In addition to the national institutions, conducted by the Jewish Agency and the National Council (*Vaad Leumi*), there is a network of party institutions, banks, industrial enterprises, agricultural undertakings, educational and social welfare agencies, which fortify the party positions. The dominant positions are held by the Labor Zionist Mapai. Often the party enterprises are helpful to the totality of the *Yishuv* development. Sometimes, however, they detract from the authority and usefulness of the national institutions, as when the Labor Zionists undertook the development of the port of Tel-Aviv instead of leaving it to the Jewish Agency. It also happens often that divisiveness is stressed more than unitedness, as in the education of the youth. Most of the children in Palestine today are being taught in party schools. This condition should give one pause as one considers the future of the *Yishuv*.

Strangely enough, the group which is the weakest in Palestine is the one which outside Palestine is the most numerous today, and the one which is the best qualified to hold the balance between the extremes. It is the General Zionist group, the center party in the Zionist movement.

GENERAL ZIONIST WEAKNESS

WHY IS the General Zionist group so weak in Palestine? Surely the *Yishuv* has substantial numbers of middle-class people, shopkeepers, industrialists, farmers, whose natural affiliation would be with the General Zionist group, as well as factory-workers, agricultural workers and white collar workers who do

not identify themselves with a socialist emphasis or with a religious orthodox point of view, and who would feel at home with a center party.

The weakness of the General Zionist group in Palestine is the result of years of neglect in the field of organization. To some extent, it was a neglect which is characteristic of center groups in political life everywhere. The extremes on the right and left are usually more alert, more compact, better organized and better disciplined than the group at the center. But over and above this basic disparity has been a special *laissez-faire* attitude on the part of the General Zionists in the extra-Palestinian periphery.

Let us consider the situation here in the United States, with which we are most familiar. The ZOA and Hadassah have constituted the bulk of Zionist numbers in this country. The General Zionists have made what is by far the largest contribution among Zionist groups to the national funds. They have supplied the leadership for the Zionist political and public relations program on the American scene.

In all of their work for Palestine, the General Zionists in America have been blissfully albeit naively unconscious of the party cleavages in Palestine and of the stamp of party division which the life of the *Yishuv* bears. For them it was enough to know that the funds which they were providing went for land, colonization, health services and education, for the benefit of all Jews who sought and wrought the Jewish National Home.

It would probably have disconcerted them not a little if they had known more about some of the correlative facts of the situation. These facts indicate that beginning with preparations for immigration to Palestine and up to the culmination of the process in colonization, the party system plays a dominant role.

HOW THE PARTY SYSTEM OPERATES

Here are a few pertinent illustrations.

Zionism for European Jews is essentially a program of salvation, individually and collectively, by means of immigration and settlement in Palestine. Those who in addition to the basic aid provided by the national agencies, receive supplementary assistance from party funds, are naturally in a better position to prepare themselves for *Aliyah*. There are scores of *Hachsharah* (preparation) centers throughout Europe. The Labor Zionists and the Mizrachi provide their colleagues with supplementary resources from their central party funds raised mostly in the United States and in Palestine. The General Zionists have been conspicuously neglected because no similar General Zionist fund has been established. As a result, numbers of young men and women who ideologically are General Zionists, have turned to the other parties because they find there better opportunities for *Hachsharah* and *Aliyah*.

Upon arrival in Palestine, they find the same kind of situation with regard to *Hityashvut* (colonization). The Jewish National Fund, which makes the land available, deals primarily with groups. Likewise the Keren Hayesod, which provides housing and equipment. Those groups which are most effectively organized are in the best position to receive settlement opportunities. Once more, then, there is inevitably an advantage accruing to those parties which have the talent and the resources to encourage effective organization.

Once settled on the land, every group faces a hard struggle to eke out an existence. Those are in the best position to thrive who, in addition to the basic assistance provided by the national funds, are able to receive supplementary assistance in the form

of bank loans at reasonable interest rates, additional equipment, or aid in the establishment of an industry on the premises to supplement the income from agriculture. Such supplementary assistance in colonization is provided by Mapai, Mizrachi and Hashomer Hazair. The General Zionists again have been at a disadvantage due to the lack of a General Zionist supplementary fund for constructive work in Palestine. As a result, numbers of General Zionist youth have joined the other parties because here they found better opportunities to realize their heart's desire to live and work in Palestine.

