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Series II: Harold P. Manson File (Zionism Files), 1940-1949, undated.

Sub-series A: Main Manson File, 1940-1949.

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Sack, Leo, 1946.

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

LEO R. SACK

February 18, 1946

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

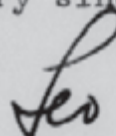
Dear Dr. Silver:

As this will indicate, I am back in the office after my trip south and I hope with more vim and vigor than I displayed in the two weeks before I went away.

Dr. Akzin was telling me that you expect to come to Washington in the near future for the purpose of contacting our friends. I think that is splendid because there is no doubt but that the best time to campaign is when there is no election in the immediate future. As you may recall, I have in the past wanted you to come down here just for the purpose of talking to people. I hope, now that you have made up your mind to do so, nothing will happen to prevent it.

With kindest regards

Very sincerely



Leo R. Sack

LRS:es

- (25) ~~Went Unger~~
- (25) ~~Harold J. Dantzel~~
- (26) ~~Joseph H. Gross~~
- (27) ~~James Herman~~
- (28) ~~John Solomon~~

(4) Po + Sol. Green
Krohn on
Bulletin

Lo Follett
Kentley

Town

- 1/ Kane (1) Lausche ^{Waldman}
 (2) La Follette
 (3) Sandz (4) Geismar
 (5) Levin ^{partially} ~~Waldman~~
 (6) Rosenthal ^{James} (7) Feiler
 (8) Tol. Follett (9) bet Keller
 (10) at Wausau MCC
- 2/ Vanderbilt

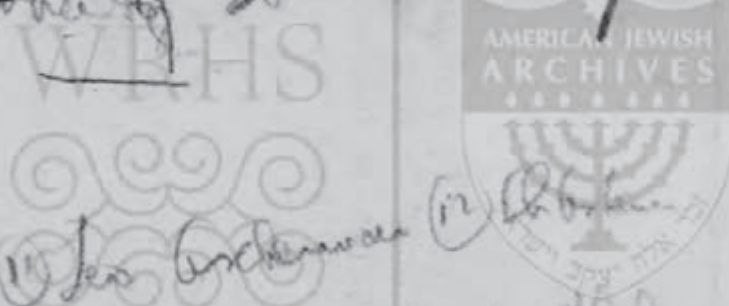
3/ Proctor & Knicker

- (11) Leo Gershman (12) Ch. Gershman
 (13) Washburn (14) Lois Gershman
 (15) Paul Wauson
 (16) Ch. Gershman (17) Kelshen
 (18) Paul Fiedler (19) J. Gershman
 (20) Eugen Wauson (21) Jan
Shirley (22) Harry Wauson
 (23) Emm (24) Wauson

1/ Litten - Elba Follett
 2/ Asch Ad
 3/ Wauson

Burton
Wauson

Burton
Wauson



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

LEO R. SACK

March 7, 1946

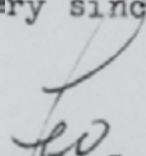
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Again, let me apologize if I am making myself a nuisance, but, as I told you during our luncheon at the Mayflower Hotel when you were in town last week, how deeply convinced I am of the good which can be accomplished through an address by you to the Washington Ministerial Association under the guidance of Rabbi Gerstenfeld.

At that time, you said you would consult your agenda, and you suggested that, if I didn't hear from you, to remind you. I am doing so now and once again I am pleading with you to make a sacrifice for the overall good of the cause.

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es

March 13, 1946

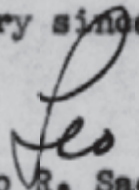
Dear Tom:

I liked your speech yesterday. There has been entirely too much sabre-rattling lately by all concerned and not near enough good will.

I am glad you got Gervasi's book, but I note you did not say you will read it. Tom, Gervasi really is a very competent newspaper correspondent, and he has done a fine, factual story, even though he recognizes the righteousness and justice of the Jewish claims. I wish you would read it. Incidentally, it's a matter of great pride to me that the Zionist membership in Texas is growing very rapidly and is including many so-called "silk stocking Jews". The truth is Palestine offers the only genuine solution of the Jewish problem, and Jews of all stratas of society, whether they be the Neiman Marcuses or plain Joe Cohens, realize that, if Britain prevails in its efforts to make Palestine another ghetto, there will never be any peace on this earth for the harassed Jews. I do wish you would be more sympathetic to this view.

With all of my good wishes, as always,

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

The Honorable Tom Connally
Senate Office Building
Washington, D. C.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

March 18, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Thirty-five United States Senators will be elected this year to fill vacancies which will occur next January. With but two exceptions, Andrews, Democrat of Florida and Hart, Republican of Connecticut, every incumbent Senator is a candidate to succeed himself.

Most of those seeking re-election from rock ribbed party dominated states like Austin of Vermont and Brewster of Maine, Republicans, and Byrd of Virginia and Connally of Texas, Democrats, will be returned. There will be changes, however, in many of the other 31 states and because our movement is definitely involved in power politics, whether we will it or not, and because the United States Senate is a powerful leverage on the White House and the State Department, we, as Zionists, are vitally concerned with the views on Palestine of those persons who will sit in the next Senate.

We should take it for granted that our movement will never succeed unless we have cordial, genuine and deeply sympathetic support in the United States Senate.

The friends we now have in the Senate we should "bind to us with hoops of steel". We will, I fear, need them more in the future than we have needed them in the past.

In several states these friends will need us in the forthcoming elections, and if we do not help them to the legitimate extent of our ability and in every proper manner, we will be the sufferers -- and they too will be the losers.

