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A free and democratic Jewish commonwealth, 1944.

A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

What is implied? What progress has been made in achieving it? With special reference to recent declarations in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth by President Roosevelt and Governor Dewey.

By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday morning, October 29, 1944

Three significant statements were issued in the last few weeks which have a direct bearing on the subject which I wish to discuss with you this morning.

You may recall that early this year, in January or February, on the eve of the effective date of the White Paper, resolutions were introduced both in the House and the Senate of the Congress of the United States "that the United States shall use its good offices to take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

This resolution, or these resolutions, were sponsored by leaders of both political parties. At the time of their introduction leaders both of the minority and majority groups rose on the floor of Congress and spoke in hearty endorsement of these resolutions. Hearings on them were held on four consecutive days in February before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. The sentiment in Congress, which ^{was} informally canvassed before the resolutions were introduced, was overwhelmingly in favor of them. deferring action Before action could be taken, the War Department sent a communication/stating "without reference to the merits of the resolution that because of military considerations it would be advisable to defer action on the resolutions." Of course action was deferred.

Since that time the whole military picture, of course, has been changed. The war has moved away from the Mediterranean and the Near East. D-Day took place. Our armies and the armies of the United Nations are fighting in German territory. But more recently we raised the question again with the War Department. On October 10, Secretary Stimson wrote to Senator Taft that in his "judgment, political considerations now outweigh the military, and the issue should be determined upon the political rather than the military basis." Thus the military objections were lifted. "When Congress reconvenes on November 15, in all likelihood these resolutions will be acted upon favorably.

We also recall that in June and July of this year, both the national conventions of the major political parties included a pro-Palestine plank in their party platforms and endorsed the building of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. This is an unprecedented act of historic significance, and it placed organized American public ^{the} opinion, as far as it could be reflected at/national conventions of two great parties back of the ideal for a Jewish Commonwealth.

On October 12, just a few weeks ago, Governor Dewey, candidate of the Republican Party for the presidency of the United States, issued the following statement which is the second of these three significant statements. I quote him: "I heartily endorse the Palestine plank in the Republican party platform. Again I repeat what I previously stated to the great leader of the American Zionist movement and distinguished American, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, that I am for the constitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in accordance with the Falfour Declaration of 1917 and the Resolution of the Republican Congress in 1922. I have also stated to Dr. Silver that in order to give refuge to millions of distressed Jews driven from their homes by tyranny, I favor the opening of Palestine to their unlimited immigration and land ownership."

"The American people have time and again declared themselves in favor of these principles. The Republican party has at all times been the traditional friend of the movement."

"As President, I would use my best offices to have our Government working together with Great Britain to achieve this great objective for a people that have suffered so much and deserve so much at the hands of mankind."

And three days later, ~~on~~ at the convention of the Zionist Organization of America which met at Atlantic City, the President of the United States, through Senator Wagner, who was co-sponsor of the Palestine Resolution in the Senate sent the following message:

"Knowing that you are to attend the 47th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I ask you to convey to the delegates assembled my cordial greetings. Please express my satisfaction that in accord with traditional American policy, and in keeping with the spirit of the Four Freedoms, the Democratic Party at its July convention this year included the following plank in its platform: 'We favor the opening of Palestine to unrestricted Jewish immigration and colonization and such a policy as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.'"

"Efforts will be made to find appropriate ways and means of effectuating this policy as soon as practicable. I know how long and ardently the Jewish people have worked and prayed for the establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim; and if re-elected I shall help to bring about this realization."

Now, there are still some Jews who are sincere and well-disposed who are afraid or who have been incited to fear by this term "Jewish Commonwealth." I want to address myself to them this morning. I am not addressing myself to the intransigent bitter-enders whom no argument will persuade and no change of events will alter their fixed opinions. These people, unfortunately, we must strike off. No great cause has ever received unanimous approval.

Now, the term, "Jewish Commonwealth" is not a new term. It is not a new concept. It is an old term, as old if not older than the term, "Jewish National Home" of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. It was first used in this country by the first American Jewish Congress which met shortly after the last war in Philadelphia and was attended by Zionists and non-Zionists. The leader among the non-Zionists was that great figure in American Jewish life, Louis Marshall. At this Congress which met in 1918, a delegation was elected to represent American Jewry at the Peace Conference and the Congress formulated the following instructions for this delegation:

I am quoting: "They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and might declare, in accordance with the British Government's Declaration, that there should be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as would assure, under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting in behalf of such a League of Nations as might be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth."

This term, "Jewish Commonwealth," was used frequently by those who in the first place were responsible for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate by the statesmen of Great Britain and the heads of our own Government in the United States. For example, David Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time declared: "It was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth."

Lord Robert Cecil, great statesman of Great Britain at that time stated: "Our wish is that Arabian countries shall be for the Arabs, Armenia for the Armenians, and Judaea for the Jews."

General Smuts, member of the War Cabinet, stated in 1919: "From those parts of the world where the Jews are oppressed and unhappy, where they are not welcomed by the rest of the Christian population, from those parts of the world you will yet see an ever-increasing stream of emigration towards Palestine; and in generations to come you will see a great Jewish State rising there once more."

Sir Herbert Samuel who was First High Commissioner in Palestine, in 1919 declared: "The policy propounded before the Peace Conference, to which the Zionist leaders unshakably adhere, is the promotion to the fullest degree that the land conditions of the country allow, of Jewish immigration and of Jewish settlement, the concession to

Jewish authorities of many of the great public works of which the country stands so greatly in need, the active promotion of Jewish cultural development and the fullest measure of local self-government, in order that with the minimum of delay the country may become a purely self-governing Commonwealth under the auspices of an established Jewish majority."

Mr. Winston Churchill who was in 1920 Secretary of State for War, and now Prime Minister of Great Britain stated -- and I am quoting him: "If, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

Finally, President Wilson, in 1919 declared: "I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth."

The Palestine Royal Commission, you will recall, who speaks for Great Britain, two years ago made the proposition of partition of Palestine as the solution gave the historic picture of all that was involved in the statement: "It is obvious that His Majesty's Government could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish State. It could only undertake to facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprize of the Jews whether the Home would grow 'big enough to become a State'". That report refers to the quotations to which I referred to the British leading statesmen and the press -- They spoke or wrote in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State.