There is also a considerable middle class population, engaged in small industries, who need facilities to tide them over with small loans at low interest rates. They too have a contribution to make to the upbuilding of Palestine. There is a Mizrachi Bank and a Labor Zionist Bank but there is no such bank for specifically General Zionist uses.

Many of us, including even some of the leaders in ZOA and Hadassah, became fully aware of the facts of the situation only as a result of the impact made upon us at Basle by our "chaverim" from Europe and Palestine. They chided us for having neglected them, for having "tended all the vineyards, but neglected our own." They appealed to our consciences that we no longer permit them to be the forgotten men of the Zionist movement. They impressed upon us our responsibility to provide for them opportunities equal to those afforded the members of other parties. They assured us that General Zionism in Palestine can become a great force if backed, as the other parties are backed, by strong and adequately supported organizations abroad welded into an effective World Confederation of General Zionists. It gladdened us to see our General Zionist youth representatives from European countries, a few from the camps in Germany and many from Palestine.

We were particularly impressed by our young comrades who represented the workers in Palestine. Hanoar Hazioni and Haoved Hazioni, our *Chalutz* youth, are the finest part of our constituency. Our working youth, stalwart, sound, patriotic, self-sacrificing, are the equals of any workers group in the Zionist movement. They have served in the Jewish Brigade, and have been among the paratroopers who "dropped in" on Hitler-occupied Europe to save fellow-Jews. One of the General Zionist paratroopers, Abba Berdychev, was shot down and killed in Slovakia, on his way to Rumania. They are serving in the Haganah, defending the right of the Jewish people to Palestine.

We were impressed with what Hanoar Hazioni and Haoved Hazioni have been able to achieve, with their too meager resources, unaided by the great reservoirs of potential General Zionist strength in the English speaking lands. In Palestine they have established eight *kibbutzim* (collective settlements), and six *kibbutzim* preparing for colonization in various parts of Palestine. Among the three settlements most recently established by a dramatic penetration of the Negev, is one General Zionist Kibbutz, Mivtachim. There is also a *Moshav Ovdim* (cooperative village) on the Syrian border. At Magdiel there is functioning a General Zionist school which is one of the best in Palestine. There are thousands of General Zionist *Chalutzim* in the 130 *Hachsharah* units in Europe. Recently eight groups of General Zionists and *Chalutzim* organized in Cyprus so that they might be prepared for settlement in Palestine while awaiting the opportunities for admission. A delegation from Haoved Hazioni brought them such assistance as they were able to muster to supplement the basic aid provided by the Joint Distribution Committee. With adequate reinforcement and support from the Confederation, these activities can be multiplied in scope and effectiveness.

It should be clear that by helping our group we are not

hurting any other group, that by adding to their achievements we are not subtracting from the achievements of other groups, that by increasing the opportunities of General Zionists for *Aliyah* and *Hityashvut* we are increasing the potential for Palestine as a whole. The *Yishuv* and the Jewish people as a whole will be the gainers.

WHY HAVE PARTIES?

ONE OFTEN hears the question put in all sincerity, "Why not do away with all parties and build Palestine on non-party lines?" It is not unlikely that those who put the question have their own ideas as to what complexion a non-party Palestine ought to have. Perhaps the complexion they have in mind for Palestine bears a resemblance to the complexion of their own economic and social bias.

Since parties are inevitable in a free functioning, democratically constituted body politic, General Zionists everywhere ought to see to it that in Palestine and on the way to Palestine General Zionists have the same opportunity as others to prepare for Palestine and to find self-fulfillment in Palestine. With all respect for the social idealism of the socialist Mapai and for the religious loyalty of the Orthodox Mizrachi, General Zionism everywhere would not like to see the *Yishuv* dominated by the one or by the other. We believe that a strong center party would be a wholesome balance in the *Yishuv*. We believe that in addition to a strong working class, which also includes General Zionists, Palestine economy needs a strong middle-class and should encourage private industry, for the economic absorptive capacity

of the country will depend chiefly upon industrial expansion.