If our friends fall by the wayside, it is reasonable to assume that they will be succeeded by men who, not only are indifferent to, but also are ignorant of our aspirations. But even

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 18, 1946

if we assume that the newcomer in the Senate will in time become convinced of the justice of our cause and will give to us sympathetic help, we must not forget a cogent political consideration. This is, that a new Senator, because of the operations of the long established Seniority rule, is like a freshman in a great University; he is without influence and he does not know his way around.

There is another consideration too which we would be foolish to ignore; that is, that in this Democracy great policies are frequently influenced by political thinking. In many of our states the Jewish population is a large segment of the population and, whether true or not, the politicians are inclined to think and talk in terms of the Jewish vote. That this vote can -- and has on occasions -- sway the election results in many states is accepted as a political truism.

When, therefore, politicians stand by us as Jews and go down the line at our request, frequently against the wishes of the Executive and the State Department, it is only human that these politicians should expect us, when the time comes, to aid them too.

It is an old game of "you kiss me and I will kiss you." But it is a game which pays political dividends. Organized labor has proved it -- and so has, for example, organized voters of Polish ancestry.

It is the theory of rewarding your friends, and nowhere does it work better than in the American Congress. If, therefore, the coming elections should disclose that in the great urban areas Jewish voters showed no appreciation of those who stand by us, the consequences to us will be fatal. Politicians will say, as was actually said by Republican Congressmen in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs; "Why should we vote for the Damned Jews, etc."

I repeat, therefore, that we must "bind to us with hoops of steel" those friends we have -- those Senators upon whom we have depended in the past and to whom we will look in the future.

By the same token where Senators are indifferent to us, we should try in every legitimate manner to win their cordial support at a time when we have something to offer in return. And in those cases where Senators are openly hostile to us, we should employ our right to replace them with men who are friendly to us. In this connection, may I call to your attention what the Jewish voters of Connecticut did in 1944. Former Senator Danaher, a Republican, was most vigorous, as you will recall, in his opposition to the Jewish

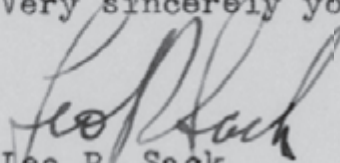
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 18, 1946

Commonwealth. As a result, Connecticut Zionists without any fan-fare united behind the Democratic candidate, Mr. Brien McMahon, who was elected and who is today one of our most sincere friends in the Senate.

I am attaching herewith a memorandum concerning the 35 Senators whose terms expire, with brief personal observations on their attitudes towards Zionism.

Very sincerely yours,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
Encl.



American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

March 26, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

In accordance with our conversation in New York last Sunday just prior to your departure for Cleveland, I have today presented to Senator Guffey the inclosed memorandum.

I wrote the memorandum, as I explained to him, "at his request" and from his standpoint as an office-holder seeking the Jewish vote. Incidentally, he told me, and this is about the third time he has said so to me, "the Jewish vote unquestionably carried Pennsylvania for Roosevelt." I had a long talk with Joe, and I made it clear to him that the Jews of this country are more concerned with the unhappy drifting of Zionist affairs, vis-a-vis, the United States and British Governments, than ever in the long history of the movement to set up Palestine as a Jewish state. Joe said he could understand our concern, and he added that he too has been much grieved. Whether this is so or not, he promised me he would read the memorandum very carefully and would advise me of the steps he will take. I urged him to use the statement of facts as a motivating cause for calling a confidential meeting of certain Senators concerned, like he is, with the drift of the Jewish vote and thence, to call on Mr. Truman, speedily, to present the facts to him. Guffey is leaving town this afternoon for a few days. He has taken the memorandum with him and he promised me that, upon his return, he will advise me of the course he will pursue.

I am waiting to hear from Harry Shapiro as to when Dewey Stone will join me for a similar visit with Democratic Leader McCormack. I am also thinking of visiting with Jim Mead to help Guffey in stimulating his activity. I shall keep you advised.

For your further information, I made it clear to Guffey, as I will to others, that this memorandum is purely personal and is a

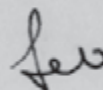
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

March 26, 1946

reporter's summary of the state of Jewish indignation. Insofar as Guffey is concerned, because he and I have been friends for 26 years, and he used to have much respect for my political judgment and reportorial integrity, he accepted the statement on that behalf.

My kindest regards.

Very sincerely,



Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
INCL.



March 28, 1946

Mr. Leo R. Sack
American Zionist Emergency Council
1720 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

My dear Leo:

I read the memorandum which you presented to Senator Guffey. It is excellent. I am eager to know what reply you will get from him, and also whether you went to see McCormack with Dewey Stone.

I am waiting to hear, also, about Mr. Davies and the Russian contact.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:GR

April 10, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

For your information the Committee has an engagement with the President for 10:00 next Tuesday morning. Those who will call include Tunnell of Delaware, Guffey and Myers of Pennsylvania, and Wagner and Mead of New York.

An earlier meeting could not be arranged because of conflicting engagements of various participants. I am distressed to say that of this moment I have not heard either from Dewey Stone or his brother, Judge Harry Stone. It is quite possible that they may have contacted McCormack in Boston. I will endeavor to check into this.

I shall keep you advised of developments.

