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1945

MICROFILM EDITION
SCRAPBOOK 30

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Journal 25-1-45

פון י. [illegible]

די צוועלף מיטגלידער פון ציוניסטישן עמוירדזשענסי קאונסיל וואס האבן דורך זייערע שטימען באזייטיקט דר. אבא הילל סילווער פון דער פירערשאפט פון דער ציוניסטישער פאליטיק אין אמעריקא, האבן, ערשטנס, באוויזן, אז זיי האבן ניט דעם ווילן צו היילן א געשפאלטנקייט אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם. צווייטנס, האבן זיי געגעבן א שאנס אין פנים דער אידישער עפנטלעכקייט, וואס האט, נאך מיין מיינונג, זיך איבערגעצייגט באוויזנקייט, אין דער וואך צווישן דער ערשטער פארזאמלונג און דער צווייטער, נעמען דער סאנקציע צו באזייטיקן דר. סילווער'ן.

ווען מען לייענט דעם סוף פון דר. ישראל גאלדשטיין'ס סטייטמענט אין נעכטיקן „מארגן זשורנאל“ די דערקלערונג, אז „דער ציוניזם איז א דעמאקראטישע באוועגונג“, ווילט זיך א פרעג טאן דר. גאלדשטיין'ן: ווען האט עס די ציוניסטישע מיטגלידערשאפט געהאט א כאנס דער ארגאניזאציע פון דער ציוניסטישער אמוירדזשענסי קאונסיל א פירן פאליטיק געגען דר. סילווער'ן? און ווי קען מען כסדר „חטאים“ אויף איהם? ארדבא, אויף דער קאנפערענץ אין אטלאנטיק סיטי איז דר. סילווער'ס פאליטישע ליניע איינשטימיג גוטגעהייסן געווארן. באשט די דעלעגאטן האבן קיין ראפאלט ניט געוואוסט, אז עס ווערט געפירט א פירער־ווירער פאליטיק געגען איהם פאר דער ציוניסטישער הנהגה.

אין דער אילעגיש פון דער צ. א. א. הנהגה אויסצושטויסן דר. סילווער'ן, האט זי אפילו ניט איינגעזען קיין ספעציעלע רעגיע פון דעם ארגאניזאציאנס ראט. וואס וואו אין דער מיניטום דעמאקראטיע וואס זי האט בעראטן פראקטיצירן אין אזא קריזיס.

דר. ווייז איז שולדיג אין אפליגונג פון ציון רעזאלוציע, זאגט סילווער

Journal Jan 2, 1945

ווייז וויל מאנאפאליזירן גאנצע ציון־באוועגונג, זאגט סילווער

Der Tog 1-2-45

ווייז דערקלערט, אז ער פירט נים קיין ״פערזענליכע״ קריג קעגן דר. סילווער

סילווער באשולדיגט ווייזן, אז ער וויל באהערשן די גאנצע ציוניסטישע באוועגונג

Forward Jan 2, 1945

דר. ווייז ענטפערט

NEWS -2- 1/2/45

ER TAKES ISSUE WITH DR. WISE: CHARGES HIM WITH RESENTING NEW LEADERSHIP

EVELAND, Jan. 1. (JTA) -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who resigned last week from ip of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today took issue with a state- ued by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, last Tuesday, in which it was charged that Dr. Silver iberately and persistently contravened the decisions of the Council in a matter o importance to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause."

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ll too often Dr. Wise treated the Zionist movement of the United States as a ersonal property and has bitterly resented any new leadership which his monopoly. His 'shtadlanuth' in Washington has been an egregious failure ears, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned. This weak-knee shadlanuth' accomplished next to nothing for our people during these tragic years of slaughter and annihilation."

DR. SILVER TAKES ISSUE WITH DR. WISE; CHARGES HIM WITH RESENTING NEW LEADERSHIP

CLEVELAND, Jan. 1. (JTA) -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who resigned last week from leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council, today took issue with a statement issued by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, last Tuesday, in which it was charged that Dr. Silver "had deliberately and persistently contravened the decisions of the Council in a matter of supreme importance to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause."

Dr. Silver's statement reads;

"The statement of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, which appeared in the JTA Bulletin of Wednesday, December 27, explaining his so-called resignation amused me greatly. No officer of the American Zionist Emergency Council has so frequently and so flagrantly contravened its decisions as Dr. Wise. The minutes of the Council will show that Dr. Wise was time and again criticized for his unauthorized conduct and undisciplined actions. The worst and most recent instance was the fatal telegram which he dispatched without my knowledge to the Secretary of State on the very eve when Senator Wagner and I were scheduled to see him in order to persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to passage of the Palestine Resolution.

"In this telegram, which Dr. Wise sent on his own without consulting the Council, he stated that while he would be happy if approval were given to the Resolution, he and many of his associates do not wish to have action taken contrary to the recommendation of the State Department and the President. This, of course, completely nullified the whole purpose of our visit and more than any other factor was responsible for the shelving of the Palestine Resolution.

"All too often Dr. Wise treated the Zionist movement of the United States as a piece of personal property and has bitterly resented any new leadership which threatened his monopoly. His 'shtadlanuth' in Washington has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned. This weak-knee 'shadlanuth' policy has accomplished next to nothing for our people during these tragic years of slaughter and annihilation."

ARAB PRESS IN AMERICA LAUDS STATE DEPARTMENT FOR SHELVING OF PALESTINE RESOLUTION

NEW YORK, Jan. 2. (JTA) -- Reporting that "Zionism has suffered a grave blow in Washington," the Arab press in the United States expresses gratification at the fact that the State Department prevented passage of the Palestine Resolution by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

The Meraat-Ul-Gharb, a New York Arab paper, attributes the shelving of the resolution to protests from Arabs throughout the country "who are exerting every pressure to defeat Zionism and its evil machinery."

The Al-Bayan, a Washington paper, criticizes the House Foreign Affairs Committee for passing the Palestine Resolution. "This is not the first time such a resolution has been put through by Rep. Sol Bloom and his colleague, Emanuel Celler," the paper writes. "Luckily, they have been stopped by logic and reason - and this time by the State Department which has ordered the resolution shelved."

Adding that the Zionists will probably not be discouraged and will continue their propaganda in the United States, the paper says: "They picture themselves as the only ones who supported Allied war efforts, saying that the Arabs were on the side of the Axis at the beginning of the war, and further, that if they are with the Allies now, it is only because they have no alternative. Using the force of the Allied armies, they try to push the Arabs out of their own land, Palestine. Their greed knows no limit. They are determined to get all of Palestine, not satisfied that it gives refuge to more than half a million of their Jewish refugees coming from all over the world."

The paper appeals to the Arab world to continue Arab pressure upon the Allies. "We must tell the world that Palestine will be strongly defended now and in the future by Arabs all over the world as it has been in the past," it emphasizes.

THE JEWISH ADVOCATE

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 4, 1945 — Two Sections—24 Pages — Seven Cents the Copy

Zionist Emergency Council Elects Dr. Wise Sole Head; Dr. Silver's Resignation is Accepted

Rabbi Silver Says He Will Continue to Work as Private In Ranks --- Council Assures Continued Vigorous Action

NEW YORK (JPS)—The long-standing differences within the American Zionist Emergency Council which had led to the resignations of Drs. Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairmen, culminated in the election of Dr. Wise as sole head of the Council and in the acceptance of Dr. Silver's resignation. A statement issued by the Council following its meeting said:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council desires to make it clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers.

"The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective—unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. For this it will seek the active support of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government and the goodwill of the American people."

The resolutions were carried by a 12-8 majority. Mr. Louis Lipsky, member of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, presided. Mrs. Rose Halprin of Hadassah (Women's Zionist Organization) was elected, in place of Robert Szold, as treasurer of the Council.

Mizrachi, Religious Orthodox Zionist Organization, issued a statement describing the withdrawal of Dr. Silver as a "serious blow to a vigorous policy" and placing the blame for it on "the unyielding attitude of the majority within the Council." The statement announced the "intention of the Mizrachi to align with all forces in Zionism that are seeking the opportunity of creating a front

(Continued on page 9)

for aggressive Zionism, though it does not as yet choose to officially withdraw from the American Zionist Emergency Council." No statement was forthcoming from the Labor Zionists who, with Mizrachi, voted against accepting Dr. Silver's resignation.

Dr. Silver's Statement

Dr. Silver issued the following statement on the eve of the Council meeting:

"At the time that I announced my resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as the chairman of its Executive Committee on December 20, I stated that it was irrevocable. I regret that so much controversy has developed over it, but I must insist upon the position I have taken, despite the urging of many friends that I reconsider my decision. My policies do not appear to have the support of a sufficient majority of the membership of the Council as now constituted to warrant my continuing in office.

"My action has been prompted particularly by the position taken by the representatives of one of the groups, the Zionist Organization of America. Despite the fact that the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at Atlantic City on October 15 approved my policies by a unanimous vote, the present representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Council are committed to an attitude and a course of action which make it impossible for me to carry out those policies effectively.

"I am deeply grateful for the consistent and loyal support which I have had from the Poale Zion and Mizrachi parties, from the Jewish press, from the rank and file of American Zionism and the local Zionist Emergency Councils everywhere.

"I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and will eagerly give the Movement whatever help and counsel I can. My resignation will leave me free to devote myself more fully to Zionist education among our people and the exposition of the Zionist program among the general public. As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place.

"It is a source of great satisfaction that the past sixteen months of my administration have been marked by substantial progress for the Zionist cause in our country. I trust that whatever differences of opinion exist in our Movement—and no great movement is quite free of them—will in no way interfere with the further progress of our historic cause in the days to come."

Statement by Dr. Goldstein

In an issue that went to press before the Council meeting, The New Palestine, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, carried a statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA president, which read in part:

"On November 21, at a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council attended by the representatives of all the Zionist parties and by both co-chairmen, there was a discussion as to the advisability of pressing immediately our Palestine resolutions now pending before Congress.

"All agreed that before pressing for passage of the resolutions it was absolutely necessary to secure the assurance that the State Department would not interpose objections against the passage of the resolutions at this time. As a result of the unfortunate experience last March, it was felt that it would be unwise to risk another deferment which the State Department objections might cause. There was no dissent from this opinion on the part of any of the party representatives or either of the co-chairmen.

"Repeated efforts were made to secure the assent of the State Department but the response was 'to leave the matter pending a little while longer.'

"On November 27 the chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, without authorization from the body, wrote an official communication to Representative Sol Bloom, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, urging him to take prompt action in having his committee report the Palestine resolution out favorably. (Mr. Bloom has permitted making this fact public.) The resolution, which was reported out November 30, removed the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and retained the world 'ultimately.'

'When the matter came subsequently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the heads of the Zionist parties urged the retention of the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and the removal of the word 'ultimately.'

"The appearance of Secretary of State Stettinius before the Senate Committee and the statement which he issued brought about the deferment of the Palestine resolution. Simultaneously the House Rules Committee failed to give the ruling which would have brought the Palestine resolution to a vote by that body at this session.

"These are the salient facts of the situation which has caused considerable agitation, speculation and criticism.

"There is discussion [illegible] as to whether Zionist policy should yield to government pressure. That question, while very important in and for itself, is not involved in the evaluation of what has happened in these weeks. To the extent that it had been discussed there had been unanimous agreement. When on November 21, the Emergency Council came to a unanimous conclusion not to press for the resolutions unless the State Department would indicate clearly that it would not interpose objections, it was done after all considerations pro and con had been weighed carefully.

"The question of what Zionist policy should be in the future is quite another question. It has not as yet received full consideration per se, either in the Emergency Council or in the Executive of the ZOA."

Answer Goldstein Charges

An answer to the charges made by Dr. Goldstein came from Harry L. Shapiro and Harold P. Manson, executive director and director of information, respectively, of the Zionist Emergency Council, who have resigned their posts in protest. Their statement follows:

"Dr. Goldstein's statement has just come to our attention. We who served as executive director and director of information of American Zionist Emergency Council and are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture of variance with the truth as we know it and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing resignation our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

"When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity public opinion will overwhelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

"(1) Dr. Silver categorically refuted the charge that he contravened decisions of the Emergency Council, and the Council at its meeting December 20th exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.

"(2) Dr. Goldstein himself on December 5th sent telegrams to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee urging favorable action on Palestine resolution thereby doing precisely what he is charging Dr. Silver with having done. This is running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.

"(3) Other leaders within the Council and Dr. Wise in particular throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts with great detriment to the cause which Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

"We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our respective post."

"4) The group in control of the ZOA bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

"5) The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies calculated to undermine his position.

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL COMPLETES ITS REORGANIZATION; TWO DIRECTORS RESIGN

NEW YORK, Dec. 3. (JTA) -- The American Zionist Emergency Council today announced completion of its reorganization, reporting that Chaim Greenberg, Zionist Laborite leader, has been elected chairman of its executive committee.

Herman Shulman was elected chairman of a new smaller administrative committee responsible to the executive committee and charged with the implementation of the policies of the Council in the political and public relations fields. The new body will consist of the heads of the Council's four constituent organizations - Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi, Poale-Zion and Hadassah - together with its chairman, the chairman of the executive committee and of the Council, and representatives of the Jewish Agency.

Meanwhile, two executives of the Council today announced that they have resigned in protest against "the crippling of Dr. Silver's program by those members of the Council who forced Dr. Silver to resign as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its executive committee." Those who resigned are Harry L. Shapiro, executive director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, the organization's director of information.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA president, at a press conference today, defended the action of the ZOA members in the Council who voted to accept Dr. Silver's resignation. He emphasized that Dr. Silver broke party discipline by pressing for passage of the Palestine Resolution at a time when the Council, including Dr. Silver, had voted not to press for Congressional action if the State Department was opposed.

Jan 4 1945 Forward

צוויי הויכע ציוניסטישע בעאַמטע רעזיגנירן צוליב דר. אבא סילווער

6

זייערע רעזיגנאַציע־בריוו.

צוויי פון די הויפּט־באַאַמטע פון ציוניסטישן עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, וואָס האָבן לעצטנס יאָר געאַרבייט האַנט־אין־האַנט מיט דר. אבא הלל סילווער, האָבן איינגעשיקט זייערע רעזיגנאַציעס צו דר. סטיפען ס. ווייז, זאָגנדיג, אַז זיי קענען ווייטער ניט אָנגעהן מיט דער אַרבייט.

זיי באַשולדיגן דערביי די פאַרטרעטער פון דער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע פון אַמעריקע פאַר דעם פּוטש, וואָס איז געשטאַנען אין דער פּאָליטישער אָנפירונג פון דער באַוועגונג און ערקלערן, אַז דר. ווייז איז געוואָרן אַ ווערקצייג אין די הענט פון דער ראַזינער גרופּע.

די רעזיגנירטע באַאַמטע זיינען: הערי שפּיראָ, ביז נאָכן דער דירעקטאָר פון ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, און האַראָלד מענסאָן, דער דירעקטאָר פון אינפאָרמאַציע.

פאָלגענדע זיינען די בריוו פון מר. מענסאָן און מר. שפּיראָ, וואָס דעקן אויף נייע פאַקטן, וועלכע האָבן געפירט צו דעם קריזיס:

מר. מענסאָנ'ס בריוו

טייערער דר. ווייז:

מיט אַ געפיל פון טיפן באַדויערן האָב איך באַטראַכט די לעצטע אַנטוויקלונג אין דעם אַמעריקאַנער ציוניסטישן עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל. איבער אַ יאָר האָב איך זיך באַמיט צו דינען אונזער באַוועגונג מיט דער גאַנצער ענערגיע, פאַרשטענדעניש און איבערגעגעבנקייט, וואָס איך האָב אין זיך געפונען. דורך דער גאַנצער צייט האָב איך געשטיצט די פּאָליסיס פון דר. סילווער, וועלכע איך האָב באַטראַכט פאַר די פאַסיגסטע אין דער איצטיגער לאַגע. דאַנקענדיג האָב איך באַטראַכט די פּאָליסיס פון זיינע געגנער אין קאונסיל מיט אומצוטרוי און אַלס אומרעאַליסטיש, און איך בין איבערצייגט, אַז זייערע פּערזענלעכע חשבונות האָבן זיי פאַרטריבן דר. סילווער'ס פּראָגראַם, וואָס האָט געבראַכט די גרעסטע דערגרייכונגען לעצטן יאָר. איך בין אויך איבערצייגט, אַז אויב די ראַזינע מעטאָדן וועלן ווייטער אָנפירן אייער איצטיגע טאַקטיק, וועלן זיי פירן די ציוניסטישע באַוועגונג צו אַ פּאָליטישן שטילשטאַנד, אָדער צו אַ פּאַראַליזירן און פּאָליטישן באַנקראָט.

אָבער איך קוק פאָראויס צו דער צייט ווען אונזער באַוועגונג וועט נאָכאַמאָל אַנערקענען די דינאַמישע און מוטיגע פּאָליסיס, וועלכע זיינען אָנגעפירט געוואָרן פאַר'ן לעצטן יאָר און וועלכע, איך בין זיכער, וועלן ברענגען צו דער פאַרווירקליכונג פון אונזער פאָלק'ס היסטאָרישער האָפענונג.

אין די ראַזינע אומשטענדן צווינגט מיך אַ געפיל פון ערלעכקייט אָנצוגעבן מיין רעזיגנאַציע אַלס דירעקטאָר פון אינפאָרמאַציע פון אַמעריקאַנער ציוניסטישן עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל.

אויפריכטיג אייער,
האַראָלד מענסאָן.

מר. שפּיראָ'ס בריוו

טייערער דר. ווייז:

מיט באַדויער גיב איך עס פאַר נאָכמיטאָגיגע אַריינגעבן מיין רעזיגנאַציע אַלס דירעקטאָר פון אַמעריקאַנער ציוניסטישן עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל. איך טו דאָס פּראָטעסטירנדיג געגן אומפאַרענטפערטע שריט פון יענע מיטגלידער פון קאונסיל וואָס האָבן מיטגעבראַכט די רעזיגנאַציע פון דר. אבא הלל סילווער און וואָס אָפּגעטיילט זיך פון דער גרופּע. דאָס האָט דורכגעפירט דעם ראַזינען קערליכן אַקט געגן אונזער באַוועגונג, געפירט פון די איצטיגע פאַרטרעטער פון דער אַמעריקאַנער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע, דר. ישראל גאָלדשטיין, ראַבינער מאָלער און אייער זעלבסט.

די רעקאָרדס פון קאונסיל ווייזן, אַז אין עטלעכע פאַלן האָט איהר מיט'ן אייגענעם ווילן איבערגעטראָטן די באַשלוסן פון קאונסיל געגן פּראָטעסטן פון דער גרעסטער מערהייט. איך וויל ברענגען דריי ביישפּילן: 1) אייער פאַרבינדן — אָהן באַראַטונג מיט אַנדערע אָדער צושטימונג — אין אַפּאָינטמענט וואָס איז געשאַפן געוואָרן פאַר איך און דר. סילווער מיט דעם פּרעזידענט דעם 9טן פעברואַר, 1944; 2) די דריי פון איבערטרעטונגען פון די באַשלוסן פון קאונסיל אין פאַרבינדונג מיט אייער באַזוך ביים פּרעזידענט דעם 11טן אָקטאָבער; און 3) אייער ניט־אויטאָריזירטע טעלעגראַמע צום סעקרעטערי אין סטעיט פון 4טן אָקטאָבער, אין וועלכער איהר האָט פאַקטיש געגעבן אייער צושטימונג פאַר צוליבן די ציון־רעזאָלוציע — אַ טעלעגראַמע וואָס איהר האָט געשיקט אָהן דעם וויסן פון קאונסיל אָדער פון דר. סילווער דערמיטלבן ווען איהר האָט באַזוכט האָבן אַ שמועס מיט מר. סטעטיניוס.

עס איז שווער צו גלויבן, אַז איהר, דר. ווייז, וועלכער האָט אין דער פאַרגאַנגענהייט געלעבט אַזוי פיל ביישטייערונגען צו די אינטערעסן פון אונזער פאָלק, זאָל געווען אַבזאָלוט האָבן געהאַנדלט אַ באַשלוס צו נעהן געגן דער מאַכט פון קאונסיל און ברענגען שאַדן צו די אינטערעסן פון אַמעריקע. זאָגאַר אין דער איצטיגער שפּעטער שעה וויל איך בעסער גלויבן, אַז איהר זייט געווען באַאיינפלוסט פון דער קליינער גרופּע וואָס איז איצט אין קאָנטראָל פון דער „זי־אָ־איי", וועלכע האָט שוין לאַנג געזוכט אונטערצוגראָבן דר. סילווער'ס פירערשאַפט און ברענגען איהם צו אַ פאַל. וואָס זיי האָבן אַ נייפּלאַנג. אומגליקלעכערווייזע, האָט איהר זיך קלויבן געפירט צו פירן פון יענע מענשן און איהר זייט, לויט מיין מיינונג, שולדיג באַאיינפלוסט געוואָרן.

איהר האָט אָנגעשטאָט דעם פאַקט באַנומען מיט'ן פּרעזידענט, וואָס איז אַ לאַנגע צייט געזוכט געוואָרן און וואָס איז באַשטימט געוואָרן אויפ'ן 22טן פעברואַר. דערנאָך וואָס איהר האָט געזאָגט, אַז אַנדערע אַפּאָינטמענטס אין קאָליאַטעגיע. עס איז דאָ אַ גוטער גרונד צו גלויבן, אַז ווען דער מיטינג מיט'ן פּרעזידענט וואָלט געווען פאָרגעקומען ווי געפּלאַנט, וואָלט די פּערכה פון דער ציון־רעזאָלוציע אין קאָנגרעס געווען אַ גאַנץ אַנדערע, און אַז זי וואָלט צוגעשטימט געוואָרן פון קאָנגרעס פריה דעם יאָהר. ווי עס האָט זיך אויסגעלאָזט, איז אַ צווייטער אַפּאָינטמענט געמאַכט געוואָרן בלויז דעם 9טן מאַרטש אַ דאַנק דר. סילווער, אָבער שוין נאָך דער אייניגונג פון דער מיליטערישער מאַכט. און אַנדער מיטינג מיט'ן אונטער־סעקרעטערי אָף סטעיט, וואָס האָט געוואָלט נאָכגעמאַכט ווערן מיט אַ באַגעגעניש מיט'ן פּרעזידענט שפּעטער אין יאָהר, איז אויך צושטערט געוואָרן אַ דאַנק דער אויסמישונג פון איינעם פון אייערע נאָענטסטע מיטאַרבייטער.

דר. סילווער איז באַשולדיגט געוואָרן פאַר איבערטרעטן אַ באַשלוס פון קאונסיל אין באַצוג צו דער ציון־רעזאָלוציע אין קאָנגרעס. אָבער עס איז סטרעטעדזשי, וואָס אַ פאַרשלאַג, וועלכען ראַבאַי רושקייס העלער האָט געמאַכט צו שטימען סימפּל צו דר. סילווער, איז איינגעגאַנגען אָנגענומען געוואָרן פון קאונסיל און איז ניט דורכגענומען אויפ'ן מיטינג פון 20סטן דעצעמבער. איך ברענג ווייטער צו אייער אויפמערקזאַמקייט, אַז איך האָב מען ניט באַטראַכט פאַר אייערע ווידערהאָלטע איבערטרעטונגען פון די באַשלוסן פון קאונסיל און אַז דר. סילווער האָט קיינמאָל ניט אויסגעשטעלט קיין דרוק פאַר אַזאַ דיסציפּלין אַקט געגן איך, טראָץ דעם וואָס איהר האָט ניט אָנגעבאָטן אין וועלכע פאַלן אַפילו צו ערקלערן אייער שריט. איצט איז דר. סילווער'ס רעזיגנאַציע געצוואונגען געוואָרן דורך די באַמיהונגען פון דעם „זי־אָ־איי" בלאָק בעת איהר האָט ווייטער אָנגענומען דעם פאָרזיץ פון קאונסיל. די ראַזינע צוויי־שפּליטונג פאַרהאַלטונג פון דער קליינער גרופּע פון דער „זי־אָ־איי" אָרגאַניזאַציע ניט וועניג האָפענונג, אַז די צוזאַמענשטויס פּאָליטישע באַשלוסן און אַקציעס פון קאונסיל וועלן געפירט ווערן אין די בעסטע אינטערעסן פון ציוניסטישן אידעאַל.

דער הויפּט־קרבן פון די ראַזינע באַרייטגעפירטע מאַכינאַציעס, וואָס זיינען אָנגעפירט געוואָרן מיטשטיפטער פאַר פיל חדשים און האָבן זיך אויסגעלאָזט אין דר. סילווער'ס רעזיגנאַציע — איז דער אמת'ן אין אַ פּאָליטישן שטאַנדפּונקט — ווערט ניט זיין דר. אבא הלל סילווער, נאָר אומגליקלעכערווייז דאָס אידישע פאָלק און דער ציוניסטישער אידעאַל. דר. סילווער'ס אַבוועזנהייט פון דעם פּאָליטישן רודער פון אונזער באַוועגונג אין דעם איצטיגן קריטישן מאָמענט איז אַ לוקסוס וואָס אונזער פאָלק קאָן קוים זיך פאַרגינען. אויב דער קאונסיל פאָלגט נאָר אַ פּאָליטיק פון וואַרטן און וואַרטן פאַר'ן „גרינעם ליכט" פון די איצטיגע מאַכט־האָבער — אַ נייער מין שתדלנות האַלטונג — דאַן איז ניט קיין נוטץ אָדער זאַך ווייטער אָנצופירן אויף אַ ברייטן מאַסשטאַב די געזעלשאַפטליכע פאַרבינדונגען פון קאונסיל. דאָס וואָלט געווען אַרויסגעוואָרפן געלט און כח, צו וועלכע איך וויל ניט זיין קיין שותף.

די געשיכטע וועט אורטיילן דעם שאָדן, וואָס איהר און אייערע פאַרבינדעטע האָבן געטאָן צו די וויכטיגע אינטערעסן פון דער ציוניסטישער באַוועגונג.

אייער אויפריכטיגער
הערי שפּיראָ.

THE Jewish Ledger
HARTFORD EDITION
The Only Weekly Newspaper Serving 28 Jewish Communities In Connecticut and Western Mass.
Vol. XVI, No. 38 FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 1945 Entered as Second Class Mail Oct. 27, 1930, at Hartford, Conn.

ZIONIST COUNCIL ELECTS DR. WISE

RESIGNATION OF DR. SILVER IS ACCEPTED

New York (JPS) — The long-standing differences within the American Zionist Emergency Council which had led to the resignations of Drs. Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairmen, culminated in the election of Dr. Wise as sole head of the Council and in the acceptance of Dr. Silver's resignation at a meeting Dec. 22. A statement issued by the Council following the meeting said:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council desires to make it clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers.

"The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective —unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization, and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. For this it will seek the active support of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government and the good will of the American people."

12 For, 8 Against

The resolutions were carried by a 12-8 majority. Louis Lipsky, member of the Executive Committee of the World Zionist Organization, presided. Mrs. Rose Halprin of Hadassah (Women's Zionist organization) was elected, in place of Robert Szold, as treasurer of the Council.

Mizrachi, Religious Orthodox Zionist Organization, issued a statement describing the withdrawal of Dr. Silver as a "serious [illegible] blow to a vigorous policy" and placing the blame for it on "the unyielding attitude of the majority within the Council." The statement announced the "intention of the Mizrachi to align with all forces in Zionism that are seeking the opportunity of creating a front for aggressive Zionism, though it does not as yet choose to officially withdraw from the American Zionist Emergency Council." No statement was forthcoming from the Labor Zionists who, with Mizrachi, voted against accepting Dr. Silver's resignation.

Dr. Silver's Statement

Dr. Silver issued the following statement on the even of the Dec. 28 meeting:

"At the time that I announced my resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as the chairman of its Executive Committee on Dec. 20, I stated that it was irrevocable. I regret that so much controversy has developed over it, but I must insist upon the position I have taken, despite the urging of many friends that I reconsider my decision. My policies do not appear to have the support of a sufficient majority of the membership of the Council as now constituted to warrant my continuing in office.

"My action has been prompted particularly by the position taken by the representatives of one of the groups, the Zionist Organization of America. Despite the fact that the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at Atlantic City on October 16 approved my policies by a unanimous vote, the present representatives of the ZOA on the Council are committed to an attitude and a course of action which make it impossible for me to carry out those policies effectively.

"I am deeply grateful for the consistent and loyal support which I have had from the Poale Zion and Mizrachi parties, from the Jewish press, from the rank and file of American Zionism and the local Zionist Emergency Councils everywhere.

"I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and will eagerly give the Movement whatever help and counsel I can. My resignation will leave me free to devote myself more fully to Zionist education among our people and the exposition of the Zionist program among the general public. As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place.

"It is a source of great satisfaction that the past 16 months of my administration have been marked by substantial progress for the Zionist cause in our country. I trust that whatever differences of opinion exist in our Movement — and no great movement is quite free of them — will in no way interfere with the further progress of our historic cause in the days to come."

Statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein

In an issue that went to press before the Dec. 28 meeting, The New Palestine, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, carried a statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA President, which read in part:

"On Nov. 21, at a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council attended by the representatives of all the Zionist parties and by both Co-Chairmen, there was a discussion as to the advisability of pressing immediately our Palestine resolutions now pending before Congress.

"All agreed that before pressing for passage of the resolutions it was absolutely necessary to secure the assurance that the State Department would not interpose objections against the passage of the resolutions at this time. As a result of the unfortunate experience last March, it was felt that it would be unwise to risk another deferment which the State Department objections might cause. There was no dissent from this opinion on the part of any of the party representatives or either of the Co-Chairmen.

"Repeated efforts were made to secure the assent of the State Department but the response was 'to leave the matter pending a little while longer.'

Salient Facts Cited

"On Nov. 27, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, without authorization from the body, wrote an official communication to Representative Sol Bloom, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, urging him to take prompt action in having his Committee report the Palestine resolution out favorably. (Mr. Bloom has permitted making this fact public). The resolution, which was reported out Nov. 30th, removed the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and retained the word 'ultimately.'

"When the matter came subsequently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the heads of the Zionist parties urged the retention of the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and the removal of the word 'ultimately'.

"The appearance of Secretary of State Stettinius before the Senate Committee and the statement which he issued brought about the deferment of the Palestine resolution. Simultaneously the House Rules Committee failed to give the ruling which would have brought the Palestine resolution to a vote by that body at this session.

"These are the salient facts of the situation which has caused considerable agitation, speculation and criticism.

"There is discussion going on as to whether Zionist policy should yield to government pressure. That question, while very important in and for itself, is not involved in the evaluation of what has happened in these weeks. To the extent that it had been discussed there had been unanimous agreement. When on Nov. 21st, the Emergency Council came to a unanimous conclusion not to press for the resolutions unless the State Department would indicate clearly that it would not interpose objections, it was done after all considerations pro and con had been weighed carefully.

"The question of what Zionist policy should be in the future is quite another question. It has not as yet received full consideration per se, either in the Emergency Council or in the Executive of the ZOA."

Zionists Voice Faith In Silver Seek Emergency ZOA Convention

New York (J.P.S.)

A resolution expressing "abiding and unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policy" and urging that an extraordinary session of the National Convention of the ZOA be convened "to deal with the internal situation which has been created," was adopted Dec. 26 at a meeting attended by more than one hundred active Zionist members from New York, Long Island, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and Connecticut held at the Riverside Plaza Hotel here.

DR. ABBA H. SILVER

The resolution also urged: 1.) that Dr. Silver's resignation from leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council be withdrawn and "that complete unity be restored in the leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council;" 2) that the Executive Committee of the ZOA "retire its present representatives on the American Zionist Emergency Council and designate, in conciliation with Dr. Silver, new representatives on the Council in order to ensure effective co-operation between him and them in the future."

A

The Jewish Ledger

Vol. XVI Friday, January 5, 1945 No. 38
Published Weekly for Hartford—New Haven—Springfield—Bridgeport.
By The Jewish Ledger Publications, Inc.
SAMUEL NEUSNER—President
MILTON H. RICHMAN—Sec'y-Treas
Editorial and Executive Offices:
50 Trumbull Street, Hartford, Conn.
Phones 2-5239—2-5239

Springfield Office:	New Haven Office:
84 Forest Park Ave.	39 Church Street 10
Phone 3-6636	Phone 5-3540

Bridgeport Office:
1589 Fairfield Ave.
Phone 33681

RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, D. D.—Editor

Member Independent Jewish Press Service
N. E. Foreign Language Newspaper Ass'n
Change of Address. To facilitate prompt delivery subscribers are requested to notify above office of change of address giving old as well as new address
Entered as Second Class Mail at Post Office, Hartford, Conn., Oct. 27, 1933, by Act of March 3, 1879
Subscription Price $3.00 per year

THE ZIONIST LEADERSHIP QUARREL

THE rift which has occurred in the ranks of the American Zionist Emergency Council is regrettable beyond words and tragic beyond description. At the very moment when Zionist affairs call for all of the wisdom, all of the leadership, all of the strength which we could muster in this crucial hour of our history, at this very moment a break occurred which may have far-reaching effect upon our hopes and their realization. It is strange how often petty things cause major tragedies in Jewish history!

Zionist policy has definitely met with a set-back in the insistence of the State Department that the Senate Pro-Palestine Resolution be laid on the table for the present and be not debated or voted on the floor of the United States Senate. This setback becomes all the more painful because an inescapable measure of disillusionment comes with it. Is it possible that so soon after the reelection of the President of the United States, the Democratic Party which is in control has chosen to repudiate the pledge that was made and the promise that was given? If that be so (it may not be so; it may be but a desire on the part of the Administration to wait for a more opportune moment in the international situation; we do not know of a certainty;) but — we say, if that be so, if the Democratic Party and the Democratic leadership, safely entrenched now for four more years, feel themselves so confident and so brazen as to repudiate the party platform and the promise solemnly made by its candidate, then the situation becomes all the more bitter because it is so unspeakably, indescribably unworthy.

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

We are not trying to write a brief in defense of Dr. Silver. He usually can take care of himself. We do not mean to say that Dr. Silver was flawless in all that he said and did. But we do say that the manner and moment of forcing Dr. Silver out of the American Emergency Council leave a bad taste in the mouths of those of us who ask no offices, want no personal preferment, play no politics, ask for no favors, draw no salaries, feather no nests, but who are just the rank and file of Jews who are interested in the creation of a Jewish homeland!

We can conceive of there being an honest difference of opinion in the pursuit of policies. We can conceive of the existence of an honest difference of judgement whether, at this time, we should pursue a dynamic or a "gum-shoe" policy. There are times when one or another of these policies is the wiser one to follow. We may even concede that at the moment the soft-pedal policy of Dr. Wise may be the wiser one to pursue. We do not know because our leaders—any of them—have not taken us into their confidence. But we refuse to believe that in order to emphasize one type of procedure against another, we have to sacrifice the leadership of a Silver at a time when leadership of an adequate quality is none too plentiful in American Zionist ranks.

The whole situation smells with machine politics, the machine which has become the administration of the Zionist Organization of America, and the odor is not pleasant even as the technique and procedure are not edifying in the least.

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle January 5, 1945
6

A Rabbi Views the News

By RABBI LOUIS J. SWICHKOW

The Palestine Resolution

The recent resignations of Drs. Abba Hillel Silver and Stephen S. Wise as co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council in the most crucial hour in the history of the Zionist movement have evoked a wave of heated controversy in Jewish circles. Superficially, one might register the impression that the sharp dissension was brought about fundamentally by a clash of personalities; actually, however, the strife and disagreement which culminated in the resignations of those two great Jewish leaders were the result of differences in tactics and procedure regarding the Palestine Commonwealth Resolutions which had been pending in House and Senate Committees since January, 1944.

Rabbi Swichkow

With the announcement by Secretary of War Stimson, about the middle of October, that the War Department had withdrawn its objections to the consideration of the Resolution on military grounds, the American Zionist Emergency Council, representing all Zionist groups in the country, unanimously decided to press for passage of the Palestine Resolution at the earliest possible moment. Accordingly, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, as co-chairman of the Emergency Committee, wrote Representative Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, urging him to take prompt action in having his committee report favorably on the Resolution. Unanimous affirmative action by the House committee followed within a few days, and the Resolution was then sent to the Rules Committee. At this point, the State Department intervened with a request that passage of the same was not advisable at this time. Consequently, through the objection of one member of the House Rules Committee to its consideration, the Resolution was "killed" there.

A similar Resolution which had been pending in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee suffered the same fate shortly thereafter, by a committee vote of 12 to 8 — but only after Secretary of State Stettinius was compelled to appear before the Committee three times. On the following day, two-thirds of the membership of the Foreign Relations Committee issued a public statement in which they emphasized that they were pledged to vote in favor of the Resolution; that only because the State Department objected to its immediate passage did they yield to the latter; and that the blame for failure to pass the Resolution must rest with the Executive Branch of the Government.

Wise, et al vs. Silver

As a consequence of this strange episode in the history of political Zionism, critics of Dr. Silver, amongst whom were Drs. Stephen S. Wise, Israel Goldstein, James Heller, chairman of the U.P.A., and a majority of the representatives of Z.O.A. and Hadassah, began to heap a barrage of violent criticism upon the policies and procedures exercised under Dr. Silver's leadership. A motion to censure Dr. Silver was introduced by a noted Z.O.A. leader, but was rejected. When, however, a motion was introduced by another, requesting the resignation of all officers of the Emergency Council, Dr. Silver submitted his resignation before the motion was taken to a vote. Dr. Wise's resignation followed. Representatives of the Poale Zion and Mizrachi, together with Louis Lipsky, veteran Zionist leader, supported and defended Dr. Silver and his policies throughout the entire stormy midnight session.

Why, it may be asked, did not Dr. Silver secure assurance from the State Department that it would not interpose objections against the passage of the Resolution? The answer lies in the makeup of Dr. Silver's character and personality. He has always opposed and fought timidity, appeasement and "back stairs diplomacy," particularly when the future of a people is at stake. As a firm believer in the "will of the people," Dr. Silver has always consistently maintained that the Congress of the United States is the only legitimate barometer of a people's feelings and sentiments. With the realization that the overwhelming majority of Congress had pledged their unstinted support toward the passage of the Resolution, and in view of the fact that there no longer existed objections to the same on military grounds, Dr. Silver felt that either we live in a Democracy, in which the people express their will through their duly elected representatives, or else the Executive Branch of the Government is all powerfully supreme, and Congress serves only as a rubber stamp. Coupled with this conviction, was the agonizing realization that with five million European Jews already decimated by the Nazis — confirmed by the State Department, and with but one and a half million yet alive, a further delay in the passage of the Resolution, demanding in effect, that Great Britain open the doors of Palestine to Jewish refugees, would automatically mean the merciless end to the segment of Israel that yet remains in the hell-hole of Europe.

It is regrettable that, with the exception of representatives of the Poale Zion and Mizrachi organizations, the majority of Zionist leaders on the Council failed to appreciate and comprehend the dynamic and realistic approach of Dr. Silver's aggressive and vigorous leadership.

V. XIX pt. I

LA B'nai B'rith Messenger

Dr. Goldstein Blames Silver

In an issue that went to press before the December 24 meeting, The New Palestine, official organ of the Zionist Organization of America, carried a statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA President, which read in part:

"On November 21, at a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council attended by the representatives of all the Zionist parties and by both Co-Chairmen, there was a discussion as to the advisability of pressing immediately our Palestine resolutions now pending before Congress.

"All agreed that before pressing for passage of the resolutions it was absolutely necessary to secure the assurance that the State Department would not interpose objections against the passage of the resolutions at this time. As a result of the unfortunate experience last March, it was felt that it would be unwise to risk another deferment which the State Department objections might cause. There was no dissent from this opinion on the part of any of the party representatives or either of the Co-Chairmen.

"Repeated efforts were made to secure the assent of the State Department but the response was 'to leave the matter pending a little while longer.'

"No Authority"

"On November 27 the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, without authorization from the body, wrote an official communication to Representative Sol Bloom, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, urging him to take prompt action in having his Committee report the Palestine resolution out favorably. (Mr. Bloom has permitted making this fact public). The resolution, which was reported out November 30, removed the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and retained the word 'ultimately.'

"When the matter came subsequently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee the heads of the Zionist parties urged the reinstatement of the word 'Jewish' before 'Commonwealth' and the removal of the word 'ultimately.'

Defers Resolution

"The appearance of Secretary of State Stettinius before the Senate Committee and the statement which he issued brought about the deferment of the Palestine resolution. Simultaneously the House Rules Committee failed to give the ruling which would have brought the Palestine resolution to a vote by that body at this session.

"These are salient facts of the situation which has caused considerable agitation, speculation and criticism.

Government Policy

"There is a discussion going on as to whether Zionist policy should yield to government pressure. That question, while very important in and for itself, is not involved in the evaluation of what has happened in these weeks. To the extent that it had been discussed there had been unanimous agreement. When on November 21, the Emergency Council came to a unanimous conclusion not to press for the resolutions unless the State Department would indicate clearly that it would not interpose objections, it was done after all considerations pro and con had been weighed carefully.

"The question of what Zionist policy should be in the future is quite another question. It has not yet received full consideration per se either in the Emergency Council or in the Executive of the ZOA."

B'nai B'rith Messenger

Charge Fault To Goldstein

The following telegram, charging Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, with a one-sided presentation of the facts in the Wise-Silver imbroglio, was received just as the Messenger was going to press. Goldstein's statement, say the transmitters of the telegram "is a one-sided account incomplete and distorted in vital respects." On another page of this issue the Messenger publishes a partial report of Dr. Goldstein's statement as taken from the New Palestine.—Ed.)

—Turn to Page Twenty

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Editor, B'nai B'rith Messenger,
729 South Hope Street,
Los Angeles, California.

Dr. Goldstein's statement has just come to our attention. We who served as executive director and director of information of American Zionist Emergency Council are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture of variance with the truth as we know it and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing resignation of our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

Silver to be Vindicated

When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity public opinion will overwhelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

1. Dr. Silver categorically refuted the charge that he contravened decisions of the Emergency Council, and the council at its meeting December 20 exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.

2. Dr. Goldstein himself, on December 3 sent telegrams to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee urging favorable action on Palestine Resolution, thereby doing precisely what he is charging Dr. Silver with having done. This is running with the hare and hunting with the hounds.

3. Other leaders within the council and Dr. Wise in particular throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts with great detriment to the cause which Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

4. The group in control of the ZOA bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

5. The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies calculated to undermine his position.

We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our respective posts.

Harry L. Shapiro, formerly executive director American Zionist Emergency Council, room 1009, 330 West 57th street, New York.

Harold P. Manson, formerly director of information, American Zionist Emergency Council.

ברוקלין־ציוניסטען שטיצען דר. סילווער׳ן; פאָדערען קאָנווענשאַן

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דר. סילווער׳ס צו זיגט אין דעם גרעסטען ציוני־ראַיאָן אין אַמעריקע

Forward

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National Edition

THE JEW[ISH] POST

$3.00 Per Year
Published Weekly

Vol. 12—No. 28

FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 194[5]

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Indianapolis under the act of March 3, 1879.

RABBI A H SILVER PC
105TH ST & ANSEL RD
CLEVELAND OHIO

Silver Replaced by Wise As Council Head

Months-Old Fight Ends in Victory for Free Synagogue Head

Jewish Telegraphic Agency

NEW YORK—The controversy within the American Zionist Emergency Council which was precipitated by the difference sof opinion between Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver over Zionist tactics in Washington, culminated this week in the formal acceptance by the Council of the resignations of the two co-chairmen of the organization and in the immediate re-election of Dr. Wise as the sole chairman.

The elimination of Dr. Silver from leadership resulted in a statment issued today by the Mizrachi expressing "disappointment" and indicating that the Mizrachi "does not as yet choose to officially withdraw from the American Zionist Emergency Council."

Zionist Program Not Involved

The Zionist Emergency Council, in a statement issued after last night's meeting, said: "The Council desires to make clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers. The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective—unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. For this it will seek the active support of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government and the good will of the American people."

Dr. Silver's resignation was accepted with an expression of appreciation for his devoted services, and his pledge of continued membership and service in the Council was welcomed, it was officially announced.

Silver Not Present

Dr. Silver did not participate in the Council's session. In a statement issued prior to the meeting, he reaffirmed his resignation from the leadership of the Zionist Emergency Council, adding that he intends to remain just an ordinary member of the Council. As a "private in the ranks" he would continue to work for a policy "in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place," he declared.

100 Leaders Support Silver

Wo[rld] Wide News Service

NEW YORK — More than 100 Zionist leaders of Greater New York, Long Island, New Jersey, Eastern Pennsylvania and Connecticut met here on Dec. 26 at the Riverside Plaza Hotel and unanimously adopted a resolution declaring their "abiding and unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" and in his policies as co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Appealing for unity among American Zionist leaders, the meeting urged that Dr. Silver withdraw his resignation and that the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America call an extraordinary session of the National Convention of the ZOA to "deal with the internal situation which has been created."

* * *

Statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein

AT meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council held October 30th and November 21st attended by the representatives of all the Zionist parties and by both co-chairmen there was a discussion as to the advisability of pressing for the immediate passage of our Palestine Resolution now pending before Congress.

All agreed that before pressing for passage of the resolution it was absolutely necessary to secure the assurance that the State Department would not interpose objections at this time. As a result of the unfortunate experience of last March it was felt that it would be most unwise to risk another deferment which the State Department objections might cause. There was no dissent from this opinion on the part of any of the party representatives or either of the co-chairmen. There was no discussion of "militancy" or "non-militancy," "appeasement" "timidity" or "backstairs diplomacy." Everybody agreed that as a matter of common sense we should not risk a second deferment especially since we had the splendid planks of the Democratic and Republican platforms and the President's magnificent statement to the ZOA convention.

Repeated efforts were made to secure the assent of the State Department in accordance with the unanimous decision of the Emergency Council. In response to these repeated efforts we got the request "to leave the matter pending a little while longer."

Silver Action Unauthorized

On November 27, six days after the above mentioned meeting of the Emergency Council at which a decision was reached Dr. Silver as chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, without the knowledge or authorization from that body and contrary to its decision, wrote an official communication to Representative Sol Bloom, the chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee in which he said: "As chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council I urge prompt action on the Palestine Resolution . . ." Mr. Bloom had demanded a written request from Dr. Silver in order to be sure that it was an official request.

Following the receipt of this communication Mr. Bloom convened the House Foreign Affairs Committee and on November 30th a resolution was reported out favorably in which the word "Jewish" was omitted before "Commonwealth" and the word "ultimately" was retained.

To many Zionists here and especially in Palestine this watered down resolution which Mr. Lessing Rosenwald found it possible to approve, was highly unsatisfactory. It was anything but "militant."

When the matter came subsequently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the President of the ZOA, seeing that we had been dragged into this situation against the decision of the Emergency Council and deeming it necessary, sent a telegram to the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in which it was urged that the word "Jewish" be retained before the word "Commonwealth" and that the word "ultimately" be removed.

The appearance of Secretary of State Stettinius before the Senate Committee and the statement which he issued brought about the deferment of the Palestine Resolution.

These are the salient facts of the situation which has caused considerable agitation, speculation and criticism.

Trying to Cloud Issue

An issue is now being raised of "bold political action" versus "timidity". This issue is a patent attempt to cover up the question of why an officer of the Emergency Council has acted contrary to its decisions in which he himself shares. Why was not the issue of "timidity" versus "boldness" presented at the meetings of the Emergency Council of Oct. 30 and Nov. 21? Why were the voices which are now heard so stridently not raised at that time in favor of going forward in defiance of the State Department? Why did Dr. Silver say then that even if the answer of the State Department were vague, we should not go forward?

One redeeming circumstance of the entire unfortunate situation is that Dr. Wise, chairman of the Emergency Council by adhering to the decisions of that body remains a friendly contact with the President and the State Department. To maintain this friendly contact is essential.

* * *

Statement by Harry Shapiro, Harold Manson

Dr. Goldstein's statement has just come to our attention. We who served as executive director and director of information of American Zionist Emergency Council and are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation, consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account, incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture at variance with the truth as we know it and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing resignation our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity, public opinion will overwhelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

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1. Dr. Silver categorically refuted the charge that he contravened decisions of the emergency council, and the council at its meeting Dec. 20, exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.

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3. Other leaders within the council and Dr. Wise in particular, throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts with great detriment to the cause, which Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

4. The group in control of the ZOA bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas, and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

5. The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies calculated to undermine his position.

We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our respective posts.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO, formerly executive director American Zionist Emergency Council.

HAROLD P. MANSON, formerly director of information, American Zionist Emergency Council.

[IN]DEPENDENT
JEWISH PRESS SERVICE, Inc.

207 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 3, N.

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1 NEWS 1.5.45

AMERICA

HAYIM GREENBERG, HERMAN SHULMAN HOLD KEYPOSTS IN ZIONIST COUNCIL

ZOA Regions Debate Issues Which Led To Re-Organization

New York (JPS) -- Hayim Greenberg, editor of the monthly Jewish Frontier and leader of the Poale-Zion (Labor Zionist) Party, and Herman Shulman, were elected to keyposts in the re-organized American Zionist Emergency Council, it was announced following a meeting of the Council on January 2, presided over by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the Council.

Hayim Greenberg was elected chairman of the Executive Committee, a post held by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver who was also co-chairman of the Council until his resignation, which precipitated the re-organization. Herman Shulman was elected chairman of a new smaller Administrative Committee, responsible to the Executive Committee and charged with the implementation of the policies of the Council in the political and public relations fields. The Administrative Committee will consist of the heads of the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Pole-Zion and Mizrachi, together with Mr. Greenberg and Mr. Shulman and representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

A message was sent to David Lloyd George congratulating him on his elevation to the peerage:

"On behalf of all the American Zionist Organizations please accept our heartfelt congratulations and warmest good wishes on the occasion of your elevation to the peerage. We shall always recall wit[h] a sense of deepest gratitude and indebtedness the decisive part played by you in the acceptance in 1917 of the policy for the reconstitution of Palestine as the Jewish National Home. With deep respect and affection. We express the hope that you may have before you many years of great and continued service to your country and to all mankind. Signed, "Stephen S. Wise, Chairman American Zionist Emergency Council.

Developments during the week indicated that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver would take to the constitutency of the ZOA the issues involved in his resignation. Following three meetings at which the issues were debated, with Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Emanuel Newman presenting the viewpoints of the ZOA administration and Dr. Silver respectively, the Brooklyn Zionist Region, the largest ZOA region, adopted by a vote of 48 - 12 (Continued on Page 2)

a resolution "deploring the ill-considered action taken by the ZOA Administration which brought about the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" from the American Zionist Emergency Council, and described such action as "inimical to the best interests of the entire Zionist movement. By a vote of 48-1, the Region reaffirmed "our unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policies which we hailed and approved in the political resolution unanimously adopted on October 16, 1944 at the 47th Annual Zionist Convention at Atlantic City; "and by a vote of 50-8, the Region called upon the Administrative Council of the ZOA to take the necessary steps for the calling of a special session of the delegates elected to the 47th Annual Zionist Convention for the purpose of dealing with and acting upon the problems which brought about the aforementioned crisis." . . . Meetings were reportedly convened by the Long Island Zionist Region and others.

Harry L. Shapiro, former Executive Director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, its former Director of Information, issued a statement charging that the statements accusing Dr. Silver of contravention of his authority are a "one-sided account, incomplete and distorted in many vital respects."

The Jewish Morning Journal quotes the following statement by David Wertheim, Secretary of the Poale-Zion, following the election of Hayim Greenberg: "We have consistently supported Dr. Silver, despite his errors. At this moment it is of little import who is right, within the ranks of the General Zionists-- Dr. Wise or Dr. Silver. It has become an internal ZOA matter. Within ZOA ranks the fight may continue until the convention. Zionism cannot wait. The united effort must continue." With regard to Mizrachi who, together with the Poale Zion, had voted against accepting the resignation of Dr. Silver, Mr. Wertheim said: "Mizrachi follows, we believe, an erroneous path. The American Zionist Emergency Council should not be split, regardless of developments. Mizrachi proposed that we work together. Mizrachi had planned independent political action jointly with the Union of Orthodox Rabbis. That is a wrong approach. Now is the time for unity. That is why Mizrachi and we do not see eye to eye."

The Jewish Morning Journal quotes Leon Gellman, President of Mizrachi, as follows: "We deplore the action of Poale-Zion, which contradicts its attitude throughout the current crisis; it is uncomradely . . . . Our stand is unchanged. We support Dr. Silver's consistent policy; we have remained within the American Zionist Emergency Council, even as Dr. Silver himself has remained a member of the Council. We desire to give the new administration all opportunity for achievement, and shall judge it by its actions and accomplishments. Our stand is not based on personalities; it is a purely political issue."

JEWISH AGENCY CALLS FOR PEACE IN AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL 1-5-45

Tel Aviv, (B) (JPS-Palcor) -- An appeal for peace in American Zionist ranks was voiced by Moshe Shertok, Chief of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, at a press conference here. Answering questions concerning differences within the American Zionist Emergency Council, Mr. Shertok said: "The Jewish Agency is interested in a united Zionist movement in America. We aren't aware of any divergence over fundamental Zionist issues. The present dispute has arisen only over matters of competence. We are informed that our colleagues in America will support all efforts for restoring and strengthening Zionist unity and co-ordination."

Mr. Shertok also revealed that Dr. James G. Heller, National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, will soon visit Palestine.

ברוקלינער ציוניסטען קומען ארויס פאר דר. אבא סילווער

Journal Jan 5, 1945

ברוקלין ציוניסטען, וואס אינדאָרסירען "פּעטישאָן" פון דר. גאָלדשטיין, וואס איז צוגעשיקט צו דר. סילווער, פאָדערן אויפראַכטאַלטונג פון ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציאָן, צו באַשטאַטיגן דעם קריזיס, די רעזאָלוציעס באַזעצט פון עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל באַשולדיגען גאָלדשטיין'ן אין פאַלשע פאַקטען.

(ספּעציעלער באַריכט פון מ. גנן)

דר. אבא הלל סילווער, דער ציוניסטישער פירער, וואס איז ארויס אין קאמף געגען דער איצטיגער אדמיניסטראציע פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוני ארגאניזאציע, באשולדיגענדיג דר. וויז און דר. גאלדשטיין אין האנדלען געגען דעם ווילען פון דער מערהייט פון די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען, האט אנגעהאלטען זיין ערשטען גרויסען זיג אין קאמף פאר צוריקגעווינען די פירערשאפט פון דער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג אין אמעריקא.

[illegible]

THE JEWISH WORLD

אידישע וועלט

Columbus — Price 4 Cents — Friday, January 5, 1945 — ...ת, תש"ה

ציון קאונסיל רעאָרגאַניזירט; וויז און סילווער צדדים וואַרפען שולד איינער אויפ'ן צווייטען

וויז איז טשערמאן פון קאונסיל און חיים גרינבערג טשערמאן פון עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע אין נייעם צוזאמענשטעל

ניו יארק, יאנ. 4. — אויף א זיצונג פון דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע פון אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, וואס איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען דינסטאג אונטער דעם פארזיץ פון דר. סטיפען ס. וויז און מיט דער באטייליגונג פון פארשטעהער פון אלע ציוניסטישע פארטייען, איז פארענדיגט געווארען די רעארגאניזירונג פון דעם ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל.

