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American Zionist Emergency Council, 1943 January-October.

*Committee of Christian Leaders, Clergymen and Laymen  
On Behalf of Jewish Immigration Into Palestine*

70 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK, N. Y.

DR. HENRY A. ATKINSON, Acting Chairman

January 12, 1943

To the Members of the  
Committee of Christian Leaders,  
Clergymen and Laymen on Behalf of  
Jewish Immigration into Palestine:

Dear Friend:

I am enclosing herewith the minutes of the conference held in New York City on Monday, December 14, together with the abstracts of the principal topics discussed. You will also note the votes taken and the decisions reached.

We are eager to go ahead with the work in hand as fast as possible. It will be a great help and of real service if you would make suggestions regarding ways and means for promoting these interests in the nation, and particularly in your local community. Is it possible for you to find the time to write an article based on these minutes and the original statement, and secure its publication in one or more of your local papers?

With all good wishes, and thanking you in advance for any suggestions you care to make, I am, in behalf of our common interests,

Sincerely yours,

*Henry A. Atkinson*  
Chairman

MINUTES OF MEETING OF COMMITTEE OF CHRISTIAN LEADERS, CLERGYMEN AND LAYMEN,  
ON BEHALF OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION INTO PALESTINE - DECEMBER 14, 1942.

An all-day meeting of the above committee was held at the Pennsylvania Hotel, New York City, on December 14, 1942.

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson was in the Chair.

The meeting was opened with prayer by Dr. W. Russell Bowie.

Those present were:

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Rochester, N. Y.  
Dr. W. Russell Bowie, New York City  
Dr. John W. Bradbury, New York City  
Rev. Robert H. Brennecke, Nazareth, Pa.  
Rev. Charles H. Campbell, Flushing, N. Y.  
Bishop James Cannon, Jr., Richmond, Va.  
Rev. George W. Eccles, Flushing, N. Y.  
Dr. Edgar J. Fisher, New York City  
Rev. H. Paul Guhse, Forest Hills, N. Y.  
Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, Northampton, Mass.  
Rev. Fred Hoskins, Bridgeport, Conn.  
Rev. Ladislaus Harsanyi, New York City  
Mrs. Edward Jacobs  
Mr. Marvin Lowenthal, New York City  
Bishop Francis J. McConnell, New York City  
Prof. F. A. McKenzie, Huntington, Pa.  
Rev. Andrew Magill, Jamaica, N. Y.  
Rev. J. A. MacCallum, Philadelphia  
Dr. Emanuel Neumann, New York City  
Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, New York City  
Rev. Leslie T. Pennington, Cambridge, Mass.  
Rev. Galen Russell, Chappaqua, N. Y.  
Dr. C. E. Silcox, Toronto, Canada  
Hon. Carl Sherman, New York City  
Rev. Harold Paul Sloan, Philadelphia  
Dr. Carl H. Voss, Pittsburgh  
Bishop Herbert Welch, New York City  
Rev. Wayne W. Womer, Hartford, Conn.  
Dr. Howard B. Warren, Brooklyn  
Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, New York City

A telegram from Prof. W. F. Albright stated that on account of sudden illness he would be unable to attend the meeting.

Dr. Atkinson opened the meeting by giving a brief summary of the history of the committee, its formation and the work it had already done, and what it hoped to do in the future. He stated that later in the meeting the question of selecting a permanent name for the committee and also a program on policy and procedure would be taken up.

He then introduced Prof. S. Ralph Harlow, of Smith College, Northampton, Massachusetts, who spoke on the subject "Is Zionism Fair to the Arabs?" Copy of his address is attached.

Prof. Reinhold Niebuhr, of the Union Theological Seminary, New York City, was next introduced and spoke on the subject "The Jewish State and the Arab World." Copy attached.

Bishop Francis J. McConnell, of New York City, next spoke on "The Jewish Problem." Copy attached.

Dr. Atkinson next called the attention of the members to the address by Prof. William F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, which was on the tables before them. In Prof. Albright's absence, Dr. Atkinson read excerpts from this address. Copy attached.

Dr. Bradbury moved that a subcommittee be appointed on policy and some outline of procedure so that the functioning of the committee might be drawn up. This was seconded by Prof. Niebuhr and so VOTED. The Chair appointed the following committee to draw up such a report:

Dr. Bradbury, Chairman  
Rev. Leslie T. Pennington  
Dr. Carl H. Voss

The question was brought up of the apparent disagreement among the Jews about Zionism and the forming just recently of the American Council for Judaism, an organization that will seek to identify and define the Jew as a member of a religious community and nothing else. In reply to this, Rabbi Bernstein stated that some 90 Rabbis favored this stand, but that nearly 800 Rabbis have expressed themselves in favor of the political implications of Palestine as a homeland for the Jews.

The meeting adjourned for luncheon at 12:40 p.m., and during the luncheon listened to addresses by Mrs. Walter C. Lowdermilk, of Washington, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise.

Special luncheon guests were:

Mrs. Henry A. Atkinson  
Dr. Arthur J. Brown  
Miss Margaret E. Forsyth  
Mr. B. H. Levy  
Miss Dorothy McConnell  
Mrs. Edgerton Parsons  
Mrs. Carl Sherman  
Mrs. Fred B. Smith  
Dr. Guy Emery Shipler  
Mrs. Harrison Thomas

The committee convened again at 2:45 p.m. and while waiting the return of Dr. Bradbury to give the report of the subcommittee on policy and procedure the question was discussed of the work this committee might do that would be different from that done by the American Palestine Committee, since many of the members of this committee are also on the American Palestine Committee.



Mr. Neumann explained the work of the American Palestine Committee, which is composed of a group primarily interested in keeping before the public the question of Zionism, particularly the political phases of the question. Prof. Niebuhr explained that the committee here today represents a very small minority of Christian clergymen and laymen who believe that the Jewish problem requires two rather than one solution. In addition to solving the problem by maintaining democratic rights in the democracies, this group believes that a homeland for the Jews is a part of the solution. He felt that it should be a clerical group primarily for bringing this viewpoint to the clerical leaders of the Christian Church.

After lengthy discussion, it was agreed that this committee could do certain specific work more effectively than the American Palestine Committee. It was also finally decided that the committee, while being an autonomous committee, should work in cooperation with the American Palestine Committee. It was VOTED that the name of the committee be Christian Council on Palestine (an autonomous committee working in cooperation with the American Palestine Committee).

The question of finances was discussed at length. It was the consensus of opinion that raising money would be a difficult task under present circumstances now, but all agreed that funds could be raised sufficient to carry on the work of the committee, and it was VOTED to leave ways and means to the Executive Committee.

Dr. Bradbury at this point presented the report of the subcommittee on policy and procedure. Its adoption was moved, seconded and so VOTED to bring it before the committee. After discussion, certain amendments and changes were made and it was VOTED that the report be adopted as amended. It reads as follows:

#### POLICY

- I - The Christian Council on Palestine is committed to the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine in relation to an over-all settlement in the post-war era.
- II - The Christian Council on Palestine commits itself to press for the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine within such a framework.
  - 1) In disseminating information and arousing concern.
  - 2) In winning organizations of helpful constitutions to the support of our objectives.
  - 3) In presentations of views and convictions to religious, social, political and diplomatic agencies regarded as helpful to our objectives.
- III - In view of the new wave of savagery against all Jews in Europe instituted by Hitler, and its cruel repercussions, we urge as an immediate policy the admission now of Jewish exiles into other countries, including the United States, as well as Palestine. We urge this as an expression of the historic attitude of humanity among all nations toward suffering and homeless exiles.

## PROCEDURE

### I - A workable organization.

- 1) Name: Christian Council on Palestine (an autonomous committee working in cooperation with the American Palestine Committee).
- 2) Organization: Chairman, Vice-Chairman, Honorary Vice Chairman, Secretary, Treasurer, Executive Committee, Advisory and General Committee.
- 3) Membership: Responsible and representative people in sympathy with our objectives.
- 4) How financed: Popular subscription and in cooperation with the American Palestine Committee.
- 5) Steps to be taken and subjects to be discussed:
  - a) Use available literature
  - b) Appoint commissions for the study of different aspects of the problem
  - c) Each committee member to be a promoter
  - d) Meetings, lectures, writings and organizational cooperation

The question of the election of officers was next taken up and the Chairman appointed the following committee to consider and nominate officers:

Bishop Cannon  
Prof. Harlow  
Dr. Warren

These withdrew and shortly thereafter reported the following nominations for officers:

Chairman .....	Henry A. Atkinson
Vice Chairman .....	Howard B. Warren
Honorary Vice Chairman .....	John W. Bradbury
Secretary .....	Left open
Treasurer .....	Reinhold Niebuhr

It was VOTED that these nominations be accepted. It was agreed that the officers so elected be authorized to set up an Executive Committee and that they with the Executive Committee will draft a constitution and by-laws for the Council, and when these are adopted permanent officers will be elected. Up to that time the officers elected at this session are considered to be acting in a provisional capacity. It was also VOTED that Emily Hutchinson be elected as Recording Secretary.