Sincerely,

Leo R. Sack

LRS:cw

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

April 11, 1946

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

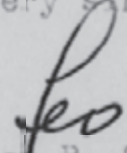
Dear Dr. Silver:

I would like to suggest a good-will gesture to you as follows:

Bob LaFollette arrives at the Cleveland Airport via Pennsylvania Central at 2:10 P.M. Sunday, enroute to Toledo where he is going to speak reasonably forthrightly for Leon Feuer that evening. He will leave Cleveland Airport at 3:37 P.M. so that leaves him one hour and 27 minutes to twiddle his thumbs at the Airport. If you will be in Cleveland on Sunday and your previous engagements will permit you to do so, I think it will be a very gracious act if you will motor to the airport to visit with Bob during the period he is marking time. I know Bob will appreciate very much your thoughtfulness, and I am confident that such an hour of undisturbed conversation between the two of you will enable you to put in some heavy blows for Palestine with the man who, some day, if the Gods are good to him and political conditions continue as they are, will be the Republican Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations -- and if by chance the next President is a Republican -- Mr. LaFollette will be a powerful person in Republican councils.

I do hope, therefore, that you will have a chance to visit with Bob on Sunday. Kindest regards.

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es

American Zionist Emergency Council

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

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

April 12, 1946

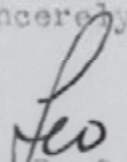
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor:

Herewith inclosed is Bob LaFollette's speech in Toledo Sunday evening.

Harry Shapiro spoke to me on the phone yesterday about your suggestion that certain people be briefed before their visit next Tuesday. To the best of my ability, I have endeavored to do this, and I have further prepared a summary of my bill of indictment so that they will have our complaint and suggestions in more concise form. I think the committee has a fair idea of our grievance.

Sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
Encl.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

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WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

April 12, 1946

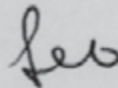
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

For your further information; unless I am badly mistaken, the Speaker of the House, Mr. Rayburn, and the Democratic Leader, Mr. McCormack, will, when they have their usual weekly conference with the President on Monday morning, also bring up the matter of Jewish grievances. If they do, as I have reason to believe they will, Senator Barkley will join in.

I had a long heart-to-heart, politically factual talk with Rayburn and McCormack this afternoon. Their conference with Truman will be supplemental to the conference which is already scheduled for Tuesday with the five Senators from the three eastern states where the Jewish vote is acknowledged to be a balance of power.

Sincerely,



Leo R. Sack

LRS:es

[April 17, 1946?]

CONFIDENTIAL

See Sack - Report

In order to move the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine to issue a report that will be as favorable as possible to Zionist aspirations, the office of the American Zionist Emergency Council has been working on two fronts:

1. It has made every effort to influence the Committee members directly. During the Washington hearings in January 1946, American Zionist leaders stated our position most effectively. Memoranda covering every aspect of the American Zionist case were prepared by the staff of the Council, and these documents received the frequent commendation of Committee members.

At Dr. Silver's instructions, Mr. Lourie and Mr. Frank accompanied the Committee to England, Palestine, other countries of the Middle East and the European continent. Both Mr. Lourie and Mr. Frank remained in Lausanne, in constant touch with friendly members of the Committee, while the report was being prepared. It is clear from Mr. Lourie's reports that both staff members have played vitally important roles throughout the Committee's deliberations, and have supplied American members with much-needed information at crucial moments. Indeed, it can be gathered that Mr. Lourie has served in the capacity of unofficial consultant to Committee members Crum, McDonald and Buxton. Mr. Frank arranged the interview with Msgr. Moubarek, Lebanese Christian leader, whose pro-Zionist statement was widely reported in the press. Other of Mr. Frank's press dispatches proved most helpful in advancing the Zionist case.

2. The second direction in which the office of the Emergency Council moved under Dr. Silver's guidance was that of creating pressure which would be brought to bear on the Committee from Washington. Dr. Silver's view was that whatever good would result from the Committee would be brought about, not by the dictates of pure justice, but by considerations affecting the

political fortunes of the Democratic Administration. Members of the Council's staff were therefore instructed to drive home one fact to the leaders of the Administration and the Democratic Party: the Jews of America will no longer tolerate broken promises and, should the Committee of Inquiry's report be unfavorable and at variance with the Administration's pledges on Palestine, an inevitable Jewish reaction against the Democratic Party will make itself felt at the polls in the next elections.

The groundwork for this campaign was laid many months ago. As far back as November 1945, when President Truman declared that he no longer favored the then-pending Wagner-Taft-Walsh Resolution on Palestine, a memorandum listing Zionist grievances against the Administration was circulated among leading members of the Washington press corps. This memorandum, prepared by Dr. Akzin, was subsequently used by key Washington correspondents, who referred unequivocally to the Administration's "double-cross" on Palestine. That this and similar activity on the part of our Washington Bureau had the desired effect was demonstrated when the Resolution was passed overwhelmingly by both Houses of Congress, with leading Democratic Senators and Congressmen speaking for it despite the objections of the State Department and the White House.

During this period many other meetings between men prominent in the Democratic Party and members of the Council's staff took place. In these conversations the same point was made over and over again: American Jews are fed up with broken promises and insist on action now, or else they will vote against the Democratic Party. These things were said quite bluntly during a meeting that Mr. Tuvim and Mr. Manson had with David Niles at the Hotel Roosevelt, New York. Mr. Tuvim drove this idea home even more emphatically at a later meeting with Mr. Niles, and informed him that Zionist leaders had reached the point when they could no longer refrain from giving public expression to their sense of let-down.