At the same time we believe in one Labor Federation (Histadrut) with which labor groups with different ideologies, maintaining their separate identities should, however, be affiliated. At one of the sessions of the Confederation of General Zionists at Basle, a proposal to establish a separate labor federation for General Zionist workers was overwhelmingly defeated. We believe in a unified educational system for Palestine. We believe that the national interests should be the paramount interests in Palestine, that the national funds and the national institutions should be paramount not only in name but in fact.

ROLE OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS

THE General Zionists of America have a part to play in more than one direction. Numerically, ZOA and Hadassah together represent the bulk of the General Zionist constituency throughout the world. Financially, they are capable of bearing the major part of the burden. But they have more than numbers and money to contribute. They have manpower and womanpower to offer Palestine which may make up in technical skills and in vitality what it may lack in numbers. It is doubtful if a mass *Chalutzit* can be expected from the United States as long as conditions of American life continue in the democratic tradition. It must be remembered that the drive of the masses of European Jewry to Palestine was and is today impelled by dire necessity. Yet there will come from American Jewry, as there have come from other Jewries, numbers of young men and women, for whom living in Palestine is a voluntary ideal, who want to make their contribution

to Jewish nationhood and who seek Palestine as a means of self-fulfillment in the highest sense. Junior Hadassah and Masada are now working in and through the Plugat Aliyah which is preparing a number of American Zionist youth for Palestine, with the co-operation of ZOA and Hadassah. Thus, American *Chalutzim*, encouraged and properly prepared, can bring to the *Yishuv* a deeply desired infusion of strength and skills.

The creation of the State of Israel further heightens the opportunities for service by American Jewry. As a result of the decisions arrived at by the World Zionist Actions Committee meeting in Tel Aviv in September, 1948, the World Zionist Executive was reconstituted so that leaders of the Government in Israel do not serve on the Executive, except for Eliezer Kaplan, a member without portfolio. General Zionist members of the Executive include Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Emanuel Neumann, Mrs. Rose W. Halprin, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Dr. Selig Brodetsky, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Moshe Kol (Kolodny) and Zvi Herman (deputy member).

It is expected of these representatives of the Confederation of General Zionists, that while exercising their responsibilities in the best interests of Israel and of the Jewish people as a whole, they will, like their colleagues who represent the Poale Zion and Mizrachi, also feel a sense of responsibility to their particular constituency.

With a distinguished group of leaders, a large and well-organized constituency, a *chalutz* youth, a worthwhile program of work and a fund to support the program in Israel and outside, the Confederation of General Zionists can make a most significant contribution to the Zionist movement and to the new state.

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**EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, Carl Alpert, Director
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QUAKERS GO TO AID OF PACIFISTS HERE

Grant by Fund for Republic to Finance Defense of 25 Arrested in Raid Drill

HEARING SET TOMORROW

Group Also to Help Illinois State Employees Ousted in Loyalty Oath Cases

A Quaker-assigned lawyer is to help tomorrow to defend twenty-five pacifists challenging the state's Defense Emergency Act as an infringement of civil liberties.

The case marks the first court action aided by the American Friends Service Committee of Philadelphia out of a \$150,000 grant from the Fund for the Republic. The foundation gift was made last May for "a two-year program of support in legal cases to strengthen the right to freedom of conscience." The committee is the 1947 Nobel Peace Prize winner.

The Quaker group is also setting up a grant-and-loan fund in its Chicago office to aid Illinois state employees ousted for refusing to sign a non-Communist oath.

Other requests for aid are being studied. Lewis Hoskins, executive secretary, said they included passport denials, discriminations against naturalized citizens, the right to refrain from becoming an informer, and repeated prosecutions of a conscientious objector.

The objectors' case here comes before Magistrate Hyman Bushel at 2 P. M. tomorrow in the Criminal Courts Building. Harrop Freeman, professor of law at Cornell University, has been assigned by the Quakers to work with Kenneth Greenawald and Conrad J. Lynn, attorneys retained by the objectors' Provisional Defense Committee, 5 Beekman Street.