חיים גרינבערג, פועלי ציון פיהרער, איז דערוועהלט געווארען פארזיצער פון דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע, אנשטאט עמאנועל נוימאן, און דערוועהלט געווארען פארזיצער פון א נייגעגרינדעטער קלענערער אדמיניסטראטיווער קאמיטע, וואס וועט זיין פאראנטווארטליך צו דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע און וואס זיין אויפגאבע וועט זיין דורכצופיהרען די פאליסי פון ציון קאונסיל אויף דעם געביט פון פאליטישער ארבייט און עפענטליכע באציהונגען. די האלבע נייע קאמיטע וועט צוזאמענגעשטעלט זיין פון די הויפטען פון די פיער ארגאניזאציעס וואס זיינען רעפרעזענטירט אין ציון קאונסיל — די ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציע פון אמעריקא, הדסה, פועלי ציון און מזרחי — צוזאמען מיט אהר פארזיצער ווי אויך דעם פארזיצער פון דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע. און דעם פארזיצער פון ציון קאונסיל און פארשטעהער פון דער אידישער אגענטור פאר ארץ ישראל. עס איז אויך פארגעלייגט געווארען צו באשטימען א נייע פינאנץ קאמיטע וואס זאל פארשטעהן פון פארשטעהער פון די פיער ארגאניזאציעס און א פארזיצער.

מיט עטליכע טעג פריהער האט דער ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל ארויסגעגעבען אן ערקלערונג צוזאגענדיג, אז ער וועט אנהאלטען אן אגרעסיווע פאליסי. עס האט געהאלטען דערביי, אז דער מזרחי זאל ארויסטרעטען פון דעם קאונסיל נאכדעם ווי דר. אבא הלל סילווער'ס רעזיגנאציע איז אנגענומען געווארען און דר. סטיפען ס. וויז איז ערוועהלט געווארען אלס טשערמאן.

דער מזרחי און פועלי ציון, וועלכע האבען געשטיצט דר. סילווער, האבען געהאט אבגעשטימט און די אנדערע האבען געהאט צוזאמען געשטימט. סילווער'ס אנהענגער האבען געזוכט צו בלייבען אין קאונסיל נאר אויב די אקטיווע פאליסי פון אקציע און נישט פון "שתדלנות" וועט אנהאלטען.

רעזאלוציע האט דר. ישראל גאלדשטיין, פרעזידענט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, ארויסגעגעבען א סטייטמענט, אין וועלכען ער זאגט, אז דער שטרייט איז ניט וועגען "מאקסימאליזם" און "מינימאליזם", עס איז ניט א קאמף צווישען "שתדלנות פאליטיק" און "אגרעסיווע נאציאנאלע פאליטיק", ווי עס ווערט באהויפטעט פון דר. סילווער'ס צד. נאר עס איז א פראגע פון פראצעדור, פון מעטאדען אין אויספיהרען באשלוסען און א פראגע וועגען דער פולמאכט פון די באאמטע פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל.

לויט דר. גאלדשטיין'ס ערקלערונג, זאל דר. סילווער האבען געהאט מסכים געווען מיט די אנדערע מיטגלידער פון דעם קאונסיל אז מען זאל ניט דריקען דעם פארהער וועגען די רעזאלוציעס פאר דער סטייט דעפארטמענט וואס אינסיסטירט דארויף. אבער דר. סילווער איז אנגעגאנגען מיט זיין קאמף פאר דורכפיהרען די ציון רעזאלוציעס אין קאנגרעס.

ערקלערונג פון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל

דער ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל האט אויף א זיצונג, וואס איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען דאנערשטאג דעם 28טען דעצעמבער, אנגענומען די רעזיגנאציעס פון זיין פארזיצער, מיטפארזיצער און טרעזשורער, אויסדריקענדיג דערביי אנערקענונג פאר זייערע דינסטען. דער קאונסיל איז נאכדעם איבערגעגאנגען צו דער רעארגאניזירונג פון דער קערפערשאפט און דער דערוועהלונג פון נייע באאמטע.

דר. סילווער'ס רעזיגנאציע איז אנגענומען געווארען מיט אנערקענונג פאר זיינע געטרייע דינסטען. עס איז באגריסט געווארען זיין צוזאג פארזעצען זיין מיטגלידערשאפט און זיין טעטיגקייט אין עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל. דר. סטיפען ס. וויז איז דערוועהלט געווארען פארזיצער פון אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל. מרס. ש. ה. האלפרין איז דערוועהלט געווארען טרעזשורער. דער קאונסיל האט אויך פארעפענטליכט דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע צו גרינדען א פאליטישען אויספיהר־קאמיטעט, וואס זאל זיין צוזאמענגעשטעלט פון א פארזיצער און פון די הויפטען פון אלע ארגאניזאציעס, וואס זיינען פארטרעטען אין קאונסיל, אדער וועמען זיי וועלען באשטימען, און פון דעם פארזיצער פון קאונסיל און פון פארזיצער פון דער עקזעקוטיוו קאמיטע. ביים שלוס פון דער זיצונג איז פארעפענטליכט געווארען דער פאלגענדער סטייטמענט:

"דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל מאכט קלאר, אז אלע חילוקי דעות, וואס זיינען פארעפענטליכט געווארען אין דער פרעסע האבען קיין שייכות מיט פערזענליכע מיינונגס־פארשידענהייטען אין באצוג צו דער פונדאמענטאלער ציוניסטישער פאליסי, אדער צו א מאקסימאלען אדער מינימאלען ציוניסטישען פראגראם. נאר עס האנדעלט זיך וועגען פראצעדור. וועגען אויספיהר־מעטאדען און דער מאכט פון די באאמטע. דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל וועט פארזעצען מיט דער זעלבער קראפט און אנטשלאסענקייט די ארבייט פאר דער פארווירקליכונג פון זיין ציל, נעמליך: אומבאשרענקטע אידישע אימיגראציע קיין ארץ ישראל, פולע געלעגענהייט פאר אידישער קאלאניזאציע און די רעקאנסטיטואירונג פון ארץ ישראל אלס פרייע און דעמאקראטישע אידישע קאמאנוועלט. פאר דעם צוועק וועט דער קאונסיל זוכען די אקטיווע שטיצע פון דעם עקזעקוטיווען און לעגיסלאטיווען צווייג פון דער אמעריקאנער רעגירונג און דעם גוטען ווילען פון דעם גאנצען אמעריקאנער פאלק."

דר. גאלדשטיין׳ס סטייטמענט

פאלגענד איז טיילווייז דער סטייטמענט פון דר. גאלדשטיין:

אויף א זיצונג דעם 30טען אקטאבער, 1944, נאך א גרינטליכער דיסקוסיע האט דער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל איינשטימיג באשלאסען ניט צו דריקען, אז די רעזאלוציעס זאלען ארויסגעבראכט ווערען און דורכגעפירט ווערען ביז מען האט זיך פריהער פארזיכערט מיט דער גוטהייסונג פון דער רעגירונג. די באשטעטיגונג פון פארינען באריכט האבען איבערגעגעבען דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל אז עס איז ניט שכל'דיג צו דריקען וועגען דער דורכפירונג פון די רעזאלוציעס אהן דער צושטימונג און אהן דער הסכמה פון דעם סטייט דעפארטמענט.

דעם 9טען נאוועמבער, 1944 איז די פראגע ווידער באטראכט געווארען און ווידער האבען אלע אנוועזענדע, די פארטרעטער פון אלע פארטייען, איינשליסענדיג דר. סילווער, איינשטימיג באשטעטיגט זייער פריהערדיגען באשלוס. א קאמיטע אין וועלכער עס זיינען אריין דר. סטיפען וויז און דר. אבא הלל סילווער איז באשטימט געווארען צו באזוכען דעם סעקרעטערי אוו סטייט צו קריגען די גוטהייסונג פון דער רעגירונג צו דער דורכפירונג פון די רעזאלוציעס. א פאר טעג נאך זייער באזוך האבען זיי ערהאלטען די מיטטיילונג אז די עקזעקוטיווע אפטיילונג פון דער רעגירונג פארלאנגט אז די זאך זאל איבערגעלאזט ווערען אין זייערע הענט נאך א קורצע ווייל, און אז מען זאל די רעזאלוציע ביי דער איצטיגער צייט ניט דריקען.

א בריוו וועגען דער לאגע איז אפגעגעבען געווארען דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל דעם 21טען נאוועמבער, 1944, און ווידער איז אלע מיטגלידער איינשטימיג מיינונג געווען, אריינרעכענענדיג דר. סילווער, ניט צו דריקען וועגען די רעזאלוציעס נאר צו איבערגעבען יעדע געלעגענהייט צו קריגען די גוטהייסונג פון דער רעגירונג.

באלד נאכדעם איז אבער דר. סילווער אוועקגעפאהרען קיין וואשינגטאן, צוזאמען מיט איינינע מיטגלידער פון דעם בעטער פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל און, אהן דעם וויסען און אהן דער צושטימונג פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, האט ער פערזענליך אינסטרואירט פירענדע קאנגרעסלייט און סענאטארען, איינפארשטענדיג ווי אז זיי זאלען דורכפירען די רעזאלוציעס אזוי שנעל ווי מעגליך. דעם 27טען נאוועמבער האט ער געשריבען צו קאנגרעסמאן סאל בלום: "אלס טשערמאן פון דער עקזעקוטיוו פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל", איינפארשטענדיג איהם צו באמיהען זיך אז די קאמיטע פאר פארעין רילעישאנס פון וועלכער בלום איז טשערמאן, אז די קאמיטע זאל שנעל ארויסגעבען צו דעם קאנגרעס א גינסטיגען באריכט איבער דער ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע.

דער שריט מצד דר. סילווער איז געווען געגען די באשלוסען פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל און געגען דעם וואונש פון דער רעגירונג און אויך א בראך פון זיין איינענער פארזיכערונג לגבי זיינע חברים.

דורך דער צייט זיינען פארזוכען געמאכט געווארען מצד דער עקזעקוטיוו פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע און מצד באאמטע און מיטגלידער פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל צו באוועגען דר. סילווער ער זאל זיך מיט זיי בערעטען און באשפרעכען די לאגע וואס ער האט געשאפען. ער האט זיך אויסגערעדט און האט עטליכע מאל זיך אנטזאגט מיט זיי צו באגעגענען.

דעם 28טען דעצעמבער האט דער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל איבערגענומען די פראגע פון אגענדע מיט דער ארבייט. דר. וויז איז איבערגעקליבען געווארען אלס טשערמאן און דר. סילווער'ס רעזיגנאציע איז אנגענומען געווארען מיט אנערקענונג פאר זיינע לייסטונגען אין דער פארגאנגענהייט. אן אויספיהר קאמיטעט איז באשטימט געווארען צו פארשטארקען די ארבייט.

דער ציוניזם איז א דעמאקראטישע באוועגונג. מיר קענען ניט אננעמען און פארערענטירען דעם דעמאקראטישען פראצעס פון געמיינשאפטליכער דיסקוסיע און קאאפעראציע. קיינע לייסטונגען, ווי גרויס זיי זאלען ניט זיין, קענען איין יחיד געבען דעם רעכט צו האנדלען געגען דעם איינשטימיגען באשלוס פון א געזעצליכער קערפערשאפט, א באשלוס וועלכער איז געמאכט געווארען נאך אן אויספירליכען ישוב הדעת.

סילווער באשולדיגט וויז אין אפלעגען רעזאלוציע

אלס ענטפער אויף דר. וויז'ס באשולדיגונג פון לעצטע וואך, האט דר. סילווער ארויסגעגעבען פאלגענדען סטייטמענט:

"קיין שום באאמטער פון אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל האט ניט אזוי אפט און סקאנדאליעז איבערגעטראטען די באשלוסען פון דעם קאונסיל ווי דר. וויז.

"דער פראטאקאל פון דעם קאונסיל וועט באווייזען, אז דר. וויז איז בפירוש קריטיקירט געווארען פאר זיין ניט־אויטאריזירטער אויספיהרונג און פאר זיינע ניט־דיסציפלינירטע האנדלונגען. דער ערנסטער און מאסטע לעצטער ביישפיל איז די פאמאלע טעלעגראמע, וואס ער האט אהן מיין וויסען געשיקט צום סעקרעטערי אוו סטייט פונקט איידער סענאטאר וואגנער און איך האבען איהם (דעם סעקרעטערי אוו סטייט) געוואלט זעהן מיט'ן צוועק צו באוועגען דעם סטייט דעפארטמענט און פרעזידענט רוזעוועלט'ן, אז זיי זאלען צוריקציהען זייער געגנערשאפט צום דורכפיהר פון דער ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע.

"אין דער טעלעגראמע, וואס דר. וויז האט געשיקט אויף זיין אייגענעם כאראקטער, ניט אנפרעגענדיג זיך ביים קאונסיל, האט ער דערקלערט, אז כאטש ער וואלט געווען גליקליך, ווען די רעזאלוציע זאל גענעהמיגט ווערען, ווייל ער צוזאמען מיט פילע פון זיינע מיטארבייטער, אז מען זאל ניט נעמען קיין אקציע, וואס איז געגען דער רעקאמענדאציע פון דעם סטייט דעפארטמענט און פון דעם פרעזידענט."

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Detroit Jewish Chronicle
Founded in ... and The Legal Chronicle — In Its 30th Year
...T, MICHIGAN, FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 1945 — 10c Single Copy, $3.00 Per Year

Silver [Att]acks Wise, Zionis[t] [D]ispute Grows

2 More Resign from Emergency Council, Blame Wise for Failure of Palestine Bill

The factional conflict in the Zionist Emergency Council which culminated in the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise, co-chairmen, is still continuing. Two more executives of the American Zionist Emergency Council resigned this week. They are Harry L. Shapiro, executive director, American Zionist Emergency Council, and Harold P. Manson, director of information for the same body.

The two attacked the statement of Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, and charged that Goldstein and his associates forced the resignation of Dr. Silver. Dr. Silver resigned after he was criticized for pressing action on the Palestine resolution in Congress after the State Department had ordered it shelved. Dr. Wise resigned earlier in protest against what was termed Dr. Silver's "unauthorized" action. Dr. Silver has declared he would not reconsider his resignation.

The Zionist controversy became more intensified this week with a bitter attack by Rabbi Silver against Rabbi Wise. Silver declared that Dr. Wise often acted without authorization in Zionist matters.

"The records of the Council (Zionist Emergency) will show that Dr. Wise was criticized for his unauthorized dealings," stated Dr. Silver. "The most flagrant instance was the telegram which Dr. Wise sent to the Secretary of State just prior to the visit Senator Wagner and I were to make to the State Department to urge that the State Department and President Roosevelt withdraw their opposition to the Palestine resolution pending in Congress."

SILVER BLAMES WISE

The telegram, according to Silver, was sent by Wise without authorization by the Council. Wise is said to have declared in the telegram, said Silver, that although he would like to see the Palestine resolution approved, yet he and his associates urge that no action should be taken by Congress without the approval of the President or the State Department.

Dr. Silver blamed Wise's telegram for the tabling of the Palestine Resolution in Congress. Silver went on to charge that Dr. Wise treated the Zionist Organization as his personal property. He also charged that Wise's power politics in Washington have hurt the Zionist cause.

The Zionist Emergency Council declared that the internal differences were not on matters of aims or objectives, but on methods of implementing its decisions. The Council statement reads:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council desires to make it clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers.

"The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective—unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization, and the reconstruction of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth."

WISE'S STATEMENT

In a statement explaining the reasons for his resignation as co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Stephen S. Wise said:

"One week ago I resigned the office of chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I did so because, as I stated in my letter of resignation, 'I felt that it was impossible for me to remain chairman of a body one of the leaders of which—the chairman of the executive committee—had deliberately and persistently contravened the decisions of the Council in a matter of supreme importance to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause.'

"At Wednesday's nearly all-night session of the Emergency Council, the resignation was not acted upon, but a motion was passed inviting all the officers of the executive committee to resign, in order that it might be free to act upon all resignations at the same time. I believe a meeting is to be held in the near future. I would not return to the service of the Zionist Emergency Council unless the reconstituting of the Council gave assurance that no officer would again be permitted to contravene its considered and final decisions."

GOLDSTEIN'S STATEMENT

Dr. Goldstein charges in the statement that Dr. Silver had acted without authority when he wrote to Congressman Sol Bloom, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, urging him to take prompt action in having his committee report out the Palestine resolution, Dr. Goldstein maintains that Dr. Silver acted despite a decision by the Emergency Council, alleged to have been made a week before, that before pressing the resolution it was necessary to secure an assurance that the State Department would not raise objections against its passage at this time.

"What needs to be borne in mind by all Zionists," Dr. Goldstein emphasizes, "is that important as Congress resolutions may be, it is even more important to secure practical help of our Government and its Allies in shaping the situation of Palestine, in bringing immigration into Palestine in the near future, and in preparing Palestine to absorb mass Jewish immigration as soon as possible."

SILVER FIRM

Dr. Silver of Cleveland declared that his resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as chairman of the Council's Executive Committee is "irrevocable," but that "as a private in the ranks" he would continue to work for a policy in which "timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

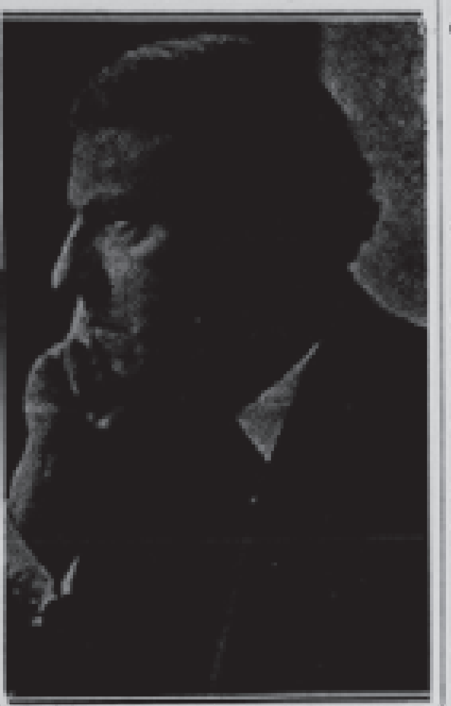
Dr. Silver declares:

"My action has been prompted particularly by the position taken by the representatives of one of the groups, the Zionist Organization of America. Despite the fact that the National Convention of the Zionist Organization of America at Atlantic City on Oct. 16 approved my policies by a unanimous vote, the present representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Council are committed to an attitude and a course of action which make it impossible for me to carry out those policies effectively.

"I am deeply grateful for the consistent and loyal support which I have had from the Poale Zion and Mizrachi parties, from the Jewish press, from the rank and file of American Zionism and the local Zionist Emergency Councils everywhere.

"I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and will eagerly give the Movement whatever help and counsel I can. My resignation will leave me free to devote myself more fully to Zionist education among our people and the exposition of the Zionist program among the general public. As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and backstairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

Leading Figures In Controversy



Rabbi Stephen S. Wise

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

cont. from p. 14

...ראס האט, נאטירליך, צוניסט געמאכט דעם גאנצן צוועק פון אונזער באווך. און איז משער ווי יעדער אנדערער פאקטאר פאראנטווארטליך פאר דעם, וואס די ארץ ישראל רעזאָלוציע איז אפגעלעגט געווארען.

„דר. ווייז באהאנדעלט שוין צו לאנג די ציוניסטישע באוועגונג אין די פאראייניקטע שטאטן, ווי זי וואלט געווען זיין פערזענליך פארמעגן. און ער קענט פארבעטערן נישט יעדער נייער פיהרערשאפט, וואס דראהט זיין מאנאפאל. זיין שתדלנות אין וואשינגטאן איז שוין פיל יאהרען אן אויסערגעווענליכער דורכפאל. און ניט בלויז אויף וויפיל דאס איז שייך דעם ציוניזם. די דערזיגע וואקלדיגע 'שתדלנות־פאליטיק' האט געמאכט גאר ניט אויפגעטאן פאר אונזער פאלק אין די לעצטע טראגישע יאהרען פון שחיטות און אויסראטונג".

דר. ווייזעס ענטפער

דארויף האט דר. ווייז געענטפערט פאלגענדעס:

„וועגען דער אטאקע, וואס דר. סילווער האט אויף מיר געמאכט, וויל איך דערקלערן, אז איך פיהר ניט מיט איהם קיין פערזענליכען קריג. דער עמוירדושענסי קאונסיל האט ארויסגעגעבען זיין אורטייל וועגען דער פראגע דורך אננעמען דר. סילווער'ס רעזיגנאציע."

סילווער פלאנט אויפקלערונגס קאמפיין

גלייכצייטיג מיט דער דערוואהלונג פון א נייער פיהרערשאפט פון דעם עמוירדושענסי קאונסיל איז באקאנט געווארען, אז דר. סילווער פלאנט א טור איבערן לאנד פאר אן אויפקלערונגס קאמפיין. דר. סילווער האלט, אז עס איז דא א גרויסע נויטווענדיגקייט אויפצושטעלן די גאנצע ציוניסטישע פראבלעם פאר דער אמעריקאנער עפענטליכקייט און אין דער זעלבער צייט אויך קלאר מאכען פאר ציוניסטען און ניט־ציוניסטען די נויטווענדיגקייט און גערעכטיגקייט.

צי פון דעם וועט ארויסוואקסען א קאמפיין געגען דער איצטיגער פיהרערשאפט פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע בלייבט צו זעהן. דער פאקט וואס סילווער פיהלט, אז ער איז געמאכט א „קרבן" פון דער געגנערשאפט מצד דער פיהרערשאפט פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע טראץ דעם וואס די ציוניסטישע קאנווענשאן אין אטלאנטיק סיטי האט גוטגעהייסען זיין פאליסי, קאן ברענגען צו דעם וואס אין דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע וועלען איצט אנטשטעהן צוויי ריכטונגען, פראאדמיניסטראציע און אנטיאדמיניסטראציע.

באריכטען זיינען דא, אז אין דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע ווערט איצט פארשפירט א שטארקער פרא־סילווער כלאל וואס וועט מאכען א פארזוך ארויסצודרינגען אין אלע ציוניסטישע דיסטריקטען איבערן לאנד און שטארקען דעם „הענט אוף סילווער!"

pt. 1

The B'nai B'rith MESSENGER

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FOUNDED 1897

A consolidation of B'nai B'rith Messenger, The Jewish Community Press and California Jewish Review

Published Weekly by Jewish Publications, Inc., [illegible] South Hope Street, Los Angeles 14, California • Telephone TRinity [illegible]

SUBSCRIPTION: $[illegible] PER YEAR, SINGLE COPIES, 10c; FOREIGN, $[illegible] PER YEAR

Entered as second-class matter February [illegible], 1944, at the Post Office at Los Angeles, California, under the Act of March 3, 1879

JOSEPH J. CUMMINS, President and Editor — DAVID WEISSMAN, Managing Editor

ENSIGN L. R. CHASE, On active duty U. S. Navy

MAURICE J. GILBERT, Business Manager — M. L. WOODRUFF, Office Manager

Los Angeles 14, Calif. FRIDAY, JANUARY 5, 1945 (TEBETH 20, 5705) Vol. 48—No. 20

The Zionist Rift

The acceptance of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation from the co-chairmanship of the Zionist Emergency Council last week may not be a fatal blow to the program of the Zionist Organization of America, but it is far from being a sign of enlightened leadership in this most critical juncture of Jewish history. At a time when youthfulness, aggressiveness and determination of purpose are so much needed in Jewish leadership, there seems to have been little justification in taking advantage of an impasse between Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Silver to request the latter's resignation.

In a formal statement issued by the Council it was declared that the internal differences were not on matters of aims or objectives, but on "methods of implementation and authority of its officers."

Granted that Dr. Silver, in urging upon Representative Sol Bloom that he press the Palestine Resolution through his committee, had overstepped his authority, and whether he did or did not do so was, and still is, a matter of difference of opinion, there were, no doubt, other methods by which this invaluable fighter in Zionism could have been disciplined. There was no need for Rabbi Heller to introduce a resolution asking his resignation. Dr. Silver's "crime" was not irreparable. Even Louis Lipsky was opposed to that measure.

Evidently there was more behind the scene than appears on the surface. It has long been known that Drs. Wise and Silver were not exactly "soul-mates" in the Zionist movement, and to many students of the ZOA the fact that they worked in apparent harmony for so long had been a matter of wonder. The honeymoon, however, is now over and the superior political skill of Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein, and other ZOA leaders forced Dr. Silver to step down from his post as co-chairman with Dr. Wise, and placed Dr. Wise in supreme command of the Emergency Council.

But Dr. Silver is not through with Zionism. He will keep on fighting. "I remain, of course, a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council," he says, "and will eagerly give the movement whatever help and counsel I can . . . As a private in the ranks I shall continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and back-stairs 'diplomacy' will have no place."

The fact that 100 Eastern Zionist leaders have already placed themselves on record as having "unshakeable and abiding confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" and in his policies as co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council; the fact that he has the support of Labor Zionists, the Mizrachi, and a good portion of Hadassah as well as a great number of general Zionists, is an indication that Dr. Silver may soon again return to the leadership he has so well earned.

SPLIT IN AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL

B

The Wise and Silver Clash

The American Zionist Emergency Council last week re-elected Dr. Stephen S. Wise as Chairman of the Council after the resignations of Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver had been accepted.

In announcing Dr. Wise's re-election, the reconstituted Council added that "Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation was accepted with an expression of appreciation for his devoted services, and his pledge of continued membership and service in the Emergency Council was welcomed."

The Council appointed a "Committee for Implementation of Policy" to deal with matters of policy.

The Mizrachi has issued a statement expressing dissatisfaction with the results of the meeting of the Council but adding that "we do not choose yet officially to withdraw." The Zionist Labour groups, who together with the Mizrachi voted for a resolution asking for the re-election of Dr. Silver, were to issue a statement after a meeting of their Central Committee.

Neither Dr. Wise nor Dr. Silver took part in the meeting. Dr. Silver announced his intention of remaining in the Council as just an ordinary member, thus preventing others from leaving. He stated that he would continue to work within the Council for a policy in which "timidity, appeasement, and back-stairs diplomacy will have no place."

. The background to the clash between Drs. Wise and Silver, and the latest developments in this struggle of personalities, are dealt with by our New York correspondent in messages printed under Palestine Movement on page 8.

Jewish Chronicle (England) Jan 5, 1945

The American Jewish World

Continuing the Jewish Weekly, Established June 12, 1912

L. H. FRISCH, EDITOR

Fred H. Weinberg, Managing Editor

Associate and Contributing Editors: Rabbi David Aronson, Rabbi C. David Matt, Jesse B. Calmenson

Published every Friday by THE JEWISH WORLD PUBLISHING CO., Minneapolis office, Palace Building, 40 South Fourth Street. Telephone MAin 6310. St. Paul office, Pioneer Building. Telephone CEdar 8476.

SUBSCRIPTION PER YEAR IN ADVANCE

In U. S. A., $3.00; Canada and other countries, $5.00; Single Copies, 10c

Entered as second-class matter at post office at Minneapolis (1) Minn., under Act of March 3, 1879.

Vol. XXXIII. No. 19 — Tebet 20, 5705 — January 5, 1945

C

Dr. Silver's Resignation

We hold no brief for Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, whose resignation as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council was accepted by a vote of 12 to 8. Dr. Silver can quite effectively present his own case.

It is tragic, however, that Dr. Silver's resignation should have been precipitated by an act of his which, however dictatorial it may appear to be, represented the only just, self-respecting and constructive position which American Jewry and all fair-minded Americans must take. The Jewish tragedy is too great to let it become a mere plaything for politicians. We know where appeasement policies lead to. We are convinced that our cause is just and that as such its way of progress is not through "back-stairs diplomacy." Certainly this is no time for timid leaders.

The fact is that both major American political parties pledged themselves in favor of upbuilding of the Jewish National Home. The fact is that President Roosevelt personally endorsed the Democratic platform favoring such a policy in Palestine "as to result in the establishment there of a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." A resolution by Congress simply means giving official governmental strength toward the implementation of these pledges.

Those pledges are known to the Arabs and known to the British government. By asking Congress to postpone the Palestine resolution what do the President and his State Department expect to accomplish? Soothe the Arab politicians into believing that the Balfour Declaration will remain repudiated and then impose it upon them when they are not watching? These are not statesmanlike terms, but can the present attitude of our Government mean anything or does it mean that the pledges made to the Jewish people before election are not to be honored after election? In either case it is not a position which we can accept either politically or morally.

Plain speaking must be the order of the day. We want no secret understandings. One of the strong moral points in the Balfour Declaration is that it was a public document and not secret diplomatic double-talk. The redemption of Zion demands not only righteousness but also forthrightness. In so far as Dr. Silver [illegible] for plain speaking on the part of those who made a solemn [illegible], we [illegible] power to [illegible].

Dr. Silver remains a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

As a private in the ranks he may even more effectively "continue to advocate the classic Zionist program which aims at the re-establishment of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and a policy in which timidity, appeasement and back-stairs diplomacy will have no place."

In fact as chairman of the Palestine Commission of the American Jewish Conference, Dr. Silver could well have appealed to the Conference for cooperation and for the endorsement of his position. He may still do so and do so constructively. American Jewry is tired of the smugness of the national leaders both in the Zionist ranks and in the larger Jewish field.

What Dr. Silver lost by a dictatorial act he may well win by a democratic appeal.

UNFORTUNATE RESIGNATION

IJPS 1-5-45

D

We are happy that Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who over a fortnight ago resigned as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, has been re-elected chairman. We regard, however, as unfortunate the acceptance by the Council of the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman. Under the able leadership of both these men, the American Zionist Emergency Council made unmatched political gains in the past year and whatever frustrations Zionism has suffered were due to outside factors obviously beyond its control. These very frustrations call for the maximum effort and imply caution against the wastage of Zionist manpower. Dr. Silver's resignation is a grave loss to the Zionist movement which can hardly boast a surplus of leadership. We take the position that the Hebrew press in Palestine took over a year ago when David ben Gurion, Chairman of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, resigned.

The newspaper Hazman wrote at the time: "We will not permit Ben Gurion to abandon the helm, nor will we forego Dr. Weizmann's leadership." Hatzofeh wrote: "It is well known that the Biltmore program was adopted with Dr. Weizmann's knowledge and consent, and in this respect there are no differences between him and Ben Gurion." Haboker and Haaretz were unanimous at the time that the differences between Dr. Weizmann and Ben Gurion were "not over the essence of Zionist policy, but over the methods for the practical application of the Biltmore program." Dr. Silver should be recalled to continue at the helm with Dr. Wise.

THE JEWISH CHRONICLE Jan 5, 1945

A

THE WISE AND SILVER CLASH

Background of the Resignations

Our New York correspondent gives below the background to the conflict between Drs. Wise and Silver in the U.S. Zionist Emergency Council (the new election to which, following the clash, is reported on page 1 of this issue).

The basic conflict between Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen Wise is one between an aggressive and a moderate Palestine policy within the American Zionist Emergency Council, and it is also one between personalities (he writes).

Unconfirmed charges claim that Dr. Silver is a supporter of Governor Dewey, and is impatient with the U.S. attitude on Palestine, and that he is *persona non grata* at the White House, while Dr. Wise is devoted to President Roosevelt and is confident that the President will eventually fulfil his pledge of American aid in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration.

Dr. Silver is said to resent the role played by the foreigner, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, in American Zionist affairs, especially his recent visit to the State Department in Washington, following the recent conference in Atlantic City of the World Jewish Congress. Dr. Silver believes that Dr. Goldmann misrepresented Mr. Stettinius's message.

Dr. Silver, an admittedly powerful leader in marshalling public sentiment around Palestine, is believed to be at his best when working alone, while Dr. Wise is amenable to organisational discipline. The latter's leadership was vindicated by his election as sole head of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver abused the Council decision not to press for the Palestine resolution in Congress now in deference to the State Department's wishes and a special request from the President.

An interview I have had with a leading member of the Zionist Emergency Council may be summed up as follows.

Q.: "What is the background of the clash?"

A.: "It revolves about the resolution by the Zionist Emergency Council not to proceed with the Congressional resolution at this time."

Pressure on Congress

Q.: "In what way did Dr. Silver violate it?"

A.: "In Washington he pressed hard for the passage of the resolution. The rest of us felt that it should not be pressed in the light of the State Department and White House's request for its deferment. One can easily understand why. The President was in the midst of various disagreements with England over the situation in Greece, Italy, and Belgium, and did not wish for additional friction. Inasmuch as we have directly asked for his advice, the least one could do was to abide by his wishes.

"Despite it, pressure was applied upon Congress by Dr. Silver in the name of the Zionist Emergency Council, contrary to the majority sentiment. In consequence, the President took the definite line of asking the Congressional Committee through the State Department not to take action."

Q.: "In view of Dr. Silver's resignation, do you foresee further conflict? Do you think Dr. Silver will work as a good soldier?"

A.: "He may seek a dominating position in the Zionist Organisation of America."

Q.: "Will Dr. Wise be less militant hereafter?"

A.: "'Militant' is the wrong word. It would be traducing Dr. Wise, who has always held for a strong position in Jewish matters in Congress and on the Palestine question. Our line will not be one of aggressive attack on the President. Certainly that will not be Dr. Wise's line. I think we shall continue to inform public opinion by propaganda and the inevitable necessary activities in Washington."

Q.: "Will the Bergson crowd have any bearing on the future course of the Palestine resolution?"

A.: "The so-called Hebrew National Committee's activities played no part at all in this. They figure more prominently in the public eye through the Emergency Committee to Rescue European Jews."

Q.: "Will the Mizrachi threat to aline with all forces in Zionism seeking an opportunity to create an aggressive front be of any harm?"

A.: "The Mizrachi were simply covering themselves because they had issued a public statement that if Dr. Silver were not appointed Chairman they would withdraw. But when it came to a showdown they found that they could not, so they just issued another statement which does not look very well in public print."

SILVER TROUNCES WISE

Blast and Counter-Blast

In connection with the clash between Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, our New York correspondent on Wednesday cabled the latest developments as follows:

Dr. Silver has just issued a hot counter-blast from Cleveland, his home city, against Dr. Wise, who had charged him with "deliberately and persistently contravening the decisions of the Council in a matter of supreme importance, to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause."

Dr. Silver's rejoinder is as follows:

"I am greatly amused. No officer of the Zionist Emergency Council has so flagrantly and frequently contravened decisions as Dr. Wise. The minutes of the Council will show that Dr. Wise was time and again criticised for unauthorised conduct and undisciplined actions. The worst and most recent instance was the fatal telegram he dispatched without my knowledge to the Secretary of State on the very eve when Senator Wagner and I were scheduled to see him to persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to the passage of the Palestine Resolution.

"In this telegram, sent by Dr. Wise on his own, without consulting the Council, he stated that while he would be happy if approval were given to the resolution, he and many associates do not wish action to be taken contrary to the recommendations of the State Department and President. This completely nullified the whole purpose of the visit and more than any other factor was responsible for shelving the Palestine Resolution.

"All too often Dr. Wise has treated the Zionist Movement in the United States as a piece of personal property and has bitterly resented any new leadership that threatened his monopoly. His Shtadlanut in Washington has been an egregious failure for many years, not only as far as Zionism is concerned. This weak-kneed Shtadlanut policy has accomplished next to nothing for our people during these tragic years of slaughter and annihilation."

Dr. Wise's sole retort to the foregoing attack is: "I have had and shall have no personal controversy with Dr. Silver. The Zionist Emergency Council has passed judgment upon the issue involved by the acceptance of his resignation."

Dr. Goldstein Joins In

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organisation of America, has just issued a statement announcing that the Zionist Emergency Council unanimously resolved not to press the Palestine Resolutions in the House and Senate, "unless and until the preliminary approval of the Executive Branch of the Government shall have been secured."

He also commented on the action by Dr. Silver, who, according to Dr. Goldstein, went to Washington and "personally interviewed Congressmen and Senators, especially in key positions, urging them to put the resolution through as quickly as possible." It is said that Dr. Silver did this "without the knowledge or consent of the Emergency Council."

Z.O.A. SUPPORT FOR DR. WISE

The Zionist Organisation of America will continue to give their full co-operation to the American Zionist Emergency Council, says a statement issued by Dr. Israel Goldstein on behalf of the Organisation in New York on Sunday. The leaders of the Organisation, the statement adds, will, however, retain the right to express their conscientious judgment on questions arising, abiding, of course, by the will of the majority (reports the J.T.A.).

Dr. Goldstein disclosed that the Executive of the Z.O.A. had adopted a resolution declaring that Dr. Wise's actions in Washington was justified.

STATE ZIONISTS DELIBERATE ON NATIONAL RIFT

C HARTFORD LEDGER 1-5-45

By SAMUEL NEUSNER

Hartford— The best attended meeting ever held by the Executive Committee of The Connecticut Zionist region was held at the Bond Hotel, Hartford, Sunday, Dec. 31, at 2 p. m.

Judge Jacob Schwolsky presided and after the reading of the report of the recent State Conference by the State Director, Dr. Harry Cohen, a report was given by Abraham Goldstein of Hartford, chairman of the State Z.O.A. Expansion program. Mr. Goldstein has covered a great part of the State during December and rai[illegible] substantial sum amongst Zi[illegible] the important [illegible] program. This meeting, however, was called for the special purpose of discussing the recent rift in the Zionist Emergency Council between Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his co-chairman, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, which was culminated by the resignation of Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise and later with the election of Dr. Wise as sole head of the Committee.

Both Factions Heard

Between the charges and countercharges on both sides, the average Zionist was confused as to just what caused the split in the ranks of the Emergency Committee. Many Zionist Regions called on both factions to tell their story and Judge Schwolsky, head of the Connecticut Region, convened this special meeting of his State Executive so that the leaders of the various communities might decide, if the facts at hand were important enough to have caused the resignation of Dr. Silver, who in the past 16 months has revived the work of the Emergency Council and whose leadership resulted in the amplification of the Palestine question before the entire country, as well as the heads of our Government. The facts brought out at the meeting, Sunday, that there is more behind this fight than can be found in published reports.

Representing the Anti-Silver group at this meeting was Herman Wiseman of New York, a member of the National Z.O.A. executive and a prominent attorney. Mr. Wiseman in his remarks tried to bring out the fact that the fight in the inner council of the Emergency committee was the result of the failure of the Palestine resolution before the recent Congress.

Representing Dr. Silver was Emanuel Neuman, veteran Zionist leader, a former member of the Jewish Agency and head of the Jordan Valley Authority, now planning to develop the natural resources of Palestine. Mr. Neuman told an entirely different story. He pointed out that Dr. Silver has been opposed by certain leaders in the Z.O.A. and that the Mizrachi and Poale Zion both gave Dr. Silver a vote of confidence. He said that there was no more breach of discipline on Silver's part than on the part of Dr. Wise, why then he asked was Dr. Silver attacked by the Z.O.A. leadership.

Dr. Neuman said that leaders of Dr. Silver's type are rare and that it was not right to "pillory" him before public opinion because he above all others insisted on militant action for the Palestine Resolution.

Action To Be Taken

After hearing both speakers, a resolution was presented by Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman asking for a vote of confidence in Dr. Silver and demanding that he be asked to resume leadership. Due to the lateness of the day, it was impossible to discuss Rabbi Feldman's resolution and it was voted to call another meeting Wednesday, Jan. 3, at Hotel Taft, New Haven, so that all resolutions pertaining to this question might be discussed and finally acted upon. Judge Schwolsky at the request of the delegates, appointed a committee to bring in these resolutions and the following are its members. Dr. Morris S. Dunn and George Gans, New Britain; Rabbi William Greenfeld, Rabbi David Polish, Charles Rosengarten, Waterbury; Abraham Goldstein, Hartford; John J. Fox, New Haven; Judge Schwolsky, ex-officio. A report of Wednesday's meeting will be published in next weeks issue of the "Ledger". This week's issue will be on the press before the end of the meeting.

B

The House of Wise

The recent split between the Rabbis Wise and Silver is no doubt regrettable. The entire Jewish press has pointed out the tragedy involved, and all have lamented this woeful division in the ranks of Zionism. But the issues involved are of long standing; and though the present may not have been the time to bring them into the open, they deserve attention once the matter has been brought to a head.

Wise has always represented minimalism. The word "evacuation", for instance, has been contaminated for him because Jabotinsky used it. This political myopia has led him to reject any forthright and outspoken stand where the Jewish cause required stepping on some sacrosanct toes.

Silver, however, has maintained a consistent, outspoken program. The charge of Revisionism leveled at him at the Goldstein meeting which was held last week is, we feel, not a charge, but a merit. The Mizrachi and the Pole Zion, too, have supported his position, recognizing in it the only hope for our political redemption.

We wonder if the issue is not one of Silver and Wise, but of national life or death.

Jan 4, 1945 The Commentator (Yeshiva College)

A Jewish Ledger
Vol. XVI Friday, January 5, 1945 No. 38
Published Weekly for Hartford—New Haven—Springfield—Bridgeport.
By The Jewish Ledger Publications, Inc.
SAMUEL NEUSNER—President
MILTON H. RICHMAN—Sec'y-Treas
Editorial and Executive Offices:
50 Trumbull Street, Hartford, Conn
Phones 2-5239—2-5230
Springfield Office: 84 Forest Park Ave. Phone 3-8636
New Haven Office: 39 Church Street 10 Phone 5-3340
Bridgeport Office: 1389 Fairfield Ave. Phone 35681
RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, D. D.—Editor
Member Independent Jewish Press Service
N. E. Foreign Language Newspaper Ass'n
Change of Address. To facilitate prompt delivery subscribers are requested to notify above office of change of address giving old as well as new address.
Entered as Second-Class Mail at Post Office, Hartford, Conn., Oct. 27, 1935, by Act of March 3, 1879
Subscription Price $3.00 per year

THE ZIONIST LEADERSHIP QUARREL

THE rift which has occurred in the ranks of the American Zionist Emergency Council is regrettable beyond words and tragic beyond description. At the very moment when Zionist affairs call for all of the wisdom, all of the leadership, all of the strength which we could muster in this crucial hour of our history, at this very moment a break occurred which may have far reaching effect upon our hopes and their realization. It is strange how often petty things cause major tragedies in Jewish history!

Zionist policy has definitely met with a set-back in the insistence of the State Department that the Senate Pro-Palestine Resolution be laid on the table for the present and be not debated or voted on the floor of the United States Senate. This setback becomes all the more painful because an inescapable measure of disillusionment comes with it. Is it possible that so soon after the reelection of the President of the United States, the Democratic Party which is in control has chosen to repudiate the pledge that was made and the promise that was given? If that be so (it may not be so; it may be but a desire on the part of the Administration to wait for a more opportune moment in the international situation; we do not know of a certainty;) but — we say, if that be so, if the Democratic Party and the Democratic leadership, safely entrenched now for four more years, feel themselves so confident and so brazen as to repudiate the party platform and the promise solemnly made by its candidate, then the situation becomes all the more bitter because it is so unspeakably, indescribably unworthy.

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

We are not trying to write a brief in defense of Dr. Silver. He usually can take care of himself. We do not mean to say that Dr. Silver was flawless in all that he said and did. But we do say that the manner and moment of forcing Dr. Silver out of the American Emergency Council leave a bad taste in the mouths of those of us who ask no offices, want no personal preferment, play no politics, ask for no favors, draw no salaries, feather no nests, but who are just the rank and file of Jews who are interested in the creation of a Jewish homeland!

We can conceive of there being an honest difference of opinion in the pursuit of policies. We can conceive of the existence of an honest difference of judgement whether, at this time, we should pursue a dynamic or a "gum-shoe" policy. There are times when one or another of these policies is the wiser one to follow. We may even concede that at the moment the soft-pedal policy of Dr. Wise may be the wiser one to pursue. We do not know because our leaders—any of them—have not taken us into their confidence. But we refuse to believe that in order to emphasize one type of procedure against another, we have to sacrifice the leadership of a Silver at a time when leadership of an adequate quality is none too plentiful in American Zionist ranks.

The whole situation smells with machine politics, the machine which has become the administration of the Zionist Organization of America, and the odor is not pleasant even as the technique and procedure are not edifying in the least.

CURRENT COMMENT

ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Jan 5, 1945

By RABBI SAUL E. WHITE

Emanuel

Drs. Stephen S. Wise and Abba Hillel Silver have resigned as chairmen of the Emergency Committee on Zionist Affairs. Their resignation has started a flurry of speculation as to what's behind it. Without speaking authoritatively or officially for any Zionist group, I venture a number of observations.

The Emergency Committee has acted as the public relations branch of the Zionist movement. It has been entrusted with the task of cultivating a favorable public opinion in America in regards to Jewish aspirations in Palestine. It is chiefly responsible for the introduction of the Commonwealth resolutions before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate and the House. All in all it has performed a difficult job effectively and well. America has become aware of Jewish achievement in Palestine and deeply aroused to the injustices of the Chamberlain White Paper.

The resolutions before the Foreign Affairs Committee, the Commonwealth planks introduced in the Republican and Democratic platforms, the President's unqualified message to the Zionist Convention are solid achievements on the road toward a democratic Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

Why, then, the resignations of the chairmen responsible for these achievements? It was to be expected that Drs. Wise and Silver, men of strong will and temperament and highly individualistic, would frequently clash, but their apparent decision that they can no longer work together is disturbing. A serious difference of opinion within the Emergency Committee had arisen, as to whether the Commonwealth resolution favorably reported on by the House Committee for Foreign Affairs should be pressed for passage in the Senate as well. The State Department, and possibly the President, had indicated an interest that the Commonwealth resolution be not pressed but await a more propitious hour for passage. Mr. Stettinius, who had but a short while ago been appointed Secretary of State, found himself in conflict with a good part of the Senate in regards to his appointments of undersecretaries. He had created a sensation and caused no end of discomfort to Great Britain when he announced a hands-off policy in the liberated countries of Europe, and this just at a time when Britain was intervening in Greece, Italy, and Belgium. To have twisted the lion's tail further and to have passed a resolution which would in effect have meant the censoring of the British policy in Palestine, was more than he wished to take on at the moment.

Dr. Wise was for acceding to the wishes of the President and the State Department. Dr. Silver, who was more intimately involved in the introduction of the resolutions and in the promotion of interest in their passage, did not want to see much of the work undone by postponement and with it cooling of ardor and interest by its friends. He, in opposition to Dr. Wise, worked for its immediate consideration by the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee. The State Department intervened and the resolution was lost in committee.

This is certain. It will be reintroduced in the new Congress and it will be passed.

Jan 6, 1945

סילווער באשולדיגט ראבײַ גאלדשטיין אין פארדרייען פאקטן און באהאלטן דעם אמת וועגן עמוירדזשענסי קאונסיל

שארפער ענטפער אויף ראבײַ גאלדשטיינ'ס באשולדיגונג, אז ער האט געהאנדלט קעגן באשלוס פון ציוניסטישן עמוירדזשענסי קאונסיל וועגן רעזאלוציע אין קאנגרעס.

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ציון־ראַיאָן פון לאנג אײַלאנד פאדערט דר. סילווער אלס פירער פון עמוירדזשענסי קאונסיל

Forward 1-7-45

רעזאלוציע זאגט, אז בלויז ווען ראבײַ סילווער וועט צוריקגעבראכט ווערן, וועט זײַן איינהייט אין דער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג. — אדמיניסטראטיווער ראט פון ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע האט היינט א מיטינג אין האטעל קאמאדאר. — סענאטאר טעפט גרייט ווידער אריינצוברענגען ציון־רעזאלוציע.

[illegible]

WHY THEY RESIGNED

Reprinted From
THE DAY
January 7, 1945

New York.—Two leading executives of the American Zionist Emergency Council today announced that they have resigned in protest against "the crippling of Dr. Silver's program" by those members of the Council who forced Dr. Silver to resign as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee. The resigning executives are Harry L. Shapiro, Executive Director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, the organization's Director of Information.

The text of their letters of resignation, submitted to Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the Council, follows:

THE FULL RESIGNATION TEXTS OF TWO DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL, SHAPIRO AND MANSON.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO TO RABBI WISE

"Dear Dr. Wise:

"It is with regret that I find it necessary to tender my resignation as the Director of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I do this in protest against the calculated action of those members of the Council, which forced the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, and in order to dissociate myself from the group which perpetrated this destructive act to our cause, namely, the present representatives of the Zionist Organization of America on the Council, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Robert Szold and yourself.

"The records of the Council show that on several occasions you willfully violated decisions of the Council of the highest importance. To mention three occasions: (1) Your cancellation—without consultation or authorization—of the appointment which had been secured for yourself and Dr. Silver with the President for February 2, 1944; (2) The series of infractions of decisions of the Council connected with your visit to the President on October 11th; and (3) Your unauthorized telegram to Secretary Stettinius on October 4th, intimating your acquiescence in the deferment of the Palestine Resolution—a telegram which you sent without the knowledge of the Council or of Dr. Silver on the very day he was to confer with Mr. Stettinius.

"It is difficult to believe that you, Dr. Wise, who in the past have made so many contributions to our people's cause, deliberately chose to contravene the authority of the Council and injure the interests of the movement. Even at this late date, I choose rather to believe from my knowledge of the background that you were influenced by the small group now in control of the Z.O.A., who long sought to undermine Dr. Silver's leadership and involve him in failure. Unfortunately, you have allowed yourself to be guided by these men and you were, in my opinion, exceedingly ill advised in doing so.

"You cancelled the long sought appointment with the President on February 2nd because of a lecture engagement you had in the West. There is good reason to believe that if the meeting with the President had taken place as planned, the fate of the Palestine Resolution in Congress would have been different, and that it would have been approved by Congress early this year. As it is, a second appointment with the President was secured only on March 9th through Dr. Silver's efforts, after the intervention of the Military. Another meeting with the Under Secretary of State, to be followed by another meeting with the President later in the year, were likewise frustrated due to the interference of one of your close associates.

"Dr. Silver has been accused of contravening a decision of the Council with reference to the Congressional Resolution, but it is significant that the motion proposed by Rabbi James Heller censuring Dr. Silver, was squarely rejected by the Council and failed of passage at the meeting of December 20th. I further call to your attention that no censure or other penalty was exacted of you for your repeated violations of decisions of the Council, and that Dr. Silver never pressed for such disciplinary action against you, though you did not offer the Council on those occasions the courtesy of an explanation of your acts. Now the resignation of Dr. Silver has been forced through the efforts of the Z.O.A. bloc, while you have retained the Chairmanship of the Council. This double standard set up by the Z.O.A. Administration group gives little hope that future political decisions and actions of the Council will be conducive to the best interests of the Zionist cause.

"The chief victim of these deplorable machinations which were carried on systematically for many months, culminating with the forcing of Dr. Silver's resignation—in effect a political assassination—will not be Dr. Abba Hillel Silver but, unfortunately, the Jewish people and the Zionist cause. Dr. Silver's absence from the political helm of our movement at this critical moment is a luxury which our people can ill afford. If the Council pursues a policy of waiting and waiting for the "green light" from the powers that be—a revival of the Shtadlanut attitude—then I see no adequate reason to continue the large-scale public relations program of the Council. That would be a waste of money and energy, to which I cannot be a party.

"History will pass judgment on the violence which you and your associates have done to the vital interests of the Zionist movement.

"Sincerely your,

"Harry L. Shapiro."

HAROLD P. MANSON TO RABBI WISE

"Dear Dr. Wise:

"It is with a feeling of deep regret that I have observed the recent developments within the American Zionist Emergency Council. For more than a year I have tried to serve our Movement with all the energy, resourcefulness and devotion that I could muster. Throughout this period I have supported the policies advanced by Dr. Silver, which I believed to be the wisest in the situation. I have viewed the policies of his opponents on the Council with mistrust and disfavor and am convinced that, moved by personal considerations, they have crippled Dr. Silver's program, which produced the great achievements of the past year. I am also convinced that if these men continue their present tactics, they will lead the Zionist Movement either to a complete standstill or to moral and political bankruptcy.

"But I look forward to the time when our Movement will resume the dynamic and courageous policies pursued during the past year, which I am convinced will lead to the fulfillment of our people's historic hope.

"In these circumstances, candor impels me to tender herewith my resignation as Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

"Sincerely yours,

"Harold P. Manson."

JOINT STATEMENT BY SHAPIRO AND MANSON

We who served as Executive Director and Director of Information of the American Zionist Emergency Council and are fully familiar with the circumstances leading to Dr. Silver's resignation, consider it our solemn duty to declare that Dr. Goldstein's statement is a one-sided account, incomplete and distorted in vital respects. It produces a picture at variance with the truth as we know it, and a lame defense for the ruthless action of Dr. Goldstein and his associates in forcing the resignation of our greatest spokesman and most gifted leader.

When the whole story is told and revelation made of the machinations which resulted in this calamity, public opinion will overwhelmingly vindicate Abba Hillel Silver and condemn his opponents and detractors. Meanwhile we wish to state:

1) Dr. Silver categorically refuted the charge that he contravened decisions of the Emergency Council, and the Council at its meeting of December 20th exonerated Dr. Silver by rejecting a resolution of censure proposed by Dr. Goldstein's associates.

2) Dr. Goldstein himself, on December 5th, sent telegrams to all members of the Foreign Relations Committee urging favorable action on the Palestine Resolution, thereby doing precisely what he is charging Dr. Silver with having done. This is running with the hares and hunting with the hounds.

3) Other leaders within the Council, and Dr. Wise in particular throughout the year committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts, with great detriment to the cause. This Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace.

4) The group in control of the Z.O.A. bitterly opposed Dr. Silver's assumption of political leadership from the beginning, despite Dr. Chaim Weizmann's earnest pleas, and has never ceased to plan his elimination.

5) The same group is responsible for a widespread and slanderous whispering campaign against Dr. Silver and his policies, calculated to undermine his position.

We trust that Dr. Silver will see his way to making a full and frank exposition of the whole affair so that the responsibility for this disruption will be placed where it belongs.

As a protest we have resigned our respective posts.

HARRY L. SHAPIRO
Formerly Executive Director American Zionist Council.

HAROLD P. MANSON
Formerly Director of Information—Amer. Zionist Emergency Council.

מיטינג פון ציון־אדמיניסטראציע היינט, נאך רייאָנען פאר סילווערן

Aug 7, 1945 Jewish Journal

הילס. זונטאג ביינאכט, קומט פאר אין ניו יארק די זיצונג פון אדמיניס־טראציאן ראט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציון ארגאניזאציע, וועלכע וועט „באר־טראכטען דעם שטרייט צווישען די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען, וואס איז אנגע־שטאנען נאכדעם ווי דר. ווייז און דר. גאָלדשטיין האבען געצוואונגען דעם באריכטען ציוניסטישען אבא הלל סילווער צו רעזיגנירען פון זיין אמט אלס פארזיצער פון דער עקזעקוטיווע פון ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל.

דער רעזולטאט פון ציוניסטען געגען דער איצטיגער אדמיניסטראציע פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע ווערט וואקסט זיך איבעראל אין גאנצען לאנד.

נאכדעם ווי דער ברוקלין ציון דיסטריקט האט באשלאסען צו שטיצען דר. סילווערן, האבען נאך ציון דיסטריקטען באשלאסען דאסזעלבע, אז די פארזיצער, אז די פיהרערשאפט פון אמעריקאנער ציונים זאל אנטשולדיגען ווערען צו דר. סילווער.