At Dr. Silver's direction, Mr. Shapiro achieved the active cooperation of a Southern non-Jewish gentleman who is very high in the councils of the Democratic Party. In January of 1946 this man spoke with James Farley, pointing out that among American Jews the trend was against the Democratic Party because of the Administration's handling of the Palestine question. In February, the same gentleman spoke along the same lines to Postmaster General Hannegan. He reported his conversation with the Democratic National Committee Chairman to Mr. Shapiro, and expressed confidence that the decision of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry would now be a good one. On April 7th, this man and Mr. Tuvim met with Judge Moore, of the U.S. District Court of Missouri, a close friend and confidant of both President Truman and Mr. Hannegan. Mr. Tuvim, speaking as an Administration supporter who has "lost faith" declared that this feeling was general among American Jews and that some way must be found to restore Jewish confidence in the Administration. Judge Moore expressed a desire that Mr. Tuvim meet with Mr. Hannegan immediately. Inasmuch as Mr. Hannegan was then in Arizona for his health and Mr. Tuvim was engaged in organizing an important Christian Conference for Palestine, Judge Moore advised our Southern friend to fly to Arizona without delay. This was done, and the urgency of the situation from the Democratic Party's point of view was driven home to Mr. Hannegan.

Towards the end of March, Mr. Shapiro made the acquaintance of another key figure in the Democratic Party leadership - a New Yorker whose views command the respect of men like Mr. Hannegan and Richard R. Macy, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Mr. Shapiro pointed out to this gentleman that the last Presidential election would have been lost to the Democrats if the Jewish citizenry had voted against the Administration.

This argument was substantiated by a table of figures, compiled by Mr. Sack, which proved conclusively that if an organized effort had been made to express Jewish resentment against the Administration at the polls, the Republicans would have won the election. After studying the figures, the gentleman was quick to agree that Mr. Shapiro's evaluation was correct. He asked for a copy of the breakdown, stating that he wants to call it to the attention of Party leaders. Mr. Hannegan was then in Arizona and our friend did not wish to delay action on the matter, so he decided to see Mr. Nacy, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, who is a personal friend and adviser of the President. He left for Washington immediately and showed Mr. Nacy the figures which he had obtained from Mr. Shapiro. Mr. Nacy sat up and took notice when he was made to understand that the Democratic Party would have been turned out of office had Jewish voters organized to express their dissatisfaction with the Administration on the Palestine issue. Mr. Nacy asked for more details which our friend from New York gave him verbally.

Mr. Nacy then went to see the President and gave him the aforementioned breakdown of the 1944 vote. The President was deeply impressed and asked that a memorandum be submitted by our New York friend covering the points raised by Mr. Nacy. On April 4th, Mr. Shapiro and Mr. Manson met with the gentleman from New York and discussed what should be included in the memorandum. Following this, Mr. Manson prepared a letter which was sent to Mr. Nacy for transmission to the President over the signature of the Democratic leader from New York. The text of that letter follows:

April 4, 1946

Mr. Richard R. Nacy, Vice-Chairman
Democratic National Committee
Mayflower Hotel
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dick:

In accordance with our telephone conversation, I am sending you this

memorandum regarding the breakdown of the 1944 vote.

The figures I have already given you are self-explanatory, of course. It should be borne in mind that the figure for the Jewish vote was arrived at on the same basis as that applied to the American vote generally, namely, 40% of the population.

Additional facts which are pertinent to this subject and which should be carefully considered, are these:

First, there can be no question but that the overwhelming majority of Americans are strongly in favor of the Zionist program advocating the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth. This was made unmistakably clear by two recent polls of public opinion whose results speak for themselves.

The Roper poll, taken amongst Jews on the question: "A Jewish State in Palestine is a good thing for the Jews and every possible effort should be made to establish Palestine as a Jewish State, or Commonwealth, for those who want to settle there," showed the following figures:

Pro	80.1
Anti	10.5
Undecided	9.4

The Gallup poll, taken among American citizens generally, on the question of permitting Jews to settle in Palestine showed the following figures:

Pro	76%
Pro if Jews are in favor of it.	4%
Anti	7%
Others	13%



The conclusion, then, is that strong sentiment in favor of Zionist aims exists generally, and that the Jews of America are almost solidly united on the issue.

Secondly, I am convinced from conversations with various leaders of American Jewry that the Zionist movement will definitely throw its weight to any candidate who supports the Zionist cause, whether he be a Republican or a Democrat. This applies to both the present leadership of Zionism and the Zionist rank and file.

To cite a few indications of this trend -- in recent months the leading spokesmen at Zionist functions and conferences throughout the country have been Republicans, not Democrats. This tendency to utilize spokesmen who will be in a position to express what the Zionists feel is their legitimate indignation against the Administration for having failed to abide by its pledges of support for Zionism, is definitely on the increase. For example, I am informed that the Zionists of Wisconsin plan to honor Senator LaFollette at a special testimonial dinner. Senator Brewster of Maine has been touring the country and addressing Zionist rallies and conferences, all of which have received him enthusiastically. Similarly, Senator Taft of Ohio, a co-sponsor of the Palestine resolution recently adopted by Congress, is vociferously applauded wherever he appears, and his attacks on the Administration over the Palestine issue are receiving a very warm response. All this applies to other key Republican figures.

As an ardent Democrat, I am opposed to this practice, as I believe that the Democratic Party offers much greater hope for minority groups than the narrow and often bigoted viewpoint which the Republican leadership has shown. As a Democrat I am also vitally interested in keeping our party in power. Any threat to this objective is a serious one to me. The particular threat implied in my interpretation of the American Zionist scene today is a serious one, as the figures I have given you indicate.