Arrested in Defense Drill

They are representing pacifists arrested after a demonstration at City Hall Park on June 15, when they refused to take shelter in a civil defense drill.

Bayard Rustin, secretary of the defense group here and executive secretary of the War Resisters League, said yesterday that three others arrested at the time were separate cases.

A twenty-ninth person, Rocco Parilli, a 40-year-old bootblack, had been arrested but freed that night when he protested he had merely been getting a drink of water. Mr. Rustin said, Mr. Rustin added that the objectors had so far been unable to get the calendar name of the case changed from "Rocco Parilli and twenty-eight others."

Of the joint defendants, fourteen, including Mr. Rustin and the 70-year-old Rev. Abraham J. Muste, chairman of the defense group, belong to the War Resisters League, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, or both. Ten others, Mr. Rustin said, are affiliated with The Catholic Worker, a monthly newspaper. One belongs to no organization. Five are also Quakers, he said.

Drill Called Fear Tactic
Ammon Hennacy, 62, associate editor of The Catholic Worker, said yesterday that he and Dorothy Day, publisher and managing editor, would attempt to plead guilty for themselves. They will still support the test by other defendants.

Saying that he and Miss Day were "philosophical anarchists," Mr. Hennacy added that "we feel the less we have to do with legal procedure the better." He said he had disobeyed "a man-made law in order to obey the law of God," and asserted that the air raid drill was part of a fear program to aid a war machine.

Mr. Hennacy reported he was being called tomorrow morning to explain to the Internal Revenue Service why he had not paid Federal income taxes for the last twelve years. He described his nonpayment of taxes as opposition to military preparation.

The Quakers' Freedom of Conscience Committee is directing the use of the \$150,000 fund. The committee is headed by Frederick B. Tolles, Swarthmore College librarian, as acting chairman. It has thirteen other members, including Henry J. Cadbury, chairman of the American Friends Service Society and a retired Harvard professor of Divinity, and four consultants.

PARKING-TIME CUT DUE IN FLATBUSH

Some auto drivers who habitually park on Flatbush Avenue, Brooklyn, between Caton and Tilden Avenues are about to find their allotted time for legal curb parking somewhat reduced.

Traffic Commissioner T. T. Wiley announced yesterday that 115 meters in this zone would soon have their time intervals reduced from an hour to forty-five minutes.

The purpose is "to increase the turnover of vehicles parked each day at the curb in this very busy area," Commissioner Wiley said.

All is not lost, however, for those who want to park for longer intervals in that general area. There will be 300 meters near by permitting the full hour. And the Traffic Department will soon install additional meters not far away for two hours.

Mr. Truman's Memoirs: New Problems Arise

INSTALLMENT 3 OF EXCERPTS FROM VOL. I, 'YEAR OF DECISIONS'

Continued From Page 1

and I believe there was little warm feeling between them. When Coolidge was elected President, he had Charles G. Dawes as Vice President, and the two were not close. After Hoover was elected President, he and Vice President Charles Curtis were not very congenial.

Franklin D. Roosevelt renewed the practice of arranging for a Vice President to sit with him in the Cabinet. John Nance Garner attended all Cabinet meetings, but Garner's philosophy of government was not in line with Mr. Roosevelt's program to deal with the depression. After two terms the President decided he wanted a different Vice Presidential candidate as his running mate and he chose Henry Wallace. From the time he was inaugurated, Wallace sat with the President in Cabinet meetings, but the President was not very happy over the result, and many of his political friends helped persuade him that Wallace should not be considered for another term.

The presence of the Vice President at Cabinet meetings is necessarily an informal arrangement. Actually he attends such meetings only by invitation of the President. In my eighty-two days as Vice President, only a few Cabinet meetings were held, for the President was abroad the greater part of the time or at Warm Springs. I attended when meetings were called, but I soon learned that little of real importance was discussed, for Franklin Roosevelt usually had conferences with individual members of the Cabinet before and after the meetings and it was then that detailed discussions usually took place.