די ציוניסטישע דיסטריקטען פון לאנג איילאנד, וואס נעמען ארום זעקס טויזענט מיטגלידער, האבען אויך א פאפולערען מיטינג, דאנערשטאג אוו. באשלאסען צו שטיצען דר. סילווערן, אויך די ציוניסטען פון קאנעקטיקוט זיינען ארויסגעקומען פאר סילווערן.

די ציוניסטען איבער דעם גאנצען לאנד זיינען נעשפאנט איבער דעם באשלוס פון דער היינטיגער זיצונג פון דעם אדמיניסטראציאן ראט פון דער ציון ארגאניזאציע.

אין א געוויסער מאס הענגט אפ די איינהייט אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם אין די באשלוסען פון דער דאזיגער זיצונג.

לאנג איילאנד ציון ראיאן פאר סילווערן

די פארביטערונג און אנטריסטונג צווישען ציוניסטען איבער דעם וואס דר. אבא הלל סילווער איז געצוואונגען געווארען צו רעזיגנירען פון דער פאליטישער פיהרערשאפט אין אמע־ריקאנער ציוניזם, עקזיסטירט זיך. דער־פאר קומט צו ציוניסטישע ראיא־נען, וואס פון איין זייט דריקען זיי אויס זייער פולסטען צוטרוי צו דר. סילווערן און זיין פאליטישער פיה־רערשאפט, און פון דער אנדערער זייט פאדערען זיי, אז דר. סילווער זאל צוריקנעמען זיין רעזיגנאציע צו דער פיהרער־שאפט, כדי דער ציוניזם אין אמעריקא זאל ווייטער פיהרען א פּוזיטיווע, שטארקע און ווירקזאמע פאליטיק.

נאך דעם ברוקלינער ראיאן האט דער לאנג איילענדער ציון־ראיאן, וואס באשטעהט פון 37 דיסטריקטען מיט א מיטגלידערשאפט פון זעקס טויזענט, אנגענומען א רעזאלוציע, וואס דריקט אויס אבסאלוטען צוטרוי צו דר. סיל־ווערן, שטיצט זיין ביזאיצטיגע פאר־ליטישע פיהרערשאפט און פאדערט פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, אז דר. סילווער זאל צו־ריקנעמען ווערען צו דער אנפיהרונג פון דעם ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל.

די עקזעקוטיווע קאמיטע פון דעם לאנג איילענדער ציון־ראיאן האט דער־געריכטעט אויף אן אפענהאלטען א זי־צונג און נאך א דיסקוסיע, וואס האט געדויערט דריי שעה, איז אנגענומען געווארען די רעזאלוציע פון צוטרוי צו דר. סילווערן. די אפשטימונג איז געווען 38 פאר דער רעזאלוציע און 17 קעגען איהר. בעת דער דיס־קוסיע האבען די מיטגלידער אונטערגע־שטראכען „ליעט" צאָר" אויף דער אדמיניסטראציע" פון דער ציוניסטי־שער ארגאניזאציע, וואס האט פאר־געדרייט, אז דר. סילווער זאל זיין גע־צוואונגען צו רעזיגנירען און די פאר־ליטישע אקציע פון דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניזם זאל ווערען אריינגעפאלען אין די הענט פון יענע, וואס האבען יאהרען לאנג פארנאכלעסיגט אויסצו־שטעלען דעם ציוניזם אין אמעריקא ווי א ווירקזאמע פאליטישע מאכט. צו דער איינציגער זייט האבען די רעדנער ארויסגעריסען דיזער באגייסטערונג פאר דר. סילווער'ס „דינאמישער פיה־רערשאפט" און „פּאָליטישער פאר־ליזונג".

דער לאנג איילענדער ציון־ראיאן פאר־דערט אויך אין זיין רעזאלוציע, אז אמעריקאנער ציוניזם זאל איינ־געשטעלט ווערען איינהייט. און די איינהייט קען זיין נאר, ווען דר. סילווער וועט צוריקקומען ווערען צו דער פיהרערשאפט. פאריזעצער פון דער זיצונג איז געווען מר. מעטיאל מארי, דער פרעזידענט פון דעם לאנג איילאנד ציון־ראיאן.

אויף דער זיצונג זיינען נישט גע־ווען פארטראטען אפיציעלע פארטרעי־טער פון דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטי־שער ארגאניזאציע און אויך נישט קיין פארטרעטער פון דר. סילווער'ס צד. אויף א פריהערדיגער זיצונג אבער, וואס איז אפגעהאלטען געווארען דעם 28סטען רעצעמבער, זיינען אויפגע־טרעטען געווארען ראבאי וויליאם גריני־פלד, וואס האט פארטראטען דעם פרעזידענט פון דער ציוניסטישער אר־גאניזאציע, דר. איזראעל גאלדשטיין, און עמנואל ניומאן, וואס האט אויס־געלייגט דר. סילווער'ס שטאנד־פונקט און איבערגעגעבען דעם גאנ־צען גאנג פון די געשעהענישען, וואס האבען געפיהרט צו דר. סילווער'ס רע־זיגנאציע. מר. ניומאן, וואס איז אויף יענער זיצונג געשטיצט געווא־רען פון ראבאי אירווינג מילער, איז דאריס אויסגענומען געווארען פון די פארזאמעלטע.

סענאטארען ווילען אליין „ווידער איינבריינגען ציון רעזאלוציע

נעכטען זיינען ארויסגעגעבען געווא־רען מעהר פרטים וועגען סענאטאר טאפט'ס א בריוו צו דר. אבא הלל סילווער'ן בנוגע דער ציון־רעזאלוציע אין אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס. נאכדעם ווי די סענאט קאמיטע האט — אויף דער פאדערונג פון דעם סטייט דעפ־פארטמענט — אפגעלייגט די ארץ ישראל רעזאלוציע, האט דר. סילווער מעהר זיך נישט געווענדעט צו פירען פון די פראָ־ציוניסטישע סענאטארען וועגען ווידער איינברענגען די רעזאָ־לוציע.

דעם 28סטען דעצעמבער האט סענא־טאר טאפט, וועלכער האט בשותפות מיט סענאטאר וואגנער, אריינגעבראכט די רעזאלוציע אין סענאט, — געשיקט א בריוו צו דר. סילווער'ן, וואו ער שרייבט, אז ער איז גרייט די רעזאָ־לוציע ווידער־אריינצוברענגען אין סע־נאט.

די' סילווער, וואס האט שוין גע־האט רעזיגנירט פון דעם ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, בעת סענא־טאר טאפט האט איהם געשריבען דעם בריוו, האט דעם בריוו איבערגעשיקט דעם קאונסיל צו באטראכטען.

אין ציוניסטישע קרייזען, וואו דער אינהאלט פון סענאטאר טאפט'ס בריוו איז באקאנט, ווערט סענאטאר טאפט'ס בריוו אנגענומען פאר א באווייז אז די ציוניסטישע קרייזען אין ווא־שינגטאן האבען נישט גענוג שטארק געגלייבט אין פארלאנג אויך ווייטער אריינצוברענגען א איגענע רעזאָלוציע אין סענאט.

ציוניסטישע פריינט אין קאנגרעס ווע־רען נרייט אויף זייער איבערוויזען איני־ציאטיוו דורכצופיהרען א רעזאלוציע, וואס זאל פעסטשטעלען אמעריקא'ס שטעלונג צו א אידישער ארץ ישראל. די סענאטארען דריקען אויס די אמע־ריקאנער ציוניסטען, אז די רעזאָ־לוציע זאל אריינגעבראכט ווערען אין סענאט.

דער גוטער ווילען פון די סענאטאר־רען איז א רעזולטאט פון יאהרן פאר־ליטישער ארויפקלערונגס ארבעט, וואס דער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענ־סי קאונסיל האט אנגעפיהרט אין משך פון איבער א יאהר, אונטער דער פיה־רערשאפט פון דר. אבא הלל סילווער.

ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל פאר־דאמט פאליטיק פון פּרעמיער פון דעגאָל רעזשים נרינג

דער ציון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל איז געקומען ארויסגעקומען מיט א שארפער קריטיק פון דעם פאליטיק פון פאר רוזעוועלט נרינג, דעם נייעם בריטישען רעגירונג מיניסטער אין מיטעלמזרח. באציהענדיג איהם אלס א „חורבן פון נעראַטשינעריט".

אין סטייטמענט האט סער גרינג דער־קלערט, אז די אידען פון ארץ ישראל זאלען באקומען די פאליטישע אין לאנד. אויב נים, וועלען די פאלירען די בריטיש שטיצע פון דער קאנטרא־לער וועלט לטובת זייערע שטרעבונ־גען פאראויסגעזעהען צו ווערען אין א אומאפהענגיג פאלק.

„מיר קענען נים... צו באוויזען אז די ציוניסטישע פיאנעערן וועלען באאיינפלוסען ווערען, אויף דעם גרינג...

פון די ישיש פון א פאר וואכעדיגע יהודים, אפגעזאגען איהר שטיצע צום אידישען פאלק אין צוריקגעצויגען איהם צו זיין נעהמען אויס צווישען די פעלקער פון דער וועלט, און דער־מיט רעטעווען א מיטעל, וואס איז פאר־ווירט אויף פיהע מעשים אין הומאר ניטארע יהודית". — האט דער ציון קאונסיל דערקלערט.

אויף א פריוואטע קאנפערענץ פאר־גענענאג אויגוסט, האט דר. אבא הלל סילווער קלאר געמאכט די שוליר פון דער איצטיגער ציון אדמיניסטראציע אין שטעלען די דורכפיהרונג פון דער ציון רעזאלוציע אין וואשינגטאן.

דר. סילווער האט געזאגט אינ־דעריבער:

„דר. גאלדשטיין איז געקומען קיין וואשינגטאן, צוזאמען מיט דר. ווייז, 48 שעה נאכדעם ווי מען האט גע־בעטען די סענאטארען דורכצופיהרען די רעזאלוציע, צו ווירקען, אז מען זאל די רעזאלוציע נישט אננעמען... ווי האבען די רעזאלוציע פארפעהלט."

דר. ווייז האט פרייטאג אויגוסט, אין א רעדע אין זיין טעמפעל, געענטפערט אויף די באשולדיגונגען פון סילווערן, דערקלערענדיג:

„איך האב נישט געהאט קיינע מחלוקות מיט סילווער'ן, וועלכער איז מיט א צייט צוריק געווען קאמיטע־טאר פון עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל. דר. סילווער איז איינער פון די באדייטענדסטע מענשען אין אמעריקאנער ציו־ניזם. די פראגע איז צי סילווער האט געהאנדעלט אין גייסט פון די באשלו־סען. די פאקטען זאגען אז נישט."

דער טאג
The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, SUNDAY, JANUARY 7, 1945

THE CRISIS IN THE ZIONIST LEADERSHIP

David Pinski, celebrated Yiddish poet, writes eloquently in defense of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver.

The Indelible Effect of Rabbi Silver's Speech at the Second American Jewish Conference.—The Ugly Rumors in the Corridors. — Is it More than a Difference of Opinion?

By **DAVID PINSKI**

Noted poet, playwright and leader of Labor Zionism

(Translated from the Yiddish and reprinted by arrangement with the Jewish Morning Journal.)

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

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

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

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

ORATOR VS. WHISPERERS

But in the corridors ugly rumors were whispered. It was said that before and during the speech the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the Zionist Emergency Council were busily occupied defaming their great colleague, Dr. Silver. Not one of them sat on the platform while he spoke. They circulated among the delegates and spread dark rumors about Dr. Silver's work in Washington. They blamed him violently for the fact that the Resolution stated that Palestine was only "eventually" to become a Jewish Commonwealth. They knew, to be sure,—as everyone does—that Dr. Silver was not responsible for the introduction of that word. They even hinted that they planned to send telegrams to Washington, asking for deferment of action on the Resolution. If anyone ventured to say a kind word about Dr. Silver, they insisted that such praise stemmed from ignorance; they who were intimately acquainted with Dr. Silver knew better.

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

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

RETREAT OR FIGHT?

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

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

THE ISSUE ON TACTICS

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

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

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

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

LEADERS MUST GO TO THE PEOPLE

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

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

SEN. TAFT INTENDS TO RE-INTRODUCE PALESTINE RESOLUTION AT PRESENT SESSION OF CONGRESS

1-7-45

NEW YORK, Jan. 5. (JTA) -- Senator Taft of Ohio, one of the sponsors of the Palestine Resolution, intends to re-introduce the measure in the present session of Congress, it was revealed last night by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who recently resigned as co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver, addressing a press conference, bitterly attacked Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Dr. Stephen S. Wise charging them with sabotaging efforts to secure passage of the resolution by Congress. He denied the charge that he had contravened any decisions of the Zionist Emergency Council and quoted from the minutes of the organization to prove that the Council was not satisfied to have the Palestine Resolutions shelved and that it wanted "persuasive influence to be brought to bear upon the Administration in Washington to change its mind" with regard to its objections to the resolution.

"Dr. Wise strenuously objected to this line of procedure," Dr. Silver declared. "He did not want the President 'annoyed' by our insistence and our persuasion. He reluctantly yielded to the pressure of the Council and thereafter, far from using his energies vigorously to persuade the Secretary of State and the President, he seriously interfered with me in carrying out the clear mandate of the Council."

Replying to Dr. Goldstein's criticism of him, Dr. Silver reminded the President of the Zionist Organization of America that on Dec. 5, he, himself, sent a telegram to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging them "to report out favorably the Palestine Resolution for adoption by the present Congress." Having sent this telegram, Dr. Goldstein appeared in Washington forty-eight hours later to urge the same senators not to pass the resolution, Dr. Silver charged.

Secretary of State Misquoted on Roosevelt's Sentiments

Dr. Silver produced a letter which he received from the State Department describing as "not quite in accordance with the record of the Secretary of State" a report submitted by Dr. Nahum Goldmann of a statement made to him and to Dr. Wise by Secretary Stettinius, in which Mr. Stettinius allegedly declared that President Roosevelt was "in a bad mood" because the Zionists were pressing for the passage of the Palestine Resolution, and that the President "felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him." The document from the State Department read by Dr. Silver to the press conference showed that the Secretary of State did not use the words attributed to him by Dr. Goldmann.

The National Administrative Council, ruling body of the Zionist Organization of America between conventions, will meet on Sunday in an all-day session at the Hotel Commodore here to discuss various Zionist problems. The executive committee of the Brooklyn Zionist Region, largest in the United States, adopted a resolution last night deploring the resignation of Dr. Silver from the Zionist Emergency Council, affirming "unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Silver and his policies," and calling upon the Administrative Council of the ZOA to take the necessary steps to call a special ZOA convention for the purpose of dealing with the internal crisis.

DR. WISE REJECTS SILVER'S CHARGES OF "MINIMAL ZIONISM" AND "BACKSTAIRS DIPLOMACY"

NEW YORK, Jan. 5. (JTA) -- Dr. Stephen S. Wise, speaking tonight on the subject of "Zionist Division and Strife - Could They Have Been Avoided?" replied to the charges by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver that he is for "minimal Zionism," considers the Zionist movement of America "a piece of personal property," and is injuring the

Zionist cause through a policy of appeasement, timidity and backstair diplomacy.

"I would not know how to define 'minimal Zionism', unless it have reference to non-Zionism, or to the non-Zionist viewpoint which not even Dr. Silver would accuse me of sharing," Dr. Wise said. "We are all maximal Zionists -- that is to say, we believe in the cancellation without delay of the lamentable White Paper. We believe in unlimited Jewish immigration, and Jewish resettlement under Jewish control, at the earliest possible moment in Palestine. We believe in the reconstituting of Palestine, the Jewish National Home, as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Emphasizing that it was he who insisted that Dr. Silver become co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Wise pointed out that this in itself is the best answer to Dr. Silver's charge that he, Dr. Wise, seeks to maintain monopoly over the American Zionist movement.

"More serious than this absurd charge," Dr. Wise continued, "is the characterization of my service to the Zionist cause as 'shtadlanut, which has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned."

"If that charge be true and valid, I am not fit to serve as chairman of the Council, to which chairmanship I have again been elected. A Shtadlan in other days was a person who, before the days of democratic movements, democratically organized and democratically led, sought, by indirection and by personal and publicly unsupported exertions, to secure exceptional favor from those in power. If true, the charge were grave indeed. Whether it is true or not, I can safely leave it to my fellow-Jews and to leaders of the political life of my country to decide. Jewish history will take care of this and other calumnies now levelled against my head.

"Finally, there is the most far-reaching accusation of all, namely, that the speaker is responsible for the failure of the Senate to adopt the Palestine Resolution. Now the facts may, and in truth must, be told. After a regrettable experience in the Spring of the year, when the resolution was halted by the insistence of the War and State Departments, the officers and members of the Emergency Council reached the unanimous decision -- the co-Chairman, Dr. Silver, concurring -- that no attempt should be made to bring about the adoption of the resolution unless the State Department previously gave its approval. That approval was withheld; and the disapproval was thrice repeated. Again and again the Emergency Council resolved not to press for the adoption of the resolution in either House, in view of the circumstance that the State Department saw fit not to give its approval. In persistent and never-ceasing contravention of the unanimously-reached decisions of the Emergency Council, Dr. Silver moved forward and sought to bring about the passage of the resolution, which he had every reason to know was for a time, and for reasons that had been made clear, disapproved by the State Department and in friendly terms even by the President. In the end, the resolution was defeated."

B

ZOA Administrative Council Upholds Executive

JTA 1-8-45

The Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, by a vote of 74 to 23 upheld the stand of the Executive Committee of the ZOA on the re-organization of the American Emergency Council. A substitute resolution by Emanuel Newman to recall Dr. Silver to leadership was defeated by a 66 - 30 vote.

Long Island Zionist Region Backs Silver

The Administrative Committee of the Long Island Zionist Region, paralleling earlier action by the Brooklyn Zionist Region, passed by a vote of 33 to 17 a resolution urging the Executive Committee of the Zionist Organization of America, the parent-organization, to recall Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to political leadership in the American Zionist Emergency Council. The Brooklyn Zionist Region, the largest in the country, criticized the ZOA administration's attitude, paid tribute to Dr. Silver's service as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council and co-chairman of the Council, and demanded a special convention of the ZOA to consider the issues involving his resignation.

Poale Zion Statement

A statement issued by the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) Party with regard to the re-organization of the American Zionist Emergency Council reads in part:

"We were gratified, and endorsed his candidacy, when the administration of the Zionist Organization of America proposed Dr. Silver for leadership and nominated him co-chairman, with Dr. Wise, of the Council, and chairman of its Executive Committee. We were gratified that Dr. Silver created a precedent by withdrawing from all public posts, including Zionist posts, to devote himself completely to directing Zionist political affairs.

"From the very first we had the feeling that some elements within and outside the Council were not happy about Dr. Silver's inclusion in the Council's leadership. We observed, with pain, the indication of dissatisfaction with Dr. Silver's work, because that dissatisfaction was not always over fundamentals and not always objective. . . .

"We hold that during his administration, and no little due to his personal devotion and energy, Zionist problems obtained special prominence in America. . .

"There are those among us who believe that in connection with his (Dr. Silver's) renewed activities for the resolutions in Congress, erroneous and, some assert, detrimental steps were taken. Our deduction was that there is no (Continued on Page 3)

Abroad

NY Times 1-8-45

Palestine Learns That Big Powers Rule World

By ANNE O'HARE McCORMICK

By Cable to The New York Times.

JERUSALEM, Jan. 7—The setback on the western front also sets back the clock for those in this part of the world who have adjusted their minds and movements—their urgent "appointments with destiny"—to post-war time. The fighting has passed very far from here and the tendency is to consider the military phase of the struggle all but over and concentrate exclusively on the political settlements to follow—and, of course, on settlements affecting the fate of Palestine. Complete absorption in local problems is jarred a little by the sobering warning from France that the war is not yet won.

This fresh reminder that Palestine's future, which Zionists are the first to insist is a world interest, depends on military victory of the Allied powers, helps put it in its true perspective.

The first impression of the observer coming to the Holy Land, a new backwater of war, from the active battle zone is that every idea, every argument, every claim is a precise repetition in larger type of assertions and negations made in the same place, often by the same spokesmen, six years ago.

This impression is heightened by the unchanged setting of the drama wherever of the stage itself—this place where the Messiah came or is always coming—is an integral part of the play. Not a bomb has fallen on Palestine. All is as it was—the old city of Jerusalem sitting within its haunted walls as aloof from the ivory-colored modern town pushing up the surrounding hills as if it were miles as well as centuries away.

But though things look the same on the surface, and the line of argument sounds the same, one soon discovers that the emphasis on all sides has shifted. Elements of the problem are unchanged, but the context, the terms of reference, the conditions wherein it has to be solved are different. This isn't to say there are any signs of compromise between the Zionist demand for unrestricted immigration and a Jewish national state and the Arab insistence on stoppage of immigration to keep the Jews a permanent minority in an Arab independent state. The absence of the slightest attempt on the part of Zionist leaders on one hand or Arab leaders on the other to reach an agreement with one another on any point is the most remarkable feature of the impasse. The only proposal of this nature from the Zionists is that of Dr. Judah Magnes, president of the Hebrew University of the Binational State, on the basis of parity between Jews and Arabs. From the Arab side no constructive suggestion of any kind is heard.

One change on the Zionist side is a disposition to relax pressure for immediate decisions. This is by no means general, but Dr. Chaim Weizmann's advocacy of a transitional period before achievement of a Jewish state has made considerable impression. A stronger deterrent against hurrying things is the belief that the delaying action of the United States Senate and the counsel of President Roosevelt are responsible for the defeat by the American Zionist organization of Rabbi Silver's policy of forcing the pace. David Bengurion and other officials of the Jewish Agency take the view that the President's advice should be heeded. Dr. Magnes also pleads for time, not on the same grounds of political expediency, but because he thinks delay in taking an irrevocable step offers the last chance for that understanding with the Arabs whereon all his hopes of peace are fixed.

It is difficult to exaggerate American influence in the development of this situation, now nearing the explosive point where a fresh decision, temporary or final, must be made on the key question of immigration. Only about 10,000 entry permits remain to be given out under the terms of the White Paper at a moment when dispossessed survivors of Nazi terror, gathered in liberated countries in unspeakable misery, clamor for asylum. There are 45,000 in Bulgaria alone.

Planks in two party platforms in the United States have stiffened the Zionists in their maximum demands and their refusal to compromise either with British or Arabs. At the same time, these declarations of policy have changed the Arabs' attitude toward America to one of resentment and vague distrust.

Another change is in the Zionist attitude toward Great Britain. The homeland idea was always based on British support and protection, but now the extremist Jewish nationalist starts with the premise that Britain too will remain in Palestine not as a manda-

tory power but with bases, controls and such force as she needs to guard strategic routes to empire. This concept of Britain's role as protector of Palestine was tacitly accepted, even during outbreaks of Arab violence followed by issuance of a White Paper when Jewish feeling ran high against Britain, but today it is publicly expressed. More than that, there is growing preference for British trusteeship as against international trusteeship.

The war has greatly increased the prestige of the British among the Arabs also. Britain's stock in the Arab world is higher than it has been for a decade. But Arab nationalism is stronger too.

This union of disparate Arab peoples will take a long time to form and will not be tight or cohesive if established, but those who know the Arabs say the movement represents a real upsurge of nationalism and a political trend that cannot be disregarded. Like the Zionist acknowledgment of dependence on Britain, the Arabian move toward unity expresses the realization that small units are lost in a world ruled by great powers.

AMERICA

justification, however, for making Dr. Silver the scape-goat for the defeat we suffered. We reached the conclusion that there was no justification to launch such a campaign as had been launched in certain circles to eliminate him.

"Desiring to preserve all effective powers within the Emergency Council, we noted, with profound regret, that a situation was being created which made co-operation between the directing powers impossible. When we noted that our efforts to retain the leadership of both Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise were futile, we voiced our protest by a decision to vote against everyone pressing the issue to a point where: 'You must accept the other's resignation to make possible my continuance in office.'

"With regard to the leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council and the recent crisis, we acted for a long time, jointly with Mizrachi. . . But we made it clear that we shall not, under any circumstances, agree to breaking up the Council, and that we shall not resign from the Council, should the majority, against our will, eliminate Dr. Silver. We made this position clear on every possible occasion. . .

"When what we sought to prevent nevertheless occurred, and Dr. Silver was eliminated, we remained in the Council. . . Zionists of all parties should and must, in 1945, engage in more constructive work than internal dissension. As Poale Zion we cannot organizationally exert influence within the ZOA to stop the fight that has flared up in its ranks. But on one matter we must all agree: To keep the body engaged in political activity free from the effects of the factional fight within the ZOA. We cannot allow one group of general Zionist (ZOA) members to imperil the united political body today, and tomorrow, in the event present opposition becomes the official leadership of the ZOA, the new opposition will imperil the existence to the Council. In view of all this -- and because we had lost our fight for unity and co-operation within the Council, we undertook additional responsibilities. The work must be continued, under all circumstances. The Council and its work must be strengthened and reinforced. . . "

. . . . . .

ציון אדמיניסטראטיווער קאונסיל הייסט גוט די באזייטיגונג פון דר. אבא הלל סילווער

Journal Jan 8, 1945

באשליסט מיט 74 קעגן 23 גוטצוהייסן די האנדלונג פון דער עקזעקוטיווע און די וואשינגטאנער פאליסי. — פארזיך צוריקצוברענגען דר. סילווער'ן און שאפן צוריק שלום צווישן זיך אליין. — דר. בראדעצקי קומט אויסדריקליך פון ענגלאנד מיט מעסעדזש צו דער זיצונג.

Forward 1-8-45

מאנטאג, יאנואר 8, 1945

אנהענגער פון דר. ווייז געווינען אויף מיטינג פון ציוניסטישער אדמיניסטראטיווער קאמיטע

דער איצטיגער קאמף צווישען די ציוניסטען אין אמעריקע

Forward 1-9-45

וואס פאר א ראלע עס שפילט די אזוי - גערופענע „ווייז-גרופע", וואס האט געצוואונגען ראבאי סילווער צו רעזיגנירען. — די ראלע פון א געוויסען ציוניסט מיט אן „אינטערנאציאנאל" פארנעם. — א געשפרעך מיט'ן „שעקרעטער" און סמעיזם סטעטיניוס, וואס מען האט געדארפט האלטען בסוד און וואס איז שוין היינט פאר קיינעם קיין סוד ניט.

פון לעאן קרישטאל

JEWISH JOURNAL AND DAILY NEWS

דער מארגען זשורנאל

Founded by Jacob Saphirstein

Published every day except Saturday, by the Journal-News Corporation

A. L. Malkenson, Pres.; A. L. Jacobs, Treas.

Address: 77-79 Bowery, New York 2, N.Y. Tel. CAnal 6-7200

Entered as Second Class Matter at the New York, N. Y. Post Office

SUBSCRIPTION RATE:—$1.00 PER MONTH

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In New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, the New England States; also in Baltimore, Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit	$10.00 per year
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Manhattan, Bronx ($1.25 per month)	$13.00 " "

TUESDAY, JANUARY 9, 1945. VOL. XLIV. NO. 13,156.

די אפשטימונג געגען סילווער'ן

DR. NAHUM GOLDMANN DENIES CHARGES MADE BY DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

NEW YORK, Jan. 9. (JTA) -- Dr. Nahum Goldmann, chairman of the administrative committee of the World Jewish Congress and a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, issued a statement here today denying certain charges against him made last week by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. Dr. Goldmann's statement reads:

"I see from the papers that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver has tried to drag me into his public controversy with other Zionist leaders here. I refuse, as I always did, to enter into any public controversy with Dr. Silver as I regard the publicity which he is giving to differences of opinion which have to be settled within the councils of the Zionist movement, as irresponsible and harmful to the Zionist cause. I merely wish to state that the various statements concerning me are absolutely incorrect and a distortion of the truth."

דער טאג

Wednesday, January 10, 1945. Vol. XXXI. No. 10,958

ציוניסטישע פירערשאפט אדער הערשאפט?

ליכט און שאטען

Journal 1-11-45

פון ל. פוסמאן

דער „ברודערקריג" און די ביטערע ווירקליכקייט

PALESTINE RESOLUTION REINTRODUCED IN HOUSE; ZIONISTS NOT EXPECTED TO PRESS FOR PASSAGE

G 1-12-45

WASHINGTON, Jan. 11. (JTA) -- The Palestine Resolution which has been a center of controversy in Zionist and non-Zionist circles for the past few months, was re-introduced in the House of Representatives today by Rep. James P. Geelan, Connecticut Democrat.

Although official Zionist circles here refused to comment on the bill, pending a meeting of the American Zionist Emergency Council in New York tomorrow, it is not thought likely that they will press for action until the State Department reconsiders its opposition. Herman Schulman, chairman of the administrative committee of the Council, said that a statement would be issued tomorrow. The Geelan bill is identical with the measure introduced in the 78th Congress by Rep. Ranulf Compton, whom Geelan defeated.

1-11-45 Forward

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A

Jewish Post Jan 12, 1945

Must Take A Stand on Silver-Wise Controversy

IF as the news this week indicates, Sen. Taft (perhaps before you read this) will bring up the Palestine Resolution in the Senate again, and in view of the fact that this announcement comes from Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, deposed head of the Zionist Emergency Council, then it must be clear that Rabbi Silver is not merely acting as a man in the ranks of the Council, but actually contravening its wishes. For since Sen. Taft is a close friend of Rabbi Silver, and since Rabbi Silver knows of the anticipated action, then he no doubt could, if he cared to, dissuade the Senator from taking any more steps which at this time might further embarrass U. S. Zionists.

Rabbi Silver may be banking on a miracle, for reconsideration of the Resolution at this time would be one of those "clever" moves if successful, but a terrible mistake if otherwise.

It is difficult to pass judgment as between Rabbi Silver and Rabbi Wise, although such judgment must be passed or else the present vis a vis will obtain permanently. But to suggest, as some editorials have, that both of these men go back together as head of the Council, seems to be nothing less than unrealistic.

The policies of Rabbi Wise are now and have been heretofore supported by the present administration in control of the Zionist Organization of America. If Rabbi Silver wishes to change that policy, then he will have to change the present leadership in the Z. O. A. He may be able to do this, and had the issue come to a head several months ago, the recent national convention might have been the place to settle the controversy.

As it is, the hope of taking the controversy to the Administrative Council, which in actuality is the governing body of the Z.O.A. between conventions, is more than forlorn. Rabbi Silver may not know Daniel Frisch, chairman of this body. If he did he might understand more clearly, that he hasn't a chance.

MIZRACHI REQUESTS WEIZMANN COME HERE TO CONCILIATE ZIONIST DIFFERENCES

1-12-45

New York (JPS) -- Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, was requested by the Mizrachi Organization of America to proceed to the United States for the purpose of conciliating the differences within Zionist ranks here which led to and have resulted from, the reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council. "We deem it very urgent that a delegation comprised of Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues on the Jewish Agency, Rabbi J.L. Fishman and David ben Gurion, whose Zionist policy is an unequivocal and determined one, proceed to America. Their presence here is of great importance for our further political work."

Mizrachi declared that it does not consider "the present conflict as only a clash between personalities.

"Nor is it an internal conflict (within the ZOA) as some assert. . .

"We also refute the implied and baseless charge of the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) Party that Mizrachi sought to break the Council. Mizrachi has been within the Council from its very inception, and it was not always pleasant. There was absolute chaos within the Council before Dr. Silver took over, and Dr. Weizmann, at the time of his visit here, expressed his consternation over conditions then prevailing. Political Zionism was held in little regard in Government circles and wherever Dr. Weizmann came he was confronted by a stone wall. It was at that time that Mizrachi considered opening its own political bureau in Washington, but abandoned the plan in the interests of Zionist solidarity and also because Dr. Silver, assuming Council leadership at the invitation of Dr. Weizmann, launched a militant program which gave Zionism political prestige unmatched in the history of American Jewry. . . . "

The political responsibility which marked Mizrachi's record in the Council best refutes any charge that we had sought to break the Council. However, when Dr. Silver was eliminated from leadership, we deemed it our duty, in the interest of unity and peace, to serve notice that we may even consider leaving the Council in protest against the injustice committed against Dr. Silver by a small majority. We have no doubt that had Poale Zion supported (Continued on Page 3)

the determined and clear position of Mizrachi, the present unfortunate denouement might have been avoided.

"Mizrachi views the conflict from a political and moral viewpoint. We cannot tolerate a situation where a responsible Zionist leader, on his own initiative, sends a telegram to the Secretary of State approving deferment of the Palestine resolution. 'Shtadlanut' is a kind description of such action. And nonetheless we did not, because of this error -- and it was a grave political error -- demand that he be deposed and we would have combatted all efforts to eliminate him from leadership. From this viewpoint, Mizrachi can certainly not permit that a Zionist leader be penalized for the 'sin' of conducting a proud, courageous and aggressive Zionist policy. . . The elimination of Dr. Silver is, in our opinion, politically detrimental. Nor is it wise or ethical."

In conclusion Mizrachi says: "What we are most concerned with is the future political line of the Council. . . With Dr. Silver heading the Council we were certain that this political line will be followed." When the reorganized Council begins to deal with fundamentals "it may yet be revealed why the elimination of Dr. Silver is a blow at brave and aggressive Zionism."

<u>Yiddish Press Comment</u>

The Yiddish press, in articles and editorials, continued discussion of the issues evolving from the reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Commenting on the vote by the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, upholding the position of the ZOA representatives in the Council, The Day says:

"The Poale Zion, (in their recent statement) declare that 'from the very beginning we felt that there were elements within and without the Council who were unhappy over the fact that Dr. Silver had assumed leadership.' It appears that the Zionist masses, with their wholesome sense for truth and fairplay, are aware of this. In district after district, in Brooklyn, Long Island, Baltimore, Hartford -- wherever they had an opportunity to freely express their opinion -- the Zionist masses declared themselves overwhelmingly for Dr. Silver and demanded that he be recalled to the activities of the Council, because they are aware that without him the Council will lack the energy, incentive and imagination introduced by him into its work.

"But that is neither the will nor desire of the present leaders of the ZOA. The Administrative Council of the ZOA even lacked the generosity to vote thanks to Dr. Silver for his work as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council and Co-Chairman of the Council. . . .

"The issue of unity as a prerequisite for effective work was stressed by Dr. Wise in his sermon and by Dr. Goldstein in his address to the Administrative Council. But neither Dr. Wise's nor Dr. Goldstein's supporters proposed a resolution for unity at the Administrative Council session. It was

Mr. Emanuel Newmann, an adherant of Dr. Silver, who proposed it."

The Jewish Morning Journal, commenting on the Administrative Council meeting and on the need for unity, states: "Mr. Maldwin Fertig's proposal that efforts be made to conciliate Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver was defeated, as was the proposal that Dr. Silver be recalled. The defeat of these resolutions was accomplished in a spirit of vengeance, satisfaction and victory by the majority. This can hardly induce peace and unity in Zionist ranks. . . Perhaps now, following the 'victory' of the anti-Silver forces -- a victory which is undecisive because it has not healed, and may only widen, the breach in Zionist ranks -- the Administration might reconsider and seek a way to peace. . . "

The two non-Zionist Yiddish dailies here have also taken sides in the controversy. The Jewish Daily Forward, Socialist newspaper, carried three articles, all endorsing the position of Dr. Silver, countercharging that Dr. Wise's telegram to the Secretary of State was "a contravention of authority" and charging the ZOA administration with "two kinds of justice, one for Dr. Wise and one for Dr. Silver."

The Morning Freiheit, Communist daily, states:

"Wrong tactics can be a very dangerous thing. And it is very clear that the tactics uphold by Dr. Silver, tactics of coming into conflict with the Roosevelt Administration, are extremely dangerous. When Dr. Silver at his press conference launched a vicious personal attack gainst Dr. Wise, he fully exposed the political meaning of his attack when he accused Dr. Wise of placing his interests as a Democratic politician above the interests of the Zionist movement. This was only a mask which does not conceal Dr. Silver's opposition to unqualified support of President Roosevelt's program as the best way to achieve the abrogation of the White Paper and secure the national rights of the Yishuv."

SILVER DR A H
E 105TH ST & ANSEL RD
CLEVELAND OHIO

THE Jewish Ledger

HARTFORD EDITION

The Only Weekly Newspaper Serving 28 Jewish Communities In Connecticut and Western Mass.

Entered as Second Class Mail Oct. 27, 1933, at Hartford, Conn.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 12, 1945

Vol. XVI, No. 39

SILVER GIVEN VOTE OF CONFIDENCE

RABBI SILVER RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY CONN. STATE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE

Note: The following resolution was adopted by a 15 to 14 vote at the special meeting held in New Haven by the Connecticut Region, Wednesday evening, Jan. 3.

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

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

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

ZOA ADMINISTRATIVE UPHOLDS EXECUTIVE

The Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, by a vote of 74 to 23 upheld the stand of the Executive Committee of the ZOA on the re-organization of the American Emergency Council. A substitute resolution by Emanuel Newman to recall Dr. Silver to leadership was defeated by a 66-30 vote.

STATE ZIONISTS, BY 15-14, BACK MILITANT CHIEF

By SAMUEL NEUSNER

New Haven — A resolution affirming confidence in Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver and asking for his continued efforts in behalf of Palestine as a member of the American Zionist Emergency Council and urging the active leadership of Rabbi Silver in the work of the council, was passed at a special meeting of the Connecticut State Zionist Region held last Wednesday evening at the Hotel Taft.

The resolution published in this issue of "The Ledger" does not censure any group or individuals. It concerns itself only with Rabbi Silver's work as Chairman of the Emergency Council. It praises his dynamic militant fight for a Jewish Commonwealth.

The resolution was a compromise of several submitted by members of the State Executive and was sponsored by Abraham Goldstein of Hartford was adopted by the special Resolution Committee appointed by Judge Schwolsky by a 3 to 2 vote. Members of this special committee were: Mr. Goldstein, Rabbis Greenfeld and Polish of Waterbury; Dr. Morris S. Dunn and George Gans of New Britain; John J. Fox of New Haven and Judge Schwolsky.

Special Committee Meets

This special committee met during the afternoon and prepared the resolution for the meeting of the executive in the evening. The evening session was attended by over 50 ardent Zionists from all over the State, and for over four hours there ensued one of the most interesting debates on this vital question, whether or not Zionist policy shall adhere to outside influences, whether it shall be militant or soft pedal its just claims at the whims of the State Department. That is the crux of the fight in the Emergency Committee and caused the resignation of Rabbi Silver as its head and later moved into leadership Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

There was little opposition to the Goldstein Resolution in the debate that ensued, but, when it come to a final vote, it was passed by only a one-vote majority, the vote being 15 to 14. The majority opinion was led by Mr. Goldstein and Judge Schwolsky and the minority group was led by Rabbi William P. Greenfeld and Rabbi David Polish of Waterbury. The debate on this important resolution was heated and provocative, but always on a high standard.

Ask for Peace

No personalities were indulged in, and while the actual vote was close, it was because many of the Committee felt that there should be a cooling off period before Dr. Silver is called back to leadership. In fact, some of those who voted against the resolution in the end, were active earlier in amending it to suit their point of view. It has been a long time since such an interesting discussion of so vital an issue took place in Connecticut and while the final vote was too close for comfort, it denoted, however, a move on the part of a great many leaders in the Zionist movement to bring the Silver-Wise rift into the open, create peace if possible or else find ways and means of continuing the militant continuation of the Biltmore Program for a Jewish Commonwealth, which was reiterated at the last three national conventions, both sessions of the American Jewish Conference and has the majority support of the House and Senate Foreign Relations Committees, and it seems "almost shameful" to quote many Zionists, that this fight had to come between our leaders, just when victory seemed so near.

Those participating in the debate at Wednesday night's meeting were, for the resolution: Abraham Goldstein, who said in part "that the ZOA membership must not be allowed to destroy the work and leadership of so great a man as Dr. Silver, such an injustice will never be lived down by American Zionism"; Samuel Umansky, "Policies must be formed by the leaders of the Zionist Emergency Council under Silver's leadership. We are here to fight for a personality that the Zionist movement needs;" George Gans, "I'm interested in what we can salvage from the situation, this harm to Silver can revert as a damage to the Zionist movement;" Benjamin Rabinowitz, "Action should be taken at once, before great damage is done. "He feels that Silver has support of American Jewry, tells of others who have been removed from Zionist leadership because of politics, favors complete re-organization of Emergency Council; Louis Sachs, "deplores personalities, Silver's work needed, we have right to ask ZOA for Silver's participation."

Distressed Over Fight

Rabbi Louis Greenberg, "Distressed over fight in ZOA because it will hurt activities. We must fight for our rights, will get nothing through pity;" Dr. Morris Dunn, "Silver stands as a symbol for a militant Zionism, we can't afford to lose his leadership;" Judge Samuel Mellitz had to leave before the vote, but said: "This matter should be arbitrated by small groups of leaders and a final solution found to implement the work for Palestine;" Louis Linderman, "on this point of Silver being persona-non-grata in Washington, is it Roosevelt or Wise who doesn't want Silver?"

Speaking against the resolution: Rabbi Greenfeld, "I am against this resolution because I want a cooling off period, I also oppose it because of Dr. Silver's attitude since the failure of the Palestine Resolution in Congress." Rabbi Polish opposed the resolution and read one of his own which explained the Palestine situation. He asked for "action on issues, not personalities, in principle I agree with majority resolution because of its mildness, but I feel that our policy should be to mark time for a few weeks. I want to wait until Roosevelt comes back from his conference with Churchill and Stalin;" John Fox, "I oppose calling back Silver to active leadership now, I am more interested in the Zionist Movement than in Silver or Wise;" Charles Weingarten, "I oppose this motion, I feel that this entire matter should be ironed out once and for all, it should be left to a small group for a final discussion;" Rabbi Myer Kripke, "I am against any action now, in my opinion Silver's work was very harmful to Zionism, if he is a good Zionist you can't drive him out, this resolution favors Silver and I oppose it." Rabbi Greenfeld indorsed Rabbi Kripke's statement. Judge Schwolsky, while presiding, did not enter into the debate, but as a member of the small resolution committee favored the resolution and was the deciding vote.

As a member of the Resolution Committee Judge Schwolsky pleaded for unity in Zionism and favored the adoption of the majority resolution, which he claimed was not in the least condemnatory of anybody and at the same time gave proper recognition of a great leader. He was not much in sympathy with the idea that Zionists have got to constitute themselves in factions and compete for power. He deplored that one must be foreclosed from saying something favorable concerning a leader of one faction because by implication he may thereby cast some reflection on the leaders of the other faction. The movement, he said, must not be deteriorated from one of political ideology to mere political footballism. The resolution, he pointed out, expresses confidence in the present Zionist administration, even though its action had deeply hurt him, and yet there was no conflict in this attitude with the giving to a great Zionist proper recognition, that's "the very least we could do."

"גרין ליכט" פאָליטיק שוואַכט אָפּ די ציוניסטישע פּאָזיציעס

דער איינדרוק וואס האט קאמף אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם
מאכט אויף דער הויפּטגרינדער וועלט. — די אידישע
שוואכקייט ערב די באגעגעניש פון די "גרויסע דריי".

פון גדליה בובליק

Journal 1-12-'45

עס שוועבט איצט איבער דער אידי
שער וועלט אין אמעריקא א גרויסע סכנה,
די סכנה פון שוואכקייט, פון מוטי
לאזיקייט, פון שתדלנות, און דעם
שלעכטן זין פון ווארט. דאס איז די
סכנה פון דעם "גרינע ליכט".

דאס "גרינע ליכט" וואס מיר האבן
[illegible]

[illegible]

The Jewish Post Jan 12 1945

Reporter Tells What Went On At Zionist Meet

Special

NEW YORK—Despite war-time transportation difficulties and a six-inch snowfall, over four-fifths of the 145 members of the National Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America attended the first meeting of the new body at the Hotel Commodore here today.

This unusually high attendance from all over the country was probably motivated by a desire to reconcile the differences among the leaders of the Zionist Emergency Council, which had broken out into the public press. Some came expecting fireworks, which they got. Others came with a genuine open mind to hear the facts of the controversy between Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and the ZOA executive and make a decision based on a full knowledge of the complicated moves and intrigues in Washington, which caused the open break.

Neumann Represents Silver

Dr. Silver was not at the meeting, but his case was ably presented by Emanuel Neumann. The administration side was told by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the ZOA, and Judge Morris Rothenberg.

The wrangle lasted all day and exchanges became heated on more than one occasion. At one point, Mr. Neumann was substantiating his charge that Dr. Wise had broken Zionist discipline (the charge against Dr. Silver) by reading an excerpt from a telegram that Dr. Wise had sent to Secretary of State Stettinius.

Dr. Wise lost his temper. He interrupted to say that Mr. Neumann was quoting out of text and demanded that the entire lengthy telegram be read. Dr. Wise referred to Mr. Neumann in unflattering language.

Says Rabbi Wise Insulting

Mr. Neumann bowed out gracefully. He said that Dr. Wise was taking advantage of his years and his position and that he could not continue the discussion at the insulting level in which Dr. Wise had put it. He sat down.

Other delegates, however, insisted that Dr. Wise's telegram be read. Its complete text seemed to bear out, according to those present, Dr. Wise's explanation that he was only trying to save something from the fiasco caused by Dr. Silver's machinations with Republican senators.

This, plus the able presentations by Dr. Goldstein and Judge Rothenberg, convinced the overwhelming majority of the administrative council that matters had gone beyond all possible compromise.

The vote in favor of the administration was 78 to 23, with ten to twenty abstaining.

Since this discussion had begun at ten in the morning and lasted to six in the evening with an interval for lunch, there was only a short time left to hear several important foreign guests, who had sat through the day-long arguments.

Among them were Prof. Selig Brodetsky, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, and Bernard Joseph, legal adviser of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. It will be interesting to know what opinions they will take back to London and Jerusalem, respectively, of the leaders of American Zionism.

Where Will Leaders Come From?

Prof. Brodetsky said in his foreshortened address that world Jewry and world Zionism must look to America, the only substantial Jewish community left, for new leaders. "Where are these leaders going to come from?" he asked, looking around the room of people who had just spent the day grappling.

Mr. Joseph stated bluntly that, while it was not his province to interfere in the internal affairs of American Zionists, the day might have been spent more profitably in a discussion of ways and means to help him in the extremely important rescue mission which has brought him from Jerusalem.

In his opening address, Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis, new chairman of the administrative council, made several proposals for the reorganization of the executive committee of the ZOA. He asked that it be enlarged in keeping with the growth of the organization and that there be certain limitations on the terms of office. His proposals were not acted upon at this meeting because of the lengthy debate described above.

Vol. 12—No. 29 FRIDAY,

Jan 12 1945 The Jewish Post

Silver Says Taft to Reintroduce Palestine Resolution on Own; Answers Z.O.A. Point by Point

Charges Continue To Fly As Both Sides Plead Not Guilty

World Wide News Service

NEW YORK—Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, whose resignation from the Zionist Emergency Council marked the culmination of a long-existing political crisis in the Zionist movement in America, disclosed here this week at a press conference that Senator Taft has been conferring with Senator Wagner on a plan to re-introduce the shelved Palestine resolution.

Dr. Silver stated that the Senator was proceeding with his action on his own initiative.

Declaring that it was not his intention to carry the Zionist controversy further into the open and that he was primarily interested in correcting the "distorted" facts and "significant omissions" contained in a recent statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, Dr. Silver made the following points:

(1) That it was untrue that the Emergency Council had unanimously decided on Oct. 30 not to press for the resolutions unless and until the preliminary approval of the Executive branch of the Government has been secured.

(2) That "it is false to suggest even by implication that the Emergency Council at its meeting of Oct. 30, ordered all of our activities in behalf of the resolution to be discontinued."

(3) That the meeting decided "that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President through Senator Wagner, and perhaps others."

(4) That Senator Taft requested consideration of the resolution on his own initiative and that "he was neither requested nor urged by me."

(5) That Dr. Wise acted without instructions and without authorization from the Emergency Council when he sent the "fatal telegram" to Secretary of State Stettinius that he and his associates would readily accept the State Department's decisions with respect to action on the resoluation.

(6) That as late as Dec. 5, Dr. Goldstein himself violated the alleged "unanimous decision" of the Council by urging Senators to act on the resolution, and that forty-eight hours later he reversed himself by sending telegrams to the same Senators urging them not to pass the resolution.

(7) That at a meeting of the Emergency Council in Washington on Dec. 21 "it was agreed that nothing be done to interfere with the passage of the resolution on which the Foreign Affairs Committee was to act that very afternoon."

(8) That Dr. Goldstein, who had been contending that the Palestine resolution as approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee had been "watered-down", declared in answer to a query by one of the Congressmen during the hearings on the resolution that he was satisfied with the omissions of the words "Jewish" and "ultimately" in the resolution.

(9) That it was untrue, as stated by Dr. Goldstein, that he (Silver) demanded that he be made the sole leader of the Council, but that, on the contrary he counselled a "reorganization of the Emergency Council with an eye towards the elimination of conflicting leadership and the centralization of authority."

(10) That he will continue to work for the Zionist cause in America as heretofore.

Wise-Silver Tiff Termed Personal

Jewish Telegraphic Agency

TEL AVIV—The conflict between Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver with regard to Zionist tactics in the United States is a personal one rather than a matter involving basic principles, Moshe Shertok, head of the political department of the Jewish Agency, declared at a press conference here.

Goldstein Explains Position

Dwelling on the events preceding the open rupture in the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, declared here this week at a press conference:

(1) That it was untrue, as claimed by Silver's followers, that the Zionist leadership in America had sabotaged Rabbi Silver's activities as leader of the Zionist Emergency Council.

(2) That Rabbi Silver promised on Nov. 21 not to press the resolutions unless he received a "green light" from the proper authorities, and that Silver broke the party discipline by pressing passage of the resolutions in contravention of a decision by the Council not to press for Congressional action if the Department was opposed.

(3) That Dr. Wise's policies of caution have the backing of the Zionist Executive, the Jewish Agency and other high authorities in Palestine.

(4) That the deletion of the words "Jewish" and "ultimately" from the resolution detracted much of its significance in any event.

The Jewish Post

Peace in Zionist Ranks

Palestinian and British Jewries have directed appeals to the Zionist leaders of America to adjust their differences and to establish unity in the ranks of the movement for Palestine's redemption.

These calls for unity add significance to efforts being exerted by American Jews to heal the breach from which Zionism is suffering today.

The American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers, in convention in Chicago, adopted a resolution which declares that the editors and publishers of English-Jewish newspapers "recognizing necessity for speedy development of Palestine as the major rescue movement and having gone on record in favor of a militant program for the reconstitution of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth," regret the rift in Zionist ranks; and that the association "calls upon the responsible leaders in the movement for Palestine's redemption to heal the breach in order that a great cause may prosper and that Jewish needs may not be hurt by unnecessary internecine strife."

This statement reflects the sentiments of all Jews. It is important that the Zionist movement be kept strong, that important leaders should be encouraged to lead the cause, that there should be no "purges" in time of great stress.

Men of the stature of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver must be kept in the movement.

Young men must be encouraged to assume leadership.

Young and old must cooperate in assuring victory for the cause of Jewish rehabilitation.

Peace must, therefore, be restored in Zionist ranks.

Jewish Ledger

Vol. XVI Friday, January 12, 1945 No. 39
Published Weekly for Hartford—New Haven—Springfield—Bridgeport.
By The Jewish Ledger Publications, Inc.
SAMUEL NEUSNER—President
MILTON H. RICHMAN—Sec'y-Treas
Editorial and Executive Offices:
50 Trumbull Street, Hartford, Conn.
Phones 2-5229—2-5230
Springfield Office: 34 Forest Park Ave. Phone 3-8636
New Haven Office: 39 Church Street 13 Phone 5-5540
Bridgeport Office: 1569 Fairfield Ave. Phone 35681

RABBI ABRAHAM J. FELDMAN, D. D.—Editor

Member Independent Jewish Press Service
N. E. Foreign Language Newspaper Ass'n
Change of Address. To facilitate prompt delivery subscribers are requested to notify above office of change of address giving old as well as new address.
Entered as Second Class Mail at Post Office, Hartford, Conn., Oct. 27, 1933, by Act of March 3, 1879
Subscription Price $3.00 per year

NEED TO CLEAN HOUSE IN ZOA

IT APPEARS that the Administrative Committee of the Zionist Organization of America has sustained the actions of its delegates to the American Zionist Emergency Council which resulted in the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from the post of co-chairman. This action was not expected in view of the strong internal "political" set-up of the Z.O.A.

Now that the initial shock of the breach in the united front of Zionist political activity has worn off, and as each side is attempting to justify itself by means of statements, counter-statements and rebuttals, the whole issue seems to be emerging not as one of principle or of policy but rather as a struggle for inner "political" control of the Zionist Organization of America. It appears clear to us as we read the various statements and counter-statements that the conflict is largely one of personalities and also of maneuvering for administrative control. Behind these machinations, there are many individual and personal animosities, jealousies, and ambitions, most of which have little to do with Zionism, per se, many of which have very much to do with personal ambitions for "a place in the sun" and individual longing for "leadership", and other reasons than those of serving the cause. It is clear that the whole conflict is a family quarrel although for the moment each side is disowning the other as being an irreputable member of the family.

This may or not be the time to make the following suggestion. We make it, however, because the movement is greater than any individuals and the cause is too sacred to bog down because of unworthy interests and personal motives. In making the suggestion we are about to make, we know that the ZOA and its leaders will neither pay heed to it nor take kindly to it. Our suggestion is that the time has come for someone, perhaps some group within Zionist ranks to take the initiative to do some thorough housecleaning. The movement has grown rapidly. It has become pyramided; it has become bureaucratized; it is top heavy in many ways. There are too many bureaus and sub-bureaus, sections and sub-sections, funds and fundlets. It seems to us that the time has come for a pretty thorough reorganization for the good of the movement and the cause. We do not know who may be willing to "bell the cat." There are entrenched and vested interests. The difficulty is great, but it should be done, and done soon, because the Zionist cause is headed towards strenuous trying periods and the sort of squabbling and quarreling of which we have been given a demonstration in recent weeks, with all that underlies it, points too definitely towards an illness which will bring grief and ultimate regret to all who are involved.

But who is there that may have the will, the ability, the confidence of the Jewish community, and the personal strength to lead in the effort to clean house, to reorganize, to cure?

—Late News Summary—

ZIONIST COUNCIL REORGANIZED

GRIGG WARNING PROTESTED

By Jewish Press Service & Jewish Telegraph Agency

THE AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL was reorganized with Dr. Stephen S. Wise its sole chairman; Hayim Greenberg, Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) leader, elected chairman of its executive committee, and Herman Shulman elected chairman of a new administrative committee to implement political decisions and public relations work, and directly responsible to the council. Within ZOA ranks the fight continued, with Drs. Stephen S. Wise, Abba Hillel Silver and Israel Goldstein issuing statements presenting their conflicting views.

The administrative council of the Zionist Organization, meanwhile, has voted to support the decision of the American Zionist Emergency Council, but the adherents of Dr. Silver will not take defeat easily. It is likely that they will take the fight to the rank and file of Zionists throut the country.

MILE-HIGH VIEW

By Robert S. Gamzey

CHICAGO—Members of the newly-organized American Association of English-Jewish newspapers demonstrated sincere concern for American Jewish life by discussing the Wise-Silver split almost as much as the problems of their own craft.