Thirdly, despite the strong argument that the Jewish vote is not a united vote, as witness the defeat of Judge Goldstein in the last election in New York, I firmly believe that on this particular question, the Jewish vote will be very united in the coming elections. It should be borne in mind that the aforementioned trend had not yet crystallized at the time of the last New York City election. Remember, too, that the issue of Palestine was not in the Mayoralty election at all.

Now, through the campaign of the United Jewish Appeal, the Jews have been presented with the strongest and most convincing proof that their brethren in Europe have suffered starvation, indignity and often death since V-E day. The United Jewish Appeal drive for 100 million dollars has made every Jew Palestine-conscious because reports of field workers in Europe stress what is by now an undisputed fact: The Jews in Europe look only to Palestine for their salvation.

As a consequence, Jews here will undoubtedly view an adverse report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry on Palestine as a direct indication that this Administration is not interested in their unfortunate people in Europe, or in providing a permanent solution for the Jewish problem. I believe that the proper handling of such an argument against the Democratic Party can produce a very united vote against the Party.

I have made every effort to ascertain what would be regarded as a favorable report and what recommendations would be rejected as unfavorable by American Jews. I have reached these conclusions:

The Jews want a decision which will conform to the forthright declaration favoring a Jewish Commonwealth which was made by the Democratic Party at its last national convention. To realize the goal of a Jewish state, which Jews today feel provides the only sound solution to the Jewish problem, they would expect the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry to recommend an immediate large scale immigration of European Jews to Palestine. The figure of 100,000 is the one most frequently mentioned as the first step. It is hoped that substantial immigration would follow in order to bring about a Jewish majority.

The 100,000 figure has taken on special importance because that is the number of certificates requested by President Truman in his letter to Prime Minister Attlee, as the initial step. In this connection I should add that when President Truman made his request of the British Government, his popularity and that of the Administration soared among American Jews. It was hoped that now, the Democratic Administration was prepared to implement its pledges. Later, however, when President Truman's request was rebuffed by the British, and he accepted the Anglo-American Inquiry as a substitute, there was a strong let-down which still persists as witness the sermons on this subject in hundreds of synagogues and editorials in the Jewish press.

Zionist leaders are increasingly perturbed by the reports which come in from abroad concerning the attitude of the members of the Inquiry Committee.

It was never the hope of the Zionists that the English members of the Committee would bring forward a favorable report. It was always assumed that their recommendations would be determined by the wishes of the Colonial Office. They know that this is the 17th Committee of Inquiry to be named by the British within the past 25 years, and that after each inquiry Jewish rights in Palestine were whittled down. The least they can expect is that the American group will differ from the English group and act in accordance with the recommendations of our Congress and certainly in accordance with President Truman's own suggestion that 100,000 Jews be admitted to Palestine at once.

I am very much afraid, however, that this sort of report will not be forthcoming from the American group unless its members - its chairman in particular - are so instructed. I understand that three members of the Committee - Crum, McDonald and Buxton - are quite favorable, particularly Crum and McDonald. The other three, I hear, have been following the British line all along; and the chairman, Judge Hutcheson, has been openly antagonistic to Zionist claims. He has also dismissed the Congressional resolution on Palestine very contemptuously and has said that so far as "election platforms, congressional resolutions, and all that kind of stuff" are concerned, he feels free to disregard such commitments. This information comes from a competent observer who heard Judge Hutcheson make that remark.

I trust that you will accept this memorandum in the spirit in which it is written. As I stated previously, I am a loyal member of the Democratic Party and I am concerned with the possibilities of adverse results in the elections of 1946, as well as in 1948.

I do not pretend that my interest in this matter is purely that of a Democrat, for I am also a Jew whose interest in his people, even though they be in Europe, is based on the ordinary principles of humanity and whose every effort has been and will continue to be directed towards extracting this distraught people from their condition in Europe to emancipation, so that they can live as decent human beings possessing first class citizenship.

In Washington the same points were being made repeatedly by both Dr. Akzin in conversations with Government officials, and Mr. Sack, in talks with members of Congress. In March Mr. Sack prepared a comprehensive memorandum detailing American Zionist grievances against the Administration. This memorandum he circulated among leading Democrats of both Houses of Congress, including Senate Majority Leader Barkley, Speaker of the House Rayburn, House Majority Leader McCormack, Senators Wagner, Mead, Tunnell, Guffey and others. A copy was also given to Leslie Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, an intimate adviser of President Truman. There can be no doubt whatsoever that our feeling of having been betrayed was communicated to the President from a number of sources. In his memorandum, Mr. Sack said: "It can be stated with as near certainty as any political forecast can be made that

if this (Anglo-American) Committee brings forth a report such as is now indicated, and the United States is placed in a position of endorsing this report, the political repercussions among the Jewish voters in New York City, in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh, in Boston, in Ohio, Illinois, in fact everywhere there is a large Jewish vote, will be far-reaching... Unless this Administration promptly gives American Jews reason to believe that Democratic pledges were more than lip service, this Jewish vote will be handed to the Republicans literally on a silver platter."

Mr. Sack's many activities in Washington, undertaken at the direction of Dr. Silver, are detailed in the report which he submitted to Dr. Silver on April 17, 1946. Mr. Sack's letter to Dr. Silver follows:



C O P Y

April 17, 1946

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

I know that I need not request that that which follows should be treated in the strictest confidence, but I am doing so because of the admonition of several Senators who expressed themselves as fearful that if any publicity whatsoever is given to what occurred at the White House on Monday and Tuesday, much harm may be done to our cause. I hope, therefore, that any person or persons with whom you may discuss this report will be guided by this request.