My approach was different. I had each member of the Cabinet lay important matters before the Cabinet as a whole, and each person present was given an opportunity to discuss the subjects that were under consideration and to give his views. Under Roosevelt the Cabinet meetings were rather formal affairs. At the few I attended there was no exchange of views in round-table fashion, and there was no "on-the-table" discussion of matters that were pending. I rarely said anything, and when I spoke at all, it was only in answer to questions put to me by the President in relation to legislative matters on which he wanted help. It was customary for Cabinet members to see the President before these meetings, or to sit around afterwards and talk with him. At these times there were usually three or four waiting in their turn. The President's physical handicap, of course, kept him in his chair until they left, and it seemed to me they took advantage of it.

I BELIEVE Roosevelt took a great deal of pleasure in getting one member of the Cabinet to argue against another, and in then hearing what they had to say. I watched him do it. He would beam when Ikes jumped on Hopkins, or Hopkins on Ikes. He sometimes seemed amused when Morgenthau raised mischief with the Secretary of State on how he was handling things. Roosevelt often made a game of it, but he never lost sight of the objective he had in view, which was to win the war and then make a peace program that would work.

Roosevelt had a lot of fun while he was President. He could not get around very well, and it would stimulate him to watch others match wits.

As Vice President I also went to the White House for the President's meetings with the so-called "Big Four." These were usually arranged for Monday mornings, but there were only a few such meetings. The "Big Four" is the term we applied to a group made up of the Vice President, the Speaker of the House, the Majority Leader of the House, and the Majority Leader of the Senate, and at these meetings with the President we discussed a wide assortment of subjects. Domestic and foreign problems of many kinds came up for discussion, and the President would tell us what sort of legislation he was interested in. I felt these meetings to be of value, and I continued them in somewhat enlarged form during my Administration.

My relations with Roosevelt were such that I considered myself his friend. I had been elected to the Senate in 1934 on a platform that called for support of the President and his policies, and I never failed to live up to that promise. That, I believe, is one of the reasons he decided to make his 1944 statement to the Democratic leaders in Chicago's Blackstone Hotel which resulted in my becoming Vice President.

The relationship between the President and the Vice President is complicated, and it is complicated further by the fact that the Vice President is in between the Legislative and the Executive branches of the Government without, in the last analysis, being responsible to either. The Vice Pres-



MR. TRUMAN WATCHED: He followed President Roosevelt's amusement at the running feud between Harold L. Ickes, left, Secretary of the Interior, and Harry L. Hopkins.

ident cannot become completely acquainted with the policies of the President, while the Senators, for their part, look on him as a presiding officer only, who is outside the pale as far as the Senatorial club is concerned.

The Vice President is hardly ever seriously consulted by the Senate in legislative matters, except perhaps in cases where he has technical or special knowledge. He is almost certain to find that the majority and the minority leaders are always kind and friendly, but he is a sort of fifth wheel in the eyes of the Senate.

The Vice President, on the other hand, may have considerable status as a party member. He is considered as the No. 2 man in the party set-up, and this may—or may not—give him influence in the Senate. It depends upon the man. If the Senators find him likable, he has considerable influence, and this was true of Garner and Barkley, both of whom were outstanding Vice Presidents. If he is not liked, or is not familiar with politics or with the Senate approach to things, he is left on the outside. Wallace, as an example, and for these reasons, among others, had very little influence with the Senate. Barkley, as a Vice President, was in a class by himself. He had the complete confidence of both the President and the Senate. He had been majority leader longer than any other Senator in the history of the Senate. He and I were personally very close, and he was in complete agreement with the policies and platform of the 1948 convention.

On the sixth morning of my Presidency—that is, on April 18—a group of leading Republican Senators, headed by Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, called on me. They were cordial and kind at this meeting, and we talked about the manner in which we were carrying on the war.

"Speaking for the Republicans," Senator Taft remarked, "we would be glad to be called in from time to time, and we think it would be useful to you if we were briefed."

I replied that I would be glad to do as he suggested. I always found Senator Taft to be a highly ethical, straightforward and honorable man. I held him in the highest respect. He was a man of his word, and whenever he told me that he was satisfied to go along with me, I always knew he would. From my point of view, of course, he was a violent partisan, and I disagreed with him strongly on what the role of government was in relation to the people. Nevertheless, he was an important member of the Senate who represented and spoke for his side vigorously and ably.