The questions of issuing a statement to the newspapers and of sending a delegation to the State Department in Washington were discussed and it was

VOTED that these be left to the discretion of the Executive Committee when it is formed.

In concluding the meeting Dr. Atkinson summed up the discussion and the agreements reached. He said that, properly speaking, there is no Jewish problem. It is almost exclusively a Christian problem, for it is only in so-called Christian states that anti-Semitism manifests itself; therefore, the churches of America and the rest of the world must take the lead in attempting to meet the present serious situation which faces the Jewish communities of Europe.

The revelations that have been made recently of the bestial cruelty practised upon the Jews by order of Hitler and his followers make more clear than anything else the horror and real meaning of Nazi rule. Here we see the deliberate attempt to exterminate all the Jews in Europe. It is conservatively estimated that 2,000,000 have already been put to death. Jews are condemned without trial and killed without mercy. Millions of Jews have been sent out of their homes and out of the countries of which they have been citizens. They wander in Europe without papers and consequently without the privilege of remaining in any one spot; nor can they pass any frontier because, being stateless, they have no way of securing the permission necessary to enter any country in Europe.

Hitler has used anti-Semitism as a motive and the individual Jew as the spearhead of his thrust against the liberties of all free men everywhere. Under his brutal leadership anti-Semitism has flared up in almost every land. Therefore, the churches and church people of America should now demand that these slaughters be stopped and stopped immediately, that arrangements be made for the punishment of those who are directly responsible for those who have carried out these harsh decrees. Further, that a committee be appointed by the United Nations and authorized to take depositions now and catalogue the losses sustained by the Jews who were expelled from Germany and the other countries under Hitler's domination; that these losses be computed as accurately as possible and the total sum laid before the peace conference when it is held and made one of the first items in the cost of reparations and the rehabilitation of Europe; that the United States and Great Britain prepare now to lay before the United Nations some plan whereby the Jews will be allowed to return to their homes in the countries from which they have been evicted; and further, that these two nations agree as soon as possible and proclaim to the world that Palestine is open as a homeland for the stateless Jews so that the Jews will have a place to which they may go now, and after the war a homeland where each Jew may elect to go providing the conditions in his former home are not such that he could establish his home and reorganize his life.

To sum it up, Hitler has made the attack on the Jew the basis of his campaign. In reconstituting the world and building a strong and abiding peace, the United Nations should use the rescue of the Jewish victims of Hitler's hate as the basis of their approach for righting a great wrong and in righting that wrong open the way for the establishment of freedom from fear and freedom from want for all the people in all lands.



## IS ZIONISM FAIR TO THE ARABS?

S. Ralph Harlow

Is it true that the fulfillment of the aspirations of the Zionists will mean the encroachment on the just rights of the Arabs, and involve injustice to large numbers of members of that group?

Few problems in which the national and emotional ambitions of a race or class come into conflict with the hopes and fears of another group can be settled on the basis of absolute justice to all concerned. In whatever settlement is made in Palestine, British, Arabs and Jews will never be wholly satisfied, if one of the groups is favored above the others.

Britain has oil pipe lines, air fields, lines of communication; and the Suez Canal and Mesopotamia oil fields involved in this struggle for control of Palestine. At present Britain is in the saddle, even though she has pledged her word in the Balfour Agreement to give to the Jews a homeland in Palestine.

The Arabs predominate in numbers and have the argument that for centuries they have lived on the soil.

The Jews have the claim that the promise made to the leaders in the Zionist Movement constitutes a solemn pledge on the part of Great Britain to open Palestine and make it a truly Jewish homeland. They have the clamoring needs of tens of thousands of homeless Jews, who will perish and leave no heritage to humanity of their culture and their faith if this one land is not made available to them and to their kinsmen.

Three extensive visits to Palestine have thoroughly convinced me that the awarding of Palestine to the Zionists would be by far the better way out of this problem, the way that involves less of injustice, more of happiness, and ultimately greater peace and security to the entire Near East and to the problem of Israel throughout the world, than any other solution.

I have visited the Arab countries around Palestine. They are crying for larger populations. There is land and to spare for all the Arabs in the entire world right there in Saudi Arabia, Iraq and the other Arab states. But the Jews have no other homeland, no place of refuge from hatred, persecution and death. If there is any justice in humanity it cries out on behalf of Israel's homeless children.

But the facts in Palestine, since the Jewish colonists began the reconstruction and lifting of that land from poverty, disease, degradation and filth to well-being, health, enlightenment and cleanliness, offer us much to ponder over in regard to the Arabs. In no part of the Near East have the Arabs fared so well as in Palestine since the Jewish immigration began. Their wages are the highest Arabs receive in the Near East, and, as many of them are now adopting Jewish methods of cultivating the land, their economic standard of living has gone steadily up. The infant mortality rate among their children has fallen as in none of the surrounding Arab countries and their educational opportunities have increased as in no other countries.

This prosperity, which I observed throughout Arab groups in Palestine, stands out in marked contrast to the conditions I found among the Arabs in the Trans-Jordan and in Arabia itself. And this higher standard of living was most in evidence in the immediate neighborhood of Jewish settlements, because the Jewish communities offered greater opportunities for work at higher wages and better markets for Arab products.

The Jewish colonists took over areas of land that had been sparsely settled, often because of the sandy and rocky condition of the soil, or because they were infested with malaria. Through the most heroic efforts they drained the swamps, built up the rocky hillsides with good earth and have turned the desert into a garden spot. All of the land they took they paid for, paid for it far more than it was worth, and paid the Arab owners who were glad to sell.

If we say that the 800,000 Arabs have a right to determine what shall happen to Palestine; what of the fifteen million Jews of the world, who may be less than twelve million by now in the light of the mass murders taking place in Central Europe.

In Palestine the Jews have created productive work on which hundreds of Arabs have been employed. All one needs to do is to study the rapidly increased Arab investments in Palestine to note that the arrival of the Jews has been a good thing for these Arab owners of vineyard and farm. For example, within the first thirteen years after the Jewish colonists poured into the land, the number of dunams owned by Arabs in orange groves rose from 20,000 to 130,000. This represents a capital investment of at least \$30,000,000 to \$40,000,000.

Owing to the flourishing state of public finances, which is the direct result of Jewish immigration, the Government of Palestine was able, just before the war, to make wholesale tax reductions to the Arab peasants. Agricultural taxes which in 1922 formed 15.8% of the country's revenue, had fallen when I was there in 1938 to 2.05% of the revenue, an enormous saving to the Arab worker in the fields. Everywhere I saw Arab industries flourishing where a few years before they were practically non-existent.

The coming of the Jew to Palestine has been a boon to the Arab and the removal from the land of the Zionist colonists would bring the Arab down into poverty, disease and degradation from which Zion has lifted him. And in the process the world's great sore is being healed, the old old wound of the Jew in exile and without a home.

## THE JEWISH STATE AND THE ARAB WORLD

Reinhold Niebuhr

It is quite apparent that the formation of a Jewish state in Palestine can not be achieved by the simple consent of the Arab world. No solution acceptable to the Arabs will give such a state any real integrity. An Arab-Jewish federation in Palestine would certainly not solve the problem. It would merely perpetuate animosities into the indefinite future.

Those who believe in the justice of the Jewish claims to Palestine are persuaded primarily by the desperate necessity of the Jews for a homeland and the comparative justice of their claim to Palestine in terms of ancient and historic considerations. With these claims the actual present possession of the disputed territory by the Arabs is in conflict. It is not pretended that there can be a simply "just" solution of such a conflict, when competing claims move on such various levels.

It is, however, possible in such a circumstance to satisfy the Jewish claims essentially under the compulsion of their great need; and to seek compensation for the Arabs by a total settlement of near-eastern situation. The Arabs will not have made any substantial contribution to the defeat of the Axis if and when it occurs. It would however be a wise statesmanship to allow the Arab world to be federated and to give it this higher unity in compensation for its loss of rights in Palestine. Such a quid pro quo would have to involve a genuine disavowal of sovereignty over a sufficient part of Palestine to permit a Jewish state to be established which would have territorial integrity, political independence within the framework of a commonwealth of nations, and the means of economic survival. It would also demand a genuine improvement of the Arab situation in terms of a greater unity and independence of that world. The settlement would require some rigorous self-abnegation upon the part of the great powers. They will have to cease the policy of establishing particular zones of influence in this or that Arab state and develop a larger policy of mutual security.