So that this term, "Jewish Commonwealth" is not a new term, a new concept. We are using it today in place of the term, "Jewish National Home," because that term unfortunately has been through these years so misinterpreted by the Colonial Office, so whittled down until it reached the White Paper stage where the Jewish National Home

was fallen to mean a 1/3 minority.

We have been constrained to bring back the original term, the original meaning of Jewish National Home forcibly.

What is meant by the term, "Jewish Commonwealth?" Is the Jewish Commonwealth to be all Jewish? Are the Arabs to be excluded? Will religion be a qualification for holding office in this Jewish Commonwealth? Will there be a union of Church and State? In reply to these questions, I can only quote the official position of the Zionist Movement, expressed at the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee in the House of Representatives in the words of Dr. Neumann. This is what we understand by the term "Jewish Commonwealth."

"By a Jewish Commonwealth we certainly do not mean a state which is exclusively Jewish. We do not mean to drive the existing Arab population into the desert or cast it into the sea. On the contrary, those who choose to do so are to remain. Moreover, their civic and personal rights shall be inviolate. There shall be a full and complete equality before the law. Not only that, but the Arabs shall have every right and possibility to preserve and develop their cultural and religious heritage. Their language shall be recognized and their traditions respected. And in addition they shall share fully in the economic advantages and opportunities and the prosperity which will come with the modernization of the country and the development of its resources."

"Indeed, this has already been the case in a substantial measure. If, then, we are asked what do we mean by the adjective "Jewish" as applied to the future Commonwealth of Palestine, my answer is that it is a short and abbreviated way of saying that through the repatriation of large numbers of European and other Jews, the Jewish people will attain a numerical majority in Palestine and thereby permanently guarantee the open door for others who may follow; so that Palestine shall never cease to serve as a sanctuary and homeland for any and all ~~Jews~~ Jews from whatever part of the world who may choose to go there in the future. It will also be a Jewish Commonwealth in the vital sense that in that country, in that little corner of the world, the Jewish people, no longer living under minority conditions but as a majority, will be free to apply their talent

their industry, their genius and leave the indelible impress of their civilization upon their ancestral land as in the days of the kings and the prophets."

"But the development of this Jewish Commonwealth shall take place under democratic institutions and in a democratic spirit. The Jews will preponderate and lead in the development of the country without dominating or oppressing the minority. Jew and Arab devoted to their respective cultures and traditions shall cooperate as free and equal citizens and jointly contribute to the prosperity and welfare of a common single unitary state. The Arab citizens of the Jewish Commonwealth ~~xx~~ will be as favorably situated as are the French-speaking citizens of the British Dominion of Canada. It will be a free and democratic Jewish state composed of Jews, Moslems, Christians and, if there are any Buddhists, as well -- compatriots, all. All shall be eligible to public office, even the highest."

This is what we mean, when we speak of the Jewish Commonwealth.

But what is not meant by the Jewish Commonwealth is the following: It does not mean that the Jews of the United States, England or South America, or any other country shall be citizens of that Commonwealth, or owe to it any political allegiance any more than the Czechs living in the United States shall owe allegiance to Czechoslovakia, or the Poles to Poland although interested in seeing that people in those countries ~~xxx~~ have rights. Palestine will be the country of those Jews who go there, who are there. They will be the citizens of that Jewish Commonwealth. The Jews of America are citizens of the United States. They have only one political allegiance. The Jews of the world, generally, are tied together by historic bonds, by a common heritage, religion, cultural affinity. They are citizens in the countries in which they live, and loyal exclusively to those countries. The Jewish Commonwealth does not therefore involve any dual allegiance and only those whose mental processes have been paralyzed by fear, or who have been shell-shocked by the assaults of anti-Semitism, only such Jews can conjure up the picture of un-Americanism," in a movement which has received the hearty endorsement in America. Leaders, statesmen, Christian ministers in America have overwhelmingly approved. In all things which pertain

to American life, the position of the Jew in the United States, and its patriotic obligations, I for one, would prefer to follow the thinking of a man of Justice Louis D. Brandeis, a great American, one of the greatest Jews, and also a leader in the Zionist Movement -- I should prefer to follow him rather than the hysterical, frightened leaders, the type of men such as Lessing Rosenwald.

This brings me to the recent visit of Mr. Joseph M. Proskauer, President of the American Jewish Committee who visited our city in order to organize a chapter of the American Jewish Committee here. No one questions the right of the American Jewish Committee to organize a chapter here. No one questions the right of local people to organize it. This is a free country. One might question the wisdom of it. That I shall refer to later on.

But in urging the organization of a chapter of the American Jewish Committee Mr. Proskauer in public utterances, made certain statements concerning the American Jewish Conference, the Zionist leaders and Zionism, concerning the President's statement which I read to you a moment ago, concerning the great interest and devotion to the cause of Jewish unity. All of these statements call for a reply.

I make this reply, not in a spirit of controversy nor to stir up controversy. which I have been
In all the years in/public life, I have, to my best knowledge, never criticized the American Jewish Committee until the coming of Mr. Proskauer into the Presidency of that organization less than two years ago. The American Jewish Committee has a long and honored record of service to the cause of our people in the field of safeguarding the rights of the Jews of our country. In my humble judgment it would have been better for the American Jewish Committee to have confined itself to its/^{own}avowed four-fold purpose and not to have entered the field of ideological controversy -- where, by its own declared purposes it does not belong. The avowed program of the American Jewish Committee is the following: 1) To prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of the Jews in any part of the world. (2) To render all lawful assistance in the event of invasion or restriction of such rights. (3) To secure for

the Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunities. (4) To alleviate the consequences of persecution.

While I have not always approved of the method and technique of the American Jewish Committee, I never felt justified to attack an organization which was earnestly striving to do good for our people. The leaders of the American Jewish Committee in the past out of their profound interest in other problems of Jewish life generally have from time to time cooperated with the Zionists. They were very instrumental in bringing about the enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine in 1939. In their wisdom and statesmanship, the American Jewish Committee confined itself to the field of defense of Jewish rights, relief, not to the field of ideological disputes. Here I quote from an article on the American Jewish Committee in the Universal Jewish Encyclopedia written by the Secretary of the American Jewish Committee which states: Since the establishment of the Jewish Agency, the Committee has followed the policy of taking no action on political questions in Palestine, leaving such questions exclusively to the Jewish Agency."