You will recall that following the last meeting of The Executive in New York about four weeks ago, you and I discussed the fear, so widely held among our friends and associates, that the forthcoming report of the Anglo-American Committee of Inquiry might be unduly hostile to us and entirely too sympathetic to the British attitude. At that time, there were many reasons -- newspaper dispatches and confidential reports to us -- upon which to base this assumption. The Zionist leadership was much concerned because of the accumulation of these reports.

In addition, you and I discussed the growing discontent among the rank and file of Jews, particularly among Zionists, over the apparent do-nothing policy of the State Department at a time when British anti-Zionist pressure is constantly increasing and the plight of the unfortunate Jews in Europe who want to go to Palestine worsens daily.

effectively You requested me ~~to effectively~~^{to} bring this entire situation to the attention of President Truman, so that he might intervene before the anticipated unfavorable report from the Committee was promulgated. I promised you that I would do what I could to have Mr. Truman properly advised and impressed with the gravity of the situation.

Upon my return to Washington, I prepared a memorandum -- a sort of aide memoire -- which was copied on plain paper and unsigned, setting forth the grievances of the Jews of the United States because of broken pledges to us in reference to Palestine; our disappointment because the State Department has time to worry about every people on earth but the Jews, and our natural resentment because the State Department has continuously and consistently ignored the violations of the 1924 Convention with Great Britain whereby our Government became a party to the British Mandate. I cited, of course, the White Paper and Transjordan among other reasons for Jewish discontent.

Insofar as it was discreet to do so, I referred in this memorandum to the on-the-record and the off-the-record activities of the Joint Committee of Inquiry.

Copies of this memorandum were presented by me personally to certain friendly Democratic Senators who are running for re-election this year in States where the Jewish vote is heavy, and, according to the Senators themselves, is essential for them if they are to be re-elected. It was explained, of course, that the memorandum was for their information in order that they could better understand why Jewish voters were aroused and deeply concerned over the apparent indifference of the Executive branch of the Government to what is occurring in Europe and in Palestine.

All of the Senators were keenly interested and grateful. One of them, Mr. Mead of New York, seemed extremely grateful, because, as he said, "I knew that the Jews have a grievance, and you, knowing the situation better than I, have done us a favor by setting

forth the entire story in writing."

I presented copies of the memorandum to Speaker Rayburn, with whom I have been friendly for thirty years, and to Democratic Majority Leader McCormack, as well as to Senate Democratic Leader Barkley. In the case of Rayburn, who, because of the Tom Connally and the State Department influence, has been indifferent to us, I requested two Jewish Congressmen who are not reluctant about their devotion to Jewish causes generally and Zionism specifically, Mr. Celler of New York and Mr. Koppelman of Connecticut, to supplement my representations at later conferences. They did so, and beautifully.

In discussing our grievances with the Senators, I requested them to please arrange a conference with President Truman at the White House in order that they might jointly discuss the matter with him. This conference occurred at 10:00 o'clock on Tuesday morning, April 16.

In the meantime, knowing that the President meets with the Speaker of the House and the Democratic Leader, Mr. McCormack, the President Pro Tempore of the Senate, Senator McKellar, and the Democratic Leader, Mr. Barkley, every Monday morning to discuss the State of the Union, I arranged with these gentlemen to also discuss Jewish grievances with the President and specifically the forthcoming report of the Committee of Inquiry.

They did, with Mr. Rayburn taking the initiative and carefully speaking from a paper containing his own notes. The other three spoke up, too.

There is every reason to believe that this conference was devoted to plain speaking. Mr. Rayburn, for example, does not like the American Chairman of the Committee, Judge Hutcheson, one bit. He hit the ceiling when Hutcheson was appointed. He is very reliably reported to have used expressive Texas language in telling his views to the President. I have reason to believe that Mr. Rayburn re-aired on Monday his opinions concerning Judge Hutcheson.

When the Speaker returned to the Capitol, he assured us that: "The President will endeavor to get in touch with those fellows."

The Congressional officials reported a "satisfactory" conference. Certainly they put the President on notice as to the possibility of an unsatisfactory report from the Committee and warned him of the possible consequences.

The following morning, six Democratic Senators, Mr. Tunnell of Delaware, Mr. Mead of New York, Mr. Kilgore of West Virginia, Mr. Radcliffe of Maryland, Mr. Guffey of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Walsh of Massachusetts, called upon the President. Senator Wagner of New York and Senator Myers of Pennsylvania had planned to go but at the last minute it was decided by the Senators that only those who are seeking re-election should call. The Senators felt that in this way they could better impress Mr. Truman with the gravity of the situation, as well as of their own personal political interest. Other Democratic Senators, including Barkley, O'Mahoney, Pepper, and Lucas of Illinois, chairman of the Democratic Senatorial Committee, were aware of the Conference and it had their blessings.

The meeting also had the cordial support and good will of Leslie Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, who is Mr. Truman's closest friend and political adviser at the Capitol. Biffle, I should add, took a copy of my memorandum with him to Chicago when he accompanied the President last week, and he later told me that he "read every word of it carefully, and some parts twice." He also told me that he had shown it to four Cabinet officers who were on the train. He did not tell me whether he had shown it to the President, and to be perfectly frank, I did not expect him to, but I feel confident that he did tell the President of the nature of our complaints.