Recent developments in North Africa have made a larger solution more possible and feasible than ever before. The ascendancy of American power in this sphere of influence makes it possible to limit French claims which would have been in conflict with such a solution. Though American policy has pledged itself to the restoration of French power in North Africa it would be ridiculous to do no more than to establish the status quo ante and not insist on the abridgement of imperial rights wherever they come in conflict with the necessity of an over-all settlement of the vexing Jewish-Arab and the Jewish-world problem. The power of America in the present situation has the added advantage, that it is not embarrassed, as British power is, with the problem of the relation of the Arab to the whole Moslem world. This embarrassment for Britain has undoubtedly made the solution of Palestinian problem more difficult than some of Britain's critics have been willing to admit.

There is, however, no reason why America should mold its policy according to such embarrassments or according to French imperial claims, which have no reality in power or in justice. American arms have brought us into a dominant position in that very portion of the world where this issue must be solved. It would be ridiculous to use our power merely to underwrite the past when we have a chance to underwrite the future; and to help in granting justice to a people who have been the first, and the most cruelly used, of Hitler's victims.



## THE JEWISH PROBLEM

Francis J. McConnell

The tragedy which has befallen the Jews of Central Europe constitutes a challenge of the first magnitude to the Christian conscience. For centuries the Jews in Central and Eastern Europe have been the victims of religious bigotry and social intolerance. Even in the last days of liberalism, their lives were never altogether free from the shadow of oppression. In recent years and in consequence of Nazi aggression, their position has become intolerable. Between five and six million Jews are now being subjected to a deliberate program of extermination. They have been torn from their homes, confined to ghettos, and in almost every conceivable way have been made the object of a ruthless cruelty.

Envisaging with confidence the triumph of the democratic forces in the present world struggle, we as Christian clergymen are convinced that when the war is over, the Jews of Europe ought to have unrestricted right of return to their native lands, of restoration to the property which has been taken from them, of equality of opportunity with other citizens, and of full civic and cultural freedom. To this end we pledge our utmost effort.

Nevertheless, we recognize that the solution of the problem of the Jews of Central Europe cannot completely be achieved by such devices alone. The anti-Semitism which has been their lot is a consequence of deep-seated historic forces. Among these forces are a cultural tradition of anti-Semitism, economic obstructions inherent in European life, and the availability of the Jewish group at all times as a scapegoat for mass passion by exploiting which demagogues may climb to power.

Hopeful as we are of the future of Europe in general, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that the forces which have created European anti-Semitism may continue to be operative, that indeed they may even gain in strength and intensity in consequence of long years of Nazi indoctrination and in the wake of the vast social dislocations which will beset all of Europe when hostilities cease. For that reason we are convinced that statesmanship and idealism alike require that possibilities of emigration from the old world be made available to European Jews. Such emigration ought be neither total nor coerced. But great numbers of Jews will, we are certain, desire to find a new site for their lives after the war and are entitled, we believe, to that privilege.

Palestine is of all lands the most clearly indicated for Jewish immigration. Without then any rejection of supplementary centers of Jewish colonization aside from Palestine, it is to Palestine as a haven of Jewish refuge that we must give our first attention. In this conclusion we are confirmed by the successful achievement of large-scale Jewish colonization in that land during the past quarter of a century.

The need for free Jewish migration to Palestine derives, however, only in part from the social difficulties which beset European Jewry. It derives also from our solicitude for the Jewish tradition as a living influence in human affairs. The Jewish heritage which is in core a religion contains also rich cultural



elements of large significance. That aspect of Judaism requires that somewhere in the world there shall be a land in which the Jewish civilization is the primary civilization of a body of Jews. Only such a spiritual center can be the scene of a great revival of Jewish values. The record of Palestine in the last quarter of a century has confirmed this judgment. Within twenty-five years the whole sweep of the Hebraic tradition has come to renewed life in the ancient land of the Jewish people. Jewry in other parts of the world has responded to the stimulation which has emerged from Zion. The spiritual resources of mankind as a whole have been enriched thereby.

We subscribe then to a program which calls for the continuance of Jewish immigration into Palestine. We see such a program as a contribution to the social problem of European Jewry, as an answer to the cultural needs of Jews throughout the world, and as an approach which converts the Jewish problem from a problem into a creative and statesmanlike achievement.



## PALESTINE AS A CONTRIBUTING FACTOR IN THE SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM

William F. Albright

At least thirty-five centuries have passed since the ancestors of Israel first settled in Palestine. Since that time Israel has passed through many and strange vicissitudes. Again and again it has been nearly wiped out; it has been exiled in Egypt, in Mesopotamia; it has wandered in ever widening circles as its sons have found refuge from persecution in more and more distant lands. Yet most of the Israelite people have tenaciously adhered to the law of Moses for more than three thousand years. The mighty power of their faith is demonstrated by the fact that Judaism has survived through the most appalling catastrophes, and that it has successively given birth to Christianity and Islam without being enfeebled by its travail. In our own day the Jews stand in the vanguard of Western civilization, which owes many of its greatest recent triumphs to them.

Through all these centuries the land of Palestine has been in the foreground of Jewish emotion and aspiration. But religious Jewry resigned itself, many centuries ago, to awaiting direct action from Heaven, as a result of which the re-establishment of Zion, foretold by the prophets, was confidently expected. During the crisis of westernization through which European Jewry passed in the nineteenth century, a new, dynamic faith in the restoration of Zion was born, shared by both religious and non-religious Jews in constantly increasing numbers. This movement, crystallized around the magnetic person of Theodor Herzl, we know as "Zionism."

In 1917, the Allies, including Great Britain, France, and the United States recognized the validity of the ancient Jewish title to Palestine, as announced in the famous Balfour Declaration. However, it was also recognized that there was an Arab majority in the country, and that there were many Christian and Moslem holy sites there; to protect these rights and interests the Balfour Declaration designated Palestine as a "national home for the Jewish people." Owing to circumstances into which we need not enter here in detail, clashing national and religious interests have made it peculiarly difficult for Great Britain to carry out the terms of the Balfour Declaration, which can be interpreted in many ways, since the term "national home" is ambiguous and without precedent in international law. On the whole it must be said that the mandatory power has loyally carried out its understanding of the Balfour Declaration, and has instituted a policy intermediate between Jewish and Arab claims. Until the climax of the great Nazi persecution of the Jews in 1938, it is probable that the restriction of immigration was more beneficial than harmful to Zionism, since it prevented the establishment of a helpless Jewish proletariat and led to selection of only the best immigrants. This made it possible for the Jewish community in Palestine to develop along wholesome agricultural, industrial and cultural lines. Now the foundation has been solidly laid: there are some 600,000 Jews in Palestine, living in several hundred settlements, nearly all of them agricultural. On the one hand there is a remarkably well organized agricultural basis for Jewish economic life; on the other there are the great Dead Sea chemical works and the hydro-electric plants in the Jordan Valley. Economic life has been developed by German Jewish capital and technical skill, whipped up by the lash of the war, until Palestine is today the most rapidly evolving economic organism in the world.

No less significant for the future of Palestine, and far more important for the future of the Jewish people, Palestine has become the center of an unparalleled intellectual and aesthetic revival, centering in the rebirth of Hebrew language and literature. Since this revival is based on an extremely progressive system of free public education and has two foci, one the great Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the other an extra-academic artistic and literary movement in Tel-Aviv and other cities, it is inherently sound. What such tremendous unfolding of the human spirit, in the center of a vast region which has been relatively stagnant for many centuries, means for mankind as a whole can already be dimly foreseen. I have no hesitation in saying that the new Restoration of Zion is destined to exert an effect on world history scarcely less significant than the first Restoration.





February 12, 1943

Following a statement released by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, as Chairman of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, announcing the resignation of Mr. Emanuel Neumann from his position with the Committee and paying tribute to his services, Mr. Neumann made a statement at a luncheon at the Hotel Commodore, on Thursday, February 11th, attended by editors and representatives of the Yiddish press. The text of the statement follows:

"During the past two years I had the honor of serving the Zionist movement on the American scene as Director of Public Relations and Political Action and, for a time, as its political representative in Washington. I feel I owe it not only to you but to my Zionist friends throughout the country to say that my resignation, as of January 1st, was not an impulsive act but the result of mature deliberation. My resignation was first tendered in the spring of last year but I was persuaded, against my own judgment, to postpone it. However, conditions in the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs made it increasingly difficult and finally impossible for me to go on. Among these conditions were: recurrent factional and personal differences possibly inherent in the structure of the Committee; vacillation in policy and in action; absence of centralized administrative direction; failure to adopt a definite and comprehensive program of activities; and budgets wholly incommensurate with the immensity of the task. I had repeatedly warned against this dangerous state of affairs in the light of the heavy responsibility resting on American Zionism. I pleaded for a more dynamic policy, bolder conceptions and larger budgets; but the response was slow and painfully inadequate.