The consensus was that Dr. Stephen S. Wise, who temporarily won control of the American Emergency Zionist Council from Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, has outlived his usefulness, and is a deterrent to the progress of the Zionist movement. Most editors, who know both rabbis at close range, believe Silver is far better equipped by virtue of youth, greater vigor, and a more militant attitude, than the 70 year-old Wise to lead the Zionist crusade for a Jewish commonwealth.

THE JEWISH LEDGER
PUBLISHED EVERY FRIDAY
BY THE JEWISH LEDGER PUBLISHING COMPANY
Published Weekly for Rochester, Syracuse and Albany with Separate Editions During Chanukah, Passover and New Year Season

A FUROR THAT WILL NOT PASS

Never has the indignation of American Zionists been so clearly demonstrated as in the current ZOA-Emergency Council conflict. Efforts to raise the issue to a higher level and make it an ideological dispute on methods of approach and procedure, instead of a clash of personalities have failed. The original pretensions of involving principles were poor and meager enough, the day-by-day accumulating evidence of the underlying motives of the struggles, has made the contest an unsavory experience to the most impartial Zionists. The feeling prevails in the Jewish press and in private conversation that, by discouraging Dr. Silver, even forcing him to resign, the way was cleared for certain ambitious gentlemen to gain dominance over Zionist affairs in this country.

Was the issue settled by the so-called shake-up in the American Emergency Zionist Council, by the timid majority vote the "victorious" faction mustered, or by the appointment of a "czar" in charge of the destinies of the Council? A dispute such as has arisen is not terminated as easily as all that. Bureaucratic methods may control votes and shift them hither and thither like pawns on a chessboard, but the question involved in the fight will return to plague the Zionist leaders for a long time to come. For it was not a fair fight fought out in the open on the floor of the Zionist convention with the ribbon going to the winner. On the contrary, it was a dark and foul fight, waged behind closed doors and smoke-filled committee rooms, where the umpires—the great body of American Zionists—were given no chance to deliver their verdict.

It is this element in the struggle which makes the contest so unhappy and unfortunate for the future. A discord in Zionists ranks has arisen which will not so easily be bridged over, a feeling of distrust and lack of confidence in the leadership of our historic ideal has been introduced which will be hard to overcome, and this at a time when unity within our own household is most essential. At no time for the sake of the peace and harmony of our movement was the convening of a special session of the American Zionist Convention more necessary than now.

PALESTINE RESOLUTION TO BE RE-INTRODUCED BY TAFT

A

16 PAGES

INTERMOUNTAIN JEWISH NEWS

BUY BONDS

Vol. XXXII 27th Day of Teveth—Denver, Colo., January 12, 1945 No. 2

Dr. Silver Attacks Wise and Goldstein

NEW YORK—(JTA)—Senator Taft of Ohio, one of the sponsors of the Palestine Resolution, intends to re-introduce the measure in the present session of Congress, it was revealed this week by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who recently resigned as co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council.

RABBI SILVER

RABBI WISE

Dr. Silver, addressing a press conference, bitterly attacked Dr. Israel Goldstein, Dr. Nahum Goldmann and Dr. Stephen S. Wise charging them with sabotaging efforts to secure passage of the resolution by congress. He rejected the charge that he had contravened decisions of the Zionist Emergency Council and quoted from the minutes of the organization to prove that the Council was not satisfied to have the Palestine Resolutions shelved and that it wanted "persuasive influence to be brought to bear upon the administration in Washington to change its mind" with regard to its objections to the resolution.

FDR IN BAD MOOD OVER ZIONIST DRIVE

"Dr. Wise strenuously objected to this line of procedure," Dr. Silver declared. "He did not want the President 'annoyed' by our insistence and our persuasion. He reluctantly yielded to the pressure of the Council and thereafter, far from using his energies vigorously to persuade the Secretary of State and the President, he seriously interfered with me in carrying out the clear mandate of the Council."

Replying to Dr. Goldstein's criticism of him, Dr. Silver reminded the President of the Zionist organization of America that on Dec. 5, he himself, sent a telegram to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee urging them "to report out favorably the Palestine resolution for adoption by the present Congress." Having sent this telegram, Dr. Goldstein appeared in Washington 48 hours later to urge the same senators not to pass the resolution, Dr. Silver charged.

Dr. Silver produced a letter which he received from the State Department describing as "not quite in accordance with the record of the Secretary of State" a report submitted by Dr. Na-

(Continued on Page 12)

hum Goldmann of a statement made to him and to Dr. Wise by Secretary Stettinius, in which Mr. Stettinius allegedly declared that President Roosevelt was "in a bad mood" because the Zionists were pressing for the passage of the Palestine Resolution, and that the President "felt that the Zionists had lost confidence in him." The document from the State Department read by Dr. Silver to the press conference showed that the Secretary of State did not use the words attributed to him by Dr. Goldmann.

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN DEFENDS ZOA

Meanwhile, two executives of the Council announced that they have resigned in protest against "the crippling of Dr. Silver's program by those members of the Council who forced Dr. Silver to resign as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its executive committee." Those who resigned are Harry L. Shapiro, executive director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, the organization's director of information.

Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA president, addressing a press conference, defended the action of the ZOA members in the Council who voted to accept Dr. Silver's resignation. He emphasized that Dr. Silver broke party discipline by pressing for passage of the Palestine Resolution at a time when the Council, including Dr. Silver, had voted not to press for Congressional action if the State Department was opposed.

Dr. Wise declared:

"As regards Dr. Silver's attack upon me, I have had and I shall have no personal controversy with him. The Zionist Emergency Council has passed judgment upon the issue involved by acceptance of Dr. Silver's resignation."

indicated that Dr. Abba Hillel Silver would take to the constituency of the ZOA the issues involved in his resignation. Following three meetings at which the issues were debated, with Dr. James G. Heller and Dr. Emanuel Newman presenting the viewpoints of the ZOA administration and Dr. Silver respectively, the Brooklyn Zionist Region, the largest ZOA region, adopted by a vote of 48-12 a resolution "deploring the ill-considered action taken by the ZOA Administration which brought about the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver" from the American Zionist Emergency Council, and described such action as "inimical to the best interests of the entire Zionist movement." By a vote of 48-1, the Region reaffirmed "our unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policies which we hailed and approved in the political resolution unanimously adopted on Oct. 16, 1944, at the 47th Annual Zionist Convention at Atlantic City;" and by a vote of 50-8, the Region called upon the Administrative Council of the ZOA to "take the necessary steps for the calling of a special session of the delegates elected to the 47th Annual Zionist Convention for the purpose of dealing with and acting upon the problems brought about the aforementioned crisis." ... Meetings were reportedly convened by the Long Island Zionist Region and others.

Harry L. Shapiro, former Executive Director of the Council, and Harold H. Manson, its former Director of Information, issued a statement charging that the statements accusing Dr. Silver of contravention of his authority are a "one-sided account, incomplete and distorted in many vital respects."

B

Friday, January 12, 1945

Denver Jewish News

Between You and Me

By BORIS SMOLAR

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ZIONIST TRENDS

The Wise-Silver conflict is causing a good deal of commotion not only in this country, but also in Palestine . . . Someone sent word to Palestine that the Silverites intend to organize a new Zionist party in America . . . The Jews in Palestine, although themselves split into altogether too many groups and parties, would not like to see the Zionist organization of America broken up just now when American Zionists have to fulfill a mission of vital importance to Palestine's future . . . It seems that there is, for the time being, no basis for fearing that the pro-Silver members of the ZOA will form a party of their own . . . But the possibility exists that they may insist upon calling an extraordinary convention of the ZOA to air their grievances. . . . And it looks as if both sides are preparing to tour the country in order to present their viewpoints to the membership in the provincial cities . . . All in all, it is assumed that the rift within the American Zionist movement will not end before Dr. Weizmann reaches the United States. . . . It is expected that Dr. Weizmann will be here in March . . . Many leading Zionists consider him the only person able to restore unity in American Zionist ranks and are looking forward to his arrival.

It was quite a surprise to many to read that Chaim Greenberg, the much-respected Zionist-Laborite leader, was chosen chairman of the executive of the Zionist Emergency Council, replacing Dr. Silver . . . The surprise was due to the fact that the Zionist-Laborite members of the Council were all for the re-election of Dr. Silver. . . . Greenberg was the exception and even submitted his resignation because he did not see eye to eye with the other members of his party in the Council. . . . It was originally indicated that the post of chairman of the executive would be offered to Louis Lipsky.

Jewish News 1-12-45 Detroit

Purely Commentary

By PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

A TRAGIC CONTROVERSY

Palestine, as the Jewish National Home, has long ago ceased to be a party matter. It obligates ALL Jews to strive for the major rescue efforts for our people. It involves international obligations for speedy redemption of Eretz Israel so that the problem of homelessness may be solved.

The conflict within the Zionist movement is therefore a matter of grave concern for all Israel.

It is a tragic controversy, and the leaders of the great reconstruction movement involved in it must end it speedily.

We are, at best, poverty-stricken in leadership, and we can ill afford either to have energies wasted or able men "purged" from leadership. Unless something is done at once to solve the issue created during the past two weeks, history will hold the men at the head of American Zionism in ridicule.

* * *

CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES

Other peoples, under normal conditions, can afford to quarrel internally. We who are in the process of building a homeland for the homeless dare not resort to such "luxuries." They are too heart-rending, too apt to hurt not only the people involved, but also the cause.

Here is the score:

Dr. Stephen S. Wise has made some serious charges against Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, accusing him of having "contravened the decisions of the (American Zionist Emergency) Council on a matter of supreme importance to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause."

Similar charges were hurled at Dr. Silver by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America.

Now, there are counter-charges.

Harry L. Shapiro, who resigned as director of the Zionist Council, accuses Dr. Wise of having "committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts with great detriment to the cause which Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace."

Dr. Silver has also issued a statement in which he charged that Dr. Wise had sent a telegram to Secretary of State Stettinius, on the eve of a planned interview at the State Department, which "completely nullified the whole purpose of our visit and more than any other factor was responsible for the shelving of the Palestine Resolution." He states in his charge that the worst and most recent instance of undisciplined action by Dr. Wise "was the fatal telegram which he dispatched without my knowledge to the Secretary of State on the very eve when Senator Wagner and I were scheduled to see him in order to persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to passage of the Palestine Resolution."

Then there is the following paragraph in Dr. Silver's statement:

"All too often Dr. Wise treated the Zionist movement of the United States as a piece of personal property and has bitterly resented any new leadership which threatened his monopoly. His 'shtadlanuth' in Washington has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned. This weak-kneed 'shtadlanuth' policy has accomplished next to nothing for our people during these tragic years of slaughter and annihilation."

(Amazing, isn't it, that Dr. Wise, who had based all his efforts as a Jewish leader on democratic action as opposed to "shtadlanuth"—intercession by individuals—should now be charged with being a "shtadlan?")

* * *

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle 1-12-45

Zionist Emergency Council Completes Reorganization; Greenberg Succeeds Silver

ZOA National Administrative Council Backs Action of Its Executive in the Silver-Wise Controversy After Heated Debate

New York—(JTA)—The American Zionist Emergency Council this week announced completion of its reorganization, reporting that Chaim Greenberg, Zionist Laborite leader, has been elected chairman of its executive committee.

Herman Shulman was elected chairman of a new smaller administrative committee responsible to the executive committee and charged with the implementation of the policies of the Council in the political and public relations fields. The new body will consist of the heads of the Council's four constituent organizations — Zionist Organization of America, Mizrachi, Poale Zion and Hadassah — together with its chairmen, the chairman of the executive committee and of the Council, and representatives of the Jewish Agency.

Meanwhile, two executives of the Council announced that they have resigned in protest against "the crippling of Dr. Silver's program by those members of the Council who forced Dr. Silver to resign as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its executive committee." Those who resigned are Harry L. Shapiro, executive director of the Council, and Harold P. Manson, the organization's director of information.

CHAIM GREENBERG

Dr. Israel Goldstein, ZOA president, addressing a press conference, defended the action of the ZOA members in the Council who voted to accept Dr. Silver's resignation. He emphasized that Dr. Silver broke party discipline by pressing for passage of the Palestine Resolution at a time when the Council, including Dr. Silver, had voted not to press for Congressional action if the state department was opposed.

ZOA President Appeals to "Big Three"

New York—(JTA)—The National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America voted to support the action of the ZOA's executive committee in relation to the crisis within the American Zionist Emergency Council. The vote, which followed a heated five-hour debate, backed the ZOA delegates on the Emergency Council who voted to accept Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's resignation from that body and reelected Dr. Stephen S. Wise as chairman.

Prior to the debate on the Silver-Wise controversy, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the ZOA, appealed to Great Britain, the United States and Russia to initiate "a new era, that of Palestine's establishment as a Jewish Commonwealth." Dr. Goldstein said that American Jewry looks to President Roosevelt to do what he can in the fulfillment of such a policy. He expressed the hope that at "an opportune time in the near future" the State Department will withdraw its objections to the Palestine resolution.

Prof. Selig Brodetsky, president of the board of deputies of British Jews, who has just arrived from London, told the meeting that he is confident that Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin will discuss the status of the Jews at their forthcoming meeting. "In many ways these leaders have shown their understanding of the Jewish problem," Prof. Brodetsky said. "The Jews appreciate deeply the fact that in the armistice terms, the removal of racial discrimination was laid down and enforced. World Jewry now expects further steps, for in the rebuilding of Europe must be included freedom to Jews as citizens, and the reestablishment of a free Jewish life in Palestine."

The four-man delegation of French Jewry now visiting here, consisting of Joseph Fischer, Leon Meiss, Capt. Guy de Rothschild and Rabbi Jacob Kaplan, also addressed the meeting. Mr. Fischer, who is general secretary of the Zionist Organization in France, reported the emergence of strong Zionist sentiment in that country.

Other speakers included Meyer F. Weisgal, who reported on latest developments in Palestine, from which he recently returned after a six-week visit; Daniel Frisch, chairman of the national administrative council, Saul Spiro, ZOA national secretary, Judge Louis E. Levinthal and others.

Dr. Wise Rejects Silver's Charges

New York—(JTA)—Dr. Stephen S. Wise, speaking here on the subject of "Zionist Division and Strife — Could They Have Been Avoided?" replied to the charges by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver that he is for "minimal Zionism," considers the Zionist movement of America "a piece of personal property," and is injuring the Zionist cause through a policy of appeasement, timidity and backstairs diplomacy.

"I would not know how to define 'minimal Zionism,' unless it have reference to non-Zionism, or to the non-Zionist viewpoint which not even Dr. Silver would accuse me of sharing," Dr. Wise said. "We are all maximal Zionists — that is to say, we believe in the cancellation without delay of the lamentable White Paper. We believe in unlimited Jewish immigration, and Jewish resettlement under Jewish control, at the earliest possible moment in Palestine. We believe in the reconstituting of Palestine, the Jewish National Home, as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Emphasizing that it was he who insisted that Dr. Silver become co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Wise pointed out that this in itself is the best answer to Dr. Silver's charge that he, Dr. Wise, seeks to maintain monopoly over the American Zionist movement.

"More serious than this absurd charge," Dr. Wise continued, "is the characterization of my service to the Zionist cause as 'shtadlanut,' which has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned.

"If that charge be true and valid, I am not fit to serve as chairman of the Council, to which chairmanship I have again been elected. A shtadlan in other days was a person who, before the days of democratic movements, democratically organized and democratically led, sought, by indirection and by personal and publicly unsupported exertions, to secure exceptional favor from those in power. If true, the charge were grave indeed. Whether it is true or not, I can safely leave it to my fellow-Jews and to leaders of the political life of my country to decide. Jewish history will take care of this and other calumnies now levelled against my head.

"Finally, there is the most far-reaching accusation of all, namely, that the speaker is responsible for the failure of the Senate to adopt the Palestine Resolution. Now the facts may and in truth must, be told. After a regrettable experience in the spring of the year, when the resolution was halted by the insistence of the war and state departments, the officers and members of the Emergency Council reached the unanimous decision — the co-chairman, Dr. Silver, concurring — that no attempt should be made to bring about the adoption of the resolution unless the state department previously gave its approval. That approval was withheld, and the disapproval was thrice repeated. Again and again the Emergency Council resolved not to press for the adoption of the resolution in either House, in view of the circumstance that the state department saw fit not to give its approval. In persistent and never-ceasing contravention of the unanimously-reached decisions of the Emergency Council, Dr. Silver moved forward and sought to bring about the passage of the resolution, which he had every reason to know was for a time, and for reasons that had been made clear, disapproved by the state department and in friendly terms even by the President. In the end, the resolution was defeated."

Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council Defends Rabbi Silver

At a special meeting of the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council, held on Tuesday, January 9, a review of the activities of the American Zionist Emergency Council was presented. Under the chairmanship of Rabbi Louis J. Swichkow, the representatives of the four constituent organizations of the Council, the ZOA, Hadassah, Mizrachi and Poale Zion, discussed the controversy between the Wise and Silver factions, and the factors which led to the resignation of Dr. Silver and other leading officials of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

After prolonged discussion the Council adopted unanimously a resolution defending Dr. Silver's accomplishments as co-chairman of the Council and as chairman of its executive committee. The resolution calls further for a far-reaching reorganization with the inclusion of Dr. Silver in a position of executive leadership.

The text of the resolution follows:

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

"We, of the local Emergency Council, under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, have been constantly motivated and stimulated in our action to greater and greater effort in fulfilling the mandates of the American Zionist Emergency Council. We deplore the manner in which Dr. Silver was deprived of his leadership as co-chairman of the Council and chairman of the executive committee, and feel that his absence as co-chairman has shaken our confidence in the program and future of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

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

~~Milwaukee~~ Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle 1-12-45

מזרחי־פּראָטעסט קעגען אַראָפּזעצען סילווער'ן; וויל ווייצמאַנ'ען דאָ

The Day 1-12-45

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The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle
A Weekly Paper for the Jewish Home
NATHAN J. GOULD, Editor 1920-1941
Office and Printing Plant: 240 N. Milwaukee St., Milwaukee 2, Wis.
MArquette 2922
Member of the Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Independent Jewish Press Service, Seven Arts Feature Syndicate, American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers

"The English-Jewish newspapers of America have the common objective of rendering a specialized service to their respective communities, to America and to the wider American Jewish community.

"These periodicals have for their common idea the further advancement of Jewish journalism, the attainment of the highest literary and professional standards, and the maintenance of a militant, fearless approach to all Jewish problems.

"The fulfillment of these ideals is the fundamental and vital task of the Jewish newspaper as a basis for the growth and enrichment of Jewish life in America."—Preamble to the Constitution of the American Association of English-Jewish Newspapers.

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To insure publication in the current issue, all correspondence and news matter must reach this office by Wednesday evening of each week.

Subscriptions in Advance $4.00 Per Year

Vol. 54 JANUARY 12, 1945 No. 19

A Fitting Stand

We note with satisfaction the commendable position taken by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council this week in unanimously adopting a resolution sharply censoring the American Zionist Emergency Council for "the manner in which Dr. Silver was deprived of his leadership as co-chairman of the Council and chairman of its executive committee," and calling for a "further and far-reaching reorganization, which shall include Dr. Silver in a position of executive leadership."

We are reliably informed that the local Council spent almost three hours in studying, analyzing and discussing the events and personalities leading to the unfortunate crisis in national Zionist leadership which, fundamentally, resulted from the failure of the Palestine Resolution to pass Congress before its recent adjournment. The Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council came to its laudable decision only after having carefully reviewed all memoranda submitted to it by the four national Zionist bodies which comprise the American Zionist Emergency Council — the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Mizrachi and the Poale Zion.

The Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council should be complimented for its defense of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's leadership because, notwithstanding the fact that the national Council had voted to accept Dr. Silver's resignation, the local Council, which includes local representatives of Hadassah and the Z. O. A., nevertheless, reserved the privilege of criticizing their national leaders, regardless of party affiliations. This proved, conclusively, that they are more concerned with the ideals, aims and goals of the Zionist program than with the petty, personal prejudices prevailing within the ranks of the country's Zionist leadership.

In the course of the past few decades, too many national Jewish organizations have usurped the prerogatives of their constituent chapters and have exercised almost autocratic action in many vital controversial instances. This practice, it appears to us, is undemocratic, unfair, and often injurious, in the long run, to the vast memberships who comprise the organizations. Since national organizations are made up of community chapters, we believe that local units should be consulted from time to time on important issues and matters. This practice would eliminate the possibility of quarrels and misunderstandings which might otherwise arise in its leadership.

Would that other communal groups exercise the same wisdom and procedure in letting their parent bodies understand, in no uncertain terms, that though discipline is the cornerstone of national organization, unwarranted regimentation and excess authority do not meet with the approval of democratically constituted Jews.

ווי אזוי פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס נאמען ווערט באנוצט אין דעם קאמף צווישען די ציוניסטען

Forward 1-13-45

ווער עס האט דעם פרעזידענט'ס נאמען אריינגעשלעפט אין דעם ביטערען שטרייט צווישען ראבאי וויז און ראבאי סילווער. — ווער ס'איז א חשוב ביים פרעזידענט און ווער נים. — וואס משווירטשיל רעדנט וועגען אמעריקע'ס שטעלונג צום ציוניזם.

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פון לעאן קרישטאל

אין זייער גוואלדיגער צוזאמענשטויס אנצוהאלטען די מאכט אין דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע פון אמעריקע" און אין אלע אנדערע ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציעס און אינסטיטוציעס, און באזונדערס אין זייער פראפאגאנדע געגען ראבאי אבא הלל סילווער און זיינע אנהענגער, באנוצען זיך לעצטענס די ציוניסטען פון ראבאי סטיפען וויז'עס גרופע מיט פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס נאמען אויף א שטוינענדען שטייגער.

זיי פארשפרייטען צווישען ציוניסטען אלערליי געשיכטעס וואס דארפען צייגען, אז דר. סילווער איז נים קיין „אנגעלענטע פערזאן" ביי פרעזידענט רוזוועלט; אז ער „רענט־אויף" דעם פרעזידענט און דערפאר איז ער נים דער פאסיגער מענש צו זיין דער הויפט פון דעם ציוניסטישען „עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל". אין דערזעלבער צייט זאגען זיי, אז ראבאי וויז איז ביי פרעזידענט רוזוועלט א גרויסער חשוב און קאן מיט איהם רעדען וועגען וואס ער וויל און ווען ער וויל.

דערביי פארשפרייט די „ווייזגרופע" אלערליי ווילדע קלאנגען, וואס זיינען איינפאך א באליידיגונג פאר פרעזידענט רוזוועלט. פון זייערע רייד קומט אויס, אז די גאנצע פראגע וועגען אמעריקע'ס שטיצע פאר'ן ציוניזם הענגט אפ פון דעם פרעזידענט'ס פערזענליכער באציהונג צו דעם אדער יענעם ציוניסטישען טוער. דער רעזולטאט דערפון איז, אז טראץ דעם וואס די ראזינע ציוניסטען פון דער „ווייזגרופע" שטעלען זיך פאר פאר איבערגעגעבענע אנהענגער פון'ם פרעזידענט, רופען זיי ארויס ביי א סך ציוניסטען א פארביטערונג געגען רוזוועלט'ן.

צו פארשפרייטען דעם געדאנק, אז ביי פרעזידענט רוזוועלט איז זיין שטעלונג צו דער אדער יענער ציוניסטישער פראגע א פראגע פון זיינע געפיהלען צו א פערזאן, דארף מען האבען דעם העכסטען גראד אומפאראנטווארטליכקייט. עס איז גאר צום שטוינען, וואס אפילו א קליינע צאל ציוניסטען נעמען דעם פארט פראפאגאנדע ערנסט.

קיינער ווייסט נים גענוי וואס פרעזידענט רוזוועלט האט געהאט אין זינען ווען ער האט געלאזט וויסען דורך סעקרעטערי אוו סטעיט סטעטיניוס, אז איבער דער איצטיגער „אינטערנאציאנאלער סיטואציע" איז נאך נים געקומען די צייט אז דער קאנגרעס זאל אננעמען די ציון רעזאלוציע. אין פארלויף פון דער צייט ווען עס זיינען אנגעגאנגען די פארהאנדלונגען וועגען דער רעזאלוציע האט חוץ דעם סעקרעטערי אוו סטעיט קיינער נים געהערט וועגען דעם מיט'ן פרעזידענט. דערפאר וואס דער פרעזידענט איז דעמאלט נים געווען אין וואשינגטאן. ער איז געווען אין ווארם ספרינגס, דזשארדזשיא, אויף זיין וואקיישאן. עס זיינען נאר דא אלערליי סברות, אין: סברא בפשטות אין דעם, אז פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס נעגאטיוויזם צו דער ציון־רעזאלוציע אין דעם איצטיגען מאמענט האט אבסאלוט גארנים צו טאן מיט דעם עיקר פון דער ציוניסטישער פראגע, נאר מיט דעם פלאץ, וואו עס דארף איינגעבען פארקומען די קאנפערענץ צווישען רוזוועלט, משווירטשיל און סטאלין. אין די צייטונגען זיינען לעצטענס געווען באריכטען, אז די קאנפערענץ וועט פארקומען אין איינעם פון די לענדער ביים מיטעללענדישען ים. אזוי ווי אין יענע מקומות געפינען זיך אויך די אראבישע לענדער, דרינגט מען דערפון, אז נאטירליך וויל נים פרעזידענט רוזוועלט, אז אין דער צייט פון דער קאנפערענץ זאלען דארט די אראבישע אגיטאטארען האבען א נייעם אויסרייד צו מאכען א טומל.

דאס איז, ווי געזאגט, נאר א סברא, אבער אזא וואס לאזט זיך אויס'ן שכל. פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס פארהאלטען פון די ציוניסטען צוזאגט צו איהם און

מיר גלויב, אז ער האט א אמת צוטרוי צו אדרינג. ס'דארף נים פארגעסען, אז דער אמעריקאנער פרעזידענט איז דער איינציגער הויפט פון א גרויסען און מעכטיגען לאנד, וועלכער האט אין דער צייט פון דער מלחמה געמאכט פערזענליכע ערקלערונגען, וואס זיינען א גרויסע שטיצע פאר די אידישע איינשטרעבען אין פאלעסטינא. סטאלין האט קיינמאל קיין איין ווארט נים געזאגט פאר'ן ציוניזם, אדער פאר דער אידישער איינוואנדערונג קיין פאלעסטינא, אפילו נים נאכדעם ווי דער קאמינטערן האט אויפגעהערט, אז מ'זאל אריינגעמען דעם קאמוניסטישען ארדען אין דער „אמעריקאנער אידישער קאנפערענץ". משווירטשיל, וועלכער האט אין 1939 געשטורעמט אין ענגלישען פארלאמענט געגען דעם „ווייסען פאפיר", האט נים געפונען פאר מעגליך צו זאגען עפנטליך וועגען דער פראגע קיין איין ווארט זינט די מלחמה האט אויסגעבראכען. ווען ער האט געהאלטען זיין לעצטע רעדע וועגען טעראר, האט ער געזאגט, אז ער איז איינער פון די „ארכיטעקטען" פון דער אידישער צוקונפט אין פאלעסטינא. דאס אלץ, און נים מעהר.

אבער, דאס משווירטשיל'ס שטעלונג צו דער פאלעסטינא־פראגע האט א גאנץ דירעקטע פארבינדונג מיט ראבאי סילווער'ס ענערגישער מעטאדעס פאר'ן ציוניזם אין וואשינגטאן — א מעטאדיקס, וואס איז איינגעלייגט [illegible] געווארען אויף משווירטשיל'ס פארלאנג.

דאס איז א פאקט, מיט וועלכען די מיטגלידער פון דעם ציוניסטישען „עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל" זיינען גוט באקאנט און וואס [illegible] ווערען אפען.

אין חודש נאוועמבער, האט ראבאי סילווער, אלס פירער פון'ם „עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל", באקומען א זעהר וויכטיגען בריף פון די העכסטע ציוניסטישע קוואלען אין ענגלאנד. אין דעם בריף איז געזאגט געווארען, אז משווירטשיל וויל דורכפירן, אז עס זאל שטארק געהערט ווערען אמעריקא'ס שטימע צו גונסטען דעם ציוניזם. משווירטשיל אליין האט געזאגט — שטעהט אין דעם בריף געשריבען — אז ער וויל העלפען דעם ציוניזם, נאר ער איז איינער אליין. זיין פארטיי, די קאנסערוואטיווע פארטיי, איז נעגאטיוו, און די מיליטערישע פירער זיינען נעגאטיוו. די לייבאר פארטי איז פאר א אידישער פאלעסטינא, אבער דאס איז נים גענוג שטיצע פאר איהם. ער וועט זיך דעריבער פיהלען שטארקער אין דעם פאל ווען מען וועט ארויסטרעטען פאר א אידישער פאלעסטינא, אויב אמעריקע זאל שטיצען די ציוניסטישע פארדערונגען.

יא, דאס איז געשריבען געווארען אין משווירטשיל'ס נאמען און איז געקומען פון די פאראנטווארטליכסטע און באגלויבסטע ציוניסטישע קוואלען אין לאנדאן.

דאס אלץ איז זעהר וויכטיג צו וויסען, ווייל אפילו א סך ציוניסטען האבען דעם איינדרוק, אז משווירטשיל איז געגען דעם, אז א ציון־רעזאלוציע זאל אנגענומען ווערען אין אמעריקאנער קאנגרעס. ס'איז דעריבער נים פאראן קיין גרונט צו רעדען, אז אזא רעזאלוציע פון קאנגרעס פון [illegible]

בען אמעריקע'ס באציהונגען מיט ענגלאנד און סלאמעריציים.

וואס אנבאלאנגט די קלאנגען, וואס די „ווייזגרופע" פארשפרייט, אז ראבאי סילווער איז נים קיין „אנגעלענטע פערזאן" („פערסאנא נאן גראטא") ביים פרעזידענט, זיינען זיי פונקט אזוי אויסגעטראכטע, ווי עס איז נים באגרינדעט דער אנשטעל, אז ראבאי וויז איז אזא גרויסער חשוב ביים פרעזידענט.

אין ציוניסטישע קרייזען ווייסט מען זעהר גוט, אז קיין איין וויכטיגע באגעגעניש פון ציוניסטען מיט פרעזידענט רוזוועלט און קיין איין וויכטיגע ערקלערונג פון פרעזידענט וועגען ארץ ישראל איז נים געקומען דורך ראבאי וויז, נאר דורך אנדערע.

לעצטען יאהר האט דר. חיים ווייצמאן געהאט א וויכטיגען געשפרעך מיט'ן פרעזידענט. יענע באגעגעניש איז ארגאניזירט געווארען דורך סאמנער וועלס, וועלכער איז נאך דעמאלס געווען אונטערסעקרעטערי אוו סטעיט. דעם 9טען מארטש פון פאריגען יאהר האט דער פרעזידענט ארויסגעגעבען אן ערקלערונג, אז אמעריקע האט קיינמאל נים צוגעשטימט צום „ווייסען פאפיר" און אז ווען די צייט וועט קומען וועלען די וואס שטרעבען צו שאפען א אידישע קאמאנוועלטה קריגען „פולע גערעכטיגקייט".

יענע ערקלערונג האט פרעזידענט רוזוועלט געגעבען צו ביידע — צו ראבאי וויז און צו ראבאי סילווער — אלס די משתתפים פון „עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל". אבער אין וואשינגטאן האט מען אלע געוואוסט, אז דורכגעפירט די זאך האט סענאטאר וואגנער.

דער זעהר ערפאלגרייכער [illegible] וואס דער פרעזידענט האט צוגעשיקט צו דער ציוניסטישער קאנווענשאן דעם 15טען אקטאבער, דריי וואכען פאר עלעקשאן, איז אויך נים געקומען דורך ראבאי וויז, נאר ווידעראמאל דורך סענאטאר וואגנער.

אן אנגעזעהענער ציוניסט פון דער „ווייזגרופע" האט מיר לעצטענס געזאגט, אז פרעזידענט רוזוועלט איז נאך אלץ דאנקבאר ראבאי וויז'ן פאר א רעדע וואס וויז האט געהאלטען אין מעדיסאן סקווער גארדען אין 1928, ווען רוזוועלט איז געלאפען צום ערשטען מאל פאר גאווערנאר. דעמאלט איז רוזוועלט ערוועהלט געווארען מיט א קליינער מעהרהייט, און ראבאי וויז'ס שטיצע האט איהם מסתמא געהאלפען. דערמאנטער אנגעזעהענער ציוניסט האט אבער געוויס פארגעסען, אז שפעטער, אין יאהר 1932, האט רוזוועלט, וועלכער איז נאך דאן געווען גאווערנאר, אויסגעדריקט נאכ'ן קיין גינסטיגע מיינונג וועגען ראבאי וויז. עס וואלט געווען זעהר ברוטאל צו ראבאי וויז צו דערמאנען דא וואס גאווערנאר רוזוועלט האט דאן וועגען איהם געזאגט.

ס'איז אוממעגליך צו שרייבען וועגען אלעמען זאכען. אבער ס'איז נויטיג אויף דעם אנצואווייזען, אום צו דערמאנען די „ווייזגרופע", אז דער וואס וואוינט אליין אין א גלעזערנער הויז טאר קיין שטיינער נים ווארפען.

אז די „ווייזגרופע" איז זעהר נויטיג צו פארשווארצען ראבאי סילווער'ס נאמען איז פאר קיינעם קיין סוד נישט. צוליב איינפלוסרייכער פאליטיק אין דער „ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע פון אמעריקע" ווערט שוין לאנג אנגעפירט אן אינטריגע געגען איהם

אז זיין צד נים נאר צווישען ציוניסטען אליין, נאר אויך אין וואשינגטאן און אין אלגעמיינע פאליטישע קרייזען אין אמעריקע.

די „ווייזגרופע" האט פארשפרייט קלאנגען, אז ראבאי סילווער איז א רעפובליקאנער און אז ער איז ביים געגען רוזוועלט'ן. אבער דאס שטימט אבסאלוט נים מיט די פאקטען, וואס זיינען אלעמען באקאנט.

ס'איז גוט באקאנט, אז ראבאי סילווער באלאנגט נים צו קיין פאליטישער פארטיי אין אמעריקע. ער אליין זאגט, אז אין 1932 און אין 1936 האט ער געשטימט פאר רוזוועלט'ן און אין 1940 האט ער נים געשטימט פאר רוזוועלט'ן דערפאר וואס ער איז געווען געגען א דריטען טערמין. אין די צייטונגען איז לעצטען יאהר געווען באשריבען ווי ראבאי סילווער האט דאס געזאגט דעם פרעזידענט פערזענליך. דער פרעזידענט האט דערביי גוטמוטיג געלאכט און געזאגט, אז ער, רוזוועלט אליין, איז אויך געווען געגען א דריטען טערמין.

אין דעם לעצטען פרעזידענטשאפט־קאמפיין האט ראבאי סילווער זיך איבערהויפט נים באטייליגט. ער האט אין אן אינטערוויו ערקלערט, אז אלס א פירער פון „ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל" גיט ער זיך אפ נאר מיט ציוניסטישער ארבייט און האלט זיך אפ פון שטעלען זיך אויף איין צד אין דער אלגעמיינער אמעריקאנער פאליטיק. אלס ציוניסט האט ער אבער אויף דער ציוניסטישער קאנווענשאן, דריי וואכען פאר עלעקשאן, געהאלטען דארט די שטארקסטע און ענטשיידענסטע רעדע וועגען רוזוועלט'ן אלס איינעם פון די גרעסטע פרעזידענטען און פערזענליכקייטען אין דער אמעריקאנער געשיכטע.

איך אליין בין געווען אין וואשינג־טאן פאראיאהרען ביי צוזאמענפאהר פון קריסטליכע פריינד פון ציוניזם און האב געהערט ווי ראבאי סילווער האט דארט גערעדט וועגען רוזוועלט'ן. ס'איז געווען אויף א באנקעט וואס איז אויך געווען די שלוס־זיצונג פון יענעם צוזאמענפאהר. ביי דעם באנקעט זיינען געווען אזעלכע נאהענטע מיטארבייטער פון פרעזידענט רוזוועלט ווי וויס־פרעזידענט וואלאס און סענאטאר וואגנער, און אויך גענוג פון דער רוזוועלט־אדמיניסטראציע, ווי סענאטאר מעאד און אנדערע. דער לעצטער רעדנער איז געווען ראבאי סילווער, און איך געדענק זעהר גוט ווי ראבאי סילווער האט דעמאלט גערעדט וועגען רוזוועלט'ן אלס „אונזער גרויסער פרעזידענט".

אלע ציוניסטען האבען זיך געפרעהט ווען די רעפובליקאנער קאנווענשאן און דער רעפובליקאנער קאנדידאט גאווערנאר דיואי זיינען ארויסגעקומען פאר'ן ציוניזם. אבער איצט קומט ארויס, אז די „ווייזגרופע" באטראכט די רעפובליקאנער פריינדשאפט צום ציוניזם פאר דער אויספיהליכער זינד פון ראבאי סילווער.

די אונגעריכטע שורה איז, אז ס'איז נישטא קיין שום גרונט און קיינער האט נים קיין שום רעכט אריינצושלעפען און אויסצונוצען פרעזידענט רוזוועלט'ס נאמען אין אן אינערליכען קאמף צווישען ציוניסטען. און — עס איז איבערהויפט זעהר געפערליך פאר די ציוניסטישע אינטערעסען אריינצושלעפען אלגעמיינע אמעריקאנער פאליטיק אין ציוניסטישע פראגען.

די „ווייזגרופע" מעג אין דער באציהונג לערנען עפעס פון די ציוניסטען אין ענגלאנד. דר. חיים ווייצמאן איז אן ענגלישער בירגער, אבער קיינער רעכענט נים און קיינער ווייסט נים צי ווייצמאן איז א מיטגליד פון דער קאנסערוואטיווער פארטיי, דער לייבאר פארטיי, אדער פון א וועלכער עס־איז אלגעמיין־פאליטישער גרופע אין ענגלאנד.

מיט אריינשלעפען די פאליטיק פון די צוויי גרויסע אמעריקאנער פאליטישע פארטייען אין אמעריקע, און באזונדערס מיט אריינשלעפען דעם נאמען פון פרעזידענט אין זייער קאמף געגען ראבאי סילווער און זיין צד, האט די „ווייזגרופע" געשעדיגט נים נאר זיך אליין, נאר אויך די גאנצע ציוניסטישע באוועגונג אין אמעריקע.

יאַנואַר 13, 1945 — 1-13-45 The Day

די וואָך אין אידישען לעבען

The Day 1-13-45

פון טאָג צו טאָג

Journal 1-14-45

די ארץ ישראל רעזאָלוציע.
ווי האַלט עס איצט?
פאַרשוויגענע פראַגען.
מאַנדאַט און יוניטעד נײשאַנס.

פון י. פישמאַן

וואָס זאָל איצט געשעהן מיט דער פּאַלעסטינער ארץ ישראל רעזאָלוציע אין קאָנגרעס?

[illegible]

וואָס שטייט הינטערן קאַמף אין ציוניזם?

[illegible]

פון דוד פינסקי

Journal 1-14-45

[illegible]

Forward

SECTION 2

קונסט בײלאַגע

זונטאָג, יאַנואַר 14, 1945

Jan. 14, 1945

RABBI DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, prominent Zionist leader, who is the center of the controversy which developed in the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. The inside story of the conflict into which the Communists, dragging in Teheran, have injected themselves on the side of the anti-Silver faction, was told in a series of two articles by Leon Crystal of the Forward Staff. (Photo by Alexander Archer)

Meanwhile, the central committee of the Poale Mizrachi today criticized recent statements by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Moshe Shertok, charging that they were straying from the Biltmore policy, which calls for the immediate establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. It urged the return of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to the chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council and sharply attacked the policy pursued by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Nahum Goldmann. *JTA 1-14-45*

J.T.A. NEWS

1/16/45

CELLER RE-INTRODUCES PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN HOUSE; HITS BRITISH POLICY

WASHINGTON, Jan. 15. (JTA) -- Declaring that "upon a nod from Churchill, the curtain was rung down" on the Palestine Resolution in the last Congress, Rep. Emanuel Celler, New York Democrat, today re-introduced the controversal legislation.

Like the measure introduced last week by Rep. James P. Geelan, Connecticut Democrat, the resolution is in the original form, without the amendments made by the Foreign Affairs Committee before it approved the bill last session. It calls for the fullest colonization in Palestine to the end that the Jewish people may ultimately reconstitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth.

Celler said the need for action by the Congress of the United States was highlighted by the recent action of the Turkish Government to prevent the transit of Jews seeking refuge in Palestine by way of Turkey. The Turkish Government emphasized, Celler said, that it had no choice in the matter "because of the adamant attitude of the British Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration in its refusal to issue Palestine immigration certificates."

According to Celler's office the Congressman acted independent of official Zionist circles, which have not yet indicated whether they will press for action until the State Department withdraws its opposition.

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

MEMORANDUM

To Chairmen of Local Emergency Committees *Date* January 17, 1945

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From Arthur Lourie

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council to send on to you the enclosed communication with regard to the recent reorganization in the leadership of the Council. Please note that this is for your own information and is not for publication since in the interests of unity we wish to put an end, if possible, to a continuation of this controversy in the public press.

We wish to emphasize that all forces previously represented in the Council continue to be represented on that body. It is the determination of all its members that the Council shall go ahead united in the fulfillment of our constructive program so vital to the future of our people and directed to the reestablishment of Palestine in the nearest future as a Jewish Commonwealth.

AL:CK

January 16, 1945.

The American Zionist Emergency Council was reorganized on December 28, 1944 in order to make possible the full and harmonious cooperation of all Zionist parties in the United States. The reorganization was effected through a majority vote which the minority, as disciplined Zionists, accepted. In the interest of continuing this principle of unity and discipline the new administration of the Emergency Council will avoid taking part in factional controversy. The Zionist cause requires our complete and unswerving devotion at this time and we would consider ourselves remiss in duty if we dissipated our energy in internal division.

However, in the light of the fact that erroneous impressions have possibly been created by incorrect facts, in which connection we must mention the improper and unauthorized statement on stationery of the Emergency Council of its former director, Mr. Harry L. Shapiro, we feel that the local committees should know how the majority of the Council views the situation which has led to the present internal reorganization. We shall limit ourselves to a brief statement on the main issue. Whatever supplementary comment may be thought necessary by the individual parties will be made directly by them.

After Secretary Stimson had announced that the War Department had withdrawn its opposition to the passage of the Palestine Resolution, it became urgent to determine whether we should press for its presentation before the termination of the 78th Congress. At a meeting of the Council held on October 30th, two points of view were voiced. Some members were of the opinion that the propitious atmosphere created by the party planks and the President's message should be utilized for pressing presentation of the resolution immediately after the elections. Others felt that the crowded agenda, the short working period remaining, and the need, if possible, of improving the wording of the resolution to bring it in line with the President's statement on Zionist policy, all pointed to the wisdom of postponement and reconsideration of the resolution during the next Congress. Moreover, it was the majority opinion of the Council that we had reached a stage in our political affairs when it was more imperative to seek implementation of the President's announced policy and most important to meet with the President prior to his attendance at the meeting of the "Big Three." This was the position taken by Dr. Wise.

There was unanimous agreement, however, that the repetition of the experience of last March must be avoided at all costs and that the passage of the resolution should not be urged unless we were certain that we would not be faced with the opposition of the Executive branch of the government. The very wording of Mr. Stimson's letter pointed to the need of clearing with the State Department in advance of any decision. It was the consensus of opinion that a second failure of Congress to take favorable action on the Palestine Resolution would not only be a serious political defeat, but would reduce the value of the achievements already attained through the inclusion of pro-Zionist planks in the Democratic and Republican platforms and the President's historic endorsement of a Jewish Commonwealth in his message of October 15th. Steps were therefore taken at once to ascertain the position of the State Department and of the Executive branch of the government.

Early in November we were informed that President Roosevelt and the State Department asked that the matter be left pending a little while longer. At a meeting of the Emergency Council on November 21st it was decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the Executive, it being understood that if renewed efforts to obtain the approval of the Executive failed, the resolution should, for the time being, be left pending.

Dr. Silver proceeded to Washington to explore the situation. However, before the clearance of the State Department was obtained he proceeded with activities designed to secure the passage of the resolution. In the meantime information received by Dr. Wise indicated that the attitude of the Executive and State Departments remained unchanged and that the resolution, if pressed, would in all likelihood again be deferred. It is pertinent to point out in this connection that within the last few days the President has indicated to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that he wants no resolutions on foreign policy before his projected meeting with Mr. Churchill and Mr. Stalin. It is obvious that his request that the Palestine Resolution be left pending a little while longer was in line with his general policy affecting other international questions

In view of the urgency of the situation, Dr. Wise called a special meeting of the Council. Dr. Silver, who was in Washington, was notified and kept in touch with the proceedings by telephone. A special committee was appointed to go to Washington to dissuade Dr. Silver from pressing the resolution for reasons given earlier in this memorandum. Dr. Silver, supported by the Mizrachi, continued his line of action until the Palestine Resolution was tabled by the Senate Committee due to the intervention of the Secretary of State.

As a result, Dr. Wise resigned in protest against what he considered "the arbitrary action" of the Chairman of the Executive Committee and what appeared to him the contravention of democratic procedure. At a meeting of the Emergency Council on December 20th, Dr. Silver defended his action at great length, as being in harmony with the basic position of the Emergency Council. A proposed motion that Dr. Silver had contravened decisions was tabled. A motion was then made calling on all officers to resign in order to permit reorganization of the Council. When a vote to table failed of passage, Dr. Silver stated that this represented a repudiation of his position. He thereupon resigned, saying that his resignation was irrevocable. Reorganization of the Council then followed.

It should be pointed out that a large majority of the Council considered reorganization essential, even without reference to the matter of the Palestine Resolution. Two of the groups within the Council had for months been pressing for the establishment of a small implementation committee. This committee, they proposed, should concern itself — in cooperation with the co-chairman — with the day by day affairs of the Council and with mapping out concrete steps to be taken for carrying out the general line of action enunciated by the Council. It is clear that in political work the method ofttimes requires as much attention as the formulation of policy and that the procedure followed is likely to affect fundamentally the success or failure of the endeavor. Unfortunately, Dr. Silver had not been willing to set up the type of permanent committee proposed by the two groups.

It is of the essence to make clear that at no time were there any differences as to fundamental Zionist policy. At no time were there questions of "maximal" or "minimal" goals. The only problem debated was the most effective manner of implementing objectives in regard to which there was complete agreement. The American Zionist Emergency Council, as now reconstituted, represents as before all Zionist parties. Those who were in the minority in their evaluation of the recent controversy have participated loyally in the reorganization so as to ensure the continuance of a united and energetic working body. In this spirit we now call on all local committees to follow the central organization in a policy of unity and complete concentration on the important tasks before us in promoting the program of the Jewish Commonwealth.

ASK WEIZMANN TO CONCILIATE SPLIT IN ZIONIST RANKS

Wisconsin Jewish

American Mizrachi Requests Palestine Delegation to Come to United States

1-19-45 Chronicle

New York—(JPS)— Dr. Chaim Weizmann, President of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, was requested by the Mizrachi Organization of America to proceed to the United States for the purpose of conciliating the differences within Zionist ranks here which led to and have resulted from the reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council. "We deem it very urgent that a delegation comprised of Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues on the Jewish Agency, Rabbi J. L. Fishman and David ben Gurion, whose Zionist policy is an unequivocal and determined one, proceed to America. Their presence here is of great importance for our further political work."

Mizrachi declared that it does not consider "the present conflict as only a clash between personalities.

"Nor is it an internal conflict (within the ZOA) as some assert.

Silver Gave Zionism Political Prestige

"We also refute the implied and baseless charge of the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) Party that Mizrachi sought to break the Council. Mizrachi has been within the Council from its very inception, and it was not always pleasant. There was absolute chaos within the Council before Dr. Silver took over, and Dr. Weizmann, at the time of his visit here, expressed his consternation over conditions then prevailing. Political Zionism was held in little regard in Government circles and wherever Dr. Weizmann came he was confronted by a stone wall. It was at that time that Mizrachi considered opening its own political bureau in Washington, but abandoned the plan in the interests of Zionist solidarity and also because Dr. Silver, assuming Council leadership at the invitation of Dr. Weizmann, launched a militant program which gave Zionism political prestige unmatched in the history of American Jewry.

"The political responsibility which marked Mizrachi's record in the Council best refutes any charge that we sought to break the Council. However, when Dr. Silver was eliminated from leadership, we deemed it our duty in the interest of unity and peace, to serve notice that we may even consider leaving the Council in protest against the injustice committed against Dr. Silver by a small majority. We have no doubt that had Poale Zion supported the determined and clear position of Mizrachi, the present unfortunate denouncement might have been avoided.

"Mizrachi views the conflict from a political and moral viewpoint. We cannot tolerate a situation where a responsible Zionist leader, on his own initiative, sends a telegram to the Secretary of State approving deferment of the Palestine resolution. 'Shtadlanut' is a kind description of such action. And nonetheless we did not because of this error — and it was a grave political error — demand that he be deposed and we would have combatted all efforts to eliminate him from leadership. From this viewpoint, Mizrachi can certainly not permit that a Zionist leader be penalized for the 'sin' of conducting a proud, courageous and aggressive Zionist policy . . . The elimination of Dr. Silver is, in our opinion, politically detrimental. Nor is it wise or ethical."

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver Issues Statement to Chronicle

6

Mr. Irving G. Rhodes,
The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle,
240 N. Milwaukee Street,
Milwaukee 2, Wisconsin.

January 17, 1945

My Dear Mr. Rhodes:

Permit me to thank you for your kindness in bringing to my attention the January 12th issue of The Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle which published the resolution adopted by the Milwaukee Zionist Emergency Council in defense of my position, and an editorial likewise endorsing it.

I am grateful for the many complimentary things which you say about me and my work. I have been heartened by the reaction of the rank and file of American Zionists which has reached me from all parts of the country in a veritable deluge of letters, telegrams and resolutions. I have been especially gratified by the reaction in the Anglo-Jewish press which has properly grasped and appraised the issues involved. Clearly the Zionists of America have not been taken in by the clever conspiracy of a handful of Zionist politicians in the bureaucracy of the ZOA, headed by Dr. Israel Goldstein, who power-bent have ever since my assumption of the political direction of the movement more than a year and a half ago, sought to discredit and undermine my work. The official statement recently issued by the Mizrachi and the Poale Zion bear ample testimony to this sniping and sabotage on the part of these ZOA representatives on the Council. This group had hoped to bring about my elimination from the political leadership in a very quiet, and to them, painless manner, but the conspiracy exploded in their faces, and they are now quite desperate. At the moment they are exerting themselves to the utmost to hush up the controversy and to persuade the Zionists of America to forget all about it.

I do not believe that they will succeed. With many thanks, I remain,

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

ABBA HILLEL SILVER

א פאטאלע האנדלונג

"The Day" Jan. 18-1945

A

(ווענען לאגע אין דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער באוועגונג). — פון ל. שפיזמאן

THE JEWISH ADVOCATE

Thursday, January 18, 1945 — Shevat 4, 5705

TO know God's will and to do it calls for absolute sincerity, absolute honesty with one's self, and it means using one's mind to the best of one's ability. God speaks to us in prayer. Through it God is able to enlighten the understanding . . . Religion is a very simple thing. It means to try with all my heart and soul and strength and mind to do the will of God.—*Madame Chiang Kai-shek*

Order, Not Chaos

We note with satisfaction the commendable action taken by the Brookline-Brighton-Newton Zionist District, the largest in the New England Region, in supporting the duly constituted authority of the Zionist Organization of America and the Zionist Emergency Council.

It was the proper step in the interest of preserving unity and disciplined effort in the Zionist cause.

Zionism is a movement embracing many organizations with varying ideologies, and has the support of persons of all walks of life. All, however, are committed to the same overall objective—the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

But Zionism is a political movement. It has international complications involving many different interests.

Is it any wonder, then, that there are differences of opinion within the movement itself as to tactics and strategy to be employed in overcoming existing obstacles? Varying points of view flourish in any democratic set-up. Indeed, they are healthy. However, in a democratic system, after full consideration of opposing sides, the will of the majority prevails. This is yielding to authority.

The controversy which brought about the reorganization of the Zionist Emergency Council is one involving procedure not substance. There is still united agreement on maximall and minimal aims. The differences of opinion relate to means to be used to gain these ends.

At the meeting of the National Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, following the reorganization of the Emergency Council, all sides of the argument which precipitated the shake-up were fairly presented.

At this meeting were present the elected representatives of Z.O.A. regions throughout the country. The local delegates included Samuel Caploe, president of the New England Zionist Region; Benjamin Ulin, president of the Brookline-Brighton-Newton Zionist District; Dr. Arthur Shain, Mendel Selig and Harry Levine, vice-presidents of the Region; Ralph Bass chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council of New England; and Louis Levine, of the Executive Committee of the Region.

After full presentation of all the facts, the vote of the delegates was 3 to 1 in approval of the reorganization of the Zionist Emergency Council. Thus spoke the body of the Zionist Organization of America which has the supreme voice in between national conventions.

In the Zionist Emergency Council, itself, the two organizations which have always been Dr. Silver adherents, namely the Mizrachi and Poale Zion, have agreed to and taken part in the reorganization.

The duly constituted representatives of the four major parties in Zionism have made their decision.

It is to be hoped that the controversy will stop and an end brought to confusion which can invite chaos.

Differences of opinion should still be welcomed, but final determination should always rest in the majority.

Dr. Silver has promised to remain a member of the Zionist Emergency Council. His talents, ability and energy are needed and wanted for the cause.

We take him at his word.

Maybe I'm Wrong

The Time For Political Zionist Action Is Now!

by Harold M. Schulweis

The oft-exploited term "post-war" has taken on a dangerous connotation in recent months. Too many people are subconsciously, perhaps, accepting all talk of post-war problems as mediate ones; problems to be solved after the chaos subsides and normality once more is restored. One must but read the newspapers, however, to understand that the post-war world is being molded and shaped today, and that these decisions are not tentative. With this in mind, we can better comprehend the tense strife in Greece and Belgium, and the unwillingness of these people to wait or to delay action until the Messiah of peace arrives. They have experienced too many wars to fall prey to the subtle diplomacy of winsome Winnie who urges them to sit back and take it easy in the meantime. These people are stern realists. They know, quite simply, that forms are molded while the cement is still loose and wet, and that once it drys and settles, it will take an awfully big hammer to break up the solid formation, and make a different block.

"Acted Too Soon"

One would think that our political Zionist leaders would be very well aware of these facts. Yet, in the recent major cleavage in the Zionist Emergency Council, Rabbis Goldstein and Wise have accused Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his friends of having acted "too soon" in pressing the HR 418-419 Palestine Commonwealth Bill in Congress.

Well, Dr. Wise most assuredly was sorely disappointed to discover that when his crucial question arose, his "influential friends" were nowhere to be found. As for Dr. Silver, the actions of Mr. Roosevelt and the State Department was a particularly severe blow, since, preceding the recent presidential elections, great popular support of the Zionist cause as incorporated in the Palestine Resolution was registered in the press, on the radio, by both major political parties and by the President himself on the eve of election. Public opinion was so strong that the Secretary of War withdrew his insistence that action on the Resolution be deferred owing to war exigencies. The iron was hot, and Dr. Silver recognized a mood in Congress and in the American people which would indicate the mature and appropriate time to strike. Nevertheless, the resolution, on recommendation from Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Stettinius, was deferred a second time. The American Zionists fell into a morbid, despondent mood and a scape-goat was badly needed. Up jumped Rabbi Wise's dauphin, Israel Goldstein, with condemnations and accusations directed against the silver-tongued Silver. The indignant Dr. Goldstein wanted to know what prompted Silver to put pressure on the Congressmen without the assent of the administration, and Dr. Silver consequently was forced

(Continued on Page Four)

Yeshiva College Commentator 1-18-45

to resign from the council. The fact that Goldstein had personally sent telegrams to congressmen urging the passage of the 418-19 bill was completely overlooked. Dr. Silver was to blame for the confused policies of the State Dept. and the president. Rabbis Wise and Goldstein were thus vindicated.