Thus the stage was set when the Senators called at the White House on Tuesday. Senator Tunnell acted as the spokesman. He is plain spoken. But everybody present had something to say, and everything that was said, so I was advised, was right to the point. As did Speaker Rayburn and his associates on Monday, this delegation also impressed the President, if for no other reason than for its political significance.

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First, that he has already communicated with the Committee;

Second, that he is aware of Jewish grievances; and

Third, that he believes the Committee will recommend the admission of the proposed one hundred thousand refugees during the coming year.

The President went on to say, so I was informed:

That he has advised the Committee that he wants a report "along lines of traditional American policy," and

That he has suggested that the American members of the Committee be unanimous in their recommendations, even if it becomes necessary for them to make a separate report.

One Senator quoted the President as saying, "I do not want the Americans to go along with the British." This Senator described the President as "appearing troubled over the suggestion that the American members might follow the British."

Other Senators advised me that the President wanted "an American report" and that he seemed "greatly disturbed that our delegates might be following the British line."

I learned from several sources that the President seemed confident that his recommendation for the admission of the hundred thousand refugees would be approved, and this, I was advised, seemed to give him a great deal of pleasure.

Several of the participants in the conferences on Monday and Tuesday described the meetings as "very satisfactory." Mr. Truman was described as being "sympathetic" to the representations.

One Senator told me, "You would have been much pleased had you been there." He said the President expressed himself in behalf of the immediate entry of the 100,000 refugees "more strongly than I have ever heard him before on the subject." This Senator described the President's recommendation to the Committee as going beyond the hundred thousand refugees.

The President was urged to recommend that the Committee adopt the Congressional Resolution as the basis of its recommendations. At least two Senators told him that there will be no peace in Palestine until Palestine becomes a democratic Jewish Commonwealth as contemplated by the Democratic Party Platform and the Congressional Resolution.

The President listened attentively to the Commonwealth discussion and seemed "sympathetically aroused." "He did not say a thing that was hostile to your aspirations," I was told.

... Apparently, none of the Senators probed him too deeply, or if they did, I am not aware of it, as to just what he had in mind concerning his wishes for a report "along lines of traditional American policy." It is quite possible that the President is now willing to go the full way with the Democratic Platform plank which he, when a Senator, assured Rabbi Wise in advance of its passage that he would support, and to which he gave his approval to Senator Tunnell before it was approved by the Resolutions Committee, but I have no specific information.

I am convinced, however, that Mr. Truman's interest in Palestine and the proposed Jewish Commonwealth is now deeply aroused.

It is unfortunate that the possible loss of thousands of Jewish votes in strategic states because of sheer grief and disappointment over a negative, and at times hostile, policy was the vehicle used to galvanize his attention to our woes. But, as several of the Senators made it clear to him, they are "deeply concerned and so should you be." And as one Senator told me, "He appears worried, too."

No punches were pulled during the discussions of the political aspects.

Under the circumstances, therefore, I have the honor to advise you that some good may have been accomplished. Certainly this is the unanimous opinion of the President's visitors.

For your further information, I am attaching herewith a memorandum based on your suggestions over the telephone last week that the Senators urge the President to recommend that the American members of the Committee follow the line of the Congressional Resolution. This point had been stressed in my earlier memorandum, but it was helpful, nevertheless, to emphasize it in a special memorandum which I told our friends came as a suggestion from you after I had advised you of their splendid interest and their scheduled visit to the White House.

Sincerely,

Leo R. Sack

LRS:cw
Enc.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

CONFIDENTIAL

April 17, 1946

Sacks
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Dr. Silver:

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 17, 1946

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 17, 1946

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 17, 1946

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Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

April 17, 1946

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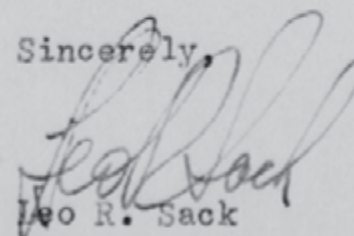
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Sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:cw
Encl.

American Zionist Emergency Council

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest

Michigan 4480

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America

Mizrachi Organization of America

Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America

Zionist Organization of America

May 6, 1946

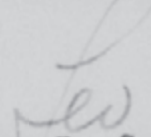
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
The Temple
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

It is quite possible that you may want or need one or more additional copies of the full text of the White House statement as well as the report on Palestine so I am enclosing same herewith.

I'll be grateful if you will phone me with reference to your contemplated visit to Washington on Friday. I am planning to be in New York on Thursday, but from the New York meeting I was going to Connecticut to spend the weekend with my father who is up from Mississippi visiting my brother at Hartford. If your plans for Washington include me on the outskirts, I shall return with pleasure, but if I do not figure in the picture, I would like to go on up to Connecticut. I'll appreciate, therefore, if you'll advise me.

Kindest regards,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
Encls.

May 27, 1946

Mr. Harry Shapiro
American Zionist Emergency Council
342 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Harry:

Dr. Akzin has sent you, so he tells me, a copy of his letter to the Editor of the Star in reference to Connie Brown's piece which swallowed British propaganda. Doc also tells me he has sent you a copy of his original letter which was too long for publication in the Star.

Along the lines of our previous policies, as well as in accordance with some of the thoughts voiced last week by the visiting firemen, I think it would be a splendid idea if you or Harold eliminated references to Constantine Brown and the letter to the Star and then send mimeographs of the article to all of our Emergency Council chairmen with the suggestion that they have themselves interviewed in their local papers.