"Three months ago I informed the responsible officers that my resignation would take effect at the end of December 1942. As a member of the Emergency Committee representing the Z.O.A., I shall participate in its work as a volunteer but without administrative responsibility. I earnestly trust that the

conditions to which I am drawing attention will be corrected without delay, making it possible for my successor to be effective.

"My thanks are due to Dr. Stephen S. Wise for his kind words and to Dr. Chaim Weizmann for his encouragement and the confidence he has reposed in me. Here I wish to express, particularly, my deep appreciation to the unflinching cooperation of the Jewish Press during those two critical years. It has lived up to the best traditions of responsible journalism. On no occasion was cooperation withheld. Not once was a promise broken or a confidence betrayed.

"During this period, considerable progress was made in winning American support for Jewish aspirations with regard to Palestine. The American Palestine Committee, headed by Senator Wagner, was established and developed into an important political force. Another group, embracing hundreds of prominent Christian Clergymen, was organized under the name of Christian Council on Palestine. A vigorous campaign of education was carried on in the American press, in periodicals, on the air, and through a wide distribution of pamphlet material. High officials of the American Government, foreign embassies and legations and leaders of public opinion, were repeatedly visited. Political allies were sought and prominent American intellectuals won over. From time to time, important steps helpful to our cause were taken by our non-Jewish friends either at our request or on their own initiative. It cannot be doubted that the general political atmosphere in this country has become more receptive to Zionist ideas as a result of these efforts.

"Without belittling the work which has been done, including my own modest contribution, I must warn against underestimating the difficulties and the seriousness of the position. There is no ground for undue optimism regarding our political situation. With respect to the present British Administration in Jerusalem, it is hopeless; in London it is bad; in Washington, it is unsatis-



factory. Our own Government has been taking a greater interest in the Near East than ever before, but that in itself does not necessarily imply a pro-Zionist policy. Through the occupation of North Africa, America has become -- at least for the time being -- a great Moslem power. This means that the policy-makers in our Government are growing more sensitive to Moslem susceptibilities and Arab opinion. There is a great pro-Arab propaganda which is being carried on persistently and with considerable skill. It is not only pro-Arab but definitely anti-Zionist in character and is receiving both guidance and support in certain influential quarters.

"At the same time, consideration of post-war problems has now passed the stage of academic discussion and is proceeding concretely and practically in our Government departments, and other chancellories. It is probably much later than we think. No amount of skillful negotiation and persuasiveness on the part of our political leaders at the "front line" can avail unless it is supported by an effective and sustained activity "behind the lines". This is no time for relaxation of our political efforts. We have done perhaps ten percent of what needs to be done. Matters are approaching a stage where every day counts. Opportunities now missed may be irretrievable. Also, I may add, this is no time for compromise. If weakness and defeatism should creep into our own Jewish ranks, how can we expect to win the battle? There is nothing on which we can compromise. The Biltmore program is not a maximal program but the minimum: Jewish control of immigration and colonization, mass resettlement of European Jews, a Jewish majority and a free Jewish Commonwealth.

"My experience in Washington during the past two years leads me to the conviction that if we are clear regarding our aims, and hold our banner high, and mobilize our full strength and resources, there is at least a fair chance that we shall succeed."

February 16, 1943

*Handwritten note:*  
I have been thinking of you  
for the last few days. I hope  
you are well. I am well.  
I am thinking of you very much.

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

My dear Mr. Montor:

In reply to your letter of February 15 permit me to say that I believe your work with the United Palestine Appeal is as important to the cause of Palestine as any work you are likely to do for the Public Relations Program of the Emergency Committee. Furthermore, knowing your temperament, I am inclined to believe that you would not last very long in that position which is as chaotic a one as one is likely to find. The Emergency Committee needs a complete re-organization before I could recommend to any one whose abilities and services I value to assume responsibilities with that body. Too many leaders, too many parties, too many programs.

If and when the situation changes -- and I am not hopeful that there will be any change -- you may wish to reconsider the matter.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK



Hotel St. Regis  
New York

2/19/43  
2/19/43  
2/19/43

February 19, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple, Cleveland, O.

My Dear Friend,

I have been approached by Dr. Wise, Mr. Herman Shulman and others with a request that I write to ask you to release Montor from the service of the U.P.A., at least temporarily, in order to put the Public Relations Department of the Emergency Committee in some sort of order.

I never like to interfere in matters of this kind nor have I the right to express judgment about the relative value of one job or another. Nevertheless, in the light of all the discussions we have had during the past months, I feel that something is urgently needed to put that house in order. At the same time I feel that to ask you to give up Montor's services in the U.P.A. and the U.J.A., involves a considerable sacrifice. From all I know Montor is a very able man and possibly the only person who could organize the activities of the Emergency Committee in a manner that would produce the necessary results. I do not think the transfer of Montor from his present position to the Emergency Committee should be permanent. I think he should be loaned to the Emergency Committee for a certain time to put his plans into operation, organize an effective staff and then he might very well return to his duties in the U.P.A. and U.J.A. Even during this time, I should imagine, he could keep in close touch with the work of the U.P.A., as I am sure Montor is prepared to do.

If I did not deem the matter so essential and if able people were not so scarce, I assure you I would not urge this upon you. I hope you will forgive me for interfering in matters in which, I suppose, I should not interfere.

With kindest personal regards I am

Ever Yours  
Ch. Weizmann

February 23, 1943

Dr. Chaim Weizmann  
Hotel St. Regis  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Weizmann:

Mr. Montor had spoken to me about the suggestion that the UPA release him to the Public Relations Department of the Zionist Emergency Committee. He asked my advice and I answered negatively.

There are two considerations which make me feel that the suggestion is not a good one. The UJA is facing very serious problems this year in view of the radically new situation which the organization of the National War Fund has created. The relationships between the UJA and this National War Fund have not yet been defined; nor has any fixed policy as regards Jewish Welfare Funds and Community Chests been established. There has also been a crossing of purposes as between the UJA and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. The interest of the UJA may be sacrificed in 1943 to the desire of many communities to rush into War Chests. The situation calls for strong and experienced hands in the administration of the affairs of the UJA, and Montor is a most valuable man there. I know of no one whom I can substitute for him at the UJA even if I could find someone to substitute for him at the UPA.

My second consideration is this: I doubt whether he would last long with the Public Relations Department of the Emergency Committee as the Emergency Committee is at present constituted. I know Mr. Montor's temperament, and I am persuaded that it would not be long before he would throw up the job. No employee could "put the house in order" to use your phrase. It calls for a constitutional reconstruction before any designated official can function with any degree of success. However, if you and Dr. Wise still feel, in spite of the above considerations, that Montor should be released, I shall present the matter for the consideration of the Administrative Committee of the UPA.

I trust that you and Mrs. Weizmann are well. I read that Mr. Shertok has arrived in the country and I hope that I shall have the opportunity of seeing him before long. With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

ABS:BK

Emanuel Neumann  
749 West End Ave.  
New York City

PERSONAL

February 24, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba:

Thanks for your kind note.

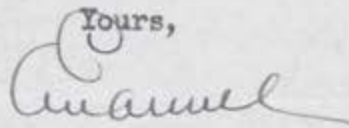
I will be delighted of course to see you when you come to New York again. Try to let me know in advance.

I am enclosing the complete text of the statement which I issued about my resignation. I am convinced that the situation in the Emergency Committee with its present constitution, composition and set-up is absolutely hopeless. No amount of tinkering and palliatives will remedy it. They will only serve to cover up for a short time fundamental weaknesses and inadequacies. The sooner that is realized by the Zionist leadership and the rank and file, the better.

Fan and I reciprocate your good wishes.

With cordial greetings, as ever

Yours,



Enc.