Now that was the case until two years ago, until Mr. Proskauer came into the Presidency of the Committee. It was as a result of his bitter and relentless advocacy of a new line with reference to Palestine in the American Jewish Committee that the Committee was unfortunately led to withdraw from the American Jewish Conference, to isolate itself from ~~American Jewish scene~~ the American Jewish scene and bring down upon itself condemnation and force men and organizations to resign from that organization who up to that time found it congenial to remain and work with that organization.

To make up for that loss and win some popular backing for his program, Mr. Proskauer is now attempting to organize local chapters of the American Jewish Committee in many cities in the United States.

I said that in the past Zionist leaders found it possible to work with the leaders of the American Jewish Committee. In 1918...

In 1929, as I indicated a moment ago, the leaders of American Jewish Committee

met with Zionist leaders in Zurich... I was present at that conference in Zurich. Mr. Proskauer at that time was not even a member of the American Jewish Committee. Representing that Committee were men of the type of Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler and Warburg and many another great Jewish man. We were able to work out a formula where everything that concerned Palestine would be in the hands of the Jewish Agency made up of fifty percent Zionist and fifty percent non-Zionist.

Why was it possible to come to such a basic agreement? Because these leaders of the American Jewish Committee accepted as facts, as internationally accredited facts the Balfour Declaration, the Mandate for Palestine and all it implied. They accepted three simple facts: (1) That there is such a thing as a Jewish people in the world, not merely individual Jewish people. The Balfour Declaration speaks of a Jewish people, intellectually, historically, just as any other people. However it has one difference from other people, the millennial tragedy of our people, of all people of the world. It alone possesses no central national home.

The second factor accepted was that there is a historic connection of this Jewish people with Palestine. Palestine was not just another country to which refugees could go like San Domingo, or Canada. It was not just another asylum for refugees. It was a place where Jews had a right to go because it was a Jewish country. It was historically the Land of Israel and the nations were resolved to help make it so again. Thus the Mandate, in its very preamble speaks of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine not with Italy or with Spain as a people, but specifically in connection with Palestine as a people and their right to return to it and to rebuild it as their national home. That was the second principle agreed on.

And the third was that Palestine was not to be just another home for the Jews. It was to be a national home. It was a home for a nation. Not that all Jews would live there any more than that all Jews live in England, Germany, France. France is the national home for the French, England for the English and Germany for the Germans.

On the basis and acceptance of these ideals involved in the Balfour Declaration

and the Mandate, the very first Council of the Jewish Agency, composed of Zionists and non-Zionists issued the following statement:

"Whereas, the government of Great Britain, by the Balfour Declaration has pledged to use its best endeavors to facilitate the establishment of the national home for the Jewish people in Palestine;

"Whereas, the Declaration has been approved by the League of Nations which designates Great Britain as the mandatory power, and by the Congress of the United States of America;

"Whereas, the Palestine mandate created the Jewish Agency as a public body to cooperate with the mandatory power in all matters concerning the establishment of the Jewish National Home;

"Whereas, the mandatory power has approved the enlargement of the Jewish Agency to include and represent all Jews, Zionists as well as non-Zionists;

"Whereas, the Zionist Organization and the non-Zionists have now joined in the forming of the enlarged Jewish Agency;

"The Council of the Jewish Agency at its first session unanimously resolves:

"(1) That it rejoices that all Israel is united for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, and calls upon every Jew throughout the world to rally to the sacred cause.

"(2) The Council of the Jewish Agency expresses its appreciation to Great Britain for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, and confidently hopes that it mandatory will cooperate with the enlarged Agency in fully realizing the great aim set by the Declaration and the Mandate."

Marshall agreed with this. Warburg agreed to this. Adler agreed to this. That was the attitude of the American Jewish Committee until Mr. Proskauer came into it. Mr. Proskauer in accepting the presidency made a condition about the Committee accepting his position on Palestine. In his statement, which was published, there is no mention of the Mandate, no mention of the Jewish people, the Jewish Agency -- nothing. All is vanished. All the work of the Zionist Movement, this movement an established institution

of fifty years of Zionism
all the planning of the enlarged Jewish Agency in which Zionists and non-Zionists participated, were all brushed aside. Mr. Proskauer has a formula of his own which he has been peddling about which he states is non-Zionist but which Zionists know as arrant anti-Zionist. Because he could not force his formula on the American Jewish Conference attended by 500 delegates, because his formula could receive only three votes at that Conference, three votes including his own, Mr. Proskauer bolted the Conference, pulled the American Jewish Committee out of most this democratically organized body ever assembled by American Jewry.

What is his formula? He calls for the postponement of the whole question of the Jewish National Home which was already accepted 25 years ago, a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth in Palestine to some nebulous period in the future. He calls for forgetting about it all, just obtaining some international trusteeship to safeguard Jewish immigration into Palestine. In other words he calls for another mandate and another mandatory power except that the terms of the mandate shall not include any reference to the Jewish National Home, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish Commonwealth or anything else specifically Jewish -- an international trusteeship which will safeguard Jewish immigration into Palestine. Mr. Proskauer naively over-looks the fact, perhaps not so naively, that the whole political controversy in recent years has revolved around immigration. That the Arabs don't want Jews to come into the country as a majority. The whole question whether the Jew shall or shall not be allowed to enter depends in the last analysis on what political decision will be reached in the very near future on the final political structure of the country.

If the great power decide, for example, and ultimately all decisions will rest with the three or four great powers. If they will decide, as they must decide pretty soon -- and perhaps they have already made their decision -- that Palestine should be an Arab State as contemplated in the White Paper, then clearly no more Jewish immigration will be permitted to enter than will insure preeminently an Arab State; if the great powers decide on a bi-national state, they will permit immigration up to the point

of parity with the Arabs to insure stability; if the great powers should decide upon partition they will allow a certain number in the Jewish part and prohibit Jewish immigration in the Arab part; if on the other hand the great powers decide on a Jewish Commonwealth, then free and unrestricted Jewish immigration will be permitted in all of Palestine. In other words, the immigration problem is contingent upon a political solution and that this political decision must in logic, precede the decision on immigration.