I think countrywide publication of this article, particularly if it is credited to local people, will help dissipate much of the British propaganda. Incidentally, I believe the editorial in yesterday's "Post", which, Akzin tells me, he is sending to you, might be sent to the same community chairmen with the suggestion that they endeavor to have their local papers rewrite and then send copies to the State Department and to their Congressmen and Senators.

Please send me, at your earliest opportunity, a copy of this Johnstown, Pennsylvania man's suggestion that Dr. Silver referred to you for grass roots political activity. This fellow has a real idea, and I hope our associates throughout the country follow through in accordance with his ideas.

Cheerio.

LRS:es
cc: Dr. Silver

Leo R. Sack

United States Senate

Washington, D. C., June 1, 1946.

Respectfully referred to

Mr. Leo Sack

As per your telephonic
request.

M. Doyle.

Respectfully,

U. S. S.

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

Telephone this message to Leo Sack -

Deeply appreciate Dr. Silver's invitation.
But I expect to leave for Paris on June 12th
and this will explain why I cannot be in
New York at that time.

Please tell Dr. Silver that I shall continue
to help in any way I can.

A.H.V.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:

Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
Poale Zion-Zeire Zion of America
Zionist Organization of America

WASHINGTON BUREAU

1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480

ZONE 9

June 3, 1946

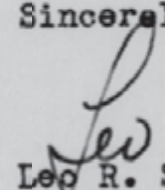
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver
19810 Shaker Boulevard
Shaker Heights
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

When Akzin told me on Friday that you wanted Vandenberg to speak at the Madison Square Garden meeting on June 12th, I endeavored to locate him and, failing to find him either on the floor of the Senate or in his office, I dictated a memorandum to Miss Doyle, and the enclosed is the reply thereto. While it's true that he is leaving on the 12th, chances are, if he didn't have that excuse, he might have found another. Nevertheless, since he telephoned me to tell you that "I shall continue to help in any way I can", it occurs to me that he might have some effective conversation with Mr. Bevin in Paris. For this reason, I hope, if you don't see him in person before he sails, that you can write him and quote this sentence of his message and then suggest that he talk to Bevin. It may help the 100,000.

I received your special delivery letter on Sunday, and I am telephoning you today in that respect.

Sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es

Encl.

cc: Mr. Shapiro

P.S. I had planned to speak to you today in reference to the use of the word "synchronize" in your letter. I am not sure whether you had in mind postponing the Senate oratory until next week in order that it might be nearer the date of the Madison Square Garden meeting. If so, I had planned to respectfully differ from you. I think that our speaking should occur later this week and, unless I hear from you to the contrary, I'm going to try to schedule it for Thursday or Friday, if possible. L.R.S.

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

LEO R. SACK

June 7, 1946

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

Dear Dr. Silver:

Enclosed for your weekend reading are 8 pages of solid type, easy to read, debates in the Senate on yesterday.

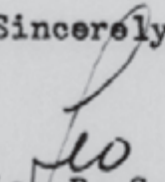
The only thing lacking is the failure of some fervent orator to say, "Let My People Go". I am sure, if that cry had been uttered on the floor, Mr. Bevin would have yielded to it this morning, so powerful is that man's persuasion. Happily, today we got good newspaper coverage too. In this instance, my preliminary spadework produced.

The Washington Times-Herald prints the United Press story on the front page. The Washington Post gives the Associated Press story on the inside. The New York Herald Tribune carries their own story, 2 columns, page 1, written by the man with whom I had earlier discussed our forthcoming show. The New York Times, following a long-distance call from me to the Managing Editor at his home in New York last night, when I learned that the local bureau was muffing the story, carries the United Press story on the inside.

So, all's well that ends well.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
Encl.

American Zionist Emergency Council

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS:
Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America
Mizrachi Organization of America
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WASHINGTON BUREAU
1720 Sixteenth Street, Northwest
Michigan 4480 ZONE 9

June 13, 1946

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

Dear Doctor:

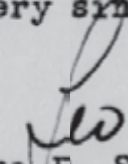
I've just been talking to Harry about the meeting last night. He was well-pleased and said it would have been an even bigger and better meeting but for the threatening weather. I was tremendously pleased with your quotes on the subject of the loan which I read in the Times and in the Herald Tribune. Believe it or not, I had the same thought last night during my period of outraged indignation at Mr. Bevin's speech. I have just spoken to Harry and advised him that the banking and currency expects to terminate its work today. Our best bet, therefore, is before the Rules Committee, of which Sabath is chairman, and also with Mr. McCormick, the Democratic leader. This, I have advised Harry and he, in turn, has probably already informed you.

I am glad Johnson went over good because much of what he said were the thoughts of my favorite author and my esteemed colleague here in Washington, Dr. Akzin. For your information, the Senator called me yesterday morning and asked me about transferring the Mandate to the United States. I thought fast and to the effect that I had no right to censor a Senator's speech even though the Emergency Council, insofar as I knew, had no position on this matter. I thought that it might be a feeler and, as a feeler, would do no harm. Harry tells me that particular statement got an ovation.

I am enclosing another one of Barney Nover's very excellent articles, this time on Mr. Bevin, which appeared in this morning's Post.

Kindest regards,

Very sincerely,


Leo R. Sack

LRS:es
Encls.

*Also an
editorial
from the Post*

[n.d.]

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

LEO R. SACK

Friday,

Dear Doctor;

I am having typed now my impressions of the Senatorial candidates. I will have it for you in New York.

If it is at all possible I hope on Tuesday that we can discuss the forthcoming campaign. If not on Tuesday, surely, at the very next meeting.

Best Regards,

Sincerely,
Leo