[March 1, 1943]

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City

RELEASE ON RECEIPT

TO HAIL WAR EFFORT OF PALESTINE JEWRY AT NATIONAL CONFERENCE

American Jewish Leaders to Meet at Philadelphia, April 17-18, to Mobilize Further Support of Leading United Nations Ally in Middle East; Preparations for Post-War Solution of Jewish Homelessness to be Speeded

Under the theme "United for Victory", American Jewish leaders will gather at Philadelphia on April 17th and 18th for a war-time National Conference on Palestine to mobilize further support for the Jewish community of Palestine, described as making "the most unreserved and satisfactory contribution to the United Nations war effort in the Middle East," in an announcement issued by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of American Jewry to finance the defense and upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

"Americans, whose financial and moral support has been a basic factor in the remarkable growth of Palestine in the last generation, have a new link with the Jews of Palestine today. Not only have they accomplished a great mobilization of manpower and industrial and agricultural resources to speed victory, but many thousands of our own American sons and daughters in the armed forces are now on the soil of Palestine benefitting from the hospitality and the physical resources of that great Jewish community. For that reason this war-time National Conference for Palestine is especially appropriate at this time, because it will give us an opportunity to reassure our Palestinian Jewish allies that we appreciate their contribution to victory and that we are pledged to help them attain the full realization of the Jewish National Home, which must be one of the great war aims of the United Nations," Dr. Silver said in his announcement of the conference.

Dr. Silver pointed out that 100,000 Jewish workers in Palestine are directly engaged in war activities, many of them especially for the United States Army. In addition, some 30,000 Palestine Jews and Jewesses have volunteered for the British

Army and more are constantly enrolling. The military output of Jewish Palestine is constantly rising, producing many of the goods, articles and food products needed by the United States and United Nations forces.

In the course of his announcement, Dr. Silver said:

"Because morale is an important weapon in war-time and because Americans realize that the maintenance of the morale of their allies is a factor to achieve victory, the United Palestine Appeal has decided to call a National Conference for Palestine at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel, Philadelphia on April 17th and 18th. Under the theme of 'United for Victory', we are determined to encourage the Jewish community of Palestine even as, with its valor and its productivity, it has encouraged all friends of the United Nations.

"The Jews of Palestine constitute a fighting, working community which is speeding the day of victory. Jewish soldiers, farmers, technicians, laborers and scientists are bringing the United States and the United Nations closer to the day of liberation from the Axis menace. The Jews of America will utilize this National Conference to assure Palestine Jewry that we admire their achievements and that we intend to intensify our efforts on their behalf.

"The war is being fought to destroy the Axis. It is also being fought to establish a safer, freer world. The Jews of Palestine are today making the greatest contribution as a Jewish community to the salvation of the enslaved Jewish people of Europe. When this war is over, when haven and peace and freedom will be needed by the shattered Jews of the Continent, Palestine will be the homeland to which they will turn. By strengthening the foundations of Jewish Palestine today, we shall make their dream of liberation possible of realization."

The officers of the United Palestine Appeal include, in addition to Dr. Silver as National Chairman, the following National Co-Chairmen:

Stephen S. Wise, Louis Lipsky, Israel Goldstein, Louis E. Levinthal, Bernard A. Rosenblatt and Morris Rothenberg.

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, is National Treasurer, and Associate Treasurers are Abraham Goodman, Abraham L. Liebovitz and Jacob Sincoff.

The Vice-Chairmen are: Barnett R. Brickner, Leon Gellman, James G. Heller, Edmund I. Kaufmann, Harry A. Pine, Charles Ress, Elihu D. Stone, Robert Szold, Joe Weingarten, Herman Weisman and David Wertheim.

The Honorary Chairmen are: Albert Einstein, Solomon Goldman, Julian W. Mack, Henry Monsky, Nathan Straus and Henrietta Szold.

#53 - 3/1/43





[March 22, 1943]

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

MEMORANDUM

to Hon. Myron C. Taylor

Submitted on behalf of the

JOINT EMERGENCY COMMITTEE ON EUROPEAN JEWISH AFFAIRS FOR  
THE RESCUE OF JEWS IN NAZI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

upon which the following organizations are represented:

American Jewish Congress

American Jewish Committee

American Emergency Committee for  
Zionist Affairs

Jewish Labor Committee

Bnai B'rith

Synagogue Council

American Branch of Agudath Israel

Union of Orthodox Rabbis

March 22, 1943



MEMORANDUM  
ON THE RESCUE OF JEWS  
IN NAZI OCCUPIED TERRITORIES

The extermination program directed against the Jews of Europe by the nazis in all occupied countries has aroused the protest of all denominations and of the governments of the United Nations. These declarations of sympathy must be immediately made effective.

Our State Department has recently announced the prospective conference between representatives of the Governments of the United States and Great Britain in Ottawa to outline measures of aid to those victims who have been or will be able to escape. While this is an aim of real value, it must be supplemented by measures to aid those nazi victims who will not be in a position to escape on their own. For those remaining a procedure must be devised to bring immediate relief and assistance. In our own country immigration facilities within existing quotas should be made available for large numbers of victims of nazi aggression. These and other measures to save those who can still be saved should be put into effect immediately.

We accordingly submit a plan of action which we hope will be carried out by our Government in cooperation with the other United Nations. Some of these proposals to save those who can be saved from extermination by the nazis apply to all people without regard of religion or race. We therefore respectfully submit the following proposals:

1. The United Nations should approach the German Government, and the governments of the states it now partly dominates or controls, through neutral governments like Switzerland, Spain, Sweden,

or Argentine, with a view to securing their agreement to the release of their Jewish victims and to the emigration of such Jews to such havens of refuge as may be provided.

A number of neutral governments have already evinced an interest in the fate of the Jews in nazi-occupied territories. The Swiss Government has won the admiration and gratitude of all freedom loving people in what it has done to provide refuge for those who have managed to escape nazi-persecution. It is understood, from reliable sources, that the Swiss Government is prepared to ask the nazi government, which it represents, to release Jewish children, if requested to do so by the American Government. Similar intimations have come with regard to the Spanish Government, which may also be persuaded to intervene with the German Government to secure the release of children. The Pope could be approached and his intervention sought in this connection.

Any attempt to move refugees from nazi-controlled territories depends largely upon the availability of Sanctuaries, Sanctuaries contiguous to such territories and Sanctuaries further away.

II. The United Nations should, therefore, without delay take steps to designate and establish a number of Sanctuaries in Allied and neutral countries to accommodate substantial numbers of Hitler's victims and to serve as havens of refuge for those Jews whose release from captivity may be arranged for, or who may find their way to freedom through efforts of their own.

The neutral countries may be induced to provide temporary Sanctuary for a much larger number of refugees if they were assured indefinite terms that the United Nations would establish permanent Sanctuaries elsewhere or that the refugees would ultimately be permitted, without distinction of race or creed, to return to the countries of their origin; and if financial guarantees for the support of the refugees would be forthcoming.

III. The procedure that now prevails in the administration of the existing immigration law in the United States, which acts as a deterrent and retardation of legal immigration under the established quotas, should be revised and adjusted to war conditions in order that refugees from nazi-occupied territories, within such quotas, may find Sanctuary here.



The present procedure is very complicated and a number of governmental departments have to be satisfied before an immigration visa can be issued. The procedure would be greatly simplified if the guarantee of responsible social and welfare organizations, with direct knowledge of the visa applicants, were to be accepted by the government. The high percentage of outright rejections would be considerably reduced and action on applications would be greatly accelerated. It is an unfortunate fact that many lives have been lost because of delays arising out of a form of administrative procedure, which is not essential to the enforcement of law.

IV. Subject to provisions for its national security, England should be asked to provide for receiving a reasonable number of victims escaping from nazi-occupied territories and to provide for their accommodation for the duration.

England has given aid to thousands of refugees and has found them to be important accessions to the population in connection with civilian defense, production, the maintenance of industrial plants and so forth. Its hospitality could be extended to its own advantage, as well as for the relief of the refugee situation.

V. The possibilities in several British territories, both in Africa and in the Caribbean, should be explored without delay. Sanctuary has already been afforded to thousands of refugees in these territories and there is room for many more, if not for permanent settlement, at least for the duration.

VI. The United Nations should urge the Republics of Latin America to modify such administrative regulations as now make immigration under the law extremely difficult, and to endeavor to find temporary havens of refuge for a substantial number of refugees.

The American Government has looked with misgivings on immigration that the Republics of the West Indies for reasons of national security. In view of the gravity of the situation, however, some modification of this attitude is imperative, especially as it would not be difficult to take the necessary precautions measures. A liberalization of our own immigration procedure would undoubtedly have an immediate repercussion in the South American Republics.

#### VII. Overriding pre-war political considerations.

England should be persuaded to open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration and the offer of hospitality made by the Jewish Community of Palestine should be accepted.

The British Government has already agreed to allow the immigration into Palestine of 29,000 persons, mostly children, but this permission should be extended to adults in view of the difficulties in securing and preparing 29,000 children for immigration in the course of a year. The limitation imposed by the provision of the White Paper of May, 1939, did not apply exclusively to children, but also included adults. Further the consideration underlying the issuing of the White Paper were admittedly of a political character. There is no question that Palestine could immediately absorb a number far greater than 29,000 adults, for whom employment could be found without delay in support of the war effort. The political consideration that induced the issuing of the White Paper of 1939 should give way to the humanitarian implications involved in the tragic plight of millions of people.