Prophets of the Past

The truth of the matter remains, however, that the good rabbis were just as enthusiastic with the wonderful work Dr. Silver had been doing as was the American-Jewish Kehilah. Only after the deferment did their enthusiasm change to "I told you so" cockiness. They had become prophets of the past. Yet, if any condemnation were to come from Dr. Wise, American Zionism's big political boss, it should have been directed against certain A[illegible] and British oil interests, the British Colonial office, the increasing stream of political intrigue, falsehood and distortion from the American Jewish committee et al. But it's so much safer to pick on one of "our boys"; especially when he's a big, dynamic, hard-working fellow who is giving you some awfully stiff competition and threatening your autocratic position in American-Zionist life. But every cloud has its silver lining—and it must have been a great source of joy for the religious Zionists to see the Mizrachi join hands with the Poale-Zion and back up Dr. Silver. Dr. S. Wise wants to wait for the administration's approval of the Palestine Commonwealth. He may wait, but the Jewish refugees in Hungary and Rumania cannot. We must stand with Dr. Silver and his policy of "Al Tirticha B'[illegible]". We must address our appeals to the people, and let Dr. Silver be our spokesman. But above all, let us remember that the time for action is now.

Jewish Advocate 1-18-45

B-B-N Zionists Endorse Action Of Emergency Council and ZOA

Urge Support of Duly Constituted Authority and United and Disciplined Effort by All Zionists

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Brookline-Brighton-Newton Zionist District, after full consideration of the actions of the representatives of the Z.O.A. on the National Zionist Emergency Council, the following resolution was passed:

1. The authority delegated by the Emergency Council to Rabbi Silver, in connection with a resolution pending before the Congress of the United States, having been exceeded by him, we approve the action of the representatives of the Z.O.A. in voting to accept his resignation as co-chairman, and chairman of its executive committee, and to re-organize the Emergency Council.

2. We are gratified at the announcement of Rabbi Silver that he will remain a member of the Emergency Council and give it the benefit of his great ability in reading and in carrying out its decisions.

3. We are confident that the chairman and members of the Emergency Council will permit full and free expressions of opinion by all members of that body before making decisions, however divergent may be the views expressed.

4. We are confident that once a decision is reached by the Emergency Council all members will abide by the decision.

5. Profoundly disturbed by a report of contemplated divisive action, including the setting up of a separate office, we urge that all possible persuasion and pressure be brought to bear to prevent such action, and urge every Zionist to abstain from disrupting Zionist unity.

6. We appeal to all Zionists, regardless of views, to support the duly constituted authority of Z.O.A. and the Emergency Council, to the end that our Zionist program may be advanced by the United and disciplined effort of all its supporters.

L.A. B'nai B'rith Messenger

Friday, January 19, 1945

Silver and Wise Prima Donnas Says Ben Aronin

Disposing of the Abba Hillel Silver-Stephen Wise dispute as "a personality quarrel between two prima donnas," Ben Aronin, Chicago author and teacher, speaking before the Hollywood Zionist District at Temple Israel on January 16, approved Rabbi Silvers' demand for immediate action on the Palestine resolution.

In his analysis of the rift in the American Zionist Emergency Council, Mr. Aronin said, "evidently Silver acted without consulting Wise, who feels he is the Messiah of the Jewish people. Silver and other outstanding American Jews feel the same way about themselves."

Commenting on Rabbi Wise's close relationship with President Roosevelt, Aronin said, "If American Jewry is to depend upon a whisper to the king, then God help American Jewry. If Zion is to depend upon secret diplomacy, then 'ach und veh' to Zionism."

"Let's forget about this silly quarrel," he said.

"Don't let them rule you from the top down. Don't resign from the Zionist Organization. Stick within it and tell your leaders you want justice—not some day in the future, but now."

Mrs. Monia Salvin gave a short resume of the beginning of the Zionist movement, which will be continued at future meetings. Dr. Monia Salvin, president of the District, was in charge of the meeting.

The B'nai B'rith MESSENG[ER]
Founded 1897 — 739 SOUTH HOPE STREET • TELEPHONE: TRinity 2200 — In Its
Vol. 48—No. 22 — LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA, FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1945 — 10 Cents Single

Asks Weizmann to Settle Wise-Silver Differences

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"We deem it very urgent that a delegation comprised of Dr. Weizmann and his colleagues on the Jewish Agency, Rabbi J. L. Fishman and David ben Gurion, whose Zionist policy is an unequivocal and determined one, proceed to America. Their presence here is of great importance for our further political work."

Not Only Personal

Mizrachi declared that it does not consider "the present conflict as only a clash between personalities.

"Nor is it an internal conflict (within the ZOA) as some assert.

"We also refute the implied and baseless charge of the Poale Zion (Labor Zionist) Party that Mizrachi sought to break the Council. Mizrachi has been within the Council from its very inception, and it was not always pleasant. There was absolute chaos within the Council before Dr. Silver took over, and Dr. Weizmann, at the time of his visit here, expressed his consternation over conditions then prevailing. Political Zionism was held in little regard in Government circles and wherever Dr. Weizmann came he was confronted by a stone wall. It was at that time that Mizrachi considered opening its own political bureau in Washington, but abandoned the plan in the interests of Zionist solidarity and also because Dr. Silver, assuming Council leadership at the invitation of Dr. Weizmann, launched a militant program which gave Zionism political prestige unmatched in the history of American Jewry . . ."

"The political responsibility which marked Mizrachi's record in the Council best refutes any charge that we had sought to break the Council. However, when Dr. Silver was eliminated from leadership, we deemed it our duty, in the interest of unity and peace, to serve notice that we may even consider leaving the Council in protest against the injustice committed against Dr. Silver by a small majority."

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THE Jewish Ledger
HARTFORD EDITION
The Only Weekly Newspaper Serving 28 Jewish Communities In Connecticut and Western Mass.

. 40 FRIDAY, JANUARY 19, 1945 Entered as Second Oct. 17, 1933, at H

Wise-Silver Dispute Stirs Country; Mizrachi Asks Weizmann To Intervene

PLEA TO FISHMAN AND BEN GURION ALSO DISPATCHED

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Charge Disputed

The political responsibility which marked Mizrachi's record in the Council best refutes any charge that we had sought to break the Council. However, when Dr. Silver was eliminated from leadership, we deemed it our duty, in the interest of unity and peace, to serve notice that we may even consider leaving the Council in protest against the injustice committed against Dr. Silver by a small majority. We have no doubt that had Poale Zion supported the determined and clear position of Mizrachi, the present unfortunate denouement migt have been avoided.

"Mizrachi views the conflict from a political and moral viewpoint. We cannot tolerate a situation where a responsible Zionist leader, Dr. Wise, on his own initiative, sends a telegram to the Secretary of State approving deferment of the Palestine resolution. 'Shtadlanut' is a kind description of such an action. And nonetheless we did not, because of this error—and it was a grave political error—demand that he be deposed and we would have combatted all efforts to eliminate him from leadership. From this viewpoint, Mizrachi can certainly not permit that a Zionist leader be penalized for the 'sin' of conducting a proud, courageous and aggressive Zionist policy. . . The elimination of Dr. Silver is, in our opinion, politically detrimental. Nor is it wise or ethical."

In conclusion, Mizrachi says: "What we are most concerned with is the future political line of the Council. . . With Dr. Silver heading the Council we were certain that this political line will be followed." When the reorganized Council begins to deal with fundamentals "it may yet be revealed why the elimination of Dr. Silver is a blow at brave and aggressive Zionism."

Yiddish Press Comment

The Yiddish press, in articles and editorials, continued discussion of the issues evolving from the reorganization of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Commenting on the vote by the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization of America, upholding the position of the ZOA representatives in the Council, The Day says:

"The Poale Zion, (in their recent statement) declare that 'from the very beginning we felt that there were elements within and without the Council who were unhappy over the fact that Dr. Silver has assumed leadership.' It appears that the Zionist masses, with their wholesome sense for truth and fair play, are aware of this. In district after district, in Brooklyn, Long Island, Baltimore, Hartford — wherever they had an opportunity to freely express their opinion — the Zionist masses declared themselves overwhelmingly for Dr. Silver and demanded that he be recalled to the activities of the Council, because they are aware that without him the Council will lack the energy, incentive and imagination introduced by him into its work.

"But that is neither the will nor desire of the present leaders of the ZOA. The Administrative Council of the ZOA even lacked the generosity to vote thanks to Dr. Silver for his work as chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council and Co-Chairman of the Council. . .

"The issue of unity as a prerequisite for effective work was stressed by Dr. Wise in his sermon and by Dr. Goldstein in his address to the Administrative Council. But neither Dr. Wise's nor Dr. Goldstein's supporters proposed a resolution for unity at the Administrative Council session. It was Mr. Emanuel Newmann, an adherent of Dr. Silver, who proposed it."

Conciliation Blocked

The Jewish Morning Journal commenting on the Administrative Council meeting and on the need for unity, states: "Mr. Maldwin Fertig's proposal that efforts be made to conciliate Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver was defeated, as was the proposal that Dr. Silver be recalled. The defeat of these resolutions was accomplished in a spirit of vengeance, satisfaction and victory by the majority. This can hardly induce peace and unity in Zionist ranks. . . Perhaps now, following the 'victory' of the anti-Silver forces — a victory which is undecisive because it has not healed, and may only widen, the breach in Zionist ranks — the Administration might reconsider and seek a way to peace. . ."

The two non-Zionist Yiddish dailies here have also taken sides in the controversy. The Jewish Daily Forward, Socialist newspaper, carried three articles, all endorsing the position of Dr. Silver, countercharging that Dr. Wise's telegram to the Secretary of State was "a contravention of authority" and charging the ZOA administration, are dangerous. When Dr. Silver at his press conference Dr. Silver." . .

The Morning Freiheit, Communist daily, states:

"Wrong tactics can be a very dangerous thing. And it is very clear that the tactics upheld by Dr. Silver, tactics of coming into conflict with the Roosevelt Administration, are extremely dangerous. When Dr. Silver at his press launched a vicious personal attack against Dr. Wise, he fully exposed the political meaning of his attack when he accused Dr. Wire of placing his interests as a Democratic politician above the interests of the Zionist movement. This was only a mask which does not conceal Dr. Silver's opposition to unqualified support of President Roosevelt's program as the best way to achieve the abrogation of the White Paper and secure the national rights of the Yishuv."

SILVER REFUTES WISE STATEMENTS ON LEADERSHIP

New York—In reply to assertions made by Dr. Stephen S. Wise in a sermon Jan. 5 and reported at length by the Independent Jewish Press Service, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver issued the following statement:

I read with interest the statement of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, evidently part of an address which he delivered in response to the statement which I issued Jan. 5. I do not wish to continue a public discussion with Dr. Wise, but his address contains two serious misstatements of facts which should be corrected.

Dr. Wise states that he, "fifteen months ago, brought about the election of Dr. Silver as Co-Chairman of the Council and as Chairman of its Executive Committee." Nothing can be further from the truth. Dr. Weizmann, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Mr. Louis Lipsky, along with Dr. Stephen Wise, on two occasions early in 1942, urged me to assume leadership of the Emergency Committee because of the low state into which the political work of the movement had fallen. Dr. Wise was at that time Chairman of the Emergency Committe. I twice declined, knowing of the nucleus of opposition to me which existed within the Emergency Committee made up of ZOA representatives.

Friends finally persuaded me to defy this small group of representatives for the sake of the cause, and they launched a "Draft Silver" movement to elect me President of the Zionist Organization of America in order to rid the Council of the ZOA representatives who were resolved to keep me out. The movement gained such momentum that ZOA Administration forces who were backing the candidacy of Dr. Israel Goldstein offered a compromise whereby I would withdraw from the race for the ZOA presidency and leave the field to Dr. Goldstein, and in turn all would agree on my assuming active direction of the political work of the Emergency Committee. An agreement was signed on August 9, 1943, by Dr. Wise as Chairman of the Emergency Committee, by Dr. Goldstein and myself.

To suggest that "he (Wise) and no other insisted that Dr. Silver become Co-Chairman of the Council" is the product either of a fertile imagination or of a very short memory.

Again, Dr. Wise states: "One strange mistake was made by Dr. Silver, namely, that he (Wise) was to serve as the nominal head of the Emergency Council—as an 'elder statesman' — and that he (Silver) was to be its only leader." There was no mistake made by me on that score at all!

On July 29, 1943, prior to the agreement referred to above, I wrote to Dr. Wise a lengthy letter from which I quote the following:

"Both you and Dr. Weizmann approached me some months ago with the request to take over the direction of the political work of our Movement. You felt, as many of us have felt right along, that there has been an unfortunate confusion, inefficiency, over-lapping and cross-purposes in our political work and that the situation called for complete reorganization and above all for centralization of authority. Both you and Dr. Weizmann as well as Mr. Lipsky and others asked me to take over this work. I demurred, knowing of the determined opposition of some of the men who today control the administration of the ZOA. I told you that while I was willing to fight for Zionism, I was not willing to start a fight with Zionists for the privilege of serving the cause. You appealed to me to take over the work on the ground that you yourself are heavily encumbered with many other responsibilities, and are tired. . ."

"When you told me yesterday over the telephone that you have been persuaded to retain the chairmanship of the Zionist Emergency Committee, I was somewhat bewildered. If it was your intention to remain in that important post, neither I nor anyone else would have considered supplanting you. The office is yours by right of service and achievement in the Movement. But I assumed all along that you earnestly wished to be relieved of it. It was on the basis of that understanding that I participated in the discussions in the last few months looking towards a reorganization. If now you feel that you wish to retain that office not in an honorary, but in an active capacity, I wish you would let me know definitely, and in making my reply to the draft letter addressed to me, I will say that Dr. Wise is head of the political emergency work of the Movement and there is no need for drafting me or anyone else, and that as far as the Presidency of the ZOA is concerned, I never sought that office, and I find opportunities for my Zionist services in other fields.

Leadership Stand Known

So that when on Aug. 9, 1943, Dr. Wise, Dr. Goldstein and I signed an agreement in Dr. Wise's study stating "that with the concurrence of all parties, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, for long one of the most distinguished figures in Zionism, will be summoned to leadership in the sphere of political affairs by becoming the Co-Chairman with me of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, and assuming also the Chairmanship of its Executive Committee, the body responsible for the centralized direction of our political efforts," Dr. Wise knew fully what I meant by leadership and by centralized direction. He understood fully that I would not assume the role of a vice president to him or that he would retain the same authority in the political field which was his before he and others invited me to assume the political direction of our work.

Unfortunately, as soon as the reorganization of our Council began to show results, and new life was infused into it, Dr. Wise evidently changed his mind and progressively during the year, began to re-assert his primary position, and towards the end, to act as though I was a secondary and almost negligible officer.

I Think as I Please

By MRS. CARL ALPERT

Jewish Post 1-19-

Passing a Crisis in American Zionism

THE agitation which has been going on in American Zio in recent months, culminating in the resignation of . Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emerg Committee, reached climatic heights in recent weeks, espe in the Yiddish press. While Dr. Silver's ill-considered action i introducing the Palestine resolution in Congress, despite the Er ency Committee's decision to defer such a step until the v of the State Department could be learned—while this action an immediate cause of the explosion, it is a fact that there are factors which must be understood if the situation is to be resc

Reluctantly one must confess that the most serious diffic stem not from a difference in principles, though such issue dragged into make the controversy respectable, but from a in personalities. It does not suffice to say that personalities be submerged in these crucial times, and that individuals be prepared to make self secondary to the cause. The time come for a statement of principles, explicit and pointed, anc the establishment of some sort of a moral code regarding th sponsibilities of high office in Jewish public life.

No matter what the man's talents, oratorical or scholarly must above all possess the ability to get along with the collea chosen to work with him. There can be no room for overbe arrogance, for haughty superiority, for a domineering sp Jewish leadership. The democracy which is basic to Judaism, a rabbi must surely be aware of it, requires that representatives mit to the will of those whom they represent. If deliberative b are to have their considered decisions flouted and ignored by executives, we are confronted with a situation which is aki Fascism, and which must be checked at once. Nor can there question of personal loyalty to a man. Neither individual, no ganization, nor party must take precedence, especially in Zi work, over the supreme good of the cause itself.

We must have, too, in our national leadership, a sense o mility, as well as the "common touch." President Roosevelt's g est political asset is his ability to warm up to the man on the st Governor Dewey, on the other hand, never relaxed his cold sufficiently to appear human. Who can deny that these wer important factors in the national election as foreign affair domestic policies? A Jewish leadership which stands aloof the people, which pretends to a superior knowledge and a de insight than is vouchsafed to others, which employs affected p techniques, and emotional dramatics, must not raise the false b of principles or issues when it is rejected.

The supreme test of a leader, however, is his ability to together with his fellow workers. If harmony can not be achi it is not the rest of the movement which must change, but individual, no matter how great he may be, who must witho Even Dr. Theodor Herzl was confronted with rebellion in his Zi Congresses, and compelled to remember that democracy req team-work. Dr. Herzl took the admonishment, and it is only to add that Dr. Silver, too, despite hot temper on the part of a of his followers, remains a loyal worker in the ranks of the En ency Council. His talents are needed.

Friday, January 19, 1945 — Jewish News — THE

U. S. Communities Line Up In Zionist Council Dispute

Four Districts Vote in Defense of Dr. Silver's Position; ZOA Administrative Committee on Record Upholding Executive and Retention of Dr. Wise

The controversy in Zionist ranks over the acceptance of the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council is spreading to the ranks of Zionist Organization districts throughout the country, and a number of communities are acting to take a stand pro or con in this issue.

The administrative committee of the Zionist Organization of America, at its meeting in New York on Jan. 7 went on record, by a vote of 74 to 23 upholding the stand of the Zionist Organization's executive committee on the reorganization of the Emergency Council and the retention of Dr. Stephen S. Wise as chairman. A substitute resolution proposed by Emanuel Neumann to give Dr. Silver a vote of confidence was defeated by a vote of 66 to 30.

Support Dr. Silver

In the past two weeks, the following districts voted in defense of Dr. Silver's position: Milwaukee, Wis., Long Island Zionist Region, Brooklyn Zionist Region, and Connecticut State Zionist Region.

Rabbi Leon Fram, president of the Zionist Organization of Detroit, stated this week that the local organization will discuss the national leadership crisis at a special meeting in February.

Jewish Ledger 1-19-45 — JEWISH

An Appeal To Zionist Reason

By ABRAHAM GOLDSTEIN,
Member of Z.O.A. Administrative Committee

What now? This is the question that faced everyone when the debate was over, the vote taken at the meeting of the Administrative Committee of the ZOA closed. (This meeting was held Sunday, Jan. 7, at 10 a. m.).

It was a victory for the administration. The vote of 66 to 29 was a clear indication of that and yet no one was happy, neither Wise's followers nor Silver's. The winners and the losers knew well that the Zionist movement had gained nothing from such a fight and victory, as coming events will prove. Everyone had uppermost in his mind a strong desire to stop the fight, but no one knew how.

Must Sink Differences

Here we are, confronted with a grave political situation: with refugees knocking at the doors of Palestine and Britain not permitting them to enter; no ships allowed to bring hundreds of Rumanian Jews to Palestine; a job confronting us to raise money among our own members for the Expansion Fund; membership to be renewed and increased; children that must be saved and brought to Eretz Yisroel; war and post-war problems troubling us; and here a full day's meeting spent on debating a crisis in our own midst.

No wonder everyone felt as they did . . . let it be said that whatever the difference of opinion may be, whatever the feeling about the action of one Zionist leader or another, we must sink our differences and restrain ourselves when it comes to do Zionist work. Every order and request from the leadership of the ZOA must be carried out by everyone, whether they voted with the 66 or 29.

Confronted with our great work in Zionism, we may forget our differences, forget our quarrels, and do it because we must. I sincerely hope that everyone who is in accord with my vote, the vote of the minority, will consider his primary obligations, the first orders of business to be the Expansion Fund, the membership, and the political activities as outlined by the Emergency Council. There is time for discussion, time for debate and time for a fight. In between, our greatest energy must be consumed by Zionist work.

Frisch Commended

I cannot close my impressions of the meeting without mentioning that the sessions conducted by the newly elected chairman, Daniel Frisch of Indianapolis, were carried on in such manner that he was praised by everyone. He was fair, impartial and gave everyone a chance to express himself. This was not only the first meeting of the newly elected chairman but the first meeting of its kind in many years. It was well handled.

As to the question, "What now?," after the meeting, conferences, hearings, or resolutions preceding the meeting of the administrative committee, there is but one answer. "Back to work in the district and in the region."

Anyone who thinks that the Silver controversy is over, that the close of the meeting settled the fight, is working under an illusion. I wish it were so. I wish the meeting could have found a solution to bring the great talents and ability of Silver to active participation in the council of the Emergency Committee, but it did not. The break must be healed. For the moment the only hope left is time. Time often does solve and cure many situations that we fail to foresee or even imagine. Let us hope it will be soon.

Intermountain Jewish News 1-19-45

The Wise-Silver Raw

WE HAVE been delaying our comment on the Wise-Silver controversy until all sides have had a chance to state their case. We have been deluged with statements, denials, charges, counter-charges, and thinly-veiled shouts of "liar" by such famous leaders of American Jewish life as Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Israel Goldstein and Dr. Nahum Goldmann.

The whole spectacle is a sorry one—enough to nauseate anyone who contrasts their childish performance with the fiendish extermination of one-third of the world Jewish population by Hitler, and the heartbreaking plight of those European Jews who have been lucky enough to escape the death camps of Poland.

After reading the mass of material which has flooded our desk from the top figures in the American Zionist Emergency Council—enough words to fill a book—we have come to these conclusions.

1—The top leaders of American Zionism are united on the basic issues—unlimited immigration into Palestine, upbuilding of the Jewish National Home, and establishment there of a Jewish Commonwealth. On these fundamentals, there is no disagreement.

2—The whole squabble stems from a difference over methods of pushing the Palestine resolutions in Congress.

3—Dr. Wise, head of the Zionist Council, which includes all major Zionist organizations, wants to soft-pedal the resolution until President Roosevelt and his State Department indicate their support. He contends the Council made this decision, but Silver quotes the minutes as proof that no such decision was taken.

4—Silver, regardless of administration attitude, believes in pressing for passage of the resolution. He charges Wise with torpedoing the resolution at a crucial point, and has influenced his fellow Ohioan, Senator Taft, to reintroduce the resolution in the new Congress.

Space does not permit a delineation of all the moves, counter-moves, machinations and charges that have obscured the basic agreement of these Zionist titans on the things that count.

Their basic agreement reflects the unity of the great masses of American Jews on the fundamental aims of the Zionists. It is this unity that must be kept uppermost in mind. On these aims, Jews and Christians who believe in a Jewish National Home in Palestine must remain united. On the rock of this unity, Jewry must stand and insist that those who are charged with the responsibility of leadership must exercise their prerogatives with dignity, unity and the sacrifice of their personal differences for the good of Jewry.

1-19-45 New Palestine

Peace and Work

The controversy which for a period agitated both the leadership and the membership of American Zionism is settled. After a six-hour debate, in which free and equal expression was given to all points of views, the Administrative Council of the Zionist Organization, on January 7, by a vote of 74 to 23 upheld the decisions of the administration and approved the reorganization of the Emergency Council. Since the Administrative Council is the highest Zionist authority between conventions and since the controversy was never concerned with principle but only with procedure, it is evident that the democratic process was invoked, that it functioned, and that it is the instant duty of every Zionist to go back to work and to give heart, mind, means to the sacred cause of our martyred people.

One brief word may be added on the basis of a cable which Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick, that very able member of the staff of the New York *Times*, despatched from Jerusalem on the very day on which the Administrative Council was in session at the Hotel Commodore in New York. She had just seen Dr. Chaim Weizmann; she had just seen Mr. David Ben Gurion. Both communicated to her their view that the "policy of forcing the pace" was a mistaken one today and their opinion that "the President's advice should be heeded." In brief, the Jewish Agency for Palestine is in favor of the methods of procedure re-affirmed by the Administrative Council and Zionists can take up their work so unhappily though briefly interrupted with an untroubled and undivided conscience.

That Zionist work is manifold and overwhelmingly pressing. Our people is still bleeding to death even in the so-called liberated countries and areas. There are children in Europe who could be rescued today and brought to *Eretz Yisrael* if there were ships in which to bring them. Great areas of surviving, though decimated Jewish life, in North Africa, in France, are experiencing a mighty upsurge of Zionist conviction and passion and their eyes are turned upon us. As Professor Zelig Brodetsky, the distinguished British member of the Jewish Agency, now briefly visiting America, has repeatedly pointed out, American Jewry represents half of the Jews surviving in the world outside of Soviet Russia. With American Jewry, with American Zionism, our people stand or fall, live or die. The call to us is so clear, so ringing, so overwhelmingly commanding.

Let us address ourselves at once to the tasks that are nearest—the completion of the Expansion Fund, additional moral and material support of the projects for which that fund is being raised and increase in membership. Always increase in membership! That and that above all is our defense and our weapon. We have accomplished miracles both in the world and in *Eretz*

6

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Controversies—Democracy—Zionism

DIFFERENCES, strains and controversies appear from time to time in all democratic bodies. We see their manifestations again and again within the body politic of American life.

In the American Jewish scene controversies are not unfamiliar phenomena. What is more deplorable than the controversy itself, for controversies are sometimes unavoidable, is the absence of an overall body to discuss Jewish questions, controversial and otherwise, to adopt decisions regarding them and to have those decisions adhered to. A body such as the American Jewish Conference, if it were all inclusive might be such a forum and tribunal. One recalls Dr. Silver's strong appeal in connection with the debate on the Palestine resolution at the first session of the Conference in which, addressing himself to the minority, he urged them to bow to the decisions of the majority, and stated that this was the fundamental principle of unity.

For the past several weeks, there has been a controversy going on within the ranks of the ZOA and the American Zionist Emergency Council touching the matter of the deferred Palestine resolutions before Congress. At a meeting of the Emergency Council held on December 28, 1944, it was voted to reorganize the Council under the sole chairmanship of Dr. Wise. Those Zionist groups within the Council who had been opposed to its reorganization have accepted the decision of the majority and are working with the Council in its present reorganized structure, which includes Dr. Hayim Greenberg of Poale Zion as Chairman of the Executive Committee and Mr. Herman Shulman as Chairman of the smaller Administrative Committee.

The following statement issued by the Emergency Council is important:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council desires to make it clear that the controversy referred to in the public press does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers. The American Zionist Emergency Council will go forward with continued vigor and determination for the realization of its objective—unrestricted Jewish immigration into Palestine, full opportunity for Jewish colonization and the reconstitution of Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth. For this it will seek the active support of the executive and legislative branches of the United States Government and the good-will of the American people."

The Emergency Council noted with satisfaction Dr. Silver's statement that he is remaining a member of that body.

Democratic Action

This was a democratic way of resolving a difficult problem. The fact that the minority accepted the majority decision is significant. It should serve as an example to the rank and file of Zionists throughout the country.

So far as the ZOA is concerned, the matter came up for discussion at a meeting of the Administrative Council composed of representatives from regions and districts in all parts of the country, held in New York on January 7th. After five hours of debate in which both sides participated, the Administrative Council, which is the supreme body of the ZOA between Conventions, voted by an overwhelming majority (74 to 23) to sustain the action of the ZOA Executive which had resulted in the reorganization of the Emergency Council. It is noteworthy that three former presidents of the ZOA, exclusive of Dr. Wise, namely Judge Morris Rothenberg, Judge Louis E. Levinthal and Dr. Robert Szold after a review of all the facts and judging the situation in the light of the best interests of the Zionist movement, strongly urged that the action of the ZOA Executive be approved. There is reason to believe that members of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, insofar as it is concerned with the broader aspects of the problem, which has developed here, holds a view which is in line with the position of majority decision.

It was a source of encouragement that following the meeting a number of members of the Administrative Council who had voted with the minority, stated that so far as they were concerned the controversy was over, the issue was decided and they had before them only one objective, namely, to throw themselves into the constructive task of the Zionist movement. It is hoped that their example will be followed throughout the country.

There is one respect in which, I believe, the ZOA constituency can learn a lesson from some of the other Zionist parties. They too have their internal differences but they settle them internally, without creating public convulsions, agitating the Yiddish Press, and disturbing a large outside public which is not involved in the organization because it does not share in its responsibilities.

Considerable Damage

Considerable damage has been done already to the ZOA by those who have taken the initiative in agitating this controversy beyond the confines of the organization itself. The damage can be repaired if every Zionist will from now on concentrate his efforts upon the constructive tasks which challenge all of us—membership, expansion fund, Zionist public relations, Zionist education, youth work, economic projects and not least of all, UJA and JNF.

Three months of the current ZOA year are behind us. Only four or five months remain before the summer. If we do not gear ourselves to our maximum efforts immediately, we may not be able to come to the next Convention with a record of growth and progress. Only our enemies could wish that to happen.

There is so much to do and so little time to do it.

Israel Goldstein

(OVER)

acteristics of Dr. Silver which, despite his brilliant gifts and abilities, had brought about the present situation. "The difficulty is," said Judge Rothenberg, "that if one differed with Dr. Silver, or failed to do exactly as he wanted, one became a personal enemy in his eyes. Now this may be bearable when it concerns minor and intimate matters; but when it affects fundamental Zionist policies or the favorable attitude of the President of the United States towards our cause—the President who is now going abroad to deal with world affairs, including, in all likelihood, our problem. We did not think anyone had a right to gamble with the last hope of the Jewish people. Nevertheless, no resolution of censure of Dr. Silver was passed. It was he who resigned and declared his resignation to be irrevocable. Under all the circumstances, not all of which we can go into at this time, it seemed advisable to the Council to accept his resignation."

Dr. James G. Heller, Chairman of the U. P. A. recalled to the Council the fact that Dr. Silver himself had always with his accustomed eloquence maintained the duty of the minority to bow to the majority will as the essence of the democratic process. Yet he himself, so soon as his orders were not taken, had made effort to form an opposition Emergency Council against the will of his own body "to traduce the other Zionist leaders before the country and to misrepresent the issues involved." Hence the Emergency Council felt that it could no longer labor under the leadership of one who had showed so great a lack of responsibility and that his high gifts and unquestionable past achievements could not outweigh the crisis he had precipitated.

This "use of a bludgeon," Dr. Heller continued, has created an atmosphere within the deliberations of the Council which rendered impossible all tranquillity and all judicious facing of problems. Thus it was "no desire of revenge" nor any desire to "see heads roll" that had prompted the action of the Emergency Council, but merely the interests of the movement and its well-being.

Judge Louis E. Levinthal, a past President of the Zionist Organization of America, recalled that crucial meeting of the Emergency Council on October 30, 1944, when Dr. Silver himself insisted that the passage of the Palestine Resolution was not to be pressed if the reply of the State Department to our inquiries were even vague. Yet when thereafter he had pressed for the passage and done so clandestinely and against the decisions of the Council, he had indulged on December 21 or 22 in a two hours' attack on Dr. Wise and finally declared that he had never accepted the co-chairmanship of the Council. He wanted to be the sole chairman and intended Dr. Wise to be merely a nominal or titular leader. "I never knew that," Judge Levinthal continued, "none of the other members knew it. But even if that had been so, even that did not and could not mean that the chairman should in crucial and fatal political matters act in plain opposition to the democratically arrived agreements of the body which he led but did not own."

The case for the Silver side was staunchly defended by Marcus Abramson of the Bronx, and Abraham Goldstein of Hartford, who championed Silver's policies along the lines set forth in the addresses of Dr. Neumann and Mr. Fishman.

Sums Up

The closing and summing up address was that of Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization. Dr. Goldstein deplored deeply the impression created among the mass of Zionists by the spirit of undemocratic manner which would abide by no decision, which set up rival offices with large sums of money and seeks to darken counsel and agitate the public. People in our ranks who should be educated as Zionists, earnest and fine people, are being discouraged by a press-campaign which has no aim except to undermine the Z. O. A. itself in order to seize control. Hadassah, Dr. Goldstein pointed out, as well as the Poale Zion have their own internal stresses and strains. But the minority groups have not gone to the Yiddish and Anglo-Jewish press to press their points and traduce those who differed. With dignity and self-respect they had abided by the democratic process. Cannot the Zionist Organization conduct its affairs with comparable dignity?

"Now dear friends," Doctor Goldstein continued, "there are many things that need to be said, but I do not want to take your time now. Was it not, for instance, an outrageous thing to do to try to check on the veracity of a member of the World Zionist Executive, who had a conversation with the Secretary of State in the company of Doctor Wise and who brought back a report to Doctor Silver directly for his confidential information? Thereupon Doctor Silver wrote a letter to check up on the veracity of that member of the World Executive, and we know also of a letter to the Secretary of State which prompted a member of the Jewish Agency —not Doctor Goldman—to rise in a meeting of the Emergency Council and say: 'I protest on behalf of the Jewish Agency! This is unheard of, this kind of procedure.' And then we had the saddening spectacle of a reply by an undersecretary saying that the report was not quite accurate and finally a letter from the Secretary of State to Doctor Silver telling him that if he wished to have any reports of the conversation he could, of course, get all his information from Rabbi Wise.

"The Chair reminds me that I have reached the limit of my time. Let me say this in closing. In my judgment it is a very fortunate thing that Doctor Wise has maintained friendly contacts and access to our Administration and our government. We shall have great need of that friendship, if there is any validity in the point that the President of the United States can do more for us than Congress Resolutions. And I believe that that is a very valid point. The President can do things immediately; he can get ships for us; he can make plans toward shaping the future of Palestine in a practical way if he is properly cultivated, and to cultivate him you need a friendly and not an unfriendly access to him. And therefore I think we shall stand in very great need of Doctor Wise's talents and I can tell you too that Mr. Sol Bloom believes that the reorganization of the Emergency Council in its present form is very helpful. I can tell you finally that Senator Wagner said recently to one of our people that a Congress Resolution passed without the good-will of the President is worth less than no Congress Resolution and the President's goodwill.

"I am sure that I can leave this matter with you for your decision. There are many more things that need to be said, but they will not be said and therefore I do not feel inclined to accept any suggestion which would serve merely to continue this tension and this agitation. Let us solve the issue clearly on its merits and proceed with our work."

The question was thereupon called for and the action of the Administration and the reorganization of the Emergency Council reaffirmed by a vote of 74 to 23.

The Jewish Post — Friday, January 19, 1945

A Weekly Digest of The Yiddish Press

By RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

Support Rabbi Silver

The Yiddish press led the storm of protest last week against the shelving of Dr. Abba Silver by the Zionist Emergency Council. The scandal, instead of abating, grew. In the liberal "Day," S. Dingal served notice that he would not cease the outcry "until wrong is righted." An editorial in that paper accused Dr. Wise of "personally insulting" Silver. The socialist "Forward" expressed similar dismay; and so did the orthodox "Morning Journal." Many writers stressed that the Z.O.A.'s Administrative Council had not even thanked Silver for his past services.

The bitterness was noteworthy, and so was the near-unanimity. But the explanation of both is that they are firmly grounded. The Zionist masses, "with their healthy instinct for justice," (The Day) are demanding Silver's return to usefulness. Three factors enter into this demand—resentment, hero-worship, and Zionist militancy.

The Yiddish masses resent the petty jealousy displayed towards Silver, according to the Council's dissidents, for the past two years. They are sure he got a "raw deal." They are not even awed by his alleged "breach of discipline." "Since when," asks L. Kusman (Journal) "is breach of discipline a cardinal sin? The biggest such breach was America's Declaration of Independence." Besides, he declares, the people are 3 to 1 for Silver and he, therefore, has the democratic mandate.

This sentiment's emotional basis, is the great hold of Silver over most who have heard him. "I am thrilled," characteristically exclaims a commentator returning from the Pittsburgh conference which the rabbi addressed, "I'm not down to earth yet!" The Cleveland leader's oratory at the Atlantic City convention, at previous U.P.A. conferences, etc., all enter into the hero-worship.

But it is for his aggressive policy that the Yiddish public goes all-out for its man.

Gedaliah Bublick (Journal) avers that waiting for Roosevelt's "green light," which may never come, is the worst sort of self-abasement. Silver opposed this waiting, and went to Congress. Bublick declares the Wise faction's hampering of Silver displayed the Zionists' division to the State Department, and gave it a pretext.

And, in a sardonic comment, Kusman reminds us that every time we have given in to England, (our "friend") it has kicked us from behind. He points out that tortured Jewry cannot wait. "Let us take our destiny into our own hands, stop relying on sweet words, and demand deeds—soon and now!"

The masses mean business. They know the "score." They will be heard.

The Day — Jan. 1945

אמעריקאנער פאליטיקער און פראפעסארן אין א ריזיגער דעמאנסטראציע פאר א פרייער ארץ־ישראל

• • •

פון א. קריטשמאר־ישראלי

אידישע אינטערעסען

Forward 1-20-45

ווען מען דארף זאגען אביסעל מוסר וועגען אידישער אייניגקייט. — ווידער אמאל די אידישע קאנפערענץ און דער אידישער ארבייטער קאמיטעט. — א פארגלייך פון טאן ארבייט און טאן גארנישט. — די העברעאישע צייטונג „הארץ" פון תל־אביב וועגען דער פיקציע פון אידישען וועלט־קאנגרעס. — די עסטרייכער סאציאליסטען און די אידען. — א סטאטיסטיק פון ניו יארק, און וועלכער עס ווערט אנגע־געבען, אז אידיש פארנעמט דעם ערשטען פלאץ צווישען די פרעמדע שפראכען.

די פירער פון דער „אידישער קאנ־
פערענץ" האבען, דאכט זיך מיר,
אויסגעקליבען א שלעכטע צייט צו
זאגען דעם אידישען ארבייטער קא־
מיטעט מוסר אין נאמען פון אידישע
אייניגקייט. אין דער איצטיגער צייט
האט די „אידישע קאנפערענץ" זיך
גיכער געדארפט פארזארגען וועגען
אייניגקייט ביי זיך אליין, איך מיין
אין דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע,
צו וועלכער די „אידישע קאנפערענץ"
בלאנגט.

אין דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזא־
ציע איז א מחלוקת, אז עס פליהען
פעדערן אין דער לופט. און דאכט
זיך די ווינציגסטע אייניגקייט־ארבייט
פאר דער „אידישער קאנפערענץ" צו
שאפען אייניגקייט צווישען אירע איי־
גענע ציוניסטען.

איך ווייס ניט אויב ווייסל עס איז
געשריבען משה שערטאק, דער פאלי־
טישער פארשטעהער פון דער אידי־
שער אגענטור אין פאלעסטינע. ווען
ער האט געזאגט, אז דער קאמף צווי־
שען ראבאי וואיז און ראבאי סילווער
איז מער ווי אלץ א פערזענליכער,
אבער מען דארף אננעמען, אז משה
שערטאק ווייס וואס ער רעדט. ווענ־
יגסטענס דארף ער וויסען. זאגב איז
ער דא ניט לאנג צוריק געווען אין
אמעריקע און ער האט געהאט די גע־
לעגענהייט פערזענליך זיך צו באקענען
מיט די היגע ציוניסטישע פירער און
מיט דעם כאראקטער פון דער אמערי־
קאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע.
און אויב דאס וואס משה שערטאק
זאגט וועגן דעם קאמף אין דער היגער
ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע, וואו איין
פירער פאהרט אריבער דעם צווייטען,
איז ריכטיג, האט דאכט זיך די „אי־
דישע קאנפערענץ", וואס רעדט אין'ס
נאמען פון אידישער אייניגקייט, א
גאנץ ווינציגע שטיקעל אייניגקייט־
ארבייט ביי זיך אין דער היים, ביי
אירע אייגענע ציוניסטען!

און ווען עס רעדט זיך וועגען „אידי־
בעדערפענישען" דארף דאכט זיך די
„אידישע קאנפערענץ" וויסען, אז אויף
איר ערשטער יום־טוב'דיגער קאנפערענ־
שאן אין נויארק, אין וואלדארף־
אסטאריא האטעל, איז ראבאי הלל
סילווער אריבערגעפאהרען זיין חבר
ראבאי סטיווען וואיז. עס לעבט זיך
דעריבער אויס'ן שכל, אז ווען ראבאי
וואיז האט געקראגען א געלעגענהייט
אריבערצופאהרען ראבאי סילווער האט
ער עס מיט גרויס צופרידענהייט
געטאן.

די „אידישע קאנפערענץ", וואס
איז ספעציאליסט אין אידישע
אחדות און אידישע אייניגקייט און
וואו די פרומע מזרחי־ציוניסטען פאר־
נעמען אזא בכבוד'יגען ארט, האט
געוויס געהערט, אז דער פירער פון
די מזרחי־ציוניסטען, הרב מאיר בער־
לין, איז אין כעס געווארען אויף דעם
„מאפ"י" (אידישע ארבייטער פארטיי)
און האט רעזיגנירט פון דער אספת
הנבחרים און פון ועד הלאומי אין
ירושלים. לויט דער ערקלערונג פון
הרב מאיר בערלין האט די אידישע
ארבייטער פארטיי ניט געהאלטען אירע
פארשפרעכונגען, וואס זי האט גע־
מאכט צו דעם מזרחי און די פועלי
מזרחי.

אין דעם באריכט ווערט ניט אנגע־
געבען, וואס די פארשפרעכונגען זיינען
געווען, אבער אין באריכט ווערט גע־
זאגט, אז אויך דער ענגלישער קאפי־
טעל פון די פועלי מזרחי האט באַ־
שלאסען צוריקצוציהען פון דער אספת
הנבחרים און פון ועד לאומי איר
פארטרעטער.

מיר דוכט זיך, אז דאס צוריקציהען
זיך פון דעם מזרחי און פון די פועלי
מזרחי פון אספת הנבחרים און פון
ועד לאומי אין פאלעסטינע איז א
סך א גרעסערע זינד געגען דער אזוי
געריהמטער אידישער אייניגקייט, ווי
דאס צוריקציהען זיך פון אידישען
ארבייטער קאמיטעט פון דער „אידי־
שער קאנפערענץ" אין אמעריקע. ווער־
לען דאך די גבאים פון דער „אידישער
קאנפערענץ" אליין זיכער צוגעבען,
אז די אספת הנבחרים אין ירושלים
איז א סך א וויכטיגערע אינסטיטוציע,
ווי די אידישע קאנפערענץ אין ניו
יארק. איך גלויב דעריבער, אז די
„אידישע קאנפערענץ", וואס פאטענ־
טירט זיך אין אידישער אייניגקייט,
האט געדארפט געבען א פאר'ציגע מוסר
אירע מזרחי־ציוניסטען, וואס ברעכען
די אידישע אייניגקייט. אבער איך
האב ניט געהערט, אז זי זאל עס
האבען געטאן.

* * *

אגב וואלט עס מאקע געווען אינ־
טערעסאנט צו וויסען, וואס אייגענט־
ליך ס'טוט די „אידישע קאנפערענץ",
אויסער זאגען מוסר דעם אידישען
ארבייטער קאמיטעט פארוואס ער איז
ניט מקיים די מצוה פון אידישער
אחדות און האט זיך אפגעזאגט צו
זיצען מיט די קאמוניסטען אין איין
סוכה.

קען איינער אנדערש אפשר דער־
ציילען וואס עס טוט די „אידישע
קאנפערענץ"?

עס איז אנגעקומען א ידיעה אין
אמעריקע וועגען 150 טויזענט אידען
אין פוילען, וואס קענען אפשר גערא־
טעוועט ווערען. נאר ווער האט אנגע־
פאנגען קלאפען טעלעגראמען וועגען
דעם? דוקא איז דאס געווען דער
אידישער ארבייטער קאמיטעט. ער
האט זיך געווענדעט צום סטעיט דע־
פארטמענט; ער האט באוואויזען די
אמעריקאנער פארטרעטער אין לובלינער
און די ס. אי. פּ., אז זיי זאלען זיך
ווענדען צו דער רעגירונג און אפע־
לירען צו דער עפענטליכער מיינונג.
קורץ, ער האט געמאכט א געוואלד.
וואו איז אבער געווען די „אידישע
קאנפערענץ"?

נו, מען קען זאגען, אז פארלויפיג
האט דער געוואלד קיין ממשות'דיגע
רעזולטאטען ניט געבראכט. די 150
טויזענט פוילישע אידען זיינען נאך
ניט געראטעוועט געווארען דורך דעם
געשריי וואס דער אידישער ארבייטער
קאמיטעט האט אויפגעהויבען. אבער
דאס זעלביגע קען מען זאגען וועגען
אלע אונזערע געשרייען. גאנץ גלייך
פון וועלכער ארגאניזאציע זיי זאלען
ניט קומען. אין דער אמת'ען אבער
טרעפט עס אמאל, אז א געשריי טוט
עפעס אויף. אגב, שרייט מען ווען
עס טוט וויי. און האט דען די „אידי־
שע קאנפערענץ" אן אנדער ארבייט
ווי שרייען?

דער אידישער ארבייטער קאמיטעט
איז גראד ניט קיין שריי־ארגאניזאציע.
זיין ארבייט איז ממשות'דיגע הילף.
ער איז פאר דעם צוועק געשאפען
געווארען און ער דערפילט זיין אויפ־
גאבע. די „אידישע קאנפערענץ"
אבער האט דאך ניט קיין אנדער
אויפגאבע ווי שרייען. און אויב זי
טוט אפילו דאס ניט, צו וואס דען
טויג זי?

מחשבות'ן, וואס איז די אורזאך,
וואס ראבאי סטיווען וואיז האט זיך
צוריקגעצויגען פון דער פירערשאפט
פון דער „אידישער קאנפערענץ"? ער
איז דאך געווען איינער פון אירע
הויפט גבאים. מיר איז ניט באקאנט,
אז ראבאי סטיווען וואיז איז א כהן
און אז ער טאר דעריבער ניט געהן
אויף א בית הקברות.

* * *

ווי איר זעהט בין איך ווייט ניט דער
איינציגער, וואס האלט דר. נחום
גאלדמאנ'ס אידישען וועלט קאנגרעס
פאר א נעבלאסטער ארגאניזאציע. עס
לייען איך א ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל אין
„הארץ", איינע פון די פראמינענט־
סטע צייטונגען אין פאלעסטינע, און
איך זעה, אז די רעדאקציע פון דער
צייטונג קוקט אויך ניט בעסער אויף
דר. גאלדמאנ'ס קאנגרעס. נישט
מער, איך באנוץ דעם אמעריקאנער
ווארט „נעבלאסט", בעת דער ליטע־
ראטור־ארטיקעל שרייבער פון „הארץ" באַ־
נוצט דעם ווארט „פיקציע". דער אי־
בערזעצער, אדער „פּעפּעל" פון דעם
ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל איז „פיקציות מזיקות"
(שעדליכע פיקציעס). משמעות, אז
דער ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל שרייבער האט ניט
געקענט געפינען קיין עכט העברעאי־
שען ווארט, וואס זאל זיין אזוי גוט
צוגעפאסט צו דר. גאלדמאנ'ס קאנ־
גרעס ווי דער ווארט „פיקציע".

אין דעם ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל ווערט צו־
ערשט באמערקט, אז עס איז ניט
געווען קלאר פאר וועלכען צוועק דר.
גאלדמאן איז געקומען אין ארץ
ישראל און פארוואס ער האט גראד
אויסגעקליבען צו קומען ניט אין
איין צייט מיט דר. חיים ווייצמאן.
נאר אויב דאס איז דר. גאלדמאנ'ס
א פערזענליכע אנגעלעגענהייט, וועלכע
אבער די צייטונג וויל וויסען, פאר־
וואס דר. גאלדמאן האט געלאזט ווי־
סען וועגען א שטיקעל ארבייט, וואס
ער האט אפגעטאן אין ארץ ישראל,
ערשט אין א וואך ארום נאך זיין
אוועקפאהרען. די שטיקעל ארבייט
באשטעהט אין דעם, וואס דר. גאלד־
מאן האט געשטעלט אין ארץ ישראל
אן אפטיילונג פון זיין אידישען וועלט
קאנגרעס. און זי וואלט אויך וועלען
וויסען, פארוואס האט דר. גאלדמאן
געהיים געהאלטען וועגען דעם. ווען
ער האט אפגעגעבען א באריכט אויף
א זיצונג פון דעם ועד הלאומי, ער
האט אין דעם באריכט דערציילט, אז
א צוזאמענקונפט פון זיין אידישען
וועלט קאנגרעס וועט פארקומען אין
אמעריקע. אבער ער האט מיט א
ווארט ניט דערמאנט, אז ער האט
באשלאסען צו עפענען אן אפטיילונג
פון זיין קאנגרעס אין ארץ ישראל.
[illegible]

אויב ער האט אזא כוח געהאט,
באמערקט די צייטונג, האט ער דער־
פאר געהאט נעגעג גרונד, ווייל מען
קען ניט פארשטעהן צו וואס מען
דארף אין ארץ ישראל האבען אן
אפטיילונג פון דר. גאלדמאנ'ס פיק־
טיווען קאנגרעס. מילא, ווען דר.
גאלדמאן נארט די אידען אין די גלות
לענדער מיט זיין פיקטיווען קאנגרעס,
זאל ער; אבער ברענגען א פיקציע
אין ארץ ישראל האט ער זיך ניט גע־
דארפט דערלויבען, ווייל אין ארץ
ישראל איז אזא פיקציע באזונדערס
שעדליך.

דער ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל שרייבער פון
„הארץ" האלט, אז אפילו אין די גלות
לענדער איז דר. גאלדמאנ'ס נעבלאס־
טער קאנגרעס שעדליך. דר. גאלדמאן
און זיינע אונטערהעלפער, זאגט ער,
זוכען צו שאפען דעם איינדרוק, אז
זייער טאבעלייקע איז טאקע א ווירק־
ליכער קאנגרעס, וואס איז געוועהלט
געווארען פון אידישען פאלק, און אז
ער האט די אויטאריטעט פון אידישען
פאלק. נאר אין ארץ ישראל דארף
מען זיך נאך באזונדערס היטען פון
אזעלכע שעדליכע פיקציעס. די צי־
טונג ניט דערביי א קאפיטעל אנצו־
הערעניש, אז אט די מאכער פון די
פיקטיווע ארגאניזאציעס נעמען זיך
אן אויטאריטעט, וועלכע קיינער האט
זיי ניט געגעבען און זיי נעמען אן
רעדען ווי באפולמעכטיגטע פירער פון
פאלק און זאגען דעות. פו אט דער
[illegible]
דארטען פיגורירען ווי א געוועהלטער
פירער פון פאלק. און ווי איך פאר־
שטעה, האט מען דארטען מורא, אז
דער אינגעניער פון דעם אידישען
קאנגרעס קען אנמאכען טראבעל.

איך האב דא ניט איבערגעגעבען
דעם ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל פון „הארץ"
ווארט פאר ווארט. אבער איך גלויב,
אז איך האב דעם אינהאלט איבער־
געגעבען ריכטיג. דער ליטעראטור־ארטיקעל
איז געדרוקט אין „הארץ" פון דעם
8טען נאוועמבער, יום ו', י"ז חשון
תש"ה, תל אביב.

* * *

די ניעס, וואס איז געדרוקט גע־
ווארען אין די אידישע צייטונגען וועגען
די פיר אידען, וואס זיינען אנטלא־
פען פון ווין און וואס זיי האבען דער־
ציילט וועגען דער פריינדליכער באַ־
ציהונג פון דער עסטרייכישער אונ־
טערגרונד באוועגונג צו די אידען, א[...]
ווי א ליכטיגער שטראל אין א [...]
דיכטער פינסטערניש.

די פיר אידען האבען דערציילט,
אז עס האט זיך זיי איינגעגעבען [...]
אנטלויפען פון ווין קיין יוגאסלא[...]
וויע דורך דער הילף פון עסטריי[...]
כישע פארטיזאנען, וועלכע האבען
עטאבלירט א אונטערירדישע באַ[...]
צו ראטעווען אידען. די פארטיזאנער־
באוועגונג ווערט אנגעפירט פון דער
געהיימער סאציאליסטישער פארטיי
פון ווין, וועלכע איז די לעצטע
חדשים זעהר אקטיוו אין ווין. זיי
[illegible]

דער טאג

The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY. SUNDAY, JANUARY 21, 1945

WHAT OF THE PALESTINE RESOLUTION NOW?

An Issue Almost Forgotten in the Wise - Silver Controversy. —Passage of a Compromise Resolution Imperative Before the Organization of the United Nations Is Established.

By JACOB FISHMAN

Noted Yiddish Columnist and Zionist leader

What will now be the fate of the twice-deferred Palestine Resolution?

In the heat and turmoil of the Silver-Wise controversy there has been a general tendency to forget the Palestine Resolution, the introduction of which into Congress brought Zionism so effectively before American public opinion. There are, to be sure, a great many observers who feel that by accepting Dr. Silver's resignation the Zionist Emergency Council has bound itself not to urge the passage of a Palestine Resolution in the new Congress until Dr. Wise is given "the green light" by the President or the State Department.

I am not altogether certain that this interpretation is to be read into Dr. Silver's elimination from active leadership. This much, at any rate, is clear: Dr. Silver's opponents report President Roosevelt as having asked that the matter be left in his hands a little while longer. To many the first half of the reported request seems thoroughly plausible; with regard to the second—the time limit described as "a little while longer"—they express some doubt, feeling that the President may wish the decision on the Palestine question postponed till the conclusion of the war in Europe.

Sooner or later, the Emergency Council will have to decide what length of time is to be considered "a 'little while longer.'" It will have to decide how long its actions will be dominated by the doctrine of the green light. In the meantime, a very disquieting development is becoming evident. Dr. Silver's political opponents have begun to belittle the entire idea of a Congressional Resolution. For the time being they are doing it only in private conversations, but they will probably soon be asserting publicly that the Resolution need never have been introduced in Congress and that its political value is inconsequential. It is only the President's good will that matters, for it is he and not Congress that determines American foreign policy.

This point of view is held by Dr. Nahum Goldman and Dr. Bernard Joseph—both of them representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Dr. Joseph insists that we have made a great mistake in failing to stress the significance of the President's message of October 15th to Senator Wagner. He feels that by urging the passage of the Resolution in December we spoiled the fine effect made by the President's statement.(?)

As it happens, the present writer was one of those who did emphasize the importance of the President's statement immediately after its publication. In doing so, I pointed out that the statement was the end product of the intensive propaganda carried on in connection with the Congressional Resolution. I added that it seemed inconceivable to me that the Resolution would not easily pass both Houses after such a statement by the President and after Secretary Stimson in his letter to Senator Taft had expressly removed the military objections to the Resolution.

Soon thereafter—October 19—I surveyed the rather unfavorable general situation in which the Zionist movement found itself and, particularly, the indifference with which London reacted to the President's statement. "In the light of all this," I concluded, "it seems particularly desirable that the Palestine Resolution be passed by both Houses as soon as Congress reconvenes."