He was the son of a Republican President and was shrewdly able to use this fact to advantage in exploiting the Republican viewpoint. He had a sense of dynasty. Like John Quincy Adams and Benjamin Harrison, he wanted to keep the Presidency in the family.

Before I went to bed, I wrote another letter to my mother and sister:

Dear Mama and Mary:

Well, the Washington Post had your pictures yesterday morning and the finest kind of statements from both you and Vivian. My Press Staff said that the smartest press agent in the world could not have written any better ones. I told them that my family all told the truth all the time and that they did not need a press agent.

I have had a most strenuous time for the last six days. I was sworn in at 7:09 P. M. Eastern War Time Apr. 12, and it is now 9 P. M. April 18th. Six days President of the United States! It is hardly believable.

Before I was sworn in, I had to make two decisions of world-wide import—to carry on the war and to let the Peace Conference go ahead at San Francisco. Saturday and Sunday were spent on the last rites for the departed President. Monday, the Congress had to be told what I would do. I took all Sunday afternoon, half the night and until 11 A. M. Monday to get the job done on the speech. But I guess there was inspiration in it for it took Congress and the country by storm, apparently. Spent Monday afternoon seeing people and making all sorts of decisions, every one of which would touch millions of people. Tuesday morning all the reporters in town and a lot more came to cross-question me. They gave me a pretty hefty fifteen minutes, but even that ordeal seemed to click.

Had to spend all afternoon and evening preparing a five-minute speech for the radio for the fighting men and women. It was after one o'clock when I turned in. This day has been a dinger too. I'm about to go to bed, but I thought I'd better write you a note. Hope you are both well.

Lots of love,
Harry.

My appointment calendar for Thursday, April 19, was crowded. Senator Taft called for a personal chat during which he renewed his pledge of cooperation. Then followed a number of unofficial visitors

whom a President has to see, because part of his duties are to receive citizens, leaders and spokesmen of representative organizations. These visits are valuable to the President for they help him keep in touch with the cross-section of American interests and opinion.

On the morning of April 20 I found that I was faced with what I was told was the longest list of scheduled callers in the memory of any member of the executive office staff.

Shortly before noon, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, came in to talk to me about the Jewish victims of Nazi persecution and the serious problem of the resettlement of the refugees, which led naturally to a discussion of a proposed Jewish state and homeland in Palestine.

SINCE I was in agreement with the expressed policy of the Roosevelt Administration on Palestine, I told Rabbi Wise that I would do everything possible to carry out that policy. I had carefully read the Balfour Declaration in which Great Britain was committed to a homeland in Palestine for the Jews. I had familiarized myself with the history of the question of a Jewish homeland and the position of the British and the Arabs. I was skeptical, as I read over the whole record up to date, about some of the views and attitudes assumed by the "Zionist press," but I felt that they did not care enough about what happened to the thousands of displaced persons who were involved. It was my feeling that it would be possible for us to watch out for the long-range interests of our country while, at the same time, helping these unfortunate victims of persecution to find a home. And before Rabbi Wise left, I believe I made this clear to him.

At noon I held an important policy meeting on our relations with Soviet Russia. Ambassador Harriman had just returned from his post in Moscow, and with Secretary of State Stettinius, Under Secretary of State Joseph C. Grew, and Charles E. Bohlen, the Department's Russian expert, he attended the conference in my office.

In Harriman's opinion the Soviet Government had no wish to break with the United States because they needed our help in their reconstruction program. He felt, for this reason, we could stand firm on important issues without running serious risks.

At this point I stopped Harriman to say that I was not afraid of the Russians and that I intended to be firm. I would be fair, of course, and anyway the Russians needed us more than we needed them.

Harriman replied that there were some quarters in Moscow that believed it was a matter of life and death to American business to increase our exports to Russia. I declared that it was ridiculous for the Russians to think this.

Ambassador Harriman continued that, in his judgment, we were faced with a "barbarian invasion of Europe." He was convinced that Soviet control over any foreign country meant not only that their influence would be paramount in that country's foreign relations but also that the Soviet system with its secret police and its extinction of freedom of speech would prevail. Harriman observed that obviously in any international negotiations there is give and take, and both sides make concessions.