#### VIII. The United Nations should provide financial guarantees to all such neutral states as have given temporary refuge to Jews coming from Nazi-occupied territories and to provide for their feeding and maintenance and eventual evacuation. The neutral states should be guaranteed that the refugees will not become a public charge and that they will be transferred to permanent Sanctuaries as soon as possible.

This latter guarantee would encourage the neutral states to continue to provide accommodation for such refugees as may come to them over confronted the borders of Nazi-occupied territories. These neutral states are confronted with difficult food problems. Spain is in a precarious position and the entry of a considerable number of refugees



would present a genuine economic problem. The British Government is feeding a majority of the refugees in the Miranda Camp in Spain, for they are allied nationals. But the provision for supplies for the large number of stateless refugees is left to private organizations whose resources are of necessity limited. No plan for the care of refugees in neutral states is practicable unless the cost of the upkeep of stateless refugees and of their ultimate removal is to come from funds provided by the United Nations. Switzerland has already assumed an enormous burden. It cannot be expected to increase it. It will be necessary for the United Nations to assist the Swiss Government. This applies even with greater force to other neutral states where temporary havens could be secured but where public opinion has not been so insistent in demanding a humanitarian attitude on the part of their governments.

IX. In view of the fact that mass starvation is the design of the Nazi regime, the United Nations should take appropriate steps without delay to organize a system for the feeding of the victims of Nazi oppression who are unable to leave the jurisdiction and control of the Axis.

Both the British Government and our State Department have been prepared to allow the sending of limited quantities of food from neutral countries to Nazi-occupied territories, even without the prior guarantee by the Nazi government that the food would not be diverted. This decision was taken on purely humanitarian grounds. Action should now be undertaken on quite a different basis. The experience in Greece, to which considerable food supplies were sent from the United Nations and where effective supervision was introduced to keep the Germans from appropriating these supplies for their own use, may serve as a precedent for similar action in connection with Jews throughout Europe. Medical supplies, preventative medicinal foods and foodstuffs could be obtained for them largely in the United States and in South America. The International Red Cross Convention should be extended to apply to the civilian population in ghettos, internment camps and concentration camps. The Jews throughout Europe are, as a matter of fact, deprived of freedom of movement and therefore are entitled to be treated as prisoners of war. The International Red Cross is entrusted with the supervision of the distribution of food to prisoners of war. Similar services can be provided for the Jews of Europe. Just as prisoners of war have supplies made available to them in their internment camps, so the Jews could receive special food packages in their ghettos and the use of prepared labels and other devices could be extended to meet the needs of the civilians.

X. The United Nations are urged to establish an appropriate inter-governmental agency, to which full authority and power should be given to implement the program of rescue here outlined.

The existing machinery for dealing with the problem of rescuing the victims of Nazi oppression is wholly inadequate. The Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees was established under entirely different circumstances and was entrusted with a comparatively limited task. It was given neither the power nor the financial resources to deal with the problem as it has developed in all its magnitude. Moreover, it is important that this agency should specifically represent the United Nations and that it should be given authority and power to carry out its program of rescue and aid. Therefore, either the Inter-governmental Committee on Refugees should be radically reorganized, or a new agency should be created.

XI. In order to do away with the lack of identity which many stateless refugees present, and to give them sponsorship and protection, an arrangement similar to that which existed under the League of Nations should be established and the stateless refugees should be given identification credentials analogous to the "Nansen" passports.

XII. It is submitted that the United Nations undertake to provide the financial guarantees that may be required for the execution of the program of rescue here outlined.

In the name of humanity and of the ideals which the armies of the United Nations have arisen to defend, we respectfully submit this appeal in the hope that effective action will be taken without delay.



COPY

Report: Col. Harold Haskins  
To State Department

Personal and Confidential

April 20, 1943

The Present Situation in the Near East

Part 1 - The Facts

I. PURPOSE OF MEMORANDUM

The object of this memorandum is to summarize the facts and information collected during three and one-half months (November 1942 to March 1943), when, in compliance with instructions from the Joint U. S. Chiefs of Staffs, I visited the Near East.

II. MY MISSION

1. ITINERARY

Although physically familiar with most of the areas visited on this trip, I had not been in the Near East since the spring of 1939. Fortunately, it was possible on this visit not simply to hit the high spots in whirlwind fashion but actually to spend approximately two weeks in each country - Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, Trans-Jordan, and Iraq. I also visited Turkey and Iran in order to get first-hand information on the attitude of these neighboring states toward the Arab world. In addition I motored over 800 miles through Egypt and Cirenaica along the coast from El Alemein to Bengazi. My return flight to the United States took me along the rest of North Africa via Tripoli, Algiers, and Casablanca to Marrakech and Dakar.

2. PEOPLE SEEN

The facts and information given in this memorandum reflects conversations with:

- (a) British and Fighting French military and diplomatic representatives in the various countries.
- (b) American consular, diplomatic, and military representatives.
- (c) American missionary and educational leaders.
- (d) Arab leaders both in and out of political offices.

In my contacts with Arab leaders I was assisted by a list especially prepared for me by President Bayard Dodge of outstanding graduates of the American University of Beirut living in the areas visited. I also renewed contact with many friends of my father and mother who had served as missionaries in Syria for 50 years.



### 3. PROCEDURES

In all my contacts I explained that I was there to collect information and not to give it, to listen and not to talk. I hoped that they cared to give me their views as the information which I was collecting was not for publication in any way but for the benefit of the United States Government. In gathering first-hand information I was naturally aided to a great extent by my ability to converse in Arabic, or where necessary, in French or German.

### III BACKGROUND - AMERICAN INTERESTS AND STANDING IN THE NEAR EAST

Although American interests in the Near East have centered primarily on the importation of tobacco and dates, and our exports have centered on films and automobiles, our main interests in the Near East, due to 100 years of missionary and educational efforts, have remained in the cultural field. The fact that these missionary and educational efforts were supported entirely by private philanthropic contributions rather than by Government funds has added to the prestige that the United States gained from these efforts. The standing and influence, for example, of the American University at Beirut and of Robert College in Istanbul and of their graduates is hard to realize except after a first-hand visit to the area.

As a result, American prestige has for many years been extremely high throughout the whole Near East. This situation was strikingly confirmed in 1919 when, from the Crane-Kin Commission's investigation, over 60 per cent of the petitions submitted by the people of this area gave the United States as their first choice for a mandatory power. This was over four times the request for Great Britain, which was the second power suggested.

At the same time, the fact must also be clearly recognized that American prestige has declined considerably in recent years and is still declining. Some of the reasons for this decline are suggested in the later sections of this memorandum.

### IV. OUTSTANDING FACTS

The outstanding facts developed in the course of my trip may be summarized as follows:

1. The most important and most serious fact is the danger that, unless definite steps are taken to prevent it, there may be a renewed outbreak of fighting between Arabs and Jews in Palestine before the end of the war and perhaps even during the next few months. Such fighting in Palestine is almost certain to lead to the massacre of Jews living in the neighboring states of Iraq and Syria as well as in other places in the Near East.

The tension is growing steadily and as a result the Arabs are likely to be goaded as their only effective means of protest into breaking the informal truce which has existed in Palestine since the outbreak of the war in 1939. The Arabs feel that the Zionists by continuing a world-wide propaganda for a Jewish State in Palestine have not kept their part of the bargain. There is therefore in the minds of the Arabs a growing fear that unless they do something, when the war is over, they will be faced with a decision already taken by the great powers to turn Palestine over to the Jews. This fear is, of course, on which Axis propaganda to this area has constantly harped.

2. There is clearly a hardening of feeling on both sides which is reflected in an increasingly unyielding attitude by the extremist leaders of both Arabs and Jews in regard to any compromise solution. Both sides are armed and indicate a willingness to fight.

It is common knowledge that the Zionist undercover military organization, the Hagana, has made plans and has stocks of tommy guns and machine guns as well as small arms. Much of this equipment was bought from French Vichy troops in Syria and has, during the past two years, been smuggled into Palestine.

The Jews particularly feel that with their increased numbers and with their increased stock of arms they can more than hold their own in actual fighting with Palestine Arabs. However, from previous experience, the Jews realize that, whenever serious fighting with the Arabs starts in Palestine, assistance from neighboring Arab states will again pour in. It is this increased opposition that the Zionists admit they probably do not have the power to overcome without outside assistance from British and American Military forces.