That is still my view of the matter, green light or no green light. If leaders of the Jewish Agency feel that the Palestine question can be safely left in the hands of the President alone I fear that they are making a sad mistake. I have recently pointed out that from our point of view, the solution of the Palestine question dare not be delayed till after the war. The existence of the crippling White Paper makes an immediate change of policy urgently necessary. We cannot be satisfied with the British policy of drawing out as long as possible the distribution of the last ten thousand immigration certificates remaining under the White Paper. It is clearly the British intention to make them last throughout 1945; actually, all ten thousand certificates should be used up in a few weeks' time—and could be if not for Government-imposed delays.

I fear too, that the above-mentioned leaders of the Jewish Agency fail to grasp a very significant factor in the situation—the role our Senate will play in any international decision affecting Palestine.

In 1918 America did not join the League of Nations. Five years after the publication of the Balfour Declaration, Congress confirmed America's support of the Declaration by passing the Palestine Resolution of 1922. The great value to Zionism of that Resolution is beyond doubt or question. In 1945, however, it is clear that the United States will be a charter member of the United Nations, the formal organization of which will probably take place this spring. It will be the Senate which will have to ratify American membership in the United Nations. Palestine will be one of the items on the agenda of the United Nations. Logically, it is therefore very important that the Senate declare its support for the Jewish Commonwealth as quickly as possible.

In this conclusion, it is essential to consider the future of the Palestine Mandate. We cannot permanently maintain our silence on this matter. We were silent when Britain violated Articles 15 and 18 of the Mandate,—as well as Articles 26 and 27 which forbid any alteration in the Mandate without the permission of the Council of the League of Nations.

It is generally assumed that the United Nations will take over the surviving interests of the League of Nations, mandates included. The United Nations may wish to preserve the mandate system as it now is, or may decide to substitute supervision by international commissions. I, for one, consider the latter preferable, but it is conceivable that in certain circumstances the United Nations might leave the Palestine Mandate in Britain's hands on condition that Palestine ultimately become a Jewish Commonwealth. I do not believe that a Jewish Commonwealth can be established before we have a Jewish majority in Palestine, but it does seem to me imperative that we be assured at once, in clear and unambiguous terms, of the right to free Jewish immigration and of the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth as soon as we have a majority.

As soon as the Zionist movement receives a formal pledge of this sort from the United Nations, it will be able to accept with equanimity a transition period in which a British Mandate will continue to function until the Jewish Comomnwealth is an established fact. But a complex political arrangement of this sort must be fully and publicly discussed and officially decided; it cannot be left at the last moment to the good will of any individual however powerful and benevolent. It is a matter for international jurists, not for politicians.

The more one surveys the situation, the clearer it becomes that the way to a satisfactory solution of the Palestine question must be paved by a Congressional Resolution passed before the organization of the United Nations is established.

Toronto Daily Hebrew Journal 1-22-45

Purely Commentary

By PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

By PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

A TRAGIC CONTROVERSY

Palestine, as he Jewish National Home, has long ago ceased to be a party matter. It obligates all Jews to strive for the major rescue efforts for our people. It involves international obligations for speedy redemption of Eretz Israel so that the problem of homelessness may be solved.

The conflict within the Zionist movement is therefore a matter of grave concern for all Israel.

It is a tragic controversy, and the leaders of the greatest reconstruction movement involved in it must end it speedily.

We are, at best, poverty-stricken in leadership, and we can ill afford either to have energies wasted or able men "purged" from leadership. Unless something is done at once to solve the issue created during the past two weeks, history will hold the men at the head of American Zionism in ridicule.

* * *

CHARGES AND COUNTERCHARGES

Other peoples, under normal conditions, can afford to quarrel internally. We who are in the process of building a homeland for the homeless dare not resort to such "luxuries." They are too heart-rending, too apt to hurt not only the people involved, but also the cause.

Here is the score:

Dr. Stephen S. Wise has made some serious charges against Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, accusing him of having "contravened the decisions of the (American Zionist Emergency) Council on a mater of supreme importance to the lasting hurt of our sacred cause."

Similar charges were hurled at Dr. Silver by Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America.

Now, there are counter-charges.

Harry L. Shapiro, who resigned as director of the Zionist Council, accuses Dr. Wise of having "committed grave breaches of discipline frustrating Dr. Silver's efforts with great detriment to the cause which Dr. Silver suffered to pass for the sake of peace."

Dr. Silver has also issued a statement in which he charged that Dr. Wise had sent a telegram to Secretary of State Stettinius, on he eve of a planned interview at the State Department, which "completely nullified the whole purpose of our visit and more than any other factor was responsible for the shelving of the Palestine Resolution." He states in his charge that the worst and most recent instance of undisciplined action by Dr. Wise "was the fatal telegram which he dispatched without my knowledge to the Secretary of State on the very eve when Senator Wagner and I were scheduled to see him in order to persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw heir objecions o passage of he Palestine Resolution."

Then there is the following paragraph in Dr. Silver's statement:

"All too often Dr. Wise treated the Zionist movement of the United States as a piece of personal property and has bitterly resented any new leadership which threatened his monopoly. His 'shtadlanuth' in Washington has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned. This weak-kneed 'shtadlanuth' policy has accomplished next to nothing for our people during these tragic years of slaughter and annihilation."

(Amazing, isn't it, that Dr. Wise, who had based all his efforts as a Jewish leader on democratic action as opposed to "shtadlanuth"—intercession by individuals—should now be charged with being a "shtadlan?")

* * *

A VOICE FROM ZION

It is no wonder, therefore, that Joseph Sprinzak, member of the Zionist Action Commitee, appealed to American Zionist leaders, at the "Small Zionist Congress" held in Tel Aviv last week, to "overcome their pety differences."

If our leaders do not overcome these differences the present conflict will be to their lasting disgrace.

American Zionists must let their voices be heard and they must force an end to the tragic comedy now being enacted in our ranks.

We dare not suffer from the irony of "love flying out of the window" because of a temporary setback in Washington.

We must not permit the spread of a nasty rumor that differences between leaders on the ground of their Republican or Democratic affiliations in American politics are responsible for the conflict.

Zionists must not permit the shelving of an outstanding leader like Dr. Silver over differences that should have been adjusted—especially since the impression has been given that there was unity of action in behalf of the Palestine Resolution.

The conflict began with two resignations—those of Dr. Wiese as well as Dr. Silver. The re-election of former and the virtual ousting by two of the four major Zionist parties in the American Zionist Emergency Council of the latter (who is Dr. Wise's junior by 20 years), gives the impression of a "purge." We cannot afford "purges" and we dare not permit the ousting from leadership of young and vigorously active men.

It is up to the Zionist rank and file to act and to protect the honor of the cause.

A

BNAI ZION ENDORSES LIPSKY STAND ON ZIONIST CONTROVERSY

New York (JPS) -- The Administrative Committee of Bnai Zion, fraternal Zionist organization of America, issued the following statement on the controversy in American Zionism, said to be an approval of the position taken by Louis Lipsky, its president and member of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization:

"The significance of the controversy in the Z.O.A. is being greatly exaggerated and misinterpreted, to the hurt of the movement. What has happened in the Zionist Emergency Council has no direct bearing upon the future course of Zionism. The controversy is an internal affair and involves such differences of views as are bound to occur in every movement. Such controversies are ironed out in due course in a democratic way.

"Nor should we be overly disturbed by the deferment of the Palestine Resolution which was intended to be only a means to an end. The deferment will not seriously deflect the progress of Zionism. It is no set-back. But what has happened should be an added incentive to seek the fulfillment of our purpose in other ways that are available. The deferment would be a serious blow only if it served to bring disorder in our ranks or to weaken our determination to strengthen the movement and to solidify and enlarge our position in Palestine. In the last analysis, the building of the Jewish homeland rests with us and nothing can for long prevent the attainment of our goal."

THE KANSAS CITY JEWISH CHRONICLE 1-26-45

Wise Answers Dr. Silver's Accusations

Declares He Acted Only in Best Interest Of Zionist Cause

NEW YORK, (JTA)—Dr. Stephen S. Wise, speaking here on the subject of "Zionist Divisions and Strife—Could They Have Been Avoided?" replied to the charges by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver that he is for "minimal Zionism," considers the Zionist movement of America "a piece of personal property," and is injuring the Zionist cause through a policy of appeasement, timidity and backstairs diplomacy.

"I would not know how to define 'minimal Zionism,' unless it have reference to non-Zionism, or to the non-Zionist viewpoint which not even Dr. Silver would accuse me of sharing," Dr. Wise said. "We are all maximal Zionists — that is to say, we believe in the cancellation without delay of the lamentable White Paper, We believe in unlimited Jewish immigration, and Jewish resettlement under Jewish control, at the earliest possible moment in Palestine. We believe in the reconstituting of Palestine, the Jewish National Home, as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Emphasizing that it was he who insisted that Dr. Silver become co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Wise pointed out that this in itself is the best answer to Dr. Silver's charge that he, Dr. Wise, seeks to maintain monopoly over the American Zionist movement.

"More serious than this absurb charge," Dr. Wise continued, "is the characterization of my service to the Zionist cause as 'shtadlanut,' which has been an egregious failure for many years, and not only as far as Zionism is concerned.

"If that charge be true and valid, I am not fit to serve as chairman of the Council, to which chairmanship I have again been elected. A Shtadlan in other days was a person who, before the days of democratic movements, democratically organized and democratically led, sought, by indirection and by personal and publicly unsupported exertions, to secure exceptional favor from those in power. If true, the charge were grave indeed. Whether it is true or not, I can safely leave it to my fellow-Jews and to leaders of the political life of my country to decide. Jewish history will take care of this and other calumnies now levelled against my head.

"Finally, there is the most far-reaching accusation of all, namely, that the speaker is responsible for the failure of the Senate to adopt the Palestine Resolution. Now the facts may, in truth must, be told. After a regrettable experience in the spring of the year, when the resolution was halted by the insistence of the War and State departments, the officers and members of the Emergency Council reached the unanimous decision—the co-chairman, Dr Silver, concurring—that no attempt should be made to bring about the adoption of the resolution unless the State department previously gave its approval. That approval was withheld, and the disapproval was thrice repeated. Again and again the Emergency Council resolved not to press for the adoption of the resolution in either House, in view of the circumstance that the State department saw fit not to give its approval. In persistent and never-ceasing contravention of the unanimously-reached decisions of the Emergency Council, Dr. Silver moved forward and sought to bring about the passage of the resolution, which he had every reason to know was for a time, and for reasons that had been made clear, disapproved by the State department and in friendly terms even by the President. In the end, the resolution was defeated."

C

Friday, January 26, 1945 Jewish Post

A Weekly Digest of

The Yiddish Press

By RABBI BENJAMIN SCHULTZ

Says Churchill Urged U. S. Passage of Resolution

That Winston Churchill himself, indirectly asked Dr. Silver to press his pro-Palestine resolution in Congress, is revealed, in connection with the Wise-Silver controversy, by Leon Crystal in the Forward. "I am all alone in my Zionist friendship," Churchill is said to have written to London leaders, "my own Conservative party, as well as military men, are against me. So America's voice must be strongly heard." Silver received this information in November. This proves, Crystal concludes, "that such a resolution would certainly not have harmed Anglo-American relations, as Silver's opponents claim."

J. Fishman reminds us (Morning Journal) that Roosevelt's pre-election statement was not enough, because it was obviously "pre-election." A Congressional resolution was certainly in order. Not only is the waiting for Roosevelt's "green light" tactical bankruptcy, he avers; but the United States Senate must act on every important world settlement. Therefore the Senate, as well as the House, had better take a stand now.

The communist Freiheit has been alone in its defense of Dr. Wise. "Its bitter attacks on Silver as a Roosevelt-hater," declares The Day's L. Spiceman, "have frightened me to death; and caused me to hear the voice of my own Zionist conscience. This conscience says to me — Silver is right."

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D Jewish News 1-26-45

Purely Commentary

By PHILIP SLOMOVITZ

ZIONIST LINE-UP

American Zionists are lining up in the current internal issue. While the executive and administrative committees of the Zionist Organization of America have taken a stand against Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his group, a number of districts throughout the land are supporting Dr. Silver's militant viewpoint and are demanding his return to leadership.

The situation is not helped any by the government's ruling against the holding of national conventions. But there ought to be a way out of the dilemma. Since various communities are taking definite stands in the issue that is marked by so much internecine strife, it should be possible to reach a decision by a plebiscite of Zionists.

This commentator urges such action as speedily as possible, and he sincerely hopes that the stand will be in support of Dr. Silver's return to national leadership in the Zionist movement. The sooner internal strife is ended, the better for all concerned, and especially for the unfortunate homeless Jews for whom Palestine's doors must be opened wide.

Anne O'Hare McCormick, in one of her highly interesting cables to the New York Times from Jerusalem, makes this statement:

"Meeting a trainload of refugees arriving in Palestine from concentration camps of Eastern Europe is an experience that explains why it is difficult to be objective or even rational on the subject of immigration into this contentious country. The immigration issue is tied into a Gordian knot with issues larger than itself, larger than Zionism or pan-Arabism. At the center of the knot is the question whether or not there is going to come out of this holocaust a world fit for Jews to live in, therefore fit for any human being to live in."

Her description of the horrors experienced by the refugees amply proves the contention that one can not be objective or rational, that speedy action is needed to rescue human beings.

This has motivated Dr. Silver to act vigorously in the present Zionist emergency—and his supporters refuse to admit that he had contravened decisions of the American Zionist Emergency Council any more than his antagonists, all of whom had backed up the Palestine Resolution in Congress. It was only when Zionism had suffered a temporary political defeat in Washington that love fled from the window of Zionist headquarters and the internal conflict began.

Dr. Silver IS a consistant and vigorous fighter for justice for Jewry and Palestine, and the Zionist constituency will surely reject any plan to eliminate him from leadership.

The errors committed by our leaders in control of the movement must be corrected immediately and Dr. Silver must be recalled to active service. The Zionists of America must act. The Zionists of Detroit and other communities should act promptly—and this commentator urges that they act in support of Dr. Silver.

Friday, January 26, 1945 Jewish Post

My Word!

By RABBI BEN KELSON

I see where the Z.O.A. has been having quite a rumpus about who let the cat out of the bag when the barn door was opened after the cow was stolen. Trying to make head or tail, cow or cat out of statement and counter-statement has me in a state of complete befuddlement.

* * *

What I get is that there was a meeting when everybody resigned. Then when things got quiet somehow some fellows sneaked back in. Or was it this way? Rabbis Wise and Silver got up together and mached out, but not by the same door. Rabbi Silver went out by the side door, but Rabbi Wise stepped out through the front door leaving the door open so he shouldn't have to ring the bell when he came back in.

* * *

Who was right, and who was wrong, seems to mean less than the fact that somebody's in a huff about somebody else being in a huff about precedence in the march to Washington. Memorandum, memorandum, who sent the memo? Brothers, would the result have been otherwise if Wise went ahead of Silver, or vice versa (I really don't know who got ahead of whom)? We don't know; we merely interject a small question mark at the end of the statement.

* * *

The question somehow seems to be dwindling to the eternal one in Jewish life: what can we mach, since we don't know who's the macher?

* * *

Would the brothers mind if I proposed that Rabbi Felix Levy, about whose life, times and character Rabbi Solomon Goldman writes so beautifully in the same issue of The Jewish Post, be made Chairman of all Chairmen and head committeemen and member of all memoranda? Judging by the description, he'd not be worried about who looks wiser and who sent what and who has the glory and honor, but would do what he'd do (Lord, cry the machers, what a reason for doing things, and in Hebrew!) L'shem shommayim and lemaan acheynu b'nai yisroel.

Jewish Post 1-26-45

Historic Wise Telegram Published First Time

Silver Forces Claim It Killed Palestine Resolution

Jewish Post Correspondent

NEW YORK—The by now historic telegram on which the Silver forces base their charge that Rabbi Stephen S. Wise sabotaged the efforts of the Zionist Emergency Council, and which has not heretofore been published anywhere, was finally secured by your correspondent.

The telegram, sent from Pittsburgh where Rabbi Wise was attending the American Jewish Conference, reached Stettinius as Sen. Robert Wagner and Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver were to see him to try to secure the "green light" for the Palestine Resolution, which as you know, was defeated on the word of Stettinius.

Herewith is the telegram in full:

PITTSBURGH, PA.,
DEC. 3, 1944

THE SECRETARY OF STATE,
STATE DEPARTMENT,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

IN VIEW OF YOUR MEETING MONDAY SENATOR WAGNER, I WISH TO MAKE MY POSITION AND THAT MANY ASSOCIATES UNMISTAKABLY CLEAR. WE WOULD OF COURSE ALL BE HAPPY IF THE CHIEF AND YOU COULD SEE YOUR WAY TO GIVE APPROVAL TO ADOPTION OF PALESTINE RESOLUTION IN BOTH HOUSES. POSTPONEMENT LIKELY TO BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY PUBLIC OPINION WHICH NATURALLY CANNOT BE INFORMED CONCERNING REASONS FOR DELAY.

IF HOWEVER CHIEF AND YOU SHOULD STILL FEEL THAT SOME POSTPONEMENT FOR REASONS ALREADY GIVEN, I TOGETHER WITH MANY ASSOCIATES DO NOT WISH TO HAVE ACTION TAKEN CONTRARY TO YOUR AND PRESIDENT'S RECOMMENDATION. SITUATION SHOULD UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES BE PERMITTED TO ARISE IN WHICH SENATE COMMITTEE WOULD BE INFORMED CHIEF'S OPINION COMMONWEALTH THROUGH YOU TO US IN CONFIDENCE. IN THAT CASE, IT WOULD BE BEST FOR SENATE COMMITTEE TO POSTPONE ACTION THROUGHOUT THIS SESSION. THIS TELEGRAM IS FOR YOU ALONE. WILL TELEPHONE TOMORROW AFTERNOON AT YOUR CONVENIENCE TO LEARN ABOUT RESULT OF YOUR TALK WITH BOB.

STEPHEN S. WISE.
William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh.

The Silver backers claim that this telegram, full of implications of all kinds, gave the State Department the excuse they needed to ask that the Palestine Resolution be shelved. It clearly indicates that Rabbi Wise was willing not to press or embarrass the present administration. It also can be said to show that Rabbi Wise worked behind Rabbi Silver's back, although both were co-chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Meanwhile as five districts of the Zionist Organization of America have already passed resolution in favor of Silver, a group is being organized to take the fight throughout the country looking forward to the next annual convention of the Z.O.A. in October when it is hoped that Rabbi Silver will defeat the present administation and take over.

דער טאג
The Day

NEW YORK — SUNDAY, SUNDAY, JANUARY 28, 1945

Whither U. S. Zionism?

Principles and Not Personalities Are at the Root of the Wise-Silver Controversy. — "Caution" Is Not Necessarily Statesmanship. — Which Shall It Be: The Crumbs of Consolation or the Fruits of Victory?

By WILLIAM KLEINFELD

The Inter-Zionist controversy, now a month old, has entered a new phase. The first series of statements and counter-statements seemed to point to a prolonged duel between Dr. Silver and Dr. Wise, and was labeled the "Wise-Silver controversy." It is becoming clear, however, that this is not the essential nature of the controversy. It is increasingly obvious that the real adversaries are a group of ZOA leaders who were not strong enough to bring about Dr. Silver's overthrow but manipulated a strained and difficult situation into a head-on clash between the two Co-Chairmen of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Behind that group are smaller and shadowy figures who have no real standing, no moral authority, no popular following, but have maneuvered themselves into key positions and wield power fantastically out of proportion to their weight or merit. Incredible as it may sound, it is they, the minions and satellites of the near great, working behind the scenes, who lay the plans, pull the wires and concoct the crises which shake the Zionist ship of state from stem to stern. The average Zionist knows little about all this. If and when he realizes the nature of the mechanism which governs his organization, he is likely to react vigorously and violently.

The process of education has begun and with it the controversy has entered upon its second phase. It is a struggle between Abba Hillel Silver and his supporters, backed by large masses of the rank and file, against a group entrenched in power and in full control of a large and powerful machine.

But the machine has been jolted and is wheezing. The ZOA Administration is frightened and angered by the wave of popular indignation over its high-handed actions now sweeping the country. Everywhere there are Zionists who decline to be regimented, who reject the "line" which is being handed out by their Administration and refuse to be silenced.

It is not surprising that a new and querulous note has crept into the official pronouncements of the ZOA Administration: the Emergency Council has been duly "reorganized" by the "democratic process." Everything is settled. Why does the controversy continue? Why is it carried on even beyond the confines of the ZOA? Why does it spill over into the Yiddish press? Let us have peace and a return to normalcy.

But there is no peace. The gentlemen of the ZOA Administration have miscalculated. They have underrated the intelligence of their constituents and their capacity for independent judgment. They had not foreseen the full consequences of their deed in removing from the political leadership the strongest figure in American Jewish life and the most dynamic and resourceful leader in American Zionism.

Nor is there any merit in the argument that the controversy should be confined within the ZOA like a domestic quarrel to be settled in the bosom of the family. This argument rests upon a profound misconception of the nature of the Zionist Movement. The Zionist Organization is not a lodge or a ladies' auxiliary of a home for the aged. It is the vessel and instrument of a great movement of national liberation which profoundly affects the entire Jewish people. Zionism has long ceased to be the private affair of any group or party in Israel. Its problems, its political policies, its leadership are a matter of vital and legitimate concern to all who have pinned their hopes upon it. They cannot be indifferent to what goes on in the Zionist Organization where principles and policies are involved, where the fate and future of a nation is at stake. Only small men lacking imagination can pout and fret over the interest displayed by the public.

This is doubly true of the present controversy and its implications. It is part of the current technique of the ZOA Administration to reduce it to simple and almost sordid terms. They would have us believe that no important issues of policy are involved. On the one hand there was a "contravention," a new term with which the vocabulary of Zionism has been enriched. On the other hand, there was a clash of personalities. There it is and that is all; just as simple as that!

This cheap view of the matter has been well advertised, and spread far and wide. Even people in Palestine seem to have swallowed the line, hook and sinker. If it were really so, if all that is involved were questions of procedure, internal discipline and incompatible personalities, they might properly and safely be left to a handful of people at the top, referred to this committee or that. The public has no great interest in semi-legal questions of "discipline" or "contravention" — matters for lawyers or near lawyers to chew over to their heart's content. But involved here are infinitely greater and wider issues, questions of policy, of political conceptions and political strategy, of the line the Zionist Movement is to follow in pursuit of its objective. These are questions on which people feel deeply and strongly because of their direct bearing upon the outcome of our national struggle.

For decades the Zionist Movement, backed by the Jewish masses, has been fighting against powerful odds. The ink of the Balfour Declaration had hardly dried when Britain began its great recession and dealt the Zionist Movement one political blow after another. Setback followed setback, culminating in the infamy of the White Paper of 1939. We fought, but our fight was largely a rearguard action along the line of retreat. We were forced to swallow compromise after compromise, hoping always for a better day and a new deal, and promising ourselves that when the right moment came we would turn, re-form our lines and undertake a great political offensive. When that moment came, we would fight like men. We would not temporize or compromise; we would not be put off with vague promises. We would demand full justice; insist upon it; accept nothing less. We would stand up to the mighty, whoever they may be. We would neither cringe nor fawn, but demand what is due to our people as a matter of right. All of that when the time came!

Well, the time did come, and America became a great battling ground for our people's cause. The decisive struggle was at hand; our great political offensive must begin.

But the great political offensive did not come off: neither in 1940, nor in 1941, nor in 1942. Our general staff — the Zionist

cont. on next page

cont. from p. 50

Emergency Council—which was to lead us into battle, was smitten with auto-paralysis. There were feeble movements, a muffled utterance here and there, uncertain stirrings—but no great forward movement. Deeper and deeper sank Zionist hopes; lower and lower sank Zionist morale. There was confusion, and mutterings in the ranks. "Why do we halt? Why do we not press forward? The time is growing short!"

"We stalled and faltered. The Army waited and stamped but our generals were either incapable of leading their followers into action or, what is more probable, lacked the courage of their convictions. Probably they did not really believe in fighting. They had been enervated by a long tradition of 'caution' and circumspection and counsels of timidity, which they rationalized into 'statesmanship.' They had no stomach for the grim battle with its scars and setbacks and fluctuating fortunes. Instinctively and in their hearts they put their trust in the favor and chance beneficence of the mighty. They spoke brave words, but like Micawber, waited for something to turn up.

"Such was the situation until Dr. Silver took over. He had a radically different conception and brought with him a new and militant spirit. It is significant that on an important occasion in 1943, addressing a Zionist audience, he quoted the immortal words of Marshal Foch at a critical juncture of the World War: 'We have been beaten on the right; we have been shattered on our left. Our center is broken. I have issued orders to advance on all fronts.'

"Silver took over the command and the great offensive was on at last. He believed in what he was doing and did it superbly. Inspired by his magnificent courage, steeled by his inflexible determination, the movement mobilized behind him and went forward with a rush to take position after position. The impact was terrific; the advance seemed irresistible. It was a headlong thrust—a frontal attack upon official indifference on the one hand and the unseen forces of anti-Zionism on the other. Clashes there were bound to be and strong resistance, but we were on the march! Were we going to press on to the end?

"It was not to be. From the circle of Silver's immediate associates—his colleagues—the old cry arose: Beware! Caution! Let us arrest this impetuous drive. We must not; we dare not. The risk is too great; the outcome in doubt. This man is dangerous; he must be removed. And Silver was 'relieved' of his command.

"What of the future course? Where do we go from here under the old-new leadership? Will it be the old policy of 'caution,' of picking up crumbs of consolation from the tables of the mighty and hoping for the best? Or will it be a continuation of Silver's political offensive under old-new generals? Will it be a cross between the two or—a wavering oscillation between the one and the other?

"These are the questions which weigh upon the minds and hearts of American Zionists. They explain the outburst of indignation over Silver's retirement and the insistent demand that he be recalled to leadership. They also explain why the controversy refuses to subside. . ."

ציוניסטען וועלען עהרען ראבאי אבא הלל סילווער

1-23-45

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די אידישע אגענטור וויל ניט אז דעלעגאציע פון „ווייזגרופע" זאל קומען קיין ארץ ישראל

1-31-45

Forward

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DR. SILVER APPEALS TO KING OF EGYPT FOR CLEMENCY FOR CONDEMNED PALESTINE JEWISH YOUTHS

NEW YORK, Jan. 28. (JTA) 1945 — Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Zionist leader, today sent a cable to the King of Egypt asking for clemency for the two Jewish youths who have been sentenced to death for the assassination of Lord Moyne. Pointing out that no just man can condone "their terrible deed," he added that "no merciful man can fail to take into account the despair and hopelessness of their people's plight which drove these youths to their reckless and tragic act."

D

BRITISH ZIONISTS OPPOSE PARTITION, REAFFIRM SUPPORT OF BILTMORE DECLARATION

LONDON, Jan. 29. (JTA) -- Reaffirmation of its support of the Biltmore Declaration, which calls for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth, and opposition to any partitioning of Palestine were voiced here last night by the British Zionist Federation, meeting in annual conference.

The meeting expressed the hope that Palestine, when it becomes a Jewish state, will be included within the British Commonwealth of Nations. It adopted resolutions condemning the terrorism in Palestine, protesting the official tendency to hold the entire Palestine Jewish community responsible for the outbreaks and the attempts to deprive the Jews of arms. Other resolutions protested the deportation of terrorist suspects to Eritrea and urged the admission into Palestine of the Jewish refugees interned on Mauritius.

The delegates voted to associate the Federation with the post-war program of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and declared that the new democratic order in Europe must ensure political and economic equality, and religious freedom and cultural development for Jews in all countries. They also suggested that a British Zionist delegation be sent to Palestine this year.

In a final resolution, the conference urged American Zionists to compose the differences which have arisen as a result of the controversy between the factions led by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

A report of the United Palestine Appeal given at the conference disclosed that $3,200,000 of the UPA's $4,000,000 goal has already been collected.

1/31/45

JEWISH AGENCY DOES NOT WANT DELEGATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS TO COME TO PALESTINE

JERUSALEM, Jan. 30. (JTA) -- The executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine today indicated that it disagrees with a proposal made by Bernard Joseph, legal adviser of the Agency, for settling the rift within the Zionist movement in the United States by inviting Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Rose Halperin and Rabbi Israel Goldstein to Palestine for conversations to determine a policy for the Zionist Organization of America.

The Agency executive feels that instead of inviting a Zionist delegation from the United States to come to Palestine, it is more desirable that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, David Ben-Gurion and the Mizrachi leader Jacob Fishman proceed to New York to straighten out the Wise-Silver controversy and to bring about unity in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America.

א טריבונע פארן פאלק

מיינונגען פון לעזער
וועגן פראגען פון טאג

ניט א יישר כח דעם „טאג" פאר שטעלונג צום קריזיס אין ציוניזם

חשוב'ער רעדאקטאר פון „טאג":—

רעליגיעזע פירט, א לעזער פון „טאג", עטליכע שורות אין דער „פאלקס טריבונע" פון אייער חשוב'ער צייטונג „דער טאג", אום אויסצודריקן אייך א הארציגן יישר כח און באגריסן מיט פרייד אייער עדיטאריאל „דער קריזיס אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם". דער דאזיגער עדיטאריאל דריקט נעמליך אויס די מיינונגען און סענטימענטן פון רוב מנין ורוב בנין ניט נאר פון די ציוניסטן אין אמעריקע, נאר אויך פון דעם רוב נאציאנאל געשטימטע אידען, וועלכע האבן אן אינטערעס בבנין עמנו וארצנו. מיט טיפער פאראנטווארטליכקייט, אינטעליגענץ און ערליכקייט דריקט דער עדיטאריאל אויס א קורצע און מאטיווירטע אפשאצונג פון רבי הלל סילווער אלס „מנהיג בחסד עליון" אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם, ווי אויך וועגן „דער באדויערנדער שטרייטליכער סיטואציע אין ציוניזם, וואס האט געפירט צו דער פריוויליגער אדער ריכטיגער—ארויסגעצוואונגענער רעזיגנאציע פון די בעסטע קעפ און ווירקזאמסטע פירער אין ציוניזם בעת צרה ומצוקה זאת.

עליך און אפגעהארטיג איז אייער קריטיק אין ספעציעלן, אז די חילוקי דעות, די צווייטעדיקייטן, וואס ניטער אן בתוך ארצי הציונית, ווענען טערי פעסטעס ניט לשם שמים, נאר פונעס צוליב פערזענליכער קנאה־שנאה, וואס איז, ווי איר זאגט, טעמאליך און נאר שיליך, ווען דאס קומט פאר „ביז אנשים פון השעת". אבער עס איז וויכטיגער צו זען די ניפטייטשעדליכע ווירקונג פון קנאה־שנאה אויפן די פירער פון ישראל אין אזא שעה „חרדת עולם".

איך וויל דא אויך אלס א פארגעט וואסליכער צוויטעקטישער טערער אויך פאראיכטערן, חשוב'ער רעדאקטאר, אז אייער מיינונג, אז די צייט פון שתדלנות איז אריבער, וואס פריגען אלערטעגס אנערקענונג. נאר אז אנרעסטירנג, דינאמישע פאליטיק—די פאליטיק פון רבי סילווער—פון פירן צו רעזולטאטען. יא, דאס איז געווען די מיינונג פון דעם רוב טאג־טעגליכע ציוניזם. ווער עס האט בייגעוואוינט די לעצטע ציוניסטישע קאנווענשאן—ואני בתוכם—האט קלאר געזען, ווי דער טויזנטער קעפיגער עולם האט מיט באגייסטערונג געשלאגן יעדעס ווארט פון זיין פאליטישן רעפארט, וועלכער האט באמת ערות געגאסן אויף דער דינאמישער אינטערנאציאנאלער פראגע און אויך זיין נביא'ישער זוריק אויף „והיה באחרית הימים" בנוגע ארץ ישראל און ציוניסטישע פראבלעמען. אפילו די אייגענע אפאזיציע־אינטערעסירטע, וועלכע האבן געווען צוליב קנאה שנאה זיך באטייט, פאחורי הפרגוד, אפצושטעלן דעם פאליטישן גאנג אין באוואונדערונג פאר רבי סילווער אלס א „מנהיג רוחני ופוליטי", האבן זיך אויך געמוזט בייגן פאר דעם „מעשה ווערק" ניטשט פון די רעזאלוציעס. און בעל כרחם האבן די געמוזט זאגן אמן צו אלע פאליטישע מיטלען און פארשלאגן פון רבי סילווער.

איך בין ספעציעל פולשטענדיג מיט דער שטעלונג פון „טאג" אין דעם אייבערדערמאנטן עדיטאריאל, אז די חילוקי דעות אין דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל וועגן א שיטה טראגעדיע און א קללה פארן ציוניזם. ניט ריכטיג, וואס די מעמבערס אין דעם קאונסיל וועגן פאר דעם ברייטן עולם געווען א „סוד", ווייסן מיר דאך, צום באדויערן—„סוד השמים הולך את הכול"—אז דורך איין מיר האט רבי סילווער פארשלאגן און געפאדערט פון די רעפרעזענטאנטן די ניי־יעקבס פארגענוגען פון א פרייער אידישער קאמאנוועלט אין ארץ ישראל תיכף ומיד און האט ניט מסכים געווען, אז עס זאל נאר אמאל אפגעלייגט ווערדען ביז „ביאת המשיח". און דורך דער צווייטער פליר וועגן, על אחת כמה וכמה חמחה, אריינגעמאנגען די דיפלאמאטען פאשיזם פון דער ציוניסטישער פירערשאפט און האבן אפגעשטעלט ווייטער ארבעטונג צו אלץ, וואס דער כטירי־ראפרעזענטאנט זאגט, איבערלאזזענדיג רבי סילווער) אחר במסיבות.

איך בין ניט קיין פאליטיקער אדער א דיפלאמאט. דאך פיל איך, און מיין שכל הישר דיקטירט אויך דאס זעלבע, אז די צוזאמענקונפט, די שטרייטלעך ששאפערטונג אין קאונסיל האט מעגליך מער ביינגעבראכט צו דעם צוריקהאלטן פון דער רעזאלוציע, ווי די פאליטישע לאגע אין דער מלחמה.

א יישר כח אייך פאר אייער עדליכע, פארגעוואוסטליכן רוף צו רעארגאניזירן תיכף ומיד דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, און צו רבי סילווער, וועלכער האט געפירט, עליך און ווייטזיכטיגערניש די בעסטע אינטערעסן פון ארץ ישראל, דעם ישראל, זיין בלייבן אויף זיין פאסטן צוזאמען מיט אנדערע, אום צו פארמיידן די טראגעדיע און קריזיס אין ציוניזם.

איך וויל נאכאמאל אויסדריקן מיין פארזיכערונג, אז אייער רוף וועט געווען האבן די הארציגע צושטימונג און אנערקענונג פון דעם רוב מנין ורוב בנין פון די ציוניסטן דא אין אמעריקע און אויך פון דעם ישוב אין ארץ ישראל. איך וויל נאר האפן, אז אייער רוף צו באווייזן און איבערפירען פאליטישע און פערזענליכע פירפארשטענדעניש, זאל אויך האבן א פאזיטיווע ווירקונג אויף די פירער אין ציוניזם, וועלכע האבן ביישטייערט צו דער רעזיגנאציע פון די ווירקזאמסטע כחות אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם.

ברגשי כבוד וברכת ציון,
יעקב גינזבורג, באסטאן.

א שלום צווישן אידיש און העברעאיש

חשוב'ער רעדאקטאר פון „טאג":—

די לעצטע נאכריכט פון דעם אידיש־העברעאישן פראנט:

...אין אידישע לאבאראטאריעס אין תל אביב זיינגען אידישע אפטעריען לידער אין—אידיש... אין געקומען דער תל אביב'ער שטאטראט און אפגעזאגט די באלאבאטים פון די קאפען, אז די קאנען זיך אויסלייבן: פארווערדען זיינגען אידישע לידער אדער—פארמאכטן די טירען...

(„פרייע ארב. שטימע", דעצ. 8, 1944).

איך גלויב ניט אין א שלום צווישן העברעאיש און אידיש אזוי לאנג, ווי אין ברודער שטרעקט אויס א האנט פון שלום, און דער צווייטער ברודער האלט א האק אונטער דער פאלע.

ווארפט אוועק די האק, ברידער!

לאמיר שאפירא.

דער כלל ישראל אין דער עיקר

חשוב'ער רעדאקטאר פון „טאג":—

ס'איז וועזר א ביטערער אמת, אבער פארט אן אמת: לאנדסלייט פון דער ליפערנאנגיזאציעס וועגן פאראינטערעספירט בלויז אין דעם, צו ווערט איז געגעבן וועגן פארבליבן. נאשטייליך, עס וועגן דא יוצאים פון הכלל. מיר ווילן קאמפאניס אינטערעסירט: אויב אידעס וואוגן, חלילה, ניט פארבליבן. וועגט די פארבליבענע אידעס... די דריי־אויסצוזאמען נשמות, וואס וועגן פון טירענס לעבנגעבליבן און אנגער דער שטעטעלע אין וואלין, וועגן אלע אונזערע אייגענע. ניט כן ישראל, נאר כלל ישראל אין דער עיקר.

מיט אכטונג,
א. ח. העלער.

The Crisis In American Zionism

FOR SEVERAL MONTHS a storm has been brewing in American Zionism. The causes—regrettably or fortunately, depending upon one's viewpoint—were not ideological differences but, plain and simple, personal jealousies and rivalries of the top leaders of American Zionism, the president of the Z.O.A. and the co-chairman of the Zionist Emergency Council, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. The crisis came to a point of eruption last month when the "Palestine Resolution," whose passing seemed assured after the President's encouraging pre-election message to the Zionist Convention in Atlantic City, N. J., was withdrawn for the time being upon the request of President Roosevelt and the State Department.

No doubt the deferment of the Palestine Resolution is a great set back and a severe disappointment. However, to hold Dr. Silver responsible for it and make him take the full blame is about the most unexpected and unintelligent reaction one would have expected from the Zionist leadership. If not for Dr. Silver and his activities, American Zionism might never have been able to gain the powerful political support which opened the road for the projecting of the "Palestine Resolution" and the inclusion of the "Palestine Plank" into the platforms of the Democratic and the Republican parties.

Dr. Silver's merits for the Zionist movement, and more particularly, the Zionist Emergency Council are singularly valuable and distinguished. He is among the ablest men in the movement and the Jewish people and Zionism can ill afford to lose his dedicated services at this crucial moment.

In connection with Dr. Silver's resignation, forced rather than voluntary, from the co-chairmanship of the Zionist Emergency Council, one is wondering why men of intellectual stature can not hold office in American Zionism for any length of time. There was the case of Dr. Solomon Goldman, one of the ablest ideologists and thinkers in the American rabbinate . . . There were the cases of Jacob De Haas and Louis D. Brandeis . . . Like Dr. Silver, these eminent leaders of another day were disowned by American Zionism.

Observing the American Jewish scene as a whole and the Zionist scene in particular, one cannot help feeling that intellectuality and intelligence, coupled with broad general knowledge and comprehensive Jewish spiritual-literary attainments, are the qualities least desired in a Jewish leader.

It is high time for the *anshei ho-ruach*—the men of intellect and the deed born of the intellect—to grasp firmly the reins of leadership instead of permitting the mediocrities to rule and ruin.

The Jewish Spectator

THE VICTORY OF DEMOCRACY

(Continued from page ...)

argument against the destruction of the Conference, pointing out the importance of the agency in the grave tasks covered by its present scope.

On the final day of the meeting, caucus after caucus went on record in support of the General Committee's ruling that "the American scene" was irrelevant and out of order, and as already indicated, the vote was overwhelming. The American Jewish Congress bloc, committed to "the American scene," refrained from voting, and the Independent bloc announced that it would propagandize for "the American scene" during the coming year. But Dr. Stephen S. Wise, President of the American Jewish Congress, in the final address of the Conference, supported the view that "the American scene" could not be included in the Conference either on legal or moral grounds.

This whole development overshadowed everything else except, perhaps, one of the most magnificent speeches ever delivered: the report on the Conference's Palestine Commission by its chairman, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver. In it, he told how his Commission had worked to implement the 1943 Palestine Resolution: the setbacks, the heartbreaks, the victories, the difficulties, the distance yet to go. Then he launched into a description of the Jewish tragedy, and the place Palestine should have in ending that tragedy, and he concluded with a lyrical appeal to the conscience of the world to allow the Jews to "build that to which we set our hands to build." It is impossible to indicate his eloquence in cold type.

The other major reports were on Post-War and Rescue.

In the time that remained after the issue of "the American scene" had been disposed of, the Conference took the following actions:

- It determined to hold a third session within 12 months, without new elections.
- It admitted to membership the Jewish People's Fraternal Order, an action which caused the Jewish Labor Committee to withdraw from the Conference, charging that the Fraternal Order was Communist-dominated. The National Association of Jewish Center Workers was also admitted to the Conference.

JANUARY, 1945

A Jan. 1945 **Unity With Discipline** OPINION (Ed. by Stephen S. Wise)

OPINION is loath to fish in the Zionist waters, which have been muddied by unwholesome and hurtful strife. And yet, apart from the relation of its chief Editor to the problems involved, it cannot help commenting on the unseemly conduct of them within the Zionist leadership who have dragged differences of Zionist opinion into the public press. It seems to be beyond doubt that the American Zionist Emergency Council, upon two or three occasions, deliberately reached the decision not to proceed with the Congress Resolution unless the approval of the State Department could be gotten. A different method of dealing with the question resulted in the action of the War and State Departments in the Spring of the year, halting the passage of the Resolution. The approval of the State Department was sought but not secured, and such approval necessarily depended upon the decision of the President. In a manner that was friendly and that was meant to be helpful, the President, through the State Department, led the Zionist leaders to feel that, inasmuch as Palestine would be one of the subject of discussion at an early date among the leaders of the United Nations, it was not desirable that the Resolution before both Houses of Congress should be presented at this time.

Whether that judgment was valid or not, it was the judgment of a friend who, through Senator Wagner, had addressed to the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America the best Zionist statement that has appeared since the Balfour Declaration. Whatever lay behind the decision of the President and the State Department, the Emergency Council rightfully resolved not to proceed. Despite such decision, and in deliberate and even wilful violation of its spirit and letter alike, the Chairman of the Emergency Council Executive, without a scintilla of approval from its Executive Committee, moved forward so recklessly and irresponsibly as to justify the opinion that he not only courted and welcomed defeat of the Resolution, but was primarily concerned with interests other than those of Palestine. In any event, American Zionism is rent as it has not been rent in its history. The problem before Zionists is to restore order in their house. It may well be that long before this editorial is printed, order shall have been restored, irresponsibility shall have been eliminated from the counsels of leadership, and the Zionist Organization of America shall have reached decisions compatible with the true interests of Zionism, and the status and position of the Jewish people in America. With true appreciation of the personal relation of its chief Editor to the entire matter, OPINION declares it to be its conviction that the prudence of statesmanship rather than the recklessness of demagogy must be secured, that it may preside over the affairs of Zionism. Nothing less can save the movement from the disaster which it appears some of its leaders are more than half prepared to bring about.

By way of postscript to the above, it remains only to be added that it is good to learn that the Emergency Council has undertaken a thorough housecleaning of its affairs, that the resignations of all its officers have been accepted, and that at an early date a reconstituting of the Council is to be effected. In the meantime, it may be decided that it is no longer necessary to continue the Emergency Council in view of the circumstance that the Executive of the Jewish Agency is adequately represented here, and can efficiently perform all Zionist tasks of a political character. OPINION grieves to say that the Emergency Council has presented a sorry spectacle insofar as its decisions not to press forward have been obviously contravened by some of its leaders. That intolerable condition will evidently not be suffered any longer. Unity is needed in Zionist life, but it cannot be unity at the expense of discipline, order, and the observance of the elementary amenities and decencies of democratic organization.

WEISS AMERICAN JEWISH ARCHIVES

B Bnai Zion Voice Jan 1945

LACK OF STATESMANSHIP

A MORE inopportune moment for the public display of Zionist intramural controversy could not have been selected by the leaders in the American Zionist Emergency Council for a settlement of their differences. The whole unpleasant incident synchronized with the deferment of the Palestine Resolution. Had the passage of the Resolution failed merely because of governmental intervention and nothing else was involved, the Zionists would have faced their disappointment with determination to overcome all difficulties. But the incident was used to feed internal factionalism, to give vent to personal animosities and to establish—in the heat of the moment, in a mood of anger and indignation—the guilt of the leadership of the Council, specifically of Dr. Silver. Thus, the political crisis served to break the Zionist front.

That grave mistakes have been made may readily be admitted. But these mistakes were not confined to any one officer and the award of praise or blame (medals or penalties), could have waited for another time. We are living through a critical period. This was the first time in two decades that the American Zionist movement had grappled with the difficulties of a public campaign in the political field. The old standards of action do not hold good any more. New methods had to be found and discarded when they proved to be of no value. To have slipped and tried to recover balance; to have started wrong and to have righted oneself as one went forward; that was probably the only course that could have been followed. It could not be expected that everything would move according to plan or that you could avoid improvisation when pressed for action to span the distance from one step to another. This was a time in the Zionist movement when a touch of daring could be welcomed, provided the

retreat were covered, provided sobriety of judgment were maintained. This was a time of all times when there should have been mutual confidence in leadership, concentration exclusively on the objective, forgetfulness of self.

That spirit has not been evident in the leadership of the American Zionist movement during the last few months.

Instead of finding a way to maintain responsibility without exposure of weaknesses, seeking to prevent the bond of brotherhood from breaking, subordinating a desire to condemn to the interests of the larger maneuver involved—the whole exasperating affair was thrown into the cauldron of public discussion and not only have the Zionists been regaled with a battle of their leaders, but notice has been given to the great outer world—to government, to Senators and Representatives, to Christian and labor friends—that a state of disorder and internecine warfare prevails in Zionist affairs.

Even in groups that have little experience in the amenities of public life, attempts are always made to adjust differences, to settle controversies within their own four walls and to let the inevitable happen only after every effort has been made to avoid a public exhibition of quarrel and recrimination.

It must be said, with deep regret, of what is now going on in Zionist circles that peace-makers were conspicuous by their absence; that there was an oversupply of vindictive seekers for personal victories; and that real statesmanship was lacking.

'YOUTH + NATION', HASHOMER HATZAIR

Set-back in Washington

THE failure of the Palestine Resolutions to reach the floor of the present Congress and the postponement of the decision until the new Congress convenes, may well be regarded as a serious setback to the Zionist efforts in Washington this year. Although the House Foreign Relations Committee, was favorably disposed towards the resolution it was stopped by the House Rules Committee. The Wagner-Taft Resolution was deferred at the same time by Senate Foreign Relations Committee by a 12-8 vote. The fact that this happened at the request of the State Department, acting as it appears, on the advice of the White House, gave rise to considerable anxiety among Zionists who still remember the ringing promises read to them on behalf of the President at the Zionist Convention only two months ago.

Jan. 1945

Without underestimating the meaning of the present setback, Zionists must not forget, however, that this does not in any way spell the end of the Palestine resolutions. They should, and in all probability will, again be presented to the new Congress which may pass them in both houses, without difficulty. But it must also be remembered that with all their importance as an expression of American sympathy for our suffering people, their political value must not be overrated, since they add little to the already expressed sympathies in regard to Jewish Palestine ever since the days of President Wilson, and from a legal point of view, are of negligible weight.

The present setback is the product of a policy pursued by a willful minority within American Zionist leadership and it is an open secret that it has precipitated a serious crisis within the American Zionist Emergency Council. Yet it is not too late for the Emergency Council to regain its grip on the framing and pursuance of Zionist policy in keeping with the democratic character of the Zionist movement, so that no individual leader, regardless of his forensic gifts, may in the future act on behalf of this body without regard for majority decisions.

As we near the end of the war we also approach a decisive period for the future of Palestine. The Zionist movement must be united; it must be alert; and it must strive to throw every Jewish and progressive force behind the basic Zionist demands. Political declarations, important as they may be, coming from leading statesmen, are not sufficient now. We must fight for those political conditions which will enable us to bring immediately a large Jewish immigration into Palestine, and the development of broad plans of colonization. It is our duty to prepare and to publish now a detailed plan for the absorption of this immigration and the development of Palestine which will seize the vision of our people and capture the imagination of the entire world.

BROOKLYN JEWISH CENTER REVIEW

Vol. XXVI JANUARY, 1945 — SHEBOT, 5705 No. 20

THE NEED FOR DR. SILVER'S LEADERSHIP

WE ARE witnessing an interesting psychological phenomenon in American Jewish life. Never before in American Zionism has there been such discordancy of sentiment, such violent clashes between the elected Zionist representatives and their constituents, involving Zionist leadership.

The Administration of the Zionst Organization of America—the Executive Committee and the Administrative Council—voted by large majorities to approve the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and as chairman of its Executive. Such action, in the light of the antecedent situation, is tantamount to the repudiation of the policies of Dr. Silver in the Council and to his elimination from official ranking Zionist leadership in this country.

This conduct of the Administration is contrary to the expressed will of what appears to be already a major segment of the rank and file of loyal Zionists throughout the land. Many Zionist Regions which have debated and considered the subject at length have overwhelmingly expressed their endorsement of Dr. Silver's program and leadership. They deplore the attitude of the Administration as a disservice to Zionism. Re-enforced by the entire Yiddish press, other Zionist bodies, and the great body of individual Zionists, they declare Dr. Silver's services to Zionism to be indispensable, and vigorously demand his retention in office.

The heart and mind of the Zionist public beat spontaneously in unison with the aspirations and activities of Dr. Silver. Ardent and true Zionists know that there is no more sagacious, loyal or indefatigable servant of the cause than he. With scorn, they reject as egregiously magnified and as specious the charge that he breached the discipline of the organization and thereby merited the ostracism inflicted.

They are not impressed by the argument that he injured the interests of Zionism by pressing for the passage by Congress of the Palestine Resolution in the absence of a "green light" from the State Department. There was no clear, imperious mandate which disabled Dr. Silver from pursuing the course taken by him, under pain of his subsequently being denounced as a virtual traitor to Zionism. They also consider reprehensible the studious efforts by some Zionist leaders to make it appear that he has become a pariah even to the White House. It is inconceivable to them that, after the Democratic and Republican parties had adopted planks favoring a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, and after the President had forthrightly and unqualifiedly pledged his efforts to bring about such Commonwealth in the event of his re-election, Dr. Silver would be committing an offense against the Chief Executive in going forward as he did, with dignity and decorum, to bring the matter to its natural and logical conclusion.

The ranks of Zionism feel baffled and bitter. They behold with dismay the undeserved removal from the edifice of Zionist life of one of its sturdiest props. A great void has been created.

Dr. Silver is a dynamic and constructive leader with a coherent, positive program. Magnificently equipped, and ideally fitted for discharging Zionism's heaviest responsibilities and consummating its immense opportunities, Dr. Silver is a tower of strength not only to the cause, but to its adherents. With brilliance and force, he has expressed the innermost aspirations of the Zionist movement to the Jewish and non-Jewish world. Ably and persuasively, he has inspired sympathy and support for Zionism in all quarters.

In this crucial, tragic hour of Jewish life, the matchless courage, fervor and resourcefulness of Dr. Silver are sorely needed. The Zionist masses cannot afford to be deprived of his stimulating and sustaining guidance. Their wholehearted and persistent cry for his return to leadership cannot be stifled or ignored.

Heavy though their hearts may be as a result of this controversy, Zionists will not lose faith in the movement nor slacken their efforts to achieve its goal.

All of us must, under any circumstances, diligently strive for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. To that end we should unremittingly continue with the manifold activities required for the strengthening and advancement of the Zionist bodies and the Zionist movement.

— Louis J. Gribetz

BNAI ZION VOICE
Jan. 1945

HERALDS OF A STORM

By MEIR GROSSMAN

It is understood, of course, that Mr. Grossman expresses his own personal views in the article which follows, and that THE VOICE *does not subscribe to a number of his conclusions. Mr. Grossman is certainly not fair to the Zionist Emergency Council when he charges it with failure "to formulate a program which calls for a Jewish State, within the historic boundaries of Palestine." It was never the duty of the Emergency Council to formulate programs of its own. It was pursuing an objective approved by the highest Zionist authority and it had no right to engage in independent activities. It was engaged in winning the support of American public opinion for the approved Biltmore Resolution. Nor was it ever in a position to dictate to the Committees of the American Congress the acceptance, in the same terms, using the same cliches as had become habit in Zionist circles, of the precise resolution that reflected Zionist formulas. But the resolution reported out of the House Committee served the purposes of the movement effectively.*

A GRAVE INTERNAL crisis, accentuated by bitter personal friction in the leadership confronts the American Zionist movement. It will be exploited by our enemies within and without, and an attempt will be made to attribute the controversy—which now appears to have reached an impasse—to inherent weakness in the Zionist movement.

But a long-range view, based on experience in similar developments elsewhere, dictates a saner and calmer attitude.

If we are to avert adverse psychological consequences the present conflict should not be exaggerated. The rift, while in itself unpleasant, untimely and harmful, may ultimately bring positive results. The heated discussions in the press and at conferences are painfully recriminatory. But the flow of arguments in an effort to establish a case in defense of one or the other point of view is bound to impel many a Zionist to survey the whole position of the movement and find the real causes that led to the present crisis. One will discover that the issues are in fact superficial, organizational and personal, but that more important and deeper causes exist that hamper Zionist political activities. This will later inevitably lead to a more critical evaluation of personalities and their policies. Because every air-clearing storm begins with a dark little cloud—every revolution with conflicts and friction that seem to be simple and easy of solution. History often records that unconnected issues and minor incidents develop into revolutions that change the destinies of peoples.

Therefore (and not just because I am an outsider, not involved directly in the immediate struggle, but merely to apply a sense of proportion and persepective), I see in the present conflict within the Zionist Emergency Council a minor event which proves only that there exists in American Zionism a state of affairs apt to bring a complete realignment of forces and a reshuffling of leadership. In the main, it reflects a general uneasiness in the Zionist camp, due to the shortcomings of the leadership, constant defeats and lack of vision, both in the outline of ultimate aims and the methods employed to attain them. Only when things look bad, as they do today, people begin to look for scapegoats and indulge in personal recrimination. The public airing of difficulties, if confined to honest and accurate comment must, however, result in a clarification of the fundamental issues which are hidden behind a cloak of criticism and counter-criticism. One who looks at the conflict from a distance is likely better to appraise its significance, and to put in the proper place the various elements of the fight and the personalities involved in it.

That the American Zionist Emergency Council, immediately following the outbreak of the war, did not succeed in mobilizing all Zionist forces, and still less the non-Jewish public opinion, in this country, is an undeniable fact. It did not lead the movement, nor did it conduct a political *offensive*. It was invariably *on the defensive*, reacting only to restrictions and attacks from the outside. For months it took no definite attitude on such questions as the creation of the Jewish Army or the formulation of Zionist political aims. It established no contact with the political forces of this country and always trailed behind swiftly moving events.

Built on strictly party lines, conforming to the composition of the official Zionist leadership, and excluding the opposition groups within the Zionist organization, the Council moved slowly, doing its routine work, without cognizance of the great changes that had taken place in the Jewish position, the tempo of political life and the methods that are required under war conditions—rapid and clear-cut decisions.