I agreed, saying I understood this and that I would not expect 100 per cent of

what we proposed. But I felt we should be able to get 85 per cent.

Harriman then asked whether or not we would be disposed to go ahead with the world organization plans even if Russia dropped out.

I replied that the truth of the matter was that without Russia there would not be a world organization.

I then called a special press conference to announce that I was appointing Charles G. Ross, in Washington as contributing editor of The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, to be my Press and Radio Secretary effective May 15.

Charlie then telephoned from my desk to our former school teacher, Miss "Tillie" Brown, at Independence to tell her about his appointment. Although frail, she became quite excited and in a high voice said, "You and Harry have made good, and I am very proud of you." I got on the phone to say I was reporting to my teacher. She was flustered and had too many kind things to say.

I wrote to my mother and sister:

Dear Mama and Mary:

Well, I've been the President for nine days. And such nine days no one ever went through before. I really believe. The job started at 5:30 on the afternoon of the 12th. It was necessary for me to begin making decisions an hour and a half before I was sworn in, and I've been making them ever since.

The two high points in the whole nine days were the appearance before Congress on Monday and the press conference on Tuesday. Evidently from the comments in all the papers and magazines both appearances were successful.

But it is only a start and we'll see what develops. It has been necessary to talk to all the people you read about—Byrnes, Hopkins, Baruch, Marshall, King, Leahy, and all the Cabinet collectively and one at a time. I've seen a lot of Senators and Representatives too. ***

Tomorrow we are going to church at the Chapel at Walter Reed Hospital, and I'm going to call on Gen. Pershing. He's bedfast now, and I thought I ought to go say hello to my First World War commander. Surely appreciated your letter. You both have done fine under this terrible blow. Just keep yourselves well and don't worry. When we get into the White House, we'll send for you, and you can pay us a visit. They are painting and cleaning house now, and it will be some time before we get moved in.

Love to you both.

Harry.

Despite our suggestion that the Soviet-Polish treaty negotiations be postponed, Moscow and the Lublin Government had concluded the pact. Secretary Stettinius therefore asked whether I intended to make any reference to the matter when Molotov [en route from Moscow to Washington] arrived. I replied that I preferred not to raise that question myself, but that if Molotov chose to mention it, I would tell him quite frankly that it had not been helpful in reaching a solution of the Polish question.

After greeting the Russian Foreign Minister and his associates [on arrival April 22], I went straight to the point. I was sorry to learn, I said, that no progress had been made in solving the Polish problem.

Mr. Molotov responded that he also regretted that fact.

The United States Government, I pointed out, could not agree to be a party to the formation of a Polish Government which was not representative of all Polish democratic elements. I said bluntly that I was deeply disappointed that the Soviet Government had not held consultations with representatives of the Polish Government other than the officials of the Warsaw regime.

Molotov asked if he could make a few observations. It was his hope, he said, that he expressed the views of the Soviet Government in stating that they wished to cooperate with the United States and Great Britain as before.

I answered that I agreed, otherwise there would be no sense in the talk we then were having. I told him that all we were asking was that the Soviet Government carry out the Crimean decision on Poland.

Mr. Molotov answered that as an advocate of the Crimean decisions his Government stood by them and that it was a matter of honor for them.

I replied sharply that an agreement had been reached on Poland and that there was only one thing to do and that was for Marshal Stalin to carry out that agreement in accordance with his word.

I expressed once more the desire of the United States for friendship with Russia, but I wanted it clearly understood that this could be only on a basis of the mutual observation of agreements and not on the basis of a one-way street.

"I have never been talked to like that in my life," Molotov said.

I told him, "Carry out your agreements and you won't get talked to like that."

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Mr. Truman tomorrow learns of the awesome scope of the atomic bomb.

HURRICANE JANET NEARS NICARAGUA

Winds Due to Strike Coast Early Today, Then Sweep On Toward Honduras

ISLAND TOLL NOW 150

Grenada the Hardest Hit—Earthquake in Caribbean Is Linked to Storm

MIAMI, Sept. 26 (P)—Hurricane Janet whipped down on the Nicaraguan coast tonight with winds up to 110 miles per hour. It left behind at least 150 dead in the Windward Islands.