3. It is also increasingly clear that the growing interest of Jews and Moslems in all parts of the world in the Palestine settlement is now so large that it makes quite impossible any purely domestic or local solution that might otherwise have been arrived at by the Arabs and Jews living in Palestine itself.

4. The outbreak of internal conflict in Palestine is obviously one of the major objectives of Nazi propaganda in this area. It is aimed at precipitating Arab Jewish fighting at a moment when combat troops of the United Nations can least readily be spared for putting down domestic insurrection. Furthermore, Axis propaganda in this area has of late become increasingly effective because the Nazis have played down reference to Axis interests and have laid their main emphasis on the one fact that, if the United Nations win the war, the Arabs can be certain that they will lose Palestine to the Jews. Nothing could be simpler or more readily understandable to the average Arab than the Axis three-point program which in their daily broadcasting promises:

- (a) the elimination of all alien control, whether British or French;
- (b) the liquidation of the Jews in Palestine; and
- (c) complete independence

5. Traveling through Palestine one clearly realizes that it is not an unpopulated area into which an indefinite additional number can immediately be poured. For quick comparison, Palestine in area is a little smaller than the State of New Hampshire and already has a population four times as large. The figures, which, like all Near Eastern statistics, are only approximations, indicate the large growth that has taken

place:	<u>1920</u>	<u>1942</u>
Arabs	600,000	1,000,000
Jews	<u>70,000</u>	<u>500,000</u>
	670,000	1,500,00

6. There is an ever present Arab fear of American support for political Zionism with its proposed Jewish State and Jewish Army in Palestine. This is now extending to



the further fear of American support for the penetration of Jewish people into Syria and other neighboring Arab area, once Palestine has been fully populated. The Zionist press in Palestine claims the support of public opinion in Britain and in United States for its aspirations and the Arab press makes no effective denial.

Although the State Department has taken no official position in the dispute as to the correct interpretation of the Balfour Declaration calling for a "national home for the Jews", the recurring petitions of members of both houses of Congress have been interpreted both by Zionists and by Arabs as indicating clearly where American sympathies lie. Furthermore, it should be clearly realized that every American statement in favor of Zionism is within a few hours widely broadcast by the Axis radio to the whole Arab world in support of its main propaganda theme that a United Nations victory means for the Arabs the certain loss of Palestine to the Jews. For example, the December 1942 petition supporting the Zionist position signed by 67 senators and 180 Congressmen was very widely broadcast by the Axis radio throughout all the Near East. It was, of course, referred to not as a petition but an expression of government policy. It resulted in unprecedented demonstrations against the United States that culminated in Damascus in the closing of the bazaars for several days as a protest against the United States.

7. There is also a growing Syrian fear of American support for, or at least, acquiescence in, a continuation of French control in Syria after this war is over. The Syrian remembers that, after the last war and despite an overwhelming preference for the United States and specific objection to France, the mandates for Syria and Lebanon were nevertheless given to France. As a result many pro-American supporters in Syria have for years felt the displeasure of the French and claim that since that time they have been discriminated against or passed over in Government appointments.

In fact, the fear that already haunts all of the Near East is that at the end of the present World War the United States may again return to isolationism. Even today this is the cause of such worry that reference is made to it in almost every

conversation held with private or official individuals.

8. Tension and difficulties with the Arabs in North Africa have already been reported to the War Department by General Eisenhower. On my return to the United States via North Africa I found in both the Eighth Army and the First Army American officers responsible for the security of American troops who were increasingly disturbed by the unenthusiastic, and in some places hostile, attitude on the part of the North African Arab populations toward the United States. They expressed fear of still further difficulties if the issues of a Jewish political state and of a Jewish Army continue to be pressed at this time. The uncooperative attitude of the North African Arabs reflected, in their opinion, the irritation of the Arabs at the behavior of some of the local Jewish populations in North Africa as well as the effectiveness of hostile propaganda which continued to claim that the United States' successes in North Africa would only give greater support to the Jewish claims in Palestine.

9. From my trip through North Africa I also got the impression that American political efforts had, quite naturally and perhaps of necessity, concentrated on the problems of our relations with the various French groups or factions. The effect of our military occupation on the Arabs who form approximately 95% of the population and their attitude toward the United States had as a result not been given the attention it deserved. Furthermore, such information on the attitude of the Arabs as was available to American officers had almost invariably been received at second hand from the local French authorities.

Obviously the situation of America or United States in the Arab or Moslem world has not yet reached a very critical stage. But it is definitely unhealthy and now is the time when steps should be taken to prevent a further deterioration. The unfortunate British experience during their retreat in Burma is only too recent an example of the serious effects that a hostile rather than friendly native population can have on military operations.



10. Since Zionist propaganda and political pressure in the United States is much greater than corresponding Arab pressure, it is important for the American people to realize that, in the Moslem world, Arab feelings remain uncompromisingly against the acceptance of a political Zionist State in Palestine. The Arabs in Palestine have on many occasions fought both the Zionists and the British military forces sent against them, and there is absolutely no basis for assuming that they will not again fight when they feel it necessary. It should be therefore very clear that a Zionist State in Palestine can only be imposed upon the Arabs by military force.

*From E. D. S.*





X  
March 22, 1943

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President  
Jewish National Fund  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Goldstein:

X  
I have just finished reading Secretary Ickes' speech delivered at the Nachlath Massachusetts Dinner in Boston. I read it because I remembered the speech which he delivered at the UPA Conference a few months ago in which there was practically no mention of Palestine. While in his Boston speech Secretary Ickes does refer to the JNF and to Palestine in one or two places, the real objectives of the Zionist Movement are studiously ignored, and the necessity for opening the doors of Palestine to large scale Jewish immigration is also nowhere mentioned. This, as you know, is no accident. It is part of the policy of the present Administration, unannounced but actually in force.

I wonder what purpose is served by Zionists arranging great meetings at which members of the Cabinet are the guests of honor, and at which not a word is said about real Zionism? We fool ourselves into believing that this is Zionist propaganda. You may be interested to know that the UJA recently asked the President of the United States to send a letter endorsing the work of the UJA. As is customary, a draft letter was submitted to the President in which of course reference was made to Jewish settlement in Palestine and to the work of the three agencies, including the UPA. In the letter which the President sent to the UJA, and which you have probably seen in public print, all reference to Palestine was omitted, and even the names of the three beneficiaries were omitted so as not to have to refer to the United Palestine Appeal. This, too is not accidental.

I think that as long as our public officials can hoodwink Zionist bodies by talking long and eloquently about Jewish persecution and how terrible the Nazis are, etc., and skillfully dodge the whole Zionist program, they will continue to follow the line which has been adopted. Zionist bodies must not permit themselves to be tricked into such an arrangement. It isn't fair to our Movement even though an eminent personality may draw Jews to a Zionist meeting. Our sole hope lies in smacking out the gentlemen in Washington and in letting them know that the Jewish people bitterly resents this betrayal.

Dr. Goldstein

-2-

March 22, 1943

I know that the JNF frequently arranges such big meetings and I think that you ought to consider the matter of who is being invited and what they are going to say very carefully. I told Mr. Montor very much the same thing after the UPA Ickes fiasco, a few months ago.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK



MEYER W. WEISGAL

SUITE 709  
FORTY-ONE EAST FORTY-SECOND STREET  
NEW YORK  
MURRAY HILL 2-5967

*Personal*

March 25, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,  
The Temple,  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

In accordance with our conversation the other day, I am sending you here a tentative outline of the proposals to be submitted to the Emergency Committee next Wednesday evening, March 31st. If you have any suggestions, I wish you would send them on.

The tactics in this matter are very important. As a matter of right, Dr. Weizmann does not need the approval of the Emergency Committee. All he needs to do, really, is to go to the Emergency Committee and tell them that he is doing thus and so. The only difficulty in the situation then is that the "machers" in the Emergency Committee will sabotage the works. It is essential, therefore, that all of us give very serious thought to the manner in which the thing is to be presented at the meeting on Wednesday.

So far, Dr. Weizmann has spoken, in addition to Wise, Lipsky and yourself, to Rothenberg, Levinthal, Goldstein, Poale Zion and Mizrachi. All of them are more or less agreed that some drastic action must be taken in order to save the situation. What that action should be and how it should be done is not altogether clear.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards,  
I am

As always,

Yours,

*W. Weisgal*



April 21, 1943

Mr. Henry Montor  
United Palestine Appeal  
41 E. 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

Your suggestion to have Mr. Lipsky draw up an over all resolution relating to the position of the Jews in Europe and to Palestine is an excellent one. Please request him to do so and also to introduce it.