The Council has been organized twice. The purely technical changes had not invigorated its work nor did they make it the leading body of Zionism in this country, or the leader of the American Jews, as one would have expected it to be. It operated mainly within its four walls, with antiquated machinery, and permitted others to capture the imagination of Jews and non-Jews by deeds which were often contrary to the interests of the Jewish people. The appearance of the chain of "Committees," operating under various names and offering different wares, was a direct consequence of the vacuum created by the absence of a militant and effective Zionist leadership in this country.

When the Zionist Emergency Council was reconstructed and Rabbi Silver was entrusted with active leadership, the drastic change could not escape even a superficial observer. A considerable budget, of which even the World Zionist Organization could not dream ten years ago, was put at Rabbi Silver's disposal. The impact of a new orientation and new methods was felt immediately. The tenor of Zionist propaganda changed. The

publications that began to appear stated the Zionist cause more clearly than ever before. The representatives in Washington took on a more forceful character. Contact with major political groups in this country was established on a footing that had never been visualized before. The formation of Emergency Councils throughout the country engaged, for the first time, local Zionist leaders in political work, which gave them both training and satisfaction. While no one should credit Dr. Silver's leadership alone for the inclusion of the Palestine plank in the election platforms of both parties and the subsequent statement issued by President Roosevelt, they nevertheless are a part of the achievement to which the revitalized Emergency Council may point.

All these political activities—a milestone in Zionist political work here—were, however, of a one-sided character. They concentrated on one issue—securing public support for the Jewish Commonwealth idea—and presented no all-inclusive and comprehensive Zionist plan for the reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Also, fundamental Zionist issues were entirely overlooked in all Zionist conferences and meetings, thus reducing the educational work to pure generalities.

Dr. Silver, who represented the more militant and aggressive point of view, agreed in December 1944 to changes in the Palestine resolution for which alone he should be reprimanded. Trying to get results under any circumstances, and to force the resolution through Congress despite the opposition of the Executive branch, he agreed to changes which made the resolution almost valueless. He consented to the elimination of the word "Jewish" before "Commonwealth," to the unhappy reference to the "ultimate" creation of such a Commonwealth, and permitted the deletion of any reference to the "appropriate" measures which the United States Government was asked to take in order to secure a Jewish homeland. Even if one shares the opinion that a Palestine resolution should be forced against the will of a vacillating Executive branch, the question arises whether resistance to the will of the President and the Department of State was worthwhile for *an innocuous resolution*, in which there was no reference to a Jewish Commonwealth, no reference to the frontiers of this Commonwealth, and no reference to a Jewish majority.

Militancy and aggressiveness are permissible only for the sake of the great and fundamental. One may even break "discipline" if he believes that by so doing he is rendering a great service to the cause. (I have done this myself.) But of what use is a resolution described by the *Jewish Chronicle* of London quite rightly as "toothless"? What prompted the urgency of a move to resist the State Department when, even if the resolution were adopted, it would represent nothing more than an expression of sympathy and would, in fact, whittle down the planks of both major parties and the statement by President Roosevelt? Militancy for the sake of the appearance of political success was certainly ill-advised.

Therefore, on the merits of the case as limited to the procedure adopted to get the Palestine resolution through the Committees of Congress, Rabbi Silver was deserving of a reprimand. He was aggressive, it is true, but for a vain cause, and at the wrong time.

However, it is most curious, and reveals the precarious state of affairs in the American Zionist leadership, that the attack on Dr. Silver emphasizes not his agreement to a resolution which asked for nothing and represented less than already achieved, but his *alleged militancy* and *breach of discipline*. Admittedly, there may have been a measure of undisciplinary action by Dr. Silver in not consulting his colleagues and acting arbitrarily. But Jewish public opinion would dismiss these charges as insignificant. I contend that in reality there was *no division* of opinion, but disagreement on procedure, which is a lesser matter. The arguments used by the anti-Silver forces reduces the issue from one of principle and ideology to a matter of procedure and organization. The flimsy pretext for ousting Dr. Silver led inevitably to personal recrimination.

The truth is that both parties are guilty of a lack of political consistency, of withholding from their constituency the real issues, and of maintaining a false front, which conceals the absence of well considered political lines and clear plans. Any Zionist program which passes over the question of a Jewish majority in Palestine, of an undivided Palestine, of proposals for the solution of the Arab problem (such as exchange of populations), of measures for the settlement of the land question by introducing agrarian reforms, is bound to fail.

The rumored reference by President Roosevelt to Palestine as "an orange grove" and his alleged remark that one million Jews more in Palestine would not solve the Jewish problem but create a new sore spot on the body of humanity, are indicative of the failure on the part of Zionist leadership to present the Jewish case in its proper perspective and to formulate a program which calls for a *Jewish state, within the historic boundaries of Palestine, based on a Jewish majority, for the majority of the Jewish people.*

The controversies between the two groups in American Zionist officialdom does not touch upon the fundamental problems facing Zionism. It is not based on a clash of opinion. It reveals merely that American Zionism is still immature, still fed by generalities and still revolves around personalities. The results are most unfortunate: many of the rank and file are liable to become depressed and disheartened and will either withdraw from the movement altogether or join groups engaged in "breaking windows" to make noise.

To ascribe undue importance to the Wise-Silver strife is to overlook the real causes of the conflict—the absence of intelligent discussion and the lack of a clear-cut Zionist policy and program. However, the present rift, *shallow as it is*, may be beneficial in its final outcome. For it will compel thinking people to look more deeply into our problems. It may lead to a discussion of fundamentals. It may bring the appraisal of the problems in the proper light. It may finally clear the air, as every storm does. For this prospective benefit we have to endure the unsavory controversy which has become a vulgar exhibition of personalities.

(OVER)

THE RIFT IN ZIONIST LEADERSHIP

The issues which have been smoldering in the American Zionist Emergency Council for months—flaring up abortively in the Atlantic City Convention of the Z.O.A. — emerged into public view immediately after the deferment of the Palestine Resolution in the Senate.

The trouble had been brewing for some time. The crisis was precipitated by the resignation tendered by Dr. Wise as Chairman, in protest against the alleged unauthorized action of Dr. Silver in pressing for the adoption of the Palestine Resolution against the express will of the State Department. After submitting a full report on the situation at a meeting of the Council held on December 20th, Dr. Silver also tendered his resignation. That meeting adjourned without action but on December 28th, the resignations of all officers were accepted; Dr. Wise was re-elected as sole Chairman; on January 2nd, Chaim Greenberg was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee (an office formerly held by Dr. Silver); Mr. Herman Shulman was elected Chairman of the Administrative Committee (a new committee designated to implement decisions of the Executive); and Mrs. Rose Halprin was elected as Treasurer.

These incidents took place on a scene already agitated by the deferment of the Resolution. Meetings of Zionist districts and regions were held to express their views on the situation, which were reported on in various Yiddish newspapers. The partisans of Dr. Silver held conferences and adopted resolutions, as did partisans of the Z.O.A. administration. The text of Dr. Wise's letters of resignation was given to the general press. It was followed by a letter from Dr. Silver, giving the reasons for his resignation. Writers in the Yiddish press discussed the situation at great length and with unusual analytical ability, and it seemed that the New Year had ushered in a first class Zionist controversy involving principles, personalities, partisanships and charges and counter-charges, in the center of which appeared the administration of the Z.O.A. as the target of criticism.

Brief comment on this disturbing event appears on the editorial pages of "The Voice." For the information of our readers we give a glimpse of both sides of the question.

Following are the salient points of statements issued at press conferences during the first week of the New Year in New York City by Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, who resigned as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and chairman of its Executive Committee.

Statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein

AT THE meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council held October 30th and November 21st attended by the representatives of all the Zionist parties and by both co-chairmen, there was a discussion as to the advisability of pressing for the immediate passage of the Palestine resolutions.

All agreed that before pressing for the passage of the resolutions, it was absolutely necessary to secure the assurance that the State Department would not interpose objections at this time. As a result of the unfortunate experience last March, it was felt that it would be unwise to risk another deferment which the State Department objections might cause. There was no dissent from this opinion on the part of any of the party representatives or either of the co-chairmen.

Repeated efforts were made to secure the assent of the State Department in accordance with the unanimous decision of the Emergency Council. In response to those repeated efforts, we got the request "to leave the matter pending a little while longer."

On November 27th, six days after the above mentioned meeting of the Emergency Council at which a decision was reached, Dr. Silver wrote an official communication to Representative Sol Bloom, the Chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, in which he said:

"As Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council I urge prompt action on the Resolution." Mr. Bloom had demanded a written request from Dr. Silver in order to be sure that it was an official request.

Following the receipt of this communication, Mr. Bloom convened the House Foreign Affairs Committee and on November 30th a resolution was reported out favorably in which the word "Jewish" was omitted before "Commonwealth" and the word "ultimately" was retained.

When the matter came subsequently before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the President of the ZOA, seeing that we had been dragged into this situation against the decision of the Emergency Council and deeming it necessary that at least the Senate Resolution should be a proper Zionist Resolution, sent a telegram to the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in which it was urged that the word "Jewish" be retained before "Commonwealth" and that the word "ultimately" be removed.

The appearance of Secretary of State Stettinius before the Senate Committee and the statement which he issued brought about the deferment of the Palestine Resolution. . . .

An issue is now being raised of "bold political action" versus "timidity." This issue is a patent attempt to cover up the question of why an officer of the Emergency Council has acted contrary to its decisions in which he himself shared. Why was not the issue of "timidity" versus "boldness" presented at the meetings of the Emergency Council of October 30th and November 21st? Why were the voices which are now heard so stridently not raised at that time in favor of going forward in defiance of the State Department? Why did Dr. Silver say then that even if the answer of the State Department were vague, we should not go forward?

One redeeming circumstance of the entire unfortunate situation is that Dr. Wise, Chairman of the Emergency

Council, by adhering to the decisions of that body, remains a friendly contact with the President and the State Department. To maintain this friendly contact is essential.

On December 19th, the ZOA Executive Committee by a vote of 17 to 4 adopted the following resolution:

"It is the sense of this meeting that on the basis of the facts as presented to us Dr. Wise's resignation as a protest against Dr. Silver's action in controvention of the decisions of the Emergency Council is justified. We believe that Dr. Wise's resignation from the leadership of the Zionist movement in America would most seriously injure the interests of the movement and therefore conditions must be created to enable Dr. Wise to continue as Chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council." We leave it to our representatives on the Emergency, Council to act in accordance with these views. . . .

The entire set of circumstances is most regrettable. We do not underestimate Dr. Silver's important services to the Zionist movement during the past fourteen months and before . . . This fine record, however, does not obscure the regrettable events of recent weeks and his responsibility for them.

So far as the ZOA co-operation with the Emergency Council is concerned, the record is clear. The ZOA has enabled the Emergency Council upon its reorganization to secure a budget of $500,000 for the year which was no mean factor in the success of the work. The ZOA has turned over to the Emergency Council its leading people in the local communities for the public relations work. The ZOA leadership has rendered conspicuous service at the hearings of the House Foreign Affairs Committee last February and March and in the securing of the Palestine planks in the Democratic platform as well as the President's message. The leaders of the ZOA have fulfilled every assignment which has been given to them by the Emergency Council. The ZOA will continue to give the Emergency Council full co-operation. Its leaders and representatives, however, will retain the right to express honest and conscientious judgment on questions as they arise, abiding of course, by the will of the majority, and will also continue to insist on discipline as the fundamental basis of any democratically organized constituency.

Where are we left now?

There is hope that in the next session of Congress, as the war draws closer to its end, the objections of the State Department may be withdrawn and the Palestine resolutions, in improved wording, may go through—with virtually unanimity. There is also a possibility that President Roosevelt may himself find a way in consultation with the heads of other governments to give a sign of fulfillment of his pledge and that of the two parties in their platforms. In all this the goodwill of the President is essential.

What needs to be borne in mind by all of us Zionists is that as important as are the Congress resolutions it is even more important to secure practical help from our government and its allies in shaping the future of Palestine and in bringing immigrants into Palestine in the immediate future and preparing Palestine to absorb mass Jewish immigration after the war. If only a few ships could be provided to transport Jews in European lands who have certificates for Palestine! If only United Nations funds might be made available for Palestine's development to serve the rehabilitation program of the thousands who will adopt it as their future home! Here the President's goodwill and friendship could be of crucial helpfulness—in addition to his potential aid in securing the proclamation of a Jewish Commonwealth.

Before us Zionists there is a clear challenge. We shall not get very far by exhausting ourselves with internal dissensions. This will only give aid and comfort to our enemies. We must set our house in order and proceed with our work. It will be tragic if as a result of this agitation, our tempo of progress should be halted.

Statement by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Dr. Goldstein states that at a meeting of the Emergency Council on October 30, it was unanimously decided not to press for the resolutions unless and until the preliminary approval of the Executive branch of the government shall have been secured. No such decision was taken by the Emergency Council on October 30. In fact no decisions whatsoever were taken at that meeting. The minutes of the meeting quote me as saying: "We will not go ahead with the resolution without fully canvassing the situation. If the answer from the State Department is at all vague, I would not recommend proceeding with it." This precaution was suggested not out of a desire not to offend the State Department or the President, but in order to protect ourselves against the kind of surprise which was jumped on us last Spring. The Council wanted to make doubly sure before it moved; but no one really expected any opposition in view of all that had transpired in the preceding months.

At that same meeting I reported (and I quote from the minutes of the meeting) "that in anticipation of the reconsideration of the resolution when Congress reconvenes, the Emergency Council has been engaged in stimulating afresh the interest of the members of the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees. . . ."

The Council, on October 30, was fully informed that continued activities in behalf of our resolution were going on and would continue in Washington and all over the country. It is false to suggest even by implication that the Emergency Council at its meeting on October 30 ordered all of our activities in behalf of the resolution to be discontinued. It merely directed that we explore the mind of the State Department on our resolution, and there was a consensus of opinion that if the State Department attitude was found to be negative, we would then not proceed with the resolutions. . . .

Inquiries were accordingly made at the State Department, and at the meeting on November 21 Dr. Wise reported "that Mr. Stettinius had telephoned him and informed him that he had seen the President who urged that nothing be done about the bill at this time and that the matter be left in his hands a little while longer." . . .

(over)

At this meeting, and here again I quote from the minutes, "there followed a lengthy discussion, and it was finally decided that efforts be made once more to obtain clearance from the President through Senator Wagner, and perhaps others. It was agreed to leave it to Dr. Wise, Dr. Silver and Mr. Shulman to take the necessary action with regard to an approach to the President." There was no other action taken at this meeting.

In other words, the Emergency Council, upon second thought, was not satisfied to have the resolution shelved just because the State Department and the President had indicated their objection to the resolution. They were not content to let it go at that. They wanted persuasive influence to be brought to bear upon the Administration to change its mind.

Dr. Wise strenuously objected to this line of procedure. He did not want the President "annoyed" by our insistence and our persuasion. . . .

No one interested in the passage of the bill ever saw the President on the resolution at that time or since. He was out of Washington. All our information has come through Mr. Stettinius. The first and the only personal contact with Mr. Stettinius to carry out the wishes of the Council, could not be made before December 4. It was made by Senator Wagner and myself. Senator Wagner was not in Washington before the preceding Tuesday and our appointment could not be made before the following Monday.

But by December 4 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee had already met and had considered our resolution. In fact, at the request of Senator Taft, our Palestine Resolution was to have been considered by the Committee on November 22, but out of courtesy to Senator Wagner who was out of the city, the consideration of our resolution by the committee was postponed to November 29. I reported at the meeting of our Council on November 21 that such meeting of the Senate Committee had been scheduled for the next day, but had been postponed to the 29th.

Senator Taft requested consideration of the resolution on his own initiative. He was neither requested nor urged by me. . . .

Dr. Goldstein suggests that if I had not brought pressure on Congressman Bloom to take the matter up with his committee no action whatever would have been taken in Congress. I did not arrive in Washington until November 27. By that time a meeting of the Senate Committee was prepared to act favorably on our resolution at that meeting.

It has been suggested that I should have asked the committee to defer action. Why? This was certainly not my mission nor mandate in Washington. I was there to see whether I could persuade the State Department and the President to withdraw their objections to the passage of the resolution. . . . Until I had had the chance to persuade them and failed, I could not go, nor did the Council obligate me to go, to the members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and ask them, many of whom had been critical of the State Department's intervention and the President's action last Spring, to postpone action on our Palestine Resolution. . . .

Congressman Bloom had publicly announced right after the President's statement of October 15 that he would summon a meeting of his committee the day after Congress reconvened. He was eager to move forward. I called on him for the purpose of getting him to contact the President and State Department. He did not feel that the State Department had to be consulted about it. It was none of its business, he stated. . . . Congressman Bloom was somewhat concerned with the fact that he might be blamed if he moved forward and the resolution failed of passage in his committee. He wanted us to share in the responsibility for moving ahead, I reassured him on that score, and at his request, I wrote him a letter following our interview in which I backed him up. Congressman Bloom convoked his committee on November 29, the very day on which the Senate Committee met to consider our resolution. Bloom was undoubtedly encouraged to move forward rapidly by the fact that the Senate Committee had scheduled a meeting on November 29 and was expected to act favorably on the resolution.

When we finally got to Stettinius on December 4 . . . we were shown, right at the outset, that fatal telegram of Dr. Wise which was dispatched without the knowledge of either Senator Wagner or myself and without any authorization from the Council on the very eve of our interview . . . which in so many words told the Secretary of State, and through him the President, that Dr. Wise and many of his associates would readily and without protest accept their decision with reference to the resolution.

Dr. Goldstein . . . on December 5, sent the following telegram to every member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "We earnestly urge you report out favorably Palestine Resolution for adoption by present Congress. . . . Your Committee's favorable action would be deeply appreciated as fulfillment President's magnificent message to Zionist Organization of America and overwhelming American opinion as expressed recently in both party platforms."

Why did Dr. Goldstein violate the "unanimous decision" of the Emergency Council in urging Senators to act on the resolution when he knew full well that no "green light" had been given? . . .

And having sent this telegram, why did he appear in Washington forty-eight hours later to urge the same Senators not to pass the resolution?

And having come to Washington to persuade the Senators not to pass the resolution, why did he permit himself to be persuaded by me not to carry out his mission? . . .

. . . At the Executive of the Emergency Council which met in Washington on Monday morning, December 11 it was agreed that nothing be done to interfere with the passage of the resolution on which the Foreign Affairs Committee was to act that very afternoon, but instead Mr. Stettinius should be asked to issue a statement that his appearance before the Senate Committee

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did not indicate a change of attitude on the part of the President. Nothing was to be said to Mr. Stettinius about deferring the Palestine Resolution. . . .

. . . Dr. Goldstein stated that the resolution which was approved by the House Foreign Affairs Committee was regarded by many Zionists here and especially in Palestine as a "watered-down" resolution because the word "Jewish" was omitted before "Commonwealth" and the word "ultimately" was retained. How, then, is one to account for the fact that the presidents of Hadassah, Mizrachi and the Poale Zion, as well as Mr. Lipsky of the Jewish Agency Executive, hailed the resolution in public statements? Dr. Wise told Congressman Bloom and me on the very day that it was voted that it was "a very good resolution." . . .

. . . Dr. Goldstein stated that when I announced my resignation, I asked to be made the sole leader in the Zionist movement in America with absolute unconditional power. . . . I advised a reorganization of the Emergency Council with an eye towards the elimination of conflicting leadership and the centralization of authority. In connection with that, I read at great length a letter which I wrote to Dr. Wise in 1943 at the time when he and Dr. Weizmann asked me to take over the leadership of the political work of our movement. In that letter I stated . . . "If . . . you feel that you wish to retain that office, not in an honorary but in an active capacity, I wish you would let me know definitely and in making my reply I will say that Dr. Wise is head of the political work of the Emergency Council and there is no need for drafting me or anyone else."

. . . My resignation, as every one knows, was not prompted, as Dr. Goldstein asserts, by the refusal of the Emergency Council to accept my suggestions for reorganization. . . . It was a motion to request all the officers of the Emergency Council to resign, a motion which the Council refused to table, which called forth my resignation. . . .

JANUARY-FEBRUARY, 1945 *Hadassah Newsletter*

Editorial: THE ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

THE difficulties that have arisen within the American Zionist Emergency Council in the last month have caused deep concern in the ranks of Zionists and all well-wishers of the movement. It is our hope that by the time this NEWSLETTER reaches its readers the reorganized Council will have succeeded in closing the breach, and that all Zionist forces will go forward together in a constructive, aggressive program for the fulfilment of our political objectives.

Our task is to go forward. This should not be difficult, since no difference in Zionist ideology is involved in the reorganization of the Council. Nothing could be further from the truth than the assumption that the rift has occurred over the question of militancy versus appeasement. The Council was and is at one on the need of a militant approach to the Zionist solution of the Jewish question. All are at one in asking that Palestine, undiminished and undivided, be re-established as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, as a matter of right and justice.

The differences that led to Dr. Wise's resignation as co-chairman with Dr. Silver arose over questions of implementation of accepted policy and over methods to be pursued in achieving our common purpose. Some members were of the opinion that the propitious atmosphere created by the party planks and the President's message should be utilized for pressing presentation of the Resolution immediately after the elections. Others felt that the crowded agenda, the short working period remaining, and the need of improving, if possible, the wording of the Resolution to bring it in line with the President's statement on Zionist policy, all pointed to the wisdom of postponement and reconsideration of the Resolution during the next Congress. The Council agreed on the importance of having Congress pass the Resolution on Palestine which, by all indications, Congress would have supported. Nevertheless, it was the unanimous decision of the Council, in view of the forthright and comprehensive statement for the Jewish Commonwealth already made by the President, that no step be taken with regard to the Resolution which was not consonant, as to timing, with the expressed desire of the Executive Branch of the Government. The deviation from that policy was vigorously opposed by Dr. Wise. That the Emergency Council re-elected Dr. Wise to be its Chairman must be interpreted as an acceptance of his point of view.

This does not mean a desire to minimize the outstanding contribution which Dr. Silver has made to the Zionist movement as co-chairman of the Emergency Council and as chairman of its Executive Committee and the important part he has played in bringing home to the American people a realization of Jewish demands and Jewish needs.

A vote has been taken and the majority decision is now the decision of the whole. The minority groups have accepted the discipline of democratic procedure and are functioning as loyal parts of the whole. We go forward toward the achievement of our political aims, basing our actions on the assumption that the President's historic statement of October 15, affirming categorically that the establishment of Palestine as the Jewish Commonwealth has the endorsement of the American people, must and will be implemented. We shall bend all our energies toward asking from our Government those measures which will transform this expression of goodwill into practical aid. We shall continue to approach the public through the platform, the press and the radio in an uninterrupted process of education, with a view to bringing home to the Jewish and the non-Jewish world all the international implications of our movement, the justice of our cause and the driving necessity for our solution. Hadassah goes forward as an integral part of the reorganized Council in the confident hope that our unremitting efforts to bring about a solution in this hour of decision will be crowned with success.

וועט דר. ווייצמאַנ'ען געלינגען? C

Jewish World 2-2-45

דר. חיים ווייצמאַן, דער פּרעזידענט פון דער אלוועלטליכער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע און דער אידישער אגענטור, איז אַלע מאָל אין ענגלאַנד געזעסן אויף דער זייט ים. אָבער דאָס מאָל וועט זיין קומען אין אמעריקע זיין סעקרעטאַר ווי מילקאָווסקי, ווייל בלויז ער קען באַגענערן דעם פּלאָנטער אין ציוניסטישן עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל, וואָס עס האָט זיך אנטוויקלט דער אבא הלל סילווערס־ווייזן פּלאָנטער, און וועלכער האָט ביז איצט פאַראורזאַכט א היבש ביסל שאַדן און באַדייטענד צושפּאַלטן די רייען פון דער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע אין די פאַראייניגטע שטאַטן.

דר. חיים ווייצמאַן וויים זיכער ניט, אז די אורזאַכע פון דער שפּאַלטונג און צוויספּאַלטיקייטן אין דעם עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל איז ניט די, וועלכע ווערט אָפיציעל אָנגעגעבן. אז די אורזאַכע איז א פּערזענלעכע, אין וועלכער עס הענגט מעגליך אָפּ די עקזיסטענץ און אקטיוויטעט פון דער גאַנצער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע אין די פאַראייניגטע שטאַטן. און ווייל ער ווייס עס, איז שווער צו זאָגן אויב ווייל ער וועט קענען געפינען א גערעכטע לייזונג.

די ציוניסטישע אָרגאַניזאַציע אין די פאַראייניגטע שטאַטן איז געשפּאַלטן. דאָס הייסט אין די לעצטע עטליכע יאָרן געבליבן אָהן וועלכער עס איז אקטיוויטעט. נאָר זעלבסטן זיינען פון איהר צייטן געוואָרן, ווייל זי באַקומט איהר בודזשעט פון פאַראייניגטן אַפּיל, פּאָליטישע אקטיוויטעט איז פון איהר צוגענומען געוואָרן דורך דעם עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל, און וועלכן עס זיינען אויך פאַרטראָטן די פּועלי ציון, מזרחי און הדסה. וואָס זשע קען די אָרגאַניזאַציע געבן איהר עקזיסטענץ באַרעכטיגונג?

די ציוניסטישע אָרגאַניזאַציע קען אפילו ניט אָנפירן קיין דער אלגעמיינער ציוניסטישע פּראָפּאַגאַנדע, ווייל זי וואָלט געדאַרפט קומען צו די מאַסן מיט אַנווייזונגען אויף איינשטעלונגען פון אנדערע קערפּערשאַפטן. דעריבער איז די ציוניסטישע לייטונג פון איהר ווייט געווען, ווען זי וויל די דעה פאַר זיך אין פּאָליטישער אַרבייט.

איינגענטליך באַשטעהט די גאַנצע צוויספּאַלטיקייט אין דעם עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל. און צו וועלכער איינבלייבונג עס זאָל ניט קומען, עס מוזן זיין ענטשיידער איינע — אָדער דער עמוירדזשענסי קאָונסיל זאָל עקזיסטירן און די ציוניסטישע אָרגאַניזאַציע, דאָס הייסט די אַלגעמיינע ציוניסטן, זאָל איינהאַלטן און מיט דער צייט איינגאַנצן פאַרפאַלן ווערן, אָדער דער קאָונסיל זאָל אפּגעשאַפט ווערן. עס וואָלט געקענט זיין אן אנדער אויסוועג. און דאָס איז, לאָזן דער ציוניסטישער אָרגאַניזאַציע טאָן די פּאָליטישע אַרבייט הינטער'ן קאָונסיל. אָבער דאַן וואָלט עס ניט געדאַרפט קיין פאַראייניגטער קאָונסיל אין וועלכן די אנדערע פּאַרטייען, איבערהויפּט מזרחי און פּועלי ציון, זאָלן קענען פאַרבלייבן.

JEWISH AGENCY WANTS NO ZOA DELEGATION; ASKED FOR DELEGATION OF ALL U.S. ZIONIST GROUPS

NEW YORK, Jan. 31. (JTA) — The administrative committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council today issued a statement with reference to a report from Jerusalem that it has been suggested to the Jewish Agency executive that it invite Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mrs. Rose Halprin and Dr. Israel Goldstein to come to Palestine to determine a policy for the Zionist organization of America.

"In the course of the past two or three months," the statement reads, "the Jewish Agency executive has made several requests to the Emergency Council to send a delegation representative of all groups to Palestine for a conference, in order to consider matters of general Zionist importance. The Council is ready to accept this invitation if transportation will be available. The Council knows of no such proposal as mentioned in the report from Jerusalem. The invitation to send a representative delegation to Palestine is one altogether independent of any controversy which may have arisen in Zionist ranks in this country."

2-1-45

L.A. B'nai Brith Messenger 2-2-45

Local Zionists to Hush Silver-Wise Dispute for Unity

Further discussion of the Abba Hillel Silver-Stephen S. Wise disagreement in the Zionist Organization of America should be avoided in the interests of American Jewish unity, was the recommendation made by the Los Angeles Zionist Emergency Council, through Gustave L. Goldstein, at a meeting of the local Zionist Organization on Wednesday night, January 24, at Sinai Temple.

"Too much mud has been slung," said Mr. Goldstein, "providing ammunition for our enemies." The best answer Zionists can give to their opponents who are trying to make much of this dispute, he stated, is continued success in all organizational activities. As a Zionist matter, however, the Los Angeles District has a "right to discuss the matter in a closed meeting and perhaps make a resolution to the ZOA," which it plans to do shortly, he declared.

Chaplain William Greenberg of the United States Navy was guest speaker at the meeting which was called to publicize "the facts" in the latest rift in the Zionist Emergency Council.

Friday, February 2, 1945 THE JEWISH POST

Country Lining Up Behind Rabbi Silver

Eight Districts Pass Resolutions Backing His Actions

By DAVID C. GROSS
Jewish Post New York Bureau

NEW YORK—What's to be done in the Silver-Wise controversy?

An answer to this is already manifesting itself in the fact that Dr. Silver should be restored to his rightful place. The largest Zionist region in the country, in Brooklyn, passed three resolutions which read as follows:

"We deplore the ill-considered action taken by the ZOA administration which brought about the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council and chairman of its executive committee and regard such action inimical to the best interests of the entire Zionist movement. . . . We affirm our unshakable confidence in the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and his policies, which we hailed and approved in the political resolutions unanimously adopted on October 16th, 1944, at the 47th annual convention of the Zionist Organization of America held at Atlantic City. . . We call upon the Administrative Council of the ZOA to take the necessary steps for calling a special session of the delegates to the ZOA convention for the purpose of dealing with and acting upon the crisis aforementioned."

Seven Other Regions Follow

Resolutions similar in tone have been passed by the Zionist Regions of the Bronx, N. Y., Long Island, Connecticut, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Milwaukee and the East New York-Brownsville district.

Dr. Silver is frankly and courageously out to clean house in the Zionist Organization. He, and many alert Jews like him, earnestly believe that the very moral structure of the Zionist movement in America is in peril of collapse unless action is taken now. A loyal opposition within the ZOA rank and file is gathering its resources for the next convention of the organization.

The great reverence we Jews all hold for Dr. Wise's years of accomplishment should not prevent us from taking an objective view of his position. Nonetheless, in the near future a telegram which he sent—alone and without consulting anyone—to Secretary of State Stettinius urging the shelving of the resolution on Palestine, which was read to Dr. Silver and Senator Wagner when they came to see the Secretary to obtain his approval, will soon be published in The Jewish Post. (Editor's Note: This telegram was published last week). It will reveal to many the kind of thing that went on behind Dr. Silver's back.

When Emannuel Neumann, who is pro-Silver, wished to read a copy of that telegram to a meeting of the Administrative Council of the ZOA, Dr. Wise literally shouted him down. His language was abusive and wild. It was only out of deference to his age and long years of leadership that Mr. Neumann agreed to desist from reading it.

Murray Heads Opposition

As you know the State Department wanted the resolution referred. Reason? On general principles. The Near East section in the State Department is headed by a man named Wallace Murray. It is generally felt he is not friendly to the Zionist movement and when it is said that the State Department is unfriendly to the Palestine resolution, you can be fairly certain that Mr. Murray had a hand in expressing this attitude.

Dr. Silver does not care who is for or against the resolution. He wants it passed. He knows its value to the Jewish people and that's his driving force. But other Jewish leaders like to acquiesce to the desires of certain powers high in Washington.

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The Day
NEW YORK — SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 4, 1945.

"Green Light" Politics and The Future of Zionism

The "Waiting" Strategy Is a Fallacy. — Demands Must Be Voiced Before they Can Be Satisfied. — Dr. Silver's Forced Resignation Betrays Weakness and Confusion. — Strong Voices Are Needed to Avert Zionist Defeat.

By GEDALIA BUBLICK

The present position of American Zionism is in grave danger of being weakened by the "green light" strategy, which brought about the removal of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver from his position of leadership. Some Zionists believe that until we get the "green light" signal from the powers that be, all we can do is wait and do nothing.

America ratified the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. England agreed to make no changes in the Mandate without first consulting America. Several American Presidents repeatedly endorsed the demand for a Jewish National Home. Both major American political parties incorporated our program in their 1944 platforms. The President himself declared that he will do all he can to bring about the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. Is all this an insufficient basis for our demand that America stand by its word? Is all this not enough to justify our asking the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to report favorably on the Palestine Resolution?

When the State Department informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that it wished to have action on the Resolution deferred, Zionist leaders should have voiced an immediate, unanimous protest against such a procedure.

Such a protest would have been heeded by the Government. But, to our great misfortune, the State Department was aware of the division of opinion among Zionist leaders, of the policy which some of these Zionist leaders had espoused—that of waiting for a "green light"—and of general weakness in our ranks. Some Zionist leaders saw to it that the State Department would be informed that they themselves were not in favor of pressing for the passage of the Resolution. We ourselves helped to administer the blow we later received. Zionist leaders indicated that they will not ask for anything until given the "green light."

The time for America to declare its support of the Jewish Commonwealth is now. Now, when decisions for the post-war world are being made; when Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin are about to meet. We dare not wait. Waiting is dangerous.

But what happened within our own ranks after the deferment of action on the Resolution is fraught with even greater danger to Zionism. Let us for a moment consider the point of view of those who felt that we should wait for a "green light" before pressing for passage of the Resolution. Was it necessary, we ask, to make an outcry against Dr. Silver after the Resolution was tabled? Was it necessary to proclaim to the whole world that ours is a weak strategy, that we are "good" children who lovingly endure all that is done to us, who cast out those who dare to demand that pledges made to us be kept? The forcing of Dr. Silver's resignation after the deferment of action on the Resolution amounts to an open declaration to the State Department and to the British Colonial Office to this effect: "You see, we Zionists are not so set on our demands. We wish to cause you no embarrassment. We shall wait, wait, wait until it will be your pleasure to tell us that we may act. There was a black sheep in our midst who made demands, but we have cast him out. You will have no trouble with us from now on. We shall maintain a weak policy and it shall be as you wish..."

That is how the world will interpret the campaign against Dr. Silver and his enforced resignation. Explanations and interpretations will not help—the facts speak for themselves. Indeed, [illegible] non-Jewish world.

While it is true that Mr. M. Shertok, of the Jewish Agency, declared that the Wise-Silver controversy is a personal matter everyone recognized that it is also a conflict between two policies, and the ousting of Dr. Silver plays into the hands not only of those who seek to postpone a decision on Palestine but also into the hands of those who would avoid a decision altogether.

To proclaim our weakness openly before the world, to indicate that this weakness represents our chosen course of action—to do this while the White Paper remains and immigration certificates are almost exhausted, while the Jewish Commonwealth is a burning issue, while an international meeting of the greatest importance is about to take place—that is a policy which defies all attempts at definition.

When the British Government cut away more than half of the territory assigned to Palestine by the Mandate and gave this territory to Emir Abdullah of Transjordan, Zionist leaders acceded to it. The Jordan River had never been a boundary of Palestine; the land east of the Jordan had always been regarded as the eastern part of Palestine. Why then did the Jews consent to an act which deprived them of more than half of the land? From the very beginning we indicated that we had not the courage to insist on our rights, that we were ready to help in carrying out plans which were against our own interest. History records the strange fact that the severing of the land east of the Jordan from Palestine occurred, not only without an audible protest from the Jews, but even with their consent and cooperation. Later events in Palestine showed clearly what we gained in our relations with the British through our helpfulness... ... ...

That unhappy event has apparently taught us nothing. Fifteen years later there was a plan to give the Arabs four-fifths of what was left of Palestine, and one-fifth to the Jews. To our shame be it noted, that our leadership agreed to this too, and gained the consent of a majority of the delegates to the Congress at which the question of partition was to be brought up. There was a minority that fought bitterly against partition, insisting that the Zionists must withhold their consent, must take no part in a scheme which was in direct contravention to all that had been pledged to the Jewish people and obtained by them. But our leaders would only heed the word that came from "above." Fortunately the Arabs, too, opposed partition, and the British themselves later found that the scheme was unworkable and abandoned it, despite the readiness shown by Zionists to be agreeable.

Even then the followers of the weak course learned nothing. Several years after the partition proposal, the British Government invited Arab and Jewish representatives to discuss the problem of Palestine with the Colonial Administration in London. The Arabs represented many countries having nothing to do with Palestine and had been called to London, as everyone knew in an attempt to bring about participation in Palestine affairs by Arabs outside of Palestine and thereby increased the opposition to Zionism. The Jews should have refused to take part in the London Conference and should have stated that the question was not meant to be discussed with the representatives of countries which have no relation to Palestine, which aren't even mentioned in the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate. The Jews should have insisted that their business is with the British Government and with the League of Nations. But we took part in the London Conference and the result was, as everybody knows, the White Paper.

After all these saddening experiences, is it not time to learn that unwillingness to speak out strongly, fear of insisting on our rights, can lead us only to misfortune and defeat?

פון טאג צו טאג

Journal 2-4-45

וועגן ציון דעלעגאציעס, גוזמות וועגן מחלוקה, אמעריקאנער ציון פאליטיק, די אינערע פראגען.

פון י. פישמאן

דוכט זיך, אז עס איז געווען דר. חיים ווייצמאן וועלכער האט מיט עטליכע יאהר צוריק געמאכט א מאטישע באמערקונג, אז ארץ ישראל איז ווי א גרויסער פויגל וועלכער הילכט מיט א באמאריען מאן ווען מען באריהרט איהר נאז.

איך דערמאן זיך אן דער ראווינער באמערקונג צוליב די לעצטע באריכטען, אז די אמעריקאנער מחלוקה אין ציוניסטישען לאגער האט ארויסגערופען א גרעסערן געדודער אין ישוב ווי דא ביי אונז. מען האט דעם איינדרוק פון די באריכטען, אז אין ארץ ישראל האלט מען, אז אלץ נעמט באראכט פון'ם אמעריקאנער ציוניזם. אז מען פון איהם ניט "ראטעווען" אויב מען וויל פארמיידען א קאטאסטראפע, דערפאר הערט מען אין ישוב פארשלאגען ווי צו "ראטעווען" דעם אמעריקאנער ציוניזם.

לויט איין באריכט האט בערארי ראשטשאסע(?), דער לעגאלער פארטרעטער פון דער אידישער אגענטור, וועלכער האט לעצטענס באזוכט אמעריקא בעת די וואשינגטאנער מחלוקה האט אויסגעבראכען, געמאכט א פארשלאג ביי זיין צוריקקומען אין ארץ ישראל, אז א דעלעגאציע פון אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען זאל באלד אפפאהרען קיין ארץ ישראל, משמעות כדי צו באווייזען די ריכטיגע אריענטאציע ווי אזוי צו מאכען א סוף צו דער מחלוקה. דר. רושאמסקי(?) האט, הייסט עס, נאמינירט די דעלעגאציע וועלכע זאל באשטעהן פון דר. וויז, דר. גאלדשטיין און מרס. ראוז האלפערן.

עס האט געהייסען ווייטער אין דעם באריכט, אז די עקזעקוטיווע האט דעם פארשלאג צוריקגעוויזען און האט אנשטאט דעם פארגעשלאגען, אז דר. ווייצמאן, דוד בן גוריון און הרב י. ל. פישמאן זאלען פאהרען קיין אמעריקא צו מאכען שלום צווישען דר. וויז און דר. סילווער און ווידער איינשטעלען איינהייט אין דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע.

דער אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישער עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל האט גלייך רעאגירט אויף דעם באריכט און ארויסגעגעבען א סטייטמענט אין וועלכען דער באריכט ווערט האלב געלייקנט. עס הייסט אין דעם סטייטמענט, אז די איינלאדונג צו אן אמעריקאנער דעלעגאציע פון דער ציוניסטישער עקזעקוטיווע אין ירושלים איז געקומען נאך א צוויי-דריי חדשים צוריק, אלזא איידער די מחלוקה האט אויסגעבראכען. דער קאונסיל זאגט, אז ער איז גרייט צו שיקען אזא דעלעגאציע אזוי גיך ווי די רייזע אומשטענדען וועלען דערלויבען.

ווייל א ר זיך ניט אפשטעלען אויף דעם סטייטמענט פון דעם קאונסיל, וואס איך בין דא אויסען צו באמערקען, איז די גוזמות וואס מען מאכט אין ישוב וועגען דער היגער ציוניסטישער מחלוקה. דאס איז קענטיק אין די אלארמירענדע טעלעגראמען אין די ארץ ישראל'דיגע צייטונגען און אויך אין די אפילס פאר שלום וואס ווערען געמאכט געוועהנליך פון איינצעלנע מיטגלידער פון דער אלוועלטליכער ציון עקזעקוטיווע.

אלס איינער וואס האט גענומען א טייל אין דער וואשינגטאנער מחלוקה, וואלט איך דארום פאר ניטיג באטראכט צו בארוהיגען די ציוניסטישע אינסטאנצען און די פרעסע אין ארץ ישראל וועגען דער ראווינער מחלוקה. עס איז ווייט ניט אזוי געפעהרליך ווי די מיינען. און עס פאדערט זיך ניט קיין עקסטרא העראאישע מיטלען פון די ארץ ישראל אינסטאנצען זיך אריינצומישען צו א שלום.

די מחלוקה אין עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל איז נאך מיין ערשטע מיינונג דוקא א בולט'ער באווייז ווי דער ציוניזם שטעהט אין צענטער פון אידישען לעבען אין אמעריקא. איך פארשטעה פארוואס געגנער פון ציוניזם זעהען דאס פארצווייפלען אלס א "שפאלטונג" וואס קען חלילה רעכט באווייזען די ציוניסטישע פאליטיק אין אמעריקא. מאלטענע צבורים, צום בייספיל, ווייל איבערצייגען באמת ומשפטים, אז די וואשינגטאנער מחלוקה איז א באוויי, אז דער ציוניזם געהט באלד אראפ. ער, צבורים, האט קיינמאל ניט געגלויבט און ניט דורכגעמאכט קיין פארטיי מחלוקה, און ער דרינגט דערפון אלערליי ווילדע משל'עך.

פארוואס אבער ציוניסטען זאלען איבערטרייבען די געפאהר פון דער וואשינגטאנער מחלוקה און זיך איינרעדען, אז די צוקונפט פון ציוניזם שטעהט דא אין קאן אויב עס וועט באלד ניט פארלאשען ווערען א מין שלום, דאס איז מיר שווער צו פארשטעהן. אזא מחלוקה ווי עס קומט איצט פאר אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם איז ניט קיין נייעס אין דער וועלט, ניט אין ציוניזם, ניט אין אנדערע פארטייען, וועלכע האבען געוויסע אינטערעסען ווי מיר האבען.

אלס בייספיל: אין די ביידע גרויסע פארטייען פון אמעריקא קומען שטענדיג פאר אינערע מחלוקות. אבער אמעריקא איז צוליב דעם ניט אין געפאהר. איך וויל שוין ניט רעדען וועגן צבור'ים אמעריקאנער סאציאליסטישער פארטיי פון וועלכער עס זיינען שוין מאל ניט פארבליבען מעהר ווי קליינע שפליטערס, מיט עטליכע גענעראלען אהן ארמייען.

דערפאר זאג איך, אז מען דארף ניט איבערטרייבען די "געפאהרען" פון דער איצטיגער מחלוקה אין ציוניסטישען לאגער. זי איז אפשר ניט געווען אינגאנצען לשם שמים, אבער אפילו דאס באווייזט, אז ציוניסטען זיינען נארמאלע מענשען און ניט קיין מלאכים.

איך מיין ווייטער, אז מתוך שלא לשמה בא לשמה. די ציוניסטישע פערזענליכע מיינונגען איצט א סך זאכען איבער וועלכע עס איז ביז איצט געווען ווייניג אויפקלערונג. די ציוניסטישע ארבייט אין אמעריקא וועט צוליב דעם ניט ליידען. זי וועט, האף איך, געווינען ווען דער גרויסער עולם וועט בעסער פארשטעהן וויכטיגע ציוניסטישע פראבלעמען.

אין דער צייט ווען מיר ציוניסטען האבען ניט געהאט קיין מחלוקות, האבען מיר געהערט קריטיק, אז ביי אונז איז צו שטיל און צו לעבלאז. עס האט געפעהלט די דינאמישקייט פון א קאנפליקט פון אידעען און אפילו מיינונגען. ווי דער וועג צו רוהען. ווען עס האט געהערשט א "פולשטענדיגער שלום" אין דעם ציוניזם אין אמעריקא, איז די ציוניסטישע ארגאניזאציע געווען קליין און כמעט אומבאמערקט פון דער גרויסער וועלט. איצט, ווען ציוניסטישע אינטערעסען באהערשען דורך די שטארקע גרופע וועלט פראגען, קען מען נאטירליך ניט דערווארטען קיין פולשטענדיגע הארמאניע.

די וואס האבען אבער מורא פאר א "שפאלטונג" אין ציוניזם, האבען איבעריגע מורא. אויב איך קען דעם ציוניזם אין אמעריקא איז נישטא קיין געפאהר פון אזא שפאלטונג. עס וועט אפשר פארקומען א פאליטישער קאמף ביי דער נעקסטער ציוניסטישער קאנווענשאן, אבער איך בין איבערצייגט, אז עס וועט פארקומען מיט דער גאנצער ווירדע וואס דער ציוניזם פארדינט און, אז דער צד וואס וועט פארלירען וועט אננעמען די באשלוסען פון דער מערהייט.

אבער דערווייל איז נאך ווייט פון א קאנווענשאן. און דערווייל ארבייטען ביידע צדדים לאיאל און איבערגעגעבען פאר דעם ציוניסטישען ציל. דאס שליסט נאטירליך ניט אויס קיין קריטיק פון דער איצטיגער מנהיגות, אבער די ווייס איך וועט באגלייט זיין מיט אכטונג פאר דער דעמאקראטישער מערהייט, און מיט גרויס זארג פאר די העכערע ציוניסטישע אינטערעסען.

איצט וועגען דער פראגע פון דער דעלעגאציע. עס איז איבעריג צו זאגען, אז א דעלעגאציע פון ארץ ישראל באשטעהנד פון דר. ווייצמאן, דוד בן גוריון און הרב פישמאן, וואלט דא זיין העכסט ווילקאמען ביי אלע ציוניסטען. דר. ווייצמאן האט שוין פאריגען פריהיאהר באשלאסען צו באזוכען אמעריקא אויף פסח. דר. ווייצמאנ'ס א וויזיט קיין אמעריקא איז שטענדיג א יום טוב פאר אמעריקאנער אידען, איבערהויפט איצט, ווען זיין 70סטער געבורטסטאג איז ניט לאנג געפייערט געווארען.

עס איז אויך פארשטענדליך, אז א דעלעגאציע פון דעם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל זאל וועלען פאהרען קיין ארץ ישראל. באטש דא האלט איך שוין, אז עס וואלט געווען א יושר, אז אין אזא דעלעגאציע זאל באטש זיין איין פארטרעטער פון דעם סילווער צד און ניט אלע פון וויז'עס צד.

עס איז אויך פארשטענדליך, אז ווען א ציוניסטישע דעלעגאציע פון ירושלים וועט קומען קיין אמעריקא, זאל זי אריינגעהן אין באשפרעכען די גאנצע פאליטישע לאגע פון ציוניזם, אויך פון אמעריקאנער שטאנדפונקט. עס וואלט בעסער געווען ווען די ראווינער לאגע זאל באטראכט ווערען ניט נאר פון א דעלעגאציע נאר פון א מיטינג פון ציוניסטישען אקציאנס קאמיטעט. אבער איך ווייס, אז עס איז שווער איצט צוזאמענצוברענגען א פולע רעפרעזענטאציע פון דעם אקציאנס קאמיטעט, און דערפאר וואלט געווען גוט, אז דערווייל זאלען די פיהרער פון דער אגענטור זיך צוזאמענטרעפען מיט פיהרענדע אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען פון אלע צווייגען וועגן דער ציוניסטישער פאליטיק אין אמעריקא.

אין דערזעלבער צייט זאל מיר דערלויבט זיין צו זאגען א פאר ווערטער, אז א דעלעגאציע ווי עס ווערט פארגעשלאגען וועט האבען א סך א גרעסערן איינפלוס און ווירקונג אויף אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען ווען די עקזעקוטיווע אליין וועט זיך פריהער ניט אינטערעסירען אי וועגען אלגעמיינע ציוניסטישע פאליטיק אי וועגען אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישע פאליטיק. אין עס איז דא א סך פאליטישע ברירות, אז אין דער צייט ווען די ציוניסטישע פיהרער אין ארץ ישראל זיינען אזוי באזארגט וועגען דער לאגע אין אמעריקא, האבען די נאר צוליעב זיך אויך א סך מיינונגס פארשידענהייטען. איך בין געווארנט אזוי ווייטער, אז די אלוועלטליכע ציוניסטישע עקזעקוטיווע האט שוין באשלאסען אויף א פולען פאליטישען פראגראם פאר'ן ציוניזם אין דער נאכקריגס צוקונפט.

איך מאך איהר ניט קיין פארווארף. אויך דא קען איך גוט פארשטעהן מיינונגס פארשידענהייטען וואס זיינען געווען צו דערווארטען, איבערהויפט ווען זעקס יאהר זיינען שוין באלד פאריבער אהן דער אויסטרעטונג פון א ציון קאנגרעס. אבער אויב די ציוניסטישע עקזעקוטיווע זאל כאטש פון איהר זייט קענען אנטווארטען פאר דער וועלט, אז זי איז איינינג וועגען א באלדיגען ציוניסטישען פראגראם, וואלט עס פיל געשטארקט איהר אויטאריטעט און געגעבען פיל מעהר חשיבות צו דעם פארגעשלאגענעם וויזיט פון דער ארץ ישראל דעלעגאציע.

איך בין ווייטער זיכער, אז ווען אזא דעלעגאציע וועט באזוכען אמעריקא, וועט זי ניט וועלען זיך אריינמישען אין דיין ארגאניזאטארישע אנגעלעגענהייטען פון דער ציוניסטישער ארגאניזאציע פון אמעריקא, ניט אלס שלום-מאכער צווישען וויז און סילווער. איך גלויב ניט זוכען צו באאיינפלוסען די קומענדע ציון קאנווענשאן וואס וועט וואהרשיינליך אפגעהאלטען ווערען אין אקטאבער.

ווי ווייט איך קען דר. ווייצמאנ'ען, איז עס ביי איהם א ערנסטע פאליטיק ניט אריינצומישען אין אינערע ציוניסטישע אנגעלעגענהייטען פון די באזונדערע לענדער. אויב א שלום איז נאך מעגליך צווישען וויז'ען און סילווער'ן אנהענגער וואס ער קומען ניבער דורך דעם דירעקטען איינפלוס פון דער מערהייט אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען.

אבער איך האלט דאס איצט פאר ניט וויכטיג. די פאליטישע פראבלעמען פון אמעריקאנער ציוניזם זיינען פון א סך גרעסערער וויכטיגקייט ווי א פערזענליכער שלום.

אז די נאציאנאלע צוזאמענשטאנד וואס פלאנירט נאכ'ן איצטיגען מצב ציון קאונסיל, אז איהרע מעמבערס זיינען געווען היפש באאנגעלאמט און וואס זיך ווידער פארגעסען אויף דעם אלגעמיינעם וועג, וואס איז אנגעצייכנט געווארען פון דר. סילווער.

וואס איז גוט דער נעקסטער ציון ארגאניזאציע, וואס נאך זיין גאנג צייט צו ריידען. דר. גאלדשטיין וואס פאר ווי ניט זיין ליין פאנדקאמ. צוליב א פארזיכערט אין דער קאנסטיטוציע, און פון איצטיגער [illegible]. אז עס וואלט געווען א גוטע זאך ווען דער נייער [illegible] אין ארבייט.

Forward – Feb. 5

באוועגונג פאר שלום צווישען די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען שטארקט זיך איבער'ן לאנד

די באוועגונג פאר שלום אין די רייהען פון די אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען ווערט מיט יעדען טאג שטארקער און די צאהל דיסטריקטען, וואס נעמען אן רעזאלוציעס צוריקצוברענגען ד"ר. אבא הלל סילווער צו דער פיהרערשאפט פון דעם ציוניסטישען עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, ווערט גרעסער.

כאראקטעריסטיש פאר דער באוועגונג צו שאפען שלום אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם איז דער עדיטאריעל אין "די שטים פון בני-ציון", דער ארגאן פון ארדען בני-ציון, פון וועלכען לואיס ליפסקי איז פרעזידענט.

אין יענעם עדיטאריעל ווייזט אן די צייטונג, אז "איצט איז די צייט פון אלע צייטען, ווען ס'איז נויטיג געשלאסענקייט(?) צווישען די פיהרערשאפט, קאנצענטרירונג אויפ'ן שלום, ליד אויס'ן ציל, פארגעסען זיך אליין". ווייטער זאגט דער עדיטאריעל, אז אויב אפילו ערנסטע טעות'ן זיינען געמאכט געווארען, קען מען זיי ניט ארויסווארפען נאר אויף איין באשטימטען מענ'ט פון'ם עמערדזשענסי קאונסיל, באזונדערס ניט אויף דר. סילווער'ן.

צום סוף ווערט געזאגט אין עדיטאריעל: "עס מוז געזאגט ווערען, מיט טיפען באדויער וועגען דעם וואס עס געהט איצט אן אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם, אז ס'האבען נעבעהלט(?) שלום-מאכער [illegible] די פערזענליכע אמביציעס זיינען, אנצוהאלטען די איינהייט".

Journal – Feb. 1, 1945

אגענטור אלס שלום-פארמיטלער

לויט די ידיעות פון ירושלים איז קלאר, אז די אידישע אגענטור שענקט איינגעהענדיגע אויפמערקזאמקייט דעם ריס אין אמעריקאנער ציוניזם און אז מען רעדט דארט ערנסט וועגען מיטלען וואס זאלען אנגענומען ווערען פאר דער אגענטור דעם ריס נאענט צו מאכען. דער פארשלאג, אז מען זאל ארויסשיקן א דעלעגאציע פון אמעריקאנער ציוניסטישע פיהרער קיין ארץ ישראל האט ניט געפונען די געהעריגע שטיצע.

אויב די דעלעגאציע זאל באשטעהן — ווי עס ווערט בעוואוסט אין דער דעפעש וואס מיר האבען געדרוקט נעכטען — פון דר. וויז, דר. גאלדשטיין און מרס. האלפערן פון דער הדסה, וואלטען דא ביים געזעץ פארטראטען ניט דער מזרחי און ניט די פועלי ציון, וואס, באטש ווי פארטרעטען די מינאריטעט, זיינען אבער א וויכטיגער צד אין דעם סכסוך. דאן וואלט עס אויך געהייסען, אז דער צד שכנגד, דער סילווער צד, וואלט דא גאר ניט געהערט געווארען און אויסגעבן כען זיך מיט איין צד וואלט ניט געבראכט די רעזולטאטען וואס די אגענטור און אלע אנדערע נאטירליכע און גוט-ווינשענדיגע ציוניסטען וואלטען געוואלט.

עס קוקט דערפאר אויס פראקטישער דער צווייטער פארשלאג, אז דר. ווייצמאן, בן גוריון און הרב פישמאן, זאלען קומען קיין אמעריקא און זיי זאלען דא אויפ'ן ארט פרובירן שאפען שלום אין די ציוניסטישע רייהען. וואס איז פאקטיש אין איינקלאנג מיט דעם פארשלאג וואס דער מזרחי פון אמעריקא האט געמאכט פון סאמע אנפאנג.