The Miami Weather Bureau said the hurricane was 280 miles off Cape Gracias, Nicaragua, at 11 P. M., Eastern standard time, and moving toward the sparsely populated jungles of that Central American country at 12 miles an hour.

"Hurricane" force winds in front of Janet should strike the coast before dawn tomorrow," Chief Forecaster Gordon Dunn said earlier. "They should reach Honduras in the forenoon tomorrow."

The Hurricane is believed to have set off a big earthquake in the Caribbean Sea. Tremors were recorded by a seismograph at Spring Hill College of Mobile, Ala., about 3:30 A. M.

The Rev. L. J. Eisele, Spring Hill seismologist, said the "very severe" earthquake, recorded in two separate shocks, apparently was caused by the Caribbean area north of Honduras where Janet was kicking up.

He said that the earthquake had an intensity of 8.8 on a scale with a maximum of 10.00 and would have caused "almost total destruction" in a populated area.

The Two Are Linked

Mr. Dunn said: "It's entirely possible that Janet triggered an earthquake in the Caribbean Sea. The coincidence of hurricanes and earthquakes is noted frequently."

He said that for each drop of one inch in barometric pressure the weight of the earth's surface is decreased about 1,000,000 tons a square mile. The weight under Janet is from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 tons less than normal now, he added.

"This may be just what was needed to set off an unstable condition in the earth's crust there," he added.

Lieut. Comdr. William Frank, U. S. Coast Guard, reported in Washington that Janet left 125 to 200 dead on Grenada. About twenty-four persons were killed in Barbados. Commander Brinkmeyer flew to the British island after the hurricane had hit.

"Roads were impassable and fresh water would not be available for at least four days," he reported to the Navy in Washington. Hospitals and schools were severely damaged. One hospital on Carriacou near Grenada was destroyed.

Forecasters said Grenada had several hours more warning than Barbados but suffered much damage.

Hurricane Hunter Missing

MIAMI, Fla., Sept. 26 (P)—A Navy plane investigating Hurricane Janet in the Caribbean sea was overdue tonight with fuel almost exhausted.

"We have had no communication with the plane since 10:15 A. M., a Navy spokesman said late tonight. "It didn't land as expected and had enough fuel to last only until 10:30 P. M."

The plane was on a flight from Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, and the spokesman said it was believed that eleven men were aboard.

A. W. PAGE TO HEAD STUDY OF TRANSIT

Agreement was announced yesterday on a directive for the \$500,000 study of rapid transit in the New Jersey-New York metropolitan area.

He is Arthur W. Page, New York business consultant and recently director of the Working Group of the Presidential Advisory Committee on Transport Policy. Mr. Page, now 72 years old, served for twenty years prior to 1947 as vice president of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

His appointment to head the two-state rapid transit study was announced jointly by the Metropolitan Rapid Transit Commission and the Port of New York Authority. The commission was created in 1954 by the New Jersey and New York Legislatures to conduct the study. The Port Authority agreed last January to provide \$500,000 of the cost. Until now, the agencies had been unable to agree upon a director.

An additional \$200,000 is available for the study through appropriations of \$150,000 from each of the Legislatures. There is also an initial joint appropriation of \$100,000 for commission operating expenses.

It is expected that the study will take from one and one-half to two years. It will deal with the adequacy of present rapid transit facilities and possible measures for development.

Banned Mail Study Set

Special to The New York Times.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 26—The University of Pennsylvania announced tonight that its law school's Institute of Legal Research had received a \$30,000 grant to study the methods by which the Government intercepts and impounds obscene publications and other nonmailable material. The grant was made by the Ford for the Republic, Inc., a nonprofit corporation.



'AN HONORABLE MAN': The late Senator Robert A. Taft, Republican of Ohio.



PLAIN TALK: The President stressed the need for mutual fulfillment of obligations when Vyacheslav M. Molotov, the Soviet Foreign Minister, discussed future of Poland.