Now no one, of course intends to establish a Jewish Commonwealth with all its governmental apparatus until the Jews are a majority in Palestine. What the Jews want now is the power which lodges in Government to take over the control of Jewish immigration, to make sure that there will be established in the shortest possible time. Under the control of the present Mandatory or the control of any other international trusteeship no such thing is possible. The present Mandatory has thwarted Jewish immigration, has put every obstacle in the way so that it would not become a majority. Power of control of immigration should be vested in the Jewish Agency so that it could create an economic absorptive capacity in a short time which could bring in a large number of Jews which would bring about a Jewish Commonwealth.

This talk about timeliness is very trivial talk -- that if the Jewish people would not talk now about a Jewish Commonwealth then the Arabs would be caught off guard. They would agree to Jewish immigration. This is a variety of the most astounding type. President Roosevelt does not think that discussion of the Jewish Commonwealth is untimely. This is the time. Every people knows that this is the time for it to present its legitimate claims to the world tribunal. Peace conferences are being held now. It is a mistake to assume that at the close of the war a peace conference will settle all problems. Dumbarton Oaks is part of the peace conference. Every time our leaders meet, in Moscow, Casablanca, Canada, basic decisions affecting peoples are made. There may not be a peace conference after the war at all, or only one to ratify decisions which have been made during these years of war. It would be folly

for a people who have just claims to miss an opportunity arouse public opinion.

Finally in justifying the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the American Jewish Conference, Proskauer has repeatedly criticized the Conference as being unrepresentative, that the extreme Zionists swept the Conference off its feet and that the delegates were committed in advance to Zionism. I should like to make the following observations, first as an officer of the American Conference and secondly the conference will meet again in Pittsburgh for the second session.

The American Jewish Committee did not want to come into the Conference in the first place. It was afraid of being submerged. It was afraid also of the democratic processes of the Conference. It was several months after 45 principal national organizations had agreed to come to such a conference that the Committee reluctantly joined after insisting upon the change of the name from Assembly to Conference. The Committee agreed to and signed the official call for organizing an American Jewish Conference. There were two items on the agenda of the Conference (1) the protection of Jewish rights in the post-war world and (2) "to consider and recommend action upon all matters looking toward the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.

On the Interim Committee which called the Conference, the Committee was represented by its president, Mr. Proskauer. The rules of the election were well known and approved by ~~the committee~~ their representative and they did not object to the method of election. There were 377 delegates elected by the communities and 123 chosen by 65 national organizations, so that the total delegation amounted to 500. Those elected by the communities were chosen by 23,000 electors representing 8,400 local groups -- 1 elector for each 50 members in a local organization. In other words some two million two hundred fifty thousand Jews participated through their groups, through their electors at these elections.

Naturally many representatives were elected on a platform. If the platform was unacceptable the electors could have rejected them. That is democracy! The majority of those elected to the Conference were in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth because the

majority of the Jews in America are in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth. But the Zionists were no more committed to their program than Proskauer or his group were committed to theirs. The delegates knew very well what they wanted. These delegates I must say, many of them represented the finest and most intellectual Jews in the United States from all walks of life, from all sections of the country. The American Jewish Committee knew full well, when it entered the Conference that the Jewish Commonwealth Resolution would be the central area of controversy. The discussion of Palestine at the Conference was prolonged. The Commission on Palestine met for two days. The Commission reflected in miniature the Conference. Mr. Proskauer was there. He participated in the discussion. He presented his case fully. Three resolutions were introduced, one by the Zionists, one by the non-Zionists and one by Mr. Proskauer. It was possible to work out a compromise resolution with the and the representatives of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations - the Reform bloc non-Zionist body, but not with Mr. Proskauer. The Committee representative alone made no concessions. The vote was 61 to 2. Mr. Proskauer had his opportunity to present case to the whole convention. After he did, the convention voted overwhelmingly for the compromise resolution, and after the vote, Mr. Proskauer spoke again. He read a statement adopted by his group in which they dissented from the action of the majority, but he gave us no indication that his dissent meant withdrawal.

Personally I applauded Mr. Proskauer. He yielded to the law of the democratic majority.

At the first meeting of the Interim Committee following the adjournment of the Conference, representatives of the American Jewish Committee participated in the discussions. There was no intimation that they would bolt. Seven weeks after that, Mr. Proskauer pulled the American Jewish Committee out of the American Jewish Conference. It is significant that none of the other 65 organizations withdrew from the Conference. No organization was committed to the Palestine Resolution....

Thus, great organizations like the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Council

Council of Jewish Women's National Sisterhood, the B'nai B'rith, who because within their membership there were both Zionists and non-Zionists, could not see their way clear to vote for the Palestine Resolution -- But not a single one withdrew from the Conference. They maintained the solidarity of Jewish life. The only one that withdrew was the American Jewish Committee under the inspiration of Mr. Proskauer.

Had I the time I would quote other instances. Mr. Proskauer thinks of unity only when you agree with him. When you ask him to agree with you -- that is disunity.

It is significant to note that bodies like the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Central Conference of American Rabbis which began some years ago with a systematic opposition to Zionism, have through the years moved to neutrality while the Committee reversed itself from an attitude of prevailing neutrality to an attitude of opposition.

Dr. Weizmann, when he was here in 1940, shortly after the war began, was very anxious to establish a united front between Zionists and non-Zionists. He got in touch with Mr. Sol Stroock, that time President of the American Jewish Committee, to see if could be ~~Shortly after~~ differences ~~were~~ ironed out and a formula ~~was~~ arrived at. And sure enough, in June of 1942 such a joint formula was worked out and voted on and approved by the American Jewish Committee. Here it is:

"1. To act in common

- a) For the maintenance of Jewish rights under the Mandate in Palestine for the immediate future.
- b) For the fulfillment of the original purposes of the Balfour Declaration, whereby through unrestricted Jewish immigration and large-scale colonization under a regime designed for this purpose Jews may constitute a majority in Palestine and establish an autonomous commonwealth, it being clearly understood that
 - 1) In such a commonwealth, all the inhabitants, without regard to race or religion, shall enjoy complete equality of rights.
 - 2) The establishment of this commonwealth will in no way affect the political or civil status and allegiance of Jews who are citizens of any other country.

2. To set up a sub-committee to study and define the ways and methods best calculated to secure the achievement of the above aims."

That was the agreement. Proskauer heard of this agreement. He was against it. That it was the last word of the American Jewish Committee didn't matter. He threatened to bolt the American Jewish Committee and would walk out on the Committee with his followers. Because of this opposition, this agreement, the work of 18 months of negotiations was scrapped. When in 1943, Mr. Proskauer succeeded as President, his platform was pushed forward, and that platform pulled the American Jewish Committee out of American organized Jewry.