דר. ווייצמאן, ווי עס איז שוין געווען באריכטעט, וועט זיין דא ביי ווי פעברואר. עס איז קיין ספק ניט, אז דר. ווייצמאנ'ס נייער באזוך אין אמעריקא מוז זיין פארבונדען מיט נאך וויכטיגע ציוניסטיש-פאליטישע שליחות'ן אין וואשינגטאן. זיין באזוך וועט זיין נאטירליך ווען די באגעגעניש פון די "גרויסע דריי" וועט שוין זיין פאריבער. עס וועט זיין א וויכטיגער מאמענט — א מאמענט פון "עת לעשות". אין אזא מאמענט וועט עס זיין אומגינסטיג און פאקטיש שעדליך, אז מיר זאלען דא האבען א צעשפליטערונג אין אונזערע ציוניסטישע רייהען. עס קען ניט זיין קיין בעסערער צד ווי דער צד פון דער אידישער אגענטור וואס איז אזוי ווי בלויז פאר אינטערעסירט אין איינהייט אין אמעריקאנער און וועלט ציוניזם.

ניסטישען פון דער צ. א. א. זאלען פארשטעלען א קלארע(?) דעמאקראטישע רעזשים ווי איצט איז ניטיג ווי אויך איז ניט ניטיג [illegible] אויף זייל(?) אינטערעסען [illegible] די [illegible] פון א קלייניגער גרופע. דאס וועט בלייבען א [illegible] פאר אמעריקאנער ציוניסטען.

Keeping the Zionists' Record Straight

THE "NEW PALESTINE" REFUSES TO PRESENT DR. SILVER'S SIDE.—THE TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS BEARING ON THE DISPUTE.

The Day 2-11-45

A

By RABBI LEON I. FEUER

Zionists of America must now be advised that the columns of the NEW PALESTINE are no longer open to those whose views are not approved by Dr. Goldstein, and that Zionists who are attacked in its columns will be denied the right to reply in self-defense.

In the December 29th issue of the NEW PALESTINE, six lengthy columns are devoted to a statement by Dr. Israel Goldstein on the controversy which led to Dr. Silver's resignation as Executive Chairman of the Emergency Council. Serious charges are made against Dr. Silver by Dr. Goldstein, whose statement is full of distortions and misrepresentations.

On January 25th, Dr. Silver sent the following wire to Mr. Barbarash of the NEW PALESTINE:

"The last issue of the NEW PALESTINE contains a six-column statement prominently featured by the President of the Zionist Organization of America concerning my resignation from the American Zionist Emergency Council and giving his version of facts leading up to deferment of our Palestine Resolutions in Congress. Serious charges are made against me. Many of Dr. Goldstein's statements are false or inaccurate. In justice to me, who am a vice-President of ZOA and whose policies the American Zionist Convention in Atlantic City last October unanimously endorsed, and believing that the NEW PALESTINE has, in all fairness, also to present the other side of the controversy, in which the Zionists of America are deeply concerned, I request that you grant me equal space in the next issue of the NEW PALESTINE to answer Dr. Goldstein. Kindest regards."

To which Dr. Silver received the following letter on January 28:

"Dear Dr. Silver:

"I have your telegram of January 25th.

"In response to the request of Zionist groups a few days ago to publish a resolution backing up the administration in this controversy, Dr. Goldstein advised me that The NEW PALESTINE ought to consider this controversy as closed in view of the fact that the Administrative Council has heard both sides and has voted on the matter. He also said that "the impression he gets from many Zionists is that they are sick of this controversy and resent its prolongation."

"I conveyed your request to Dr. Goldstein. He reiterated the view expressed by him a few days ago as indicated above, has said that inasmuch as a request comes now from a vice-president of the organization, he would submit it to the next meeting of the Executive.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Ernest E. Barbarash."

Between January 19th and January 28th Dr. Goldstein suddenly discovered that the Zionists of America were "sick" of the entire controversy, and that they would not be interested to hear from Dr. Silver his own version of the dispute in which he is principally involved.

While the Zionists, according to Dr. Goldstein's testimony, are already sick of the whole business, though the persistence of the discussions in Jewish papers and in Zionists districts gives no indication of it, he himself is not too sick to continue to disseminate mischievous gossip and pure fabrication. Thus in the January 19th issue of THE NEW PALESTINE, reporting the meeting of the Administrative Council, Dr. Goldstein is quoted as saying: "Was it not, for instance, an outrageous thing to do to try to check on the veracity of a member of the World Zionist Executive (Dr. Nahum Goldman) who had a conversation with the Secretary of State in the company of Dr. Wise, and who brought back a report to Dr. Silver for his confidential information?... And then we had finally a letter from the Secretary of State to Dr. Silver telling him that if he wishes to have any reports of the conversation, he could of course get all his information from Rabbi Wise."

The public is by now aware of the memorandum of Dr. Goldman purporting to be a report of what the Secretary of State had told him and Dr. Wise. It was officially revealed that Dr. Godman's memorandum "was not quite in accord with the Secretary's record."

The letter to which Dr. Goldstein refers is the one which Dr. Silver sent to Mr. Stettinius on December 12th. Mr. Stettinius had telephoned the office of the Emergency Council in Washington on December 11th. Dr. Silver spoke to him in the presence of members of the Emergency Council who were meeting in Washington that day. The Secretary had that morning been asked by a committee representing the Council, of which Dr. Silver was a member, to issue a statement to the effect that his appearance before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in opposition to the Palestine Resolution did not indicate a divergence from the President's position favoring the Jewish Commonwealth which he had announced on October 15th. In his telephone conversation with Dr. Silver, Mr. Stettinius asked that a draft of the statement which we had requested him to make should be sent to him immediately. Dr. Silver promised him that such a statement would be in his hands the following morning. When Dr. Silver learned the following morning that Mr. Stettinius had not yet received the draft, Dr. Silver sent him a copy of it by messenger with the following letter:

"The Honorable Edward R. Stettinius
The Department of State
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I am enclosing herewith the draft of the statement which we discussed yesterday morning and copy of which you requested at the earliest moment. You were to receive this copy from Dr. Wise by telegram from New York. Your Secretary informed me that you have not yet received it, and I am, therefore, dispatching it to you by messenger.

I believe, Mr. Secretary, that the issuance of this statement promptly to the public will help to allay some of the misgivings and resentments which have already made their way into the public press. The Jewish press particularly is reacting bitterly and violently to the intervention of the State Department in the situation, and the President's position is being laid open to grave misinterpretation in view of his public pronouncement on October 15th.

"Should you wish to reach me, I shall be at the Willard Hotel until this evening. With all good wishes permit me to remain

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver."

Mr. Stettinius, on December 15th, sent the following reply:

December 15, 1944.

"Dear Dr. Silver:

I received your letter written from the Willard and, as promised, took the question up with the President.

Rabbi Wise called in my office yesterday afternoon and I took the opportunity to explain the reaction which I obtained on this. If Dr. Wise has not already told you of this, I am sure he will if you make inquiry of him.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) E. R. Stettinius, Jr."

It should be noted that there is nothing in Dr. Silver's letter to Mr. Stettinius about wishing to have any reports on any conversation which Mr. Stettinius had with Dr. Wise and Dr. Goldman. As Mr. Stettinius's letter clearly indicates, the conversation with these gentlemen was held on the 14th, two days after Dr. Silver's letter was sent!

And this crude distortion is, of course, part of a campaign to bolster up the "persona non grata" legend for reasons which are not far to seek.

ציוניסטען גרינדען פאליטי-קאמיטע צו שטיצען דר. סילווער'ס פאליטיק

C

[illegible]

The Day Feb. 14-45

AMERICAN JEWS LACK UNITED REPRESENTATION, PROF. BRODETSKY REPORTS IN LONDON

2-11-45

b

LONDON, Feb. 9. (JTA) -- Prof. Selig Brodetsky, president of the Board of Deputies of British Jews, reporting today on his impressions of Jewish life in the United States, from where he recently returned, said that he had come to the conclusion that the most effective way of combining the Jews of America and England in a common effort would be to establish an unofficial unified body composed of those Jewish communities and any others which would like to join in meeting present and post-war Jewish problems.

There is no single body representing all American Jewry, Prof. Brodetsky declared. The American Jewish Conference represents an overwhelming majority of American Jews, but even this organization is not like the Board of Deputies of British Jews which represents all the Jews of England directly. Reporting on the Wise-Silver rift, Prof. Brodetsky expressed the hope that "means will be found shortly to solve this very important dispute and to put Palestine political work in the United States on the best possible basis."

Zionists Launch Committee to Press for Militant Policy

Wisconsin Jewish Chronicle 2-16-45

Group Will Function Within Framework of Zionist Organiaztion

A

New York—(JTA)—The American Zionist Policy committee, which will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the Zionist Organization of America in order to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver," was launched this week by a group of prominent Zionist leaders throughout the country, headed by Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh.

CHARLES J. ROSENBLOOM

In a letter sent to a number of leading American Zionists, Mr. Rosenbloom, who is treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal and former treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal, listed the purposes of the American Zionist Policy committee as follows:

1. To deepen Zionist thought and the understanding of Zionist problems on the part of our lay leaders and the rank and file.

2. To advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

3. To strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs.

4. To revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists.

Mr. Rosenbloom emphasized that the committee's activities "will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council. As Dr. Silver has repeatedly urged, all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor."

Assailing the ZOA administration's action in forcing Dr. Silver's elimination from the political leadership of American Zionism "after a year of prodigious activity and unprecedented political achievement," Mr. Rosenbloom declared: "That such incredible things could happen in the way they did, points to serious internal conditions which must be corrected if we are to avoid major setbacks. The leadership of the ZOA has revealed an appalling ineptitude and an incapacity to deal in a statesmanlike manner with such crises as are bound to arise. It has acted precipitately and arbitrarily. It has either mistaken the sentiments of the great body of American Zionists, or deliberately ignored them."

AMERICAN ZIONIST POLICY COMMITTEE LAUNCHED; WILL FUNCTION WITHIN Z.O.A. FRAMEWORK

B *2-14-45*

NEW YORK, Feb. 13. (JTA) -- The launching of an American Zionist Policy Committee, which will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the Zionist Organization of America in order "to press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver," was announced today by a group of Zionist leaders throughout the country, headed by Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh, treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal. The Committee's activities "will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council," the announcement said.

The purposes of the American Zionist Policy Committee, as outlined in the announcement, are: "To deepen Zionist thought and the understanding of Zionist problems on the part of our lay leaders and the rank and file; to advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver; to strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs; to revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists."

Detroit Jewish Chronicle 2-16-45

New Pro-Silver Group Is Formed

C NEW YORK — The American Zionist Policy Committee, which will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the Zionist Organization of America in order to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver," was launched last week by a group of Zionists headed by Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh. Offices were opened in New York.

Mr. Rosenbloom, treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal, listed the purposes of the American Zionist Policy Committee as follows:

To deepen Zionist thought and the understanding of Zionist problems on the part of our lay leaders and the rank and file.

To advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

To strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs.

To revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists.

Mr. Rosenbloom emphasized that the Committee's activities "will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council.

Assailing the Z.O.A. administration's action in forcing Dr. Silver's elimination from the political leadership of American Zionism "after a year of prodigious activity and unprecedented political achievement," Mr. Rosenbloom declared:

"That such incredible things could happen in the way they did, points to serious internal conditions which must be corrected if we are to avoid major setbacks.

"The leadership of the Z.O.A. has revealed an appalling ineptitude and an incapacity to deal in a statesmanlike manner with such crises as are bound to arise. It has acted precipitately and arbitrarily. It has either mistaken the sentiments of the great body of American Zionists, or deliberately ignored them."

The Jewish Post 2-16-45

Silver Forces Form New Group; Stay Within ZOA

D

Special

NEW YORK—The American Zionist Policy Committee, which will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the Zionist Organization of America in order to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver," was launched this week by a group of prominent Zionist leaders throughout the country, headed by Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh.

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RABBI SILVER

"(2) To advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

"(3) To strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs.

"(4) To revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists."

Mr. Rosenbloom emphasized that the Committee's activities "will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council. As Dr. Silver has repeatedly urged, all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor."

Assailing the Z. O. A. administration's action in forcing Dr. Silver's elimination from the political leadership of American Zionism "after a year of prodigious activity and unprecedented political achievement," Mr. Rosenbloom declared: "That such incredible things could happen in the way they did, points to serious internal conditions which must be corrected if we are to avoid major setbacks. The leadership of the Z. O. A. has revealed an appalling ineptitude and an incapacity to deal in a statesmanlike manner with such crises as are bound to arise. It has acted precipitately and arbitrarily. It has either mistaken the sentiments of the great body of American Zionists, or deliberately ignored them."

The American Zionist Policy Committee is establishing offices at 55 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

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CLEVELAND, OHIO, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1945
Jewish Review & Observer

Einstein, Co-Chairman For Testimonial to Dr. Silver

A

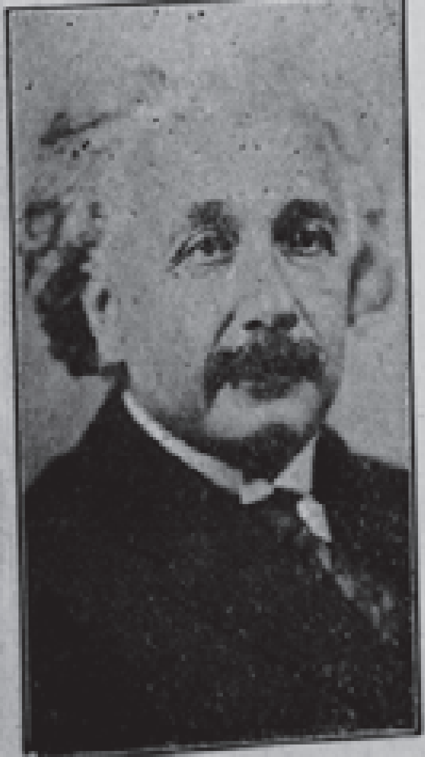
New York—Professor Albert Einstein heads the list of prominent leaders from all walks of life who are acting as co-chairmen of the testimonial dinner being tendered to Dr.

DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, on March 21st in the Grand Ballroom of the Hotel Commodore, New York City.

The dinner, plans for which were initiated by the Zionists of New York, will pay tribute to Dr. Silver for his outstanding leadership of American Jewry over many years and for his great contributions to American thought and public welfare.

In addition to Professor Einstein, the co-chairmen include Hon. M. Maldwin Fertig prominent New York attorney and president of the Bronx Zionist Region; Rabbi Wolf Gould, leader of World Mizrachi; Hon. Nathaniel L. Goldstein, Attorney-General of New York State; Professor Horace M. Kallen, of the New School for Social Research; Professor Mordecai M. Kaplan, of the Jewish Theological Seminary; Emanuel Neumann, Zionist leader and former member of the Jewish Agency Executive; David Pinski, poet-playwright and leader of Labor Zionism; Charles J. Rosen-



PROF. ALBERT EINSTEIN

bloom, treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal; Hon. Carl Sherman, former Attorney-General of New York State; Supreme Justice Meier Steinbrink, and Pierre van Paassen, noted author.

קאָנסיל פאַרשרייבט דר. סילווער'ן אין גאָלדענעם בוך

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Day 2-18-45

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TRI-STATE ZIONIST REGION BACKS DR. SILVER

C 2-19-45

New York (JPS) -- The Tri-State Zionist Region, comprising the Z.O.A. membership of Pittsburgh, Western Pennsylvania, parts of West Virginia and Eastern Ohio, has unanimously adopted a resolution demanding Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's recall to political leadership, it was announced by the newly-formed American Zionist Policy Committee. The decision was taken at a joint meeting of the executive and administrative committee of the Tri-State Region held on February 11th at the William Penn Hotel, in Pittsburgh.

Inscribe Dr. Silver's Name In Golden Book

Cincinnati (JPS) -- The entire staff of the American Zionist Emergency Council has inscribed Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's name in the Golden Book of the Jewish National Fund "with affection and esteem," it was revealed here.

[illegible]

D JEWISH JOURNAL AND DAILY NEWS
דער מאָרגען זשורנאַל
THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1945. VOL. XLIV. NO. 13,194.

די באַריכטען וועגען ארץ ישראל

[illegible]

St. Louis Jewish Tribune 2-23-45

ZIONIST MELODRAMA! JEWISH TRAGEDY

(Reprinted By Request.)

The blood boils and the heart bleeds at the impotence, futility and puerility of the American Zionist leadership, if you can call it that, as is disclosed in the many press items republished in these pages. The Jews of Europe and the Balkans, at least those who have so far survived the brutal death imposed upon our people by the Nazis are the pawns in this fiasco, not to mention the Jews of the Yishuv. Here before you appears deliberate lying, the double cross, and the dagger in the back. It is foul. It is shameful. And that is Zionist Leadership. And it is Jewish Leadership too.

Steve Wise, he is 70, insists on being the Kingfish in Jewish life and will brook no interference or competition. He is the Prime Minister and complete cabinet. He has a Synagogue Secretary, a Jewish Opinion Secretary, an American Jewish Congress Secretary, a World Jewish Congress Secretary, a Zionist Secretary, a Religion Institute Secretary, and no doubt even a Private Secretary. And on top of all that he is the Ambassador to Washington. Expense accounts and money are no object. No one can introduce Congressional Resolutions without his consent. You no doubt remember his appearance in Washington on the Save the Jews of Europe Resolution. Only he is able to talk to President Roosevelt. So President Roosevelt talked to Steve, and Steve (who roars like a lion in front of Jewish audiences) like a good boy pushed the Palestine Resolution down the sewer.

Steve's good man Friday is Israel Goldstein, who no doubt, like Caesar, is ambitious. Goldstein believes that the Jewish Crown is more becoming to his bald pate than to Silver's thinning hair. Oh, why do Rabbis who preach brotherly love, love each other so much? And what has Goldstein to worry about? He collects from Bnai Jeshurun and the Zionist Organization both. And who cares for expenses, especially when a publicity man can build you up as an American Hillel? And then there is the Ze Mr. Goldman, who denies he has had anything to do with this dirty work.

Yes, this is the American Zionism that killed off Jacob De Haas; chilled Herzl's only successor, the valiant Jewish fighter, Vladimir Jabotinsky; kicked Brandeis around; and stooped very low indeed in trying to have Peter Bergson deported. And now the attempt to push Silver around.

And this Zionist Emergency Committee, what a black blot that is. For five years while the White Paper was gaining momentum, they fiddled around. The able Emanuel Neuman was thrown out of the Committee and then when the knife is at the throat of the Yishuv Silver is called in. And how they took care of Silver.

What is wrong? The Zionist rank and file is so apathetic, indifferent and ignorant that it is appalling. By permitting these happenings they innocently assist in the death and destruction of their fellow Jews. St. Louis is no different than the other American cities. Zionists seem only to understand the appeal of the collector.

The sham and the flim is beyond them. They just don't know what is going on, and they don't care. I have already asked Messrs. Raigor, Sosna, Slonim, Robinson and Gollin, "What are you going to do?" And their answers are, Well, we haven't had a meeting since November. We shall see." What is St. Louis going to do about such terrible happenings in the Zionist Movement?

SILVER FORCES FORM NEW GROUP

St. Louis Jewish Tribune

(Reprinted from National Edition, Jewish Post.)

2-23-45

The American Zionist Policy Committee, which will function both nationally and locally within the framework of the Zionist Organization of America in order to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver," was launched by a group of prominent Zionist leaders throughout the country, headed by Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh.

In a letter sent to a number of leading American Zionists, Mr. Rosenbloom, who is treasurer of the United Palestine Appeal and former treasurer of the United Jewish Appeal, listed the purposes of the American Zionist Policy Committee as follows:

"(1) To deepen Zionist thought and the understanding of Zionist problems on the part of our lay leaders and the rank and file.

"(2) To advocate and press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

"(3) To strengthen the Zionist Organization of America from within by developing a vigorous and informed public opinion among its membership and an intelligent interest in national affairs.

"(4) To revitalize the democratic principle basic to our movement so that the composition and policies of the national administration shall reflect the will and temper of the great body of American Zionists."

Mr. Rosenbloom emphasized that the Committee's activities "will in no wise interfere with the political work of the Zionist Emergency Council. As Dr. Silver has repeatedly urged, all constructive Zionist efforts must be carried on with undiminished vigor."

Assailing the Z. O. A. administration's action in forcing Dr. Silver's elimination from the political leadership of American Zionism "after a year of prodigious activity and unprecedented political achievement," Mr. Rosenbloom declared: "That such incredible things could happen in the way they did, points to serious internal conditions which must be corrected if we are to avoid major setbacks. The leadership of the Z. O. A. has revealed an appalling ineptitude and an incapacity to deal in a statesmanlike manner with such crises as are bound to arise. It has acted precipitately and arbitrarily. It has either mistaken the sentiments of the great body of American Zionists, or deliberately ignored them."

The American Zionist Policy Committee is establishing offices at 55 West 42 Street, New York 18, N. Y.

THE WISE TELEGRAM

St. Louis Jewish Tribune 2-23-45

It is interesting to read Wise's telegram to our Secretary of State. It is not only egotistical, but undertakes to push Senator Wagner out of the picture insofar as his sincere interest in the Zionist Resolution is concerned. In the Back Bay District of Boston, it is only the Lowells that speak to the Cabots and the Cabots speak only to God. Judging by this telegram only one Jew can speak to the Chief, and only through Stettinius.

Anyway, I am glad to note that Silver is not giving up the fight and is organizing for a show-down. But most Zionists are so hare brained that they prefer letters to the President begging him to use his good offices at the Yalta Conference instead of a man to man fight for the Palestine Mandate in the Halls of Congress. Now is the time for Ed Kauffman, former Z.O.A. president to get into the fight and put the collectors where they belong. And whether Solomon Goldman, another past president of the Z. O. A. likes Silver or not, here is his chance to spill the truth concerning what goes on in the Z. O. A. Above all, all militant forces in Zionism should unite at this time for the purpose of re-vitalizing Zionism in America and throughout the World. This is an opportunity that should be taken advantage of.

Insofar as the Zionist Emergency Council is concerned, the poor Mizrachi was left out in the cold. It seems that the Council was sort of divided between the Z. O. A. and Hadassah on one side and the Poale Zion and Mizrachi on the other. When the Wise-Silver conflict arose the Poale Zion lined up with the Z. O. A. and Hadassah. And why? It is a repetition of one of Aesop's Fables. While Steve Wise and Abba Silver were fighting over the Zionist crown, Chaim Greenberg of the Poale Zion, grabbed the crown and placed it on his own head.

In St. Louis this matter of Wise-Silver brought forth a very diluted and watery resolution on the part of a few so-called members of the local Emergency Committee urging the retention of Abba Silver as head of the Zionist Emergency Committee. No interested organizations held any meetings to discuss the situation.

It is to be noted that practically all of the Jewish people that attended the recently held Christian-Zionist Conference in St. Louis came away with a feeling of great elation and enthusiasm. The man responsible for this elation and enthusiasm was Abba Hillel Silver, the same Silver that organized Zionism is stabbing in the back. And yet, what are these very same people, who were so elated and enthused by this man, doing for him in the present Zionist crisis in America?

Trend Towards Silver Grows; Asks His Return

Jewish Post 2-23-45

Special

NEW YORK — The Tri-State Zionist Region, comprising almost 9000 members of the Zionist Organization of America from Pittsburgh, Western Pennsylvania, parts of West Virginia and Eastern Ohio, unanimously adopted a resolution deploring the breach in the American Zionist movement and demanding Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's recall to political leadership. The resolution passed despite a talk by Judge Louis Levinthal, of Philadelphia, criticizing Dr. Silver and defending the Z. O. A. Administration's actions.

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, of New York, who had spoken earlier on "The Political Situation in the Near East," refuted Judge Levinthal's remarks and represented the pro-Silver point of view.

St. Louis Wants Silver Back

Special

ST. LOUIS—The latest Zionist district to join the ranks of those taking up the cudgel in behalf of Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, became St. Louis when the local Zionist Emergency Council at a special meeting adopted a resolution calling for Silver to be brought back into leadership.

The resolution asked the Council "forthwith to invite Dr. Silver to resume his position in the leadership of the Council." It was adopted unanimously.

NEWS — AND — VIEWS

The Cairo Conference.
The Jewish State!
Promise Or Fulfilment?
Watchful Waiting.

—By Dr. S. MARGOSHES—

Day 2-23-45

So we have been thought of and talked about, [illegible] all, and if not by the Big T[illegible] least by the Big Two. [illegible] Churchill, on th[illegible] Yalta, it appears, [illegible] ing Palestine, first be[illegible] selves and then separately [illegible] King Farouk of Egypt and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia. There is going to be, we are told, a Jewish State including most of the territory of Palestine, allied in some fashion with the Arab Federation, stretching all the way from Egypt to Hadjaz, and rather closely with the Christian state of Lebanon.

All of which is important, if true; but the trouble is we don't know where the truth begins or ends or where fancy or wishful thinking take its place. The rather lengthy, official statement about the meeting aboard the American warship, anchored in the Great Bitter Lake, near Cairo, makes no mention either of Palestine or of Jews. Whatever intimations we have concerning the role of Palestine or Jews in the discussions with Middle Eastern potentates derive from private and completely unauthorized dispatches sent by correspondents, hungry for news and easily satisfied with crumbs of information that may or may not be authentic. The Big Two themselves have not seen fit to vouchsave any information at all concerning Palestine, the Jews or the Jewish State either to the public or to the Jewish leadership.

It will be said, of course, that the whole matter of Palestine is still under consideration. The conference of Arab states, now meeting in Cairo, has the question of Palestine, among a great many other questions, on its agenda. The matter of oil concessions, which is of vital importance to many Western powers, including the United States, has yet to be settled, and for some dark and mysterious reason some Arab rulers insist upon mixing up Zionism with oil. The problem of India, with hundreds of millions of Mohammedans with supposed interest in Palestine, is still to be disposed of. And there is always the consideration that until the war is finally over, nothing must be undertaken that might in the slightest degree upset the teeming millions of the Middle East and thus create a threat to our communications so vital to our success in the war against the common foe. True, all these arguments have been raised before and met, but this is no reason why they should not be raised again, if for nothing else, for the purpose of delaying the long neglected, long awaited and terribly long delayed Palestine solution.

Maybe, we shall have more light on the subject when the President gets back home. Maybe the long awaited joint statement on Palestine will be made both in Washington and in London. Maybe the President will call the Zionist leadership to acquaint it with the new situation with respect to Palestine. The President had asked that the Palestine Resolution, pending in Congress, be shelved and that the whole matter of Palestine be left in his own hands. Well, the Palestine Resolution has been put on the shelf, leading to a considerable row within the Zionist leadership in America, and the whole matter has now been resting in the President's hands-

cont. on next page

cont. from p. 67

where he wanted it to be. So what could be more logical than to expect that the President, having had his opportunity to attend to the Palestine matter, attended to it in a way thoroughly consistent with the Palestine plank in the democratic platform and also with his own personal pledge given through Senator Wagner to the last Annual Convention of Zionist Organizations of America at Atlantic City? If this be so, he will undoubtedly want the Zionist leadership to know about the new developments, even if the news could not be given out to the public at large.

We hope for the best. A decision on Palestine must be made in the very near future. Every day that passes only adds to the confusion in Palestine and heaps up new troubles in the way of Jewish refugees who see in Palestine the only hope of repairing their shattered lives. The White Paper policy has made further Jewish development in Palestine utterly impossible. The total of 75,000 immigrants, who could be brought into the country under the White Paper, is now about exhausted, and the British government as well as the civilized world at large will have to make up their minds whether or not to continue the iniquitous White Paper or to substitute for it a new modus of Jewish development in Palestine. President Roosevelt, by his own word as well as by his party platform, is pledged to substitute for it the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. If the Cairo reports about the Jewish State are correct, the President has actually gone to bat for us as he has promised he would, and as all of us who know and who admire him and who have faith in him, expected he would. But it is also possible that what we have again before us are some fine words, and very little else. We shall not know until we shall make it our business to find out. Meanwhile, watchful waiting, without unduly high optimism, would seem to be indicated as the best policy.

ווייצמאַן פאָרט קיין לאָנדאָן; הפועל המזרחי פאָדערט שלום אין דעם אַמעריקאַנער ציוניזם

The Day 2-25-45

[illegible]

Indianapolis 2-23-45

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

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Names of letter writers need not be printed, and will not be divulged, although the name must be appended to the letter as it reaches our office for verification as to authenticity. Unsigned letters will not be considered. Letters should be brief and to the point, and written on one side of the page only.

SILVER MOVEMENT "SQUELCHED" BY WISE SUPPORTERS, RABBI CHARGES

To the Editor:

Allow me to appoint myself special correspondent to the Jewish Post for this issue, and attempt to correct some of the misconceptions I am sure will result from the distorted, biased and wishfoolish article that had as its caption "Silver Movement Believed Dead After Secret Meet."

The proceedings of the Atlantic City meetings of the American Zionist Emergency Council Chairmen, and the trend of recent events, certainly do anything but corroborate that caption. Undoubtedly, by this time you have received information regarding the organization of the American Zionist Policy Committee to "press for a militant and dynamic Zionist policy such as has been exemplified by the successful leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver." So you see, Mr. Editor, if, as your correspondent writes: "The Silver movement is dead," appropos Mark Twain, the report has been greatly exaggerated, or there has been a speedy and unpublicized resurrection.

Moreover, I cannot agree with the latter part of the caption: "After Secret Meet." As your article indicated, I attended those meetings, and I am not aware that the proceedings were in any way confidential or secret. The only caution imposed upon the delegates related to the report of Dr. Stephen Wise who requested the discretion when relating and reporting his conversation with the President.

It is not my wish to further controversy in the Jewish press. However, I feel that the article you published gives an entirely erroneous impression, and should be corrected.

The following is my own personal estimate, and I am not writing this in any representative capacity. I believe that the meetings were poorly organized, miserably conducted, and an insult to those who came long distances because of their wish to learn, and to contribute something to the important objectives of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I can only conclude that this regional meeting was prompted mainly for the purpose of further consolidating Wise prestige and leadership, and not for the given purpose of affording substantial direction to the local Emergency Chairmen. Certainly, the speeches and reports could have been mailed at the saving of considerable time, money and travel. Aside from the unmistakable clamor and demand for the restoration of Dr. Silver to Zionist leadership, there was very little call for action inherent in the meetings.

Your correspondent was correct when he implied that the opening meeting almost resulted in a landslide for Silver. Delegate after delegate read official resolutions and statements,—all demanding the reinstatement of Dr. Silver to the important position of leadership in the Emergency Council. When a motion was made that the meeting go on record indicating the sentiment of those present as favoring the reinstatement of Rabbi Silver, Judge Levinthal, who was presiding, ruled the motion out of order. Your informant did not mention the fact that a subsequent motion was made to appeal from the decision of the chair, and that the pro-Silverites were then requested to hear Mr. Schulman and Rabbi Wise before voting to either sustain or reject that appeal. NOW THIS IS IMPORTANT, and has not been mentioned: Rabbi Wise was very much aroused, and with impassioned and effective eloquence expressed himself to the effect (I do not quote but give my impression of his remarks) that the action taken at that meeting and other meetings of the delegates to the American Zionist Emergency Council, would determine his future relationship to the American Zionist Emergency Council. He said that he did not wish to impose himself upon the Zionist movement. Rabbi Wise spoke of his service to Israel and to the Zionist cause and contended that he, too, had pursued a militant and energetic leadership in Jewish life. One could only conclude from his remarks that any pro-Silver declaration on the part of those assembled, would result in his resignation.

After Rabbi Wise concluded his remarks there was generous applause. It would be wrong to surmise that the applause indicated an endorsement of Wise's leadership in the Zionist Emergency Council. In my opinion, it indicated a feeling of appreciation for the many contributions he has made to Israel and to the Zionist cause. My impression that Dr. Wise would resign in the event a pro-Silver declaration should be passed was substantiated when I heard from a reliable source that Dr. Israel Goldstein indicated to Mr. Hulbert of Atlantic City, that he had better desist from pressing the pro-Silver motion or Rabbi Wise would resign that night. THEN, Mr. Hulbert withdrew his motion, not because he no longer adhered to it, but rather, I am sure, out of deference to an honored leader in Israel, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

I can't recall that "the trend having changed perceptibly against Rabbi Silver, many delegates, including those whose districts had passed resolutions supporting Rabbi Silver, publicly recanted." I attended the sessions, and I have no recollection of this alleged recanting. In fact, the trend was not against Rabbi Silver. If anything, and I judge by the conversations and discussions that went on outside of the meetings, there was definitely a greater impetus for, and a more pronounced realization of, the necessary restoration of Rabbi Silver to Zionist leadership. SILVER SENTIMENT DIDN'T SUBSIDE! It was squelched—by the implied antagonism of the presiding leaders who definitely favored Rabbi Wise. The people on the rostrum smiled benignly and said: Now that we have expressed ourselves and achieved unity, we can go to constructive work. No unity had been achieved, Mr. Editor, and full and complete discussion of this important subject was summarily averted. I have reason to believe that if the sentiment of the delegates had been frankly expressed, there would have been a pro-Silver landslide at any session that was held.

Zionism needs Silver today. The rank and file of Zionist workers want him, and I believe that if proper channels are made available, the overwhelming demand for the restoration of Rabbi Silver to Zionist leadership, will be rendered articulate and manifestly discernible. Impressions gleaned from those meetings convinced me that there can be no unity without Silver, and because the work of the Zionist Emergency Council is so vital today, he must be restored to active leadership.

The press was barred from these meetings, but the various delegates were to return home and report the proceedings to their respective communities. I believe that a report should be made to the community of Israel, and I take this means of correcting what I regard to be a distorted and erroneous version of what took place.

The meeting opened my eyes to the political machinations of those opposing Silver, and convinced me of the necessity of having complete and unhindered expression of the facts. Most of the Zionists with whom I talked want to know why Silver has been victimized, and they demand an expose of the political intrigue that resulted in the present controversy. The stakes are too high. The objectives are too important to be constrained by petty fears of publicity. The entire matter should not be restricted to the limits of polite restraint, nor should we subject ourselves to the dangerous delusion of non-existent harmony.

The Silver movement has never died. True, attempts have been made to bury it alive. I think that future events will disclose that the alleged corpse will make itself heard because its voice echoes the desired policies and convictions of the vast majority of American Zionists.

Sincerely yours,

RABBI WM. B. SILVERMAN
Temple Emanuel,
Gastonia, N. C.

WEIZMANN READY TO LEAVE PALESTINE AFTER COMPLETING DISCUSSIONS WITH GOVERNMENT

2-26-45

JERUSALEM, Feb. 25. (JTA) -- After completing important discussions with high officials of the Palestine Government with regard to basic Jewish problems in the country, Dr. Chaim Weizmann will take official leave of Palestine Jewry at a meeting of the Small Zionist Actions Committee called to give the head of the Jewish Agency a send-off prior to his departure for London and the United States.

It was learned here, meanwhile, that the Actions Committee will be asked to enlarge and strengthen its political departments in Jerusalem, London and Washington. The Mizrachi laborites are also submitting a demand to the committee asking it to bring about peace in the ranks of the Zionist Organization of America and to secure the return of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver to leadership of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

VOL. XII No. 48 (27th year)
Wednesday, February 28, 1945
...ws Bulletin
...H TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY
...T, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

SOLUTION OF PALESTINE PROBLEM DEFERRED UNTIL END OF WAR, CHURCHILL ANNOUNCES IN LONDON

LONDON, Feb. 27. (JTA) -- The solution of the Palestine problem will be put off until the end of the war and will not be taken up at the conference of the United Nations which opens in San Francisco on April 25, Prime Minister Churchill declared today in the House of Commons in the course of a report on the Yalta parley of the "Big Three."

The Prime Minister also indicated that the talks held in Egypt are not to be construed as a general conference on basic problem of the Middle East since the Regent of Iraq and the Emir of Transjordan were not present. The Palestine question, he said, will be settled by the peace conference.

Churchill's statement was received with mixed feelings in Zionist circles here. In a statement to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency Lord Strabolgi declared that he feels relieved that the Prime Minister made no pronouncement hostile to the policy of a Jewish National Home. "It would have been disastrous had we been presented with a decision regarding the future of the Palestine mandate, or with a decision for the partitioning of Palestine," Lord Strabolgi said. "The fact that the Prime Minister said so little gives us hope for the future."

Emphasizing that now is the time to prepare for a constructive policy with regard to the post-war status of Palestine and Transjordan, the Laborite peer said that the time must also be utilized for educating public opinion in all countries of the Allied Nations concerning Jewish demands for Palestine.

"The best solution for Palestine is to proclaim the country a British Dominion," he continued. "In the meantime, the most urgent question is to secure new immigration certificates for Jews desiring to enter Palestine. These new certificates would enable the Jewish Agency to send to Palestine distressed survivors of the Balkan countries and other liberated territories."

טשורטשיל אין באריכט וועגן יאלטא באַרעכטיגט באַשלוס וועגן פוילען, פארדאמט שחיטות אויף אידען

The Day 2-28-45

פרעמיער דריקט אויס די האפענונג אז א גינסטיגע לייזונג פון ארץ ישראל פראגע נאכן קריג — לייגט גרויסע האפענונגען אויף אמעריקע'ס הילף אין איינ־שטעלן רו און ארדענונג אין גאנצן מיטעל־מזרח — אידען און אלע וועלען אנפירן ענגלישע דעלע־גאציע אין סאן פראנציסקא. — נייער זיכערקייטס־בונד וועט זיין א מעכטיגער אינסטרומענט, ווי די אלטע פעלקער־ליג, פארזיכערט טשורטשיל.

ZIONIST RIFT REVEALS POLICY DISAGREEMENT

Wise-Silver Controversy Contains Deeper Implications, Say Commentators

A

Peace officially reigns in American Zionism following the recent public controversy highlighted by the resignation of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as co-chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the official political arm of the major Zionist bodies in America. Reports of continuing dissension in Zionist ranks suggest, however, that the conflict has deep-seated roots. Its issues, which involve Palestine and Jewish public relations in the United States, are of interest also to non-Zionists.

The dissension arose as a result of the deferment by the U. S. Congress, for the second time within a year, of the Palestine Resolution, which demands the abolition of the British White Paper stopping Jewish immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth. The resolution was shelved in the spring of 1944 by the House and Senate Foreign Affairs Committees at the insistence of the War Department, on the ground that its passage would be prejudicial to the successful conclusion of the war. President Roosevelt concurred in the War Department's opinion.

Expressing its full accord with the request for the withdrawal of the White Paper, the American Jewish Committee objected to the consideration at this time of the provision calling for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth because of wartime conditions and divergence of opinion on the ultimate political structure of Palestine.

The Zionists soon renewed their campaign for the passage of the resolution. The House Foreign Affairs Committee approved it; but it was deferred by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee after Secretary of State Stettinius had appeared before the Committee three times and had declared in a public statement that "the passage of the resolution at the present time would be unwise from the standpoint of the general international situation."

Discipline Alleged Issue

On its surface, the Zionist disagreement centers about a single issue: namely, Dr. Silver's alleged contravention of the authority of the Emergency Council.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise (the other co-chairman of the Emergency Council), Dr. Israel Goldstein (president of the ZOA) and other Council members charged Dr. Silver with having disregarded a Council directive not to press for passage of the resolution in Congress without a "green light" from the State Department and the President.

Dr. Silver denied this accusation in a detailed statement. Furthermore he counter-charged, naming specific instances, that Dr. Wise, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Goldstein and other Council members had sabotaged his activities on behalf of the resolution in both Congress and the State Department.

The issue was threshed out in the Emergency Council in a lengthy session at which both sides presented their evidence. A motion to censure Dr. Silver for his "breach of discipline" was defeated. The subsequent action of the Emergency Council, however, was to accept his resignation and, in a general reorganization, to elect Dr. Wise sole chairman.

This controversy, which assumed violent proportions and was aired both in the general and Jewish press through statements and counter-statements on both sides, created amazement and perplexity in Jewish circles. Was the cause of this upheaval nothing more than a technical "breach of discipline," as claimed by the Emergency Council? While some commentators saw in the controversy a personal conflict between Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver, others perceived deeper issues.

"Procedure" is Clue

One clue is found in the Emergency Council's declaration that the controversy "does not involve any difference with respect to fundamental Zionist policy or maximal or minimal Zionist program, but is rather one of procedure, methods of implementation and the authority of its officers." "Procedure" and "methods of implementation" are key words here, observers say. The Wise group, it is stated, postulates the good will of the President and the present Washington administration as the indispensable prerequisite to the success of the Zionist cause. The President, they say, will have a major voice in determining the shape of the post-war world and consequently the future of Palestine. The President has given his pledge of aid to Zionists, and they must not embarrass him by ill-timed pressure, etc.

While not denying the importance of the good will of the administration in Washington, the Silver group is said to believe that the Zionist movement must not rely on it entirely, and that the Zionist cause, like any other, should be promoted by mobilizing public opinion to exert pressure on the legislative bodies, to which the executive would eventually yield. Since the President, from some indications, is not completely won over to the Zionist point of view, it is inadvisable, the Silver supporters think, to base the whole strategy of the cause on the administration's good efforts.

A commentator of the *Jewish Daily Forward* attributes the Zionist conflict to the desire of the Wise-Goldmann group to dominate the Emergency Council "as it now dominates the World Jewish Congress, the American Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Conference."

Two Trends in Zionism

A *Jewish Morning Journal* commentator sees in this conflict the opposition between two trends in the Zionist movement. American Zionism stands committed by the so-called Biltmore Resolution to the immediate demand for a Jewish commonwealth. The Emergency Council denies that this question—"maximal" versus "minimal" Zionism—was involved in the controversy. It is believed, however, that one faction, represented by Dr. Wise, holds that the demand for a Jewish commonwealth at the present, while the Jews of Palestine are in a minority, is not realizable, and that a militant policy in this respect is untimely and impractical. The point of view represented by Dr. Silver, says the commentator, is that the establishment of a commonwealth is a primary condition for the realization of Zionist hopes and must be striven for energetically and now.

At present writing, it has been announced that Senator Robert Taft intends to reintroduce the Palestine Resolution in the Senate. Congressman Emanuel Celler has reintroduced the resolution in the House. Official Zionist circles have not yet indicated whether they will press for action unless the State Department withdraws its opposition.

Thus, as a result of the confusion in Zionist policy, we have an anamolous situation in which demands concerning Palestine are aired in the halls of Congress without the assurance of backing by the united will of American Jewry or even by the unanimous support of Zionists. This detachment of the Palestine question from Jewish influence and control and its use as a political football represents, in the opinion of many observers, a distinct loss to Jewish dignity and prestige in this country.

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VOLUME XV Bnai Zion **Voice** NUMBER 6

EDITORIAL REVIEW

ORDER IN ZIONIST CONTROVERSY

THE RE-ORGANIZED Zionist Emergency Council is engaged in recovering ground lost in the flare-up of the so-called Wise-Silver controversy. Too much attention has been given to the conflicting stories of who was at fault in the deferment of the Palestine Resolution. Now, by giving the local emergency committees something new to do, the distraction caused by various interpretations of what had happened in Washington will evaporate in activities which, absorbing the workers, may stabilize the situation. All local committees were called upon to support an address to the President on the eve of his departure for the Crimea and he was appealed to to have the Jewish claim with regard to Palestine placed on the agenda. Some work has also been done with Executive Departments of Government in Washington to straighten the Zionist line after the interval when Zionist leadership seemed to be working at cross purposes. What now follows must perforce be a more or less waiting game. Has the Crimea Conference considered Palestine? The answer is awaited with impatience.

In effect, the Wise-Silver issue has been detoured. It has become an internal matter of the Zionist Organization of America. It seems to be the intention of Dr. Silver's friends to challenge the Administration responsible for his resignation from the Emergency Council and to move at the next Convention of the Z.O.A. for the election of a new Administration on the ground that the present leadership is not deserving of confidence. From the point of view of public relations, the shifting of the scene of quarrel to the Z.O.A. Convention is a distinct advantage.

There is a grave possibility, however, that the segregation of the controversy within the Z.O.A. may be as injurious to the general Zionist interests as was the quarrel in the Council during December and January. It may even hurt Zionist prestige and dignity more than the discussion as to who was at fault for the deferment of the Resolution. These are not ordinary times. When the nerves of most people are frayed by the events of the war, when all Jews are undergoing the depressing effects of the massacres of Jews by the Nazis, when the rescue of Jews is still possible but no one seems greatly concerned—in these trying days, it will not be easy to keep the democratic process within the Zionist Organization isolated and unaffected by the usual aberrations of partisan campaigning.

The internal situation will be aggravated by the fact that involved in the Z.O.A. struggle will be aspects of organizational life the public exposure of which will certainly not be to the advantage of the Zionist movement. It is alleged that within the Z.O.A. there have developed procedures and group interests which will have to be eradicated if the Z.O.A. is to become normal and fit for the leadership that awaits it in the days to come. The resistance of groups and personalities under attack may arouse a political campaign that will trample under foot the amenities required by the situation. Democracy in action can become cruel and reckless. Partisanship is easily driven to unfairness both in attack and in defense. What may start as a holy crusade may degenerate into a destructive brawl.

These possibilities should give pause to the Zionist, whatever group he may belong to. Every thoughtful Zionist should hesitate before he plunges the Zionist Organization of America into a civil war capable of destroying the good with the bad. While it lasts, such a controversy may take the center of the stage away from all constructive work, especially in view of the fact that the date of the Convention which is to be a final arbiter of the issue is subject to decisions beyond Zionist control. The next Convention is quite a long way off. Under present ODT regulations, a Convention may not be possible for the balance of the year.

Therefore, if American Zionists are wise, all parties to the controversy will agree that this is not the moment for a long drawn-out period of partisan fighting. The controversy should be brought under impartial control. This unfortunate clash of issues should not be allowed to become so acute that the very foundations of the organization will be impaired. An effort should be made to have an ordered settlement of differences under democratic rules with an eye fixed on the interests of the movement as a whole. There is too much at stake both for the movement and for the Jewish people to justify at this time prolonged internecine warfare among Zionists who have the same essential aspirations and hopes.

BNAI ZION VOICE is published monthly except July and August by BNAI ZION, at 220 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N. Y. Re-entered as second class matter September 21, 1944 at the post office at New York, N. Y. under the Act of March 3, 1879. Subscription 30 cents per year to members; $1.00 per year to non-members.

ABRAHAM A. REDELHEIM, *Managing Editor*

A New Zionist Policy Is Needed

YOUTH & NATION - Hashomer Hatzair

an editorial

THE Zionist Emergency Council has passed through one of the most severe crises since its inception. Though it is already officially re-organized under the leadership of Dr. Wise, the repercussions still linger. This time the conflict was not characterized by too much secrecy. On the contrary, the minutest and most irrelevant details, true or false, were indiscriminately brought before the public. Dr. Silver opened this avalanche of charges and counter-charges by enquiring in the State Department concerning the veracity of the reports of some of his colleagues. The others weren't slow in adding to the charges and recriminations.

A great deal of print has been devoted to the details concerning the political activities and differences which finally precipitated this crisis. Too much attention has been paid to the various interpretations of the facts but very little thought has been given to the analysis of the actual political situation which led to the position in which we are now.

The Z.O.A. and Hadassah presentation of the problem as a case of democratic procedure, accusing Dr. Silver of contravening the decision of the majority of the Council, is justified, but it doesn't present the basic issue.

The Poale Zion, who throughout the controversy supported Dr. Silver, supposedly on ideological grounds, discovered, after Chaim Greenberg had been offered the position of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the re-organized Emergency Council, that the whole matter was a personal quarrel between the Rabbis Wise and Silver, or at best a struggle between rival cliques in the Z.O.A. This interpretation contains the truth, but only half of it.

The group which followed, and still continues most consistantly, to follow the pro-Silver line, is the Mizrachi. It's spokesmen take the position that this is a struggle of political attitudes and deepseated differences. Together with the adherents of Dr. Silver within the Z.O.A., Mizrachi makes of it an issue of aggressive Zionist policy versus weak-kneed appeasement and "shtadlanut." This is false. The Zionist Emergency Council passed through many heated discussions, in the past, concerning tactics, and it is strange that suddenly the differences on tactics should become so important and crucial.

As a matter of fact the decision not to proceed with the Palestine Resolution in Congress unless the "green light" was obtained from the White House, was accepted in unanimity. No one at that time was accused or even suspected of "shtadlanut," just as no one tried to play up the heroic attitude.

The battle-cry of Mizrachi and the Silver followers, for a struggle against appeasement of the White House on the part of the Z.O.A. and Hadassah leadership is nothing but an artificially created difference between the factions, calculated rather to promote special political interests than to improve our political situation in Washington. The responsibility for the Zionist setback in Washington, was in this manner thrown from one faction to the other.

The truth of the matter is that the majority, as well as the minority, are equally responsible for this recent set-back; for behind the bitter internal struggle lies the attempt on the part of both sides to cover the real issues involved.

The Real Issue

What was the underlying cause of the crisis? *The grave political situation of Zionism today and the inadequacy of the Biltmore Program as a basis for international Zionist politics.*

In order to understand that, we must inevitably return to the crux of the problem, which was forgotten during the great turmoil. The crux was not a party, not a personality, but the Palestine Resolution introduced in Congress. The Resolution symbolized the attempt of all Zionists to present the "Biltmore" program to the American public. Though Zionists tended very much to overemphasize the importance of the resolution and to imply that it was crucial to the future of Zionist policy, the decision to have such a resolution passed by Congress had, in itself, given a strong impetus to the activity of the various organizations, taking up the slack caused by the cancelation of the major Zionist Fund campaigns after the establishment of the United Jewish Appeal. However, in the great wave of exaltation and struggle for the resolution, the Zionists failed to notice the obstacles which continuously came up against it. The fact is that it was not only the Executive branch of the government which adversely influenced the fate of the resolution. It is true that it was the War Department and then the State Department which, with the knowledge of the President, were instrumental in postponing the vote. However, it must be noticed that insofar as Congress itself was concerned, the original "Biltmore Resolution" was a far cry from the final draft of the resolution which the House

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Committee of the last Congress finally voted out with a very small majority.

The "Biltmore Program," adopted by the Extraordinary Zionist Conference, May 11, 1942, at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City, stated, inter al.: "The Conference demands that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and *that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world.*" (Italics ours—ed.)

The Compton-Wright Resolution on Palestine, as amended, provides that: "The United States use its good offices 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 commonwealth.*" (Italics ours—ed.)

The value and importance of the "Biltmore Program" as an "endziel" may be seriously questioned; its weight as a statesman's document and guide for political action is negligable because of the confusion it carries in its own terminology. Everyone knows exactly what the Zionist program is concerning the White Paper, Jewish immigration, colonization, and a Jewish majority in Palestine; no one, however, is any clearer, after three years of the "Biltmore Program," on what the "purely political" demands of the Zionist movement are.

What Does "Biltmore" Mean?

Does the Zionist movement demand the *immediate* establishment of a Jewish State in the whole of Palestine, while we are still a minority or does it agree to postpone the establishment of a Jewish State until the majority is achieved? Is the demand for a Jewish State prompted by the conviction that only under such political conditions can Jewish immigration and colonization be safe-guarded, or by the assumption that a Jewish majority must finally be crystallized in the political form of a Jewish State? These basic problems are not academic in character, because they are basic in the determination of the kind of policy to be conducted in this most crucial period for political re-organization of the world at large and for Palestine specifically.

We are now in the period when inner Zionist political discussions and resulting decisions must be tested in the actual reality of world politics. From wishful thinking we must move into the realm of harsh political struggle. This requires definite political planks. These the "Biltmore Program" does not present. There is no definite position, and [illegible] are improvised under the pressure of various outside political factors. The only result is chaos, and the unfounded accusations of "cowardice" or of "obstinacy." The real fact is: *there is no political line,* the present Zionist policy is in need of redefinition, *and must be coached in practical political terms.*

The "Biltmore Program" has logic and strength only when one clings uncompromisingly and fanatically to the demand for the *immediate* establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth as the only means of securing the Jewish future and the growth of the Yishuv in Palestine. This demand once seemed feasible in inner Zionist circles; it has however been whittled away gradually as the Zionist leadership was compelled to face realities.

There is no question but that the original "Biltmore Program" is undergoing changes in Palestine as well. Instead of being able to claim the support of a full 90 per cent of the Yishuv, it can barely muster 70 per cent. Only part of these 70 per cent would require the immediate establishment of the Jewish Commonwealth. Moshe Shertok stated at the last meeting of the Asefat Hanivcharim that the most important demands were for immigration and colonization, and the immediate *recognition* of the principles of the Jewish Commonwealth. Weizmann spoke about a necessary transition period before a Jewish Commonwealth could be established. In other words there is a development in Palestine parallel to that in the United States concerning the actual meaning and the possibilities involved in the "Biltmore Program." A redefinition of the concrete Zionist political demands is the need of the hour. This redefinition must put a great emphasis on those political immediate demands which will make possible a large Jewish immigration and colonization in Palestnie and will stress the readiness for renewed Jewish attempts to build a solid, lasting Jewish-Arab understanding which in the long run is the strongest foundation on which we can base our policy for mutual peace and security.

It is noteworthy that such great leniency was shown to those elements in Congress who tried to water-down the resolution under the pretext of expediting its passage. Political formulations upon which great struggles were conducted within the Zionist movement, which almost wrecked the American Jewish Conference, and in a sense are responsible for the sad state of affairs today, suddenly became of minor importance to the Zionist leadership. Dr. Silver, in his speech to the American Jewish Conference in Pittsburgh, hailed the last resolution*

(Continued on Page 9)

*Refers to the House Committee Resolution quoted earlier in the editorial.

(Continued from Page 4)

as a great political achievement and was very liberal in his interpretations of its meaning. Every major Zionist party went on record, hailing it as an achievement. Yet there was no use denying that this resolution is not the "Biltmore Program." Mr. Emanuel Neumann, in one of the last attempts to save Dr. Silver's prestige and the resolution, pointed out the fact that there are many good and devoted Zionists who are opposed to the "Biltmore Program," even denying the reports from Palestine that 90 per cent of the Yishuv were behind Biltmore. Since the results of the last elections to the Asefat Hanivcharim were published, we have continuously pointed out that at least one-third of the Yishuv was either opposed or extremely critical of the "Biltmore Program." Mr. Neuman's statement was the first admission of the truth of our evaluation to come from general Zionist circles.

There is no question that the crisis resulted, basically, from the actual difficulties which Zionism faces in the international world. In this, the wording of the "Biltmore Resolution," as it was explained before, was far from helpful. This crisis very definitely showed how weak our political representation in Washington was. It is of extreme importance that the political offices of the Jewish Agency in New York and Washington be expanded to meet the great tasks which face political Zionism in the important world center, Washington. It is not American Zionist politics with all their complications and rivalries which must be reflected in Washington, but the need of the Jewish people the world-over, its stake in Palestine and Zionism as expressed by the World Zionist Organization and the Jewish Agency. The Executive in Jerusalem must take the necessary steps to establish an office in the United States commensurate with the needs of the political struggle today.

The problem of pressure was predominant in this discussion. It is important to remember that no Zionist political pressure will be of any significance without an alert Jewish community, behind it, aware of the problems and the difficulties of the situation. It is not through the pressure of Senator Reynolds that the Jewish people will voice its demands. An independent, strong line of struggle is needed. Only the Jewish masses and a leadership which trusts them can effect it.