It is under the inspiration of this man and his program that an attempt is to be made to organize a local chapter in Cleveland. The central idea around this organization will be non-Zionist or anti-Zionist which I must say is today a distinction without difference, especially if non-Zionists organize for action.

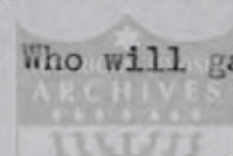
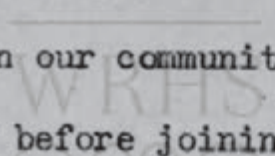
Whether the resolution which the Zionists introduced in the Congress of United States is opposed as it was violently by the Council for Judaism or by

the opposition is there. It is defeat that resolution and it cannot be interpreted any other way... (Criticism of President of the United States for endorsement of Palestine as Jewish Commonwealth is same as its opposition to movement). It is amazing that any responsible man would attempt to under-estimate or to make light of a deliberate public utterance of the President of the United States in time of war affecting a basic policy of a major ally and ~~an~~ attempt to write it off as something insignificance, something worthless.

Why did he do it? Because Mr. Proskauer has finally realized that his pet scheme has been rejected by the American people, by the American Government. His program is bankrupt and on the basis of this bankrupt program, chapters are now being organized in various communities. Not a Rabbi of Cleveland was invited. Not a President of a congregation was invited. Not a ~~known~~ known Zionist was invited.

Up to the time of Proskauer, the President of the American Zionist Organization was a member of the Executive of the American Jewish Committee. Up to the time of Proskauer, the Hadassah was a member of the American Jewish Committee. Zionists were not banished from the American Jewish Committee. This new line is striking a cleavage in the American Jewish community.

The organization of such a chapter in our community, built on a negative attitude toward Zionism will I am afraid be a focal point of unfriendly agitation and bitter controversy. We have had a pretty friendly and harmonious Jewish community in Cleveland. The Jewish Community Council, the Jewish Welfare Fund have knit us together more and more. We have been able to arrive at consensus of opinion more quickly... Such an organization in our community at a time when American Jewry has rejected overwhelmingly its platform will, I am afraid harden and sharpen ideological controversies in our community . Who will gain by it.... (ask people to think through the matter before joining.)



September 25, 1944

To:

From: R. L. Buell

FOREIGN POLICY MEMORANDUM NO. 4

A Policy Towards the Peoples of the Middle East

The great majority of the people of the Middle East are Arabs. Totalling about 36,000,000, they are scattered through an area about as large as that of Europe, covering 3,000,000 square miles. The Arabs have religious ties, moreover, with the Moslems of Asia and Africa, which brings the total Islamic population to about 275,000,000. At times the Pan-Islamic movement to unify all of these Moslems has shown a certain strength but not within recent years, owing to the rise of nationalist movements, Turkey's abolition of the Caliphate, and the decline of religious zeal.

PART I. THE DESIRES OF THE ARAB PEOPLES

The Arab people fall into three main groups as follows:

<u>The Maghreb or West</u>	16.8 million
Except for Libya and Spanish Morocco, the Maghreb is under French control, and will not be considered here. Libya has an Arab population of 0.9 million; Tunis, 2.5 million; Algeria, 6.3 million; and Morocco, 7.1 million.	
<u>Egypt</u> , serving as a link between the Maghreb and Arabia proper	16 million
<u>Arabia proper</u>	
(a) Arabia -- Saudi Arabia, 4.5 million; Yemen, 3.5 million; Oman, 0.5 million; Transjordan, 0.3 million; Aden with its dependencies, 0.2 million.	
Total of	9 million
(b) <u>The Fertile Crescent</u>	
Iraq, 3.5 million; Syria and Lebanon, 3.4 million; Palestine, 1.1 million	8 million

In addition there are several million Arabs outside the Middle East, whether in East Africa or the Dutch East Indies.

THE JEWISH STATE

EXTRACTS FROM HERZL'S ZIONIST MANIFESTO • THE WORLD'S NEED

THE idea is a very old one: it is the restoration of the Jewish State. The world resounds with outcries against the Jews, and these outcries have awakened the slumbering idea... The scheme includes the employment of an existent propelling force, on which everything depends. And what is our propelling force? The misery of the Jews... I am absolutely convinced that I am right, though I doubt whether I shall live to see myself proved to be so. Those who are the first to inaugurate this movement will scarcely live to see its glorious close. But the inauguration of it is enough to give them a feeling of pride and freedom.



The Jewish State is essential to the world; it will therefore be created. Am I stating what is not yet the case? Am I in advance of my time? Are the sufferings of the Jews not yet great enough? ...If the present generation is too dull to understand it rightly, a future, a finer, and a better generation will arise to understand it. The Jews who wish for a state shall have it, and they will deserve it.



The Jewish question exists. It is a remnant of the Middle Ages, which civilised nations do not even seem to be able to shake off, try as they will. The Jewish question exists wherever Jews live in perceptible numbers. Where it does not exist it is carried by Jews in the course of their migrations. We naturally move to those places where we are not persecuted, and there our presence produces persecution. This is the case in every country, and will remain so even in highly civilised countries, till the Jewish question finds a solution on a political basis... I think the Jewish question is no more a social question than it is a religious one. It is a national question which can only be solved by making it a political world question to be discussed and settled by the civilised nations of the world in council.



We are a people, one people. We have honestly endeavoured everywhere to merge ourselves in the social life of the surrounding communities and to preserve only the faith of our fathers. We are not permitted to do so. In vain we are loyal patriots, our loyalty in places running to extremes. In vain do we make the same sacrifices of life and property as our fellow citizens. In vain do we strive to increase the fame of our native lands in science and art or their wealth by trade and commerce. In countries where we have lived for centuries we are still cried down as strangers and often by those whose ancestors were not yet domiciled in the land where Jews had already suffered... The longer anti-Semitism lies in abeyance the more fiercely it will break out.



No one can deny the gravity of the situation of the Jews. Wherever they live in perceptible numbers they are more or less persecuted. Their equality before the law, granted by statute has become practically a dead letter. They are debarred from filling even moderately high positions, either in the Army or in any public or private capacity, and attempts are made to thrust them out in business also: "Don't buy from the Jews!" Attacks in Parliaments, in assemblies, in the press, in the pulpit, in the streets, on journeys, — for example their exclusion from certain hotels — even in places of recreation, become daily more numerous. The forms of persecution vary according to the countries and social circles in which they occur. Shades of anti-Jewish feeling are innumerable. Everything tends, in fact, to one and

the same conclusion which is clearly enunciated in that classic Berlin phrase, "Juden raus!" (Out with the Jews).



Oppression and persecution cannot exterminate us. No nation on earth has survived such struggles and sufferings as we have gone through. Jew-baiting has merely stripped off our weaklings. The strong among us were invariably true to our race when persecution broke out against them. ...The distinctive nationality of the Jews neither can, will, nor must be destroyed. It cannot be destroyed because external enemies consolidate it. It will not be destroyed. This is shown during two thousand years of appalling suffering... Whole branches of Judaism may wither and fall but the trunk remains.



We are one people. Distress binds us together, and thus united we suddenly discover our strength. Yes, we are strong enough to form a State, and indeed a model State. We possess all human and material resources necessary for the purpose... Let the sovereignty be granted to us over a portion of the globe large enough to satisfy the rightful requirements of a nation; the rest we shall manage for ourselves... Palestine is our ever memorable historic home. The very name of Palestine would attract our people with a force of marvellous potency... We should there form a portion of a rampart of Europe against Asia, an outpost of civilisation as opposed to barbarism.



No human being is wealthy or powerful enough to transplant a nation from one habitation to another. An idea alone can compass that. And this idea of a State may have the requisite power to do so. The Jews have dreamt this kingly dream all through the long nights of their history. "Next year in Jerusalem" is our old phrase. The dream can be converted into a living reality...



The word "impossible" has ceased to exist in the vocabulary of technical science. Were a man who lived in the last century to return to earth, he would find the life today full of incomprehensible magic... Wherever we moderns appear with our inventions, we transform the desert into a garden. To build a city takes in our time as many years as it formerly required centuries. Distance has ceased to be an obstacle... Thousands are occupied with speculations and research at every point of the globe, and what anyone discovers belongs the next moment to the whole world. We ourselves will use and carry on every new attempt in our Jewish land; and just as we shall introduce the seven-hour working day as an experiment for the good of humanity, so we shall proceed in everything else in the same humane spirit, making of the new land a land of experiments and a model State.



I believe that a wondrous generation of Jews will spring into existence. The Maccabees will rise again. Let me repeat once more my opening words: The Jews who wish it will have their State. We shall live at last as free men on our own soil, and die peacefully in our own homes.

The world will be freed by our liberty, enriched by our wealth, magnified by our greatness. And whatever we attempt there to accomplish for our own welfare, will react powerfully and beneficially for the good of humanity.

- 1) 3 Significant Statements were issued ~~last few weeks~~ ^{last few weeks} which have direct bearing on the subject while I am to discuss this morning.
- ① You may recall that in Jan. + Feb. - ^{on eve of election day} this year Roosevelt said that the U.S. shall use its good offices and take appropriate measures to the end that the doors of Pol. shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization, so that the Jewish people may ultimately constitute Pol. as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.
- ② Bi-partisan ^{overwhelmingly} - ③ Hearings were held before the House in Jan. - 4 days in Feb. - was Defeat Mar. 17th House deferred action - without reference to the merits of the resolutions. We were disappointed & angry. Our efforts began prematurely to expire. We bided our time! As we were moved away from mid-theater as our armies swept to border of Germany - we raised the question from again with our was Defeat. ④ On Oct. 10 - Senator Taft - Secy, was Stimson - (Just) ⑤ Thus the previous hands - has been unmounted - When Congress reverts her 14th favorable action is likely to be taken - "on the reconstituted, Pol. as a free & democ. Jewish Commonwealth".
- ② You may also recall that in June and July - the National Committee of both major pol. parties - included plans - forming - unprecedented acts - org. Amer. public opinion, as reflected in the Committee -
- ③ On Oct. 12th - Gov. Thomas E. Dewey (Just)
- ④ On Oct. 15th - Pres. of the U.S. - (Just)

2/ If, when I stood on the platform, Wednesday Evening - Aug. 30 - Amer. J. Cong. - when I urged the adoption, the J. Cong. Resolution - I had stated, that within 12¹/₂ minutes - receive approval ^{and only} ^{enormous} ^{plenty} ^{of} ^{it} - an extreme favorite - Some called us that anyway - And yet how it is! Greatest country on earth has put its authority behind it.

3/ There are still some Jews - sincere and well-disposed - who are afraid or have been incited to fear - by the term "J. Cong." - I want to address myself to them this morning. I am not addressing myself to the intransigent "little-enders" whom no argument will persuade - and who change events will ask their first questions. We must work with the ~~the~~ ^{the} great cause and receive unanimous approval.

① Not a new term recently introduced, or a new concept! It is an old term, ^{as old as} ~~older~~ ^{older} than the term "Jew. National Home" in Balfour Declaration, 1917 and the Mandate.

② First Amer. Jew Congress met in Phila. in 1918 - shortly after last war - in which Jews & non-Jews participated - it elected a Delegation to represent Amer. Jewry at the Peace Conference and formulated the following instructions for its delegates:

"They were to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations, specifically with the World Jewish Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine and unjust claims, in accordance with the British Government's Declaration, that there should be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Pal. as would assure, under the suzerainty of Great Britain, acting in behalf of such a League of Nations as might

be joined, the development of Pol. into a Jewish Commonwealth. (3)

(b) Term frequently employed by these ~~states~~ statesmen.

David Lloyd George - Prime Minister (Jew)

(c) Pol. Royal Commission: "It is obvious that the majority of Jews

could not commit itself to the establishment of a Jewish State. It could only undertake to facilitate the growth of a Home. It would depend mainly on the zeal and enterprise, the Jews whether the Home would grow "big enough" to become a State" - Refers to the

above - and to British press - "they spoke a word in terms that could only mean that they contemplated the eventual establishment of a Jewish State."

(d) No, not a new term or concept - going back to it.

See "J. Nat. Home" has been so misinterpreted, whittled down - must restore its original implication - (1/3)
~~down - must restore its original implication~~

4). What is meant by J. Commonwealth? Is it to be all-Jewish? Are the Arabs to be excluded? Will religion be a test of holding office? Will there be a Union of Church and State? (Jewish Messenger - p. 315)

5) What is not meant by J. Comm. in Pol. 2.

It does not mean that Jews, the U.S. shall be citizens, it - or owe any part allegiance to it. Any one than such Germans - Poles - only those who will have them choose to so then - a citizen, the Jew. Can - Jews, America

our only ties on this of a common heritage, religion & cultural kinships -
1. It involves no dual allegiances - and no domination
by fear - Only such as are whose mental processes are paralyzed
by fear - shell-shocked by the assaults of anti-Semitism - can conjure
of this Spoke of "Americanism" - in a movement which
all true Americans - Leaders ^{statesmen, friends} etc. have valued & approved.
In all things which pertain to Amer. life - freedom & the
founded by freedom was D. Brandeis > Lenny Brown.

6. This brings me to recent visit - Mr. Joseph M. Pickens
Pres. of Am. J. Conf. - in an effort to organize a chapter
of Conf. in Cleveland -

(a) No one questions the right of Am. J. Conf. to organize a local
chapter - nor the right of local people to org. it. This is a free
country! Our urgent question the wisdom, it. To that extent
I shall return later on.
(b) But in organizing the org. - P. in his public utterances, made
~~some~~ certain statements concerning the Am. J. Conf. - concerning
units & L. leaders, including ^{statements of President} ~~statements of~~ ^{his & Park} ~~concerning~~
great devotion to the cause of J. Unity which certain
extremists have unfortunately thwarted - which call for a
reply.

(c) I make this reply - not in a spirit of controversy -
or to stir up controversy. In all the years in which I have
been in public life - I have, to the best of my knowledge, never
criticized the Am. J. Conf. - until the coming of Mr. P.
with the Pres. that organization - less than 2 yrs. ago.
This Am. J. Conf. has a long history of service to
our people - field of approaching the and rel. issues of justice

emergencies. It would have been better if the Com. ^{had} ~~had~~ ^{had} ~~carried~~ ^{carried} it out (5)
to a rowed of old purpose and not entered the field of ideology
controversy - where, by its own delated purpose, it does not belong

① To prevent the infringement, the civil & rel. right, the laws in
any part of the world.

② To render all lawful assistance, in the event of invasion
or restriction of such rights

③ To secure for the laws equality & economic freedom.

④ To abolish the laws process of persecution. Charles

Which I have not always appreciated, the methods & techniques
employed by the Com. did not fulfill an attractive and
org. which was earnestly striving to do good for all people.

→ Further, the Com. as individuals was not out of them.
profound interest in other problems of life - Marshall - Warkley
Agnew Adm. - were very instrumental - enlarged J. Agency

In Pol. - January - 1929 But - and for quite far
the article on the A. J. C. in the Universal J. Encyclopedia
written by the Secy, A. J. C. -

"I was the establishment, the J. Agency, the Committee
has followed the policy of taking no action on political
questions in Pol., leaving such questions exclusively
to the J. Agency -"

6
This was done, until 2 yrs ago, Prosk. came
Bec. of his better & re-births ordinary of a new line - Pol.
unfort. led h.g.c. - withdraw - isolate - bring down -
resignations.

To make up for this loss - win some pop backing

7. Joint found it possible - to work - leaders

In 1918 - ~~off~~ welcomed & approved - which is a joint
declaration - (J. Com.) - issued to General.

In 1929 - enlarged J. Agency - General. Prosk.
was not there - 1933 - Marshall 50-50

8. Why was it possible? Accepted as fact K.D.

What were the 3 basic parts of B.D. Thwaites' acceptance, when

(1) There is a Jewish People - not merely Jews. (The B.D. speaks of the Jewish People - not merely Jews.)

There is a J. people - a collection of people with a common history - not every other people - differs in an essential regard, (cause, its millennial tragedy) of all people, and, at the J. people as well, persons no National Home; I am

(2) Historic connection of the J. people with P.D. - not just another country where J. refugees might go - an asylum for refugees like South America, a Canada etc. but a place where they have a right to ^{be settled} as a people. (Viggo Stages!) It was historically the land of Israel. The nations ^{were} resolved to keep the Jews to make it so again! (Thus the Mandate, in its very preamble recognizes the historic connection of the J. people with P.D. + their right to return to it and rebuild it as their nat. home.)

(3) Not just another home - but a "national" home! to rebuild their national life -

20 Feb - 1929 - first session, Council (Zion)

9) Mr. Pusk has rejected this formula - in toto. (8)
- In the statement, his - no mention of B.D. Mandate
of natural born - ^{same settlement} Jewish people - The Agency -
- all has vanished. - ^{50 yrs, 200} brushed aside the work, Marshall, ask
He evolved a formula of his own - ^{padding} about
which he calls non-Zionist, which Zimant knew
to be against anti-Zionism - and he could not
force his article upon the 50 delegates - ^{3 people} he ^{collected}
+ pulled the A.J.C. out of the most off & down. boy
ever assembled by Am. Jews

10) This formula calls for ^{portraying} the whole picture
of a Jewish future ^{on which} future looks ^{the whole picture}
to some ^{voluntarily} ~~disinterested~~ future - just forgetting about it
all - and to get some interest. ^{trusteeship} to
safeguard J. immigration in to Pal. ^{another mandate}
He vainly ^{the} ~~misleads~~ the fact that ^{the whole picture}
M. continuously recent years has revealed
around ^{immigration} that the Arabs don't want
the Jew there for fear that they will become a majority.
and that the whole question of Jewish state is a ^{the}
not allowed to immigrate into Pal. defined in the
last analysis on what Pal. decision will be reached

and must be reached in the very near future on the (4)
final pol. structure of the country

- If the great powers decide - Arab State - ^{no Jewish} ~~no Jewish~~ ^{state}
- If " " " " - ~~to make it~~ - so many more
- " " " " - partition -
- " " " " - transjordan - for arabs

Thus - it should be clear to a reasonable person - that
the pol. decision must be made - the decision
on immigration even tho in point of time
of course follows the attainment of majority.

~~12/~~ 12/ ~~Pass~~ No one ^{of course} intends to estab. a J. Com with all guid.
apparently until Jews are in fact a majority. But
Jews want now the power which lodges in fact. to
take over the immigration of Jews into Pal - so that
- Mandate - ~~has~~ ^{can} be used upon to do it -
- Thwarted - ^{and not possible} "absorption capacity" - "Stunna"

~~12/~~ 12/ ~~Be. G. of Conf.~~ ^{individual} ~~his name for~~
Does he really think that, Jews, if they don't
"Timeliness" ~~But~~ ^{will} ~~hesitate~~ ^{agree to} ~~to~~ ^{pay} ~~for~~ ^{free}
of ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~Conf.~~ ^{Conf.} ~~as~~ ^{as} ~~full~~ ^{full} ~~demands~~ ^{demands} ~~of~~ ^{of} ~~people~~ ^{people} ~~to~~ ^{to} ~~not~~ ^{not} ~~of~~ ^{of}
~~immigration~~ ^{immigration} ~~which~~ ^{which} ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~main~~ ^{main} ~~problem~~ ^{problem}
~~Why? Why is his family?~~ ^{Why? Why is his family?} ~~the other not?~~ ^{the other not?}

13/ Actually ^{Park is visiting} ~~fatherly~~ 'opposed' to J. Com - at any time (10
observing
Fear of bi-nationalism. With -

- Wants to postpone it indefinitely - but by his
~~clear~~ talk of 'inclusion' - he to keep Jews from
voicing their demands in the United Nations

= P. R. does not think it "urgent".

(a) (this is the time) (Every people knows it) to present
their rightful claims to the world.

(b) Peace Conference are now being held (Doubtful talk)

(c) 1946 not now & when? Arouse public opinion
War funds - explanations - When?

14/ In justifying withdrawal - I repeated criticisms
of J. Com. - (1) Unrepresentative (2) Delegates committed
in advance to Jewish (3) Excludes most Conf.

(1) I should like to make following observation (a) Office of J. Com.
Conf (b) Conf. will soon meet again for second session at J. Com.

(1) Did not want to come in! Afraid the merged -
Democratic processes.

(2) If in several months after 45 not agreed - all people concerned
- substantially joined. Assembly to Conference -

③ It agreed to and agreed the Special Call for ag. of Cong.

Two matters on Agenda - ① Why the Jew - put on agenda

② "To consider & recommend actions after all matters looking toward the confirmation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine."

④ On the Eastern Com. which ag. Cong. of Am. was represented by its President ~~Mr. Phisk~~ Mr. Phisk.

⑤ The rules & elections were well known and approved by the rep., the Cong. of Am. A rep. served on the National Board of Directors - no objections -

⑥ 377 delegates elected by communities and 123 by ~~the~~ 65 national organizations. Total 500 -

Those elected by communities were chosen by 23,000 electors representing 8,400 local groups, on the basis of 1 elector for each 50 members in a local org. These represented 2 1/4 million Jews.

⑦ System / "Cumulative voting" proposed Union, Am. Cong

⑧ Naturally the delegates elected by the Com. ran on certain platform - How else? Platform unacceptable - electors were free to reject them. That is democracy!
Majority in J. Cong. - no. Majority, Am. Jew are not

(9) I count no more committed to the program than Pro. (12)
 this day at to them - I committed exactly what then
 - many non-Zion. org. reprinted their feet - - Silver
 that I

(10) G. J. Linn. knew full well, when it entered camp, that
Cann. Rest. would be critical area of construction.

⑪ There discussion - 2 days - Can. ^{minutes} 765-6 Presk.
then + participated - 3 resolutions - It was possible
to work out a compromise resolution - with res. 2
+ res. 9 Union, Am. Ind. Cong. - Reform alone -

(12) "Committee report also made in concensus" - Vote 61/02

(13) Plenary session - Presid. had open to speak. —

Camps. Int. protection - adopted everywhere -

after vote - Pres. of the gain - read a statement
document - but for no indication that document

document - but for no indication that document
want with document - applauded - document

want with drawn (Opposition)
 (N) ~~has~~ but first meeting of Ind. Con. following ^{agreement} of
- ref of AG Con. attended - participated in discussion -
it is to the credit of the could be.

(15) But they did stall them. → Wrote Pat.

(15) But they did 6 prs. per

(16) No org. was consulted & then Pal. Govt.
unless - It could remain -

Some like Jewish Labor Can - ~~members of Jewish Labor~~ (13)

Council of J. workers - not within normal program

~~have called~~ - U. workers - CCAK - ~~Superior~~ Bona Bob

- remained within ^{have with them} maintain identity -

(17) Not so Pres K. - Rule of Union - Unity is

when I am agree with you!

~~15~~ (18) Thus while Reform bodies moved from opposition to Jewish hierarchy
Pres. moved the U. J. Am. from Jewish hierarchy to ~~opposition~~ liberalism.

15/ once before - War - United front - Chick - Weyman

early 1941 - 20-25 people June 5-1942 Journal

agreed upon - (Just) Exce. Com. approved it -

- Pres. threatened to walk out - talk desecrating grave
with him - (Again, you say how devoted to Unity he is) Back under

- In Jan. 1945 - Pres. succeeded Harrold Winters

as Pres - ~~script~~ - substituted her own candidate

- And with his formula - he ~~attempted to disrupt~~

walked out, on the day of Conf

16/ Under the inspiration, this man, and his program
which he had was to make to us a deal
to his own - an attempt to make to us a deal
chapter - his own

(a) General idea - some what of - (Anti-2. a new Union)

- To-day a distinction without difference, esp. if we 2.
become org. for action -

- Whether Congress. Rev. offered by Am. Council for Judaism
violently - in person - Memoranda by Am. - Opposition
is there! And this against Zion. Cause!

Whether Council attacks Pres - a Pres. policy
work it - same! ^{Should know better - cannot afford to be}
^{on his side - a Pres. -} Final point of view -
fundamental principles -

(A) Chapter org. around negative attitude to L.
~~It will also come to bear up by. See J. G. P. - no Pres~~
- Those who were in 1940 - Robins - no Pres

no known Zionists - ^{There was a time when}
^{other Am. J. Council - before}
Zionists were members of the Pres. 20A - of the Council were
the Pres. the Pres. members of the Executive Conference! - exclusionary

(B) Line up against Am. Jew. Conference! - exclusionary
(C) Am. harmonious community of Am. Council - will for Pres
all view points - for Pres

I am afraid - harden + sharpen ideal. controversies
- turn press against press -

(A) Juni Barro 2 Who will join by it?

(X) ~~(a) London should think them in not worth~~