With reference to Levinthal -- I got your air-mail special-delivery letter. I also had a long distance call from Dr. Israel Goldstein about the same matter. I know that Levinthal is considerably disturbed about his prestige, etc. etc., and that he is stirring up his friends about it. This spineless individual has yet to explain to me why the Chairman of the UPA was not invited even to bring "greetings" to the annual convention of the ZOA, over which he presided. I at least paid him the courtesy of inviting him to bring the greetings of the ZOA to the UPA Conference and I set no limitations on the length of time he is to speak. Does he perhaps assume that it is more important to the Zionist cause that he should speak at the UPA Conference than that Dr. Silver should speak at the ZOA Convention?

I have no intention of building the UPA Conference around his exalted personality even though he happens to be a resident of the city where the Conference is to be held. That is not why we are meeting in Philadelphia. He is not to speak on Saturday evening under any condition. The program is already crowded with two principal addresses. Incidentally Dr. Israel Goldstein had written to me asking that he, too, be put on the Saturday evening program. I replied that it can not be done. I think that I have achieved my purpose in letting the <sup>gentlemen</sup> know just exactly what I thought of his conduct, and if you feel that you would like to put him at some other place on the Sunday program, that is alright with me.

How is the Sunday morning "Protest Program" working out?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

MINUTES OF MEETING  
AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS  
April 29, 1943

A special meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held at the Hotel Commodore, on Thursday, April 29, 1943 at 3:30 p.m.

PRESENT:

Dr. Wise (presiding) members of the full Emergency Committee; representatives of the governing Boards of Hadassah, Zionist Organization of America. Poale Zion; Mizrahi.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE:

Miss Benjamin outlined the rules of election for the American Jewish Conference as formulated by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference.

After some discussion on procedure, it was agreed that the meeting devote itself to a consideration of the basis for achieving a united Zionist stand in relation to the impending American Jewish Conference.

The following motions were unanimously adopted:

1) It is resolved that the Biltmore Hotel Platform is binding upon all Zionist groups as their program in the elections to the American Jewish Conference, as far as our demands for Palestine are concerned.

2) That a committee on coordination, composed of two representatives of each of the organizations constituting the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, be named by such organizations to work out a program for the maximum coordination of Zionist forces in the elections, and to submit their proposals to a second meeting of this body to be called next week.

3) That the members of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference representing any constituent organization of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs shall make no commitments within the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Conference, nor undertake any negotiations looking to the modification of the Pittsburgh Platform, or the Biltmore Resolution, without securing the approval of the Emergency Committee.

A full record of the discussions is being kept on file.

A. L.



# JTA DAILY NEWS BULLETIN

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Monday, May 3, 1943

## UPA PARLEY APPEALS TO U.S. TO INTERVENE WITH BRITAIN FOR ABOLISHMENT OF WHITE PAPER

PHILADELPHIA, May 2.(JTA)-- The government of the United States was appealed to today "to make representations to Great Britain to annul forthwith the White Paper of 1939 and to ask assurances that Jewish immigration into Palestine shall not be abridged nor shall the purchase of land by Jews be restricted," in a resolution adopted here at the closing of the two-day National Conference for Palestine called by the United Palestine Appeal. The resolution condemned the White Paper as an illegal document which would "liquidate the Palestine mandate and terminate the growth of the Jewish National Home."

Another resolution adopted by the 1,450 delegates expressed deep disappointment at the failure of the Bermuda Refugee Conference "to give adequate consideration to the desperate plight of the Jews under the heel of Hitlerism and to include within its recommendations the immediate possibilities of large-scale mass immigration into Palestine." A special resolution paid tribute to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, national president of the UPA, who was elected to that post for the fifth time.

### Weizmann Says "Jews Will Never Accept White Paper"

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, told the conference that "Jews will never accept the White Paper as the last word in British statesmanship." He added that "we shall not permit our last hopes to be smothered, nor shall we be intimidated by threats of revolt." Referring to the refugee problem, Dr. Weizmann said: "Whenever the refugee situation is discussed and the possibilities of Palestine considered, someone always introduces a treacherous 'but' to keep the doors closed to our last hope - our only hope. We are too weary, our suffering is too great to be satisfied with mere palliatives. We want instead a generous understanding and a will to action."

Dr. Stephen S. Wise compared the White Paper to the Munich agreement and stated that "as the Munich pact was destroyed, so shall the White Paper be destroyed." Other speakers at today's sessions included Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Frank Gannet, publisher; Bernard Rosenblatt of the Palestine Foundation Fund; Dr. Israel Goldstein, Rabbi Meir Berlin, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Judge Louis E. Levinthal and others.

### Jewish Homeland "Taboo" in Washington, Silver Charges

In the keynote address of the conference, delivered last night, Dr. Silver stated that the whole subject of a Jewish homeland in Palestine "has suddenly become taboo" in Washington. "The President of the United States sent an official greeting to the United Jewish Appeal this year which quite pointedly, and not by accident, omits any mention whatsoever of Palestine," he said. "Our former friends in government circles content themselves with sending us prolific expressions of sympathies on Jewish persecution. When pressed to do something about it, they regretfully remind us how difficult it is to do anything for these unfortunate people under present war conditions. The suggestion is even made that anything which may be done for



these unfortunate Jews now might in some way postpone the day of their ultimate liberation. That they may all then be dead does not seem to arouse these friends of ours to any extraordinary emergency acts of rescue and deliverance." Describing these friends as "men of many words and few deeds whose compassion never goes beyond political expediency," Dr. Silver accused them of "detouring the world's clamor into some governmental refugee conference" such as that at Evian which "accomplished nothing beyond offering a way out for governments" and the recent one at Bermuda. Asserting that "our fortunes were never so low," he called upon Zionists and non-Zionists to unite to continue the upbuilding of Palestine.

Other resolutions adopted by the conference pledged the UPA's continued support of the war effort, protested the refusal of the British Government to allow the formation of a Jewish Army in Palestine, greeted the Yishuv for its "mighty contributions to the cause of the United Nations" and promised the Jews in Palestine to continue the fight for the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth there.

#### SWISS NEWSPAPER SAYS INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS SHOULD INVESTIGATE WARSAW GHETTO

WASHINGTON, May 2.(JTA)-- The Office of War Information today reported from Switzerland that the anti-Nazi newspaper Die Nation, which is published in Berne, suggests that if an International Red Cross commission is sent to Smolensk to investigate the Nazi stories of the bodies of massacred Polish officers in the Katyn forest, it should also visit the Warsaw ghetto and investigate the Nazi mass-murder of Jews in occupied Poland.

"The investigation probably would be worth while. It belongs to the picture of 'New Europe,' Die Nation states. It emphasizes that photographs have reached Switzerland, taken in Warsaw, which show the horrible scenes of thousands of starved, naked bodies of men, women and children piled up and Jewish grave-diggers "forced to bury their racial brothers and standing up to their knees in corpses."

The newspaper concludes by stating that if the Nazis do not give explicit permission to an International Red Cross commission to stop in Poland on its way to Smolensk and stay there as long as necessary and to move freely and speak freely with the population, then "the Red Cross had better stay home and do its usual work in the service of humanity."

#### HEAD OF SWEDISH RED CROSS RESIGNS WHEN NAZIS BAR SENDING OF FOOD TO GHETTOS

STOCKHOLM, May 2.(JTA)-- Frits Bauer, director of the Swedish Red Cross, has resigned in protest against the refusal of the Nazis to permit the sending of food and medicine to the ghettos in Poland, according to reports appearing in the local press.

Simultaneously, Madame Alva Myrdal, prominent Swedish scientist who is active in movements to aid the Jews in occupied Europe, writing in the Stockholm Aftontidningen, declared that "from her own sources" she has been informed that 5,000 to 6,000 Jews are dying in the ghettos of Poland every day and that "the deportations and slaughters are continuing."

#### AMERICAN DELEGATION TO BERMUDA CONFERENCE ARRIVES HOME

NEW YORK, May 2.(JTA)-- The American delegation to the Bermuda Refugee Conference arrived at LaGuardia Field here this afternoon aboard a Pan American Clipper. Herbert H. Lehman, Director of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations, returning from London, was a passenger. Also aboard the Clipper were George Backer, American Jewish leader, one of the advisers to the U.S. delegation, and Mrs. Ida Landau, who covered the Hamilton meeting for the Jewish Telegraphic Agency.

M E M O R A N D U M

May 6, 1943

TO: Mr. Meyer F. Steinglass

FROM: Mr. Isidor Coons

SUBJECT: My relationship with the Publicity Department as of this date

In view of the fact that I will neither approve nor disapprove any releases or material submitted by you until the incident of the radio broadcast of May is cleared, I suggest that you can, if you wish, submit all of this material to the agencies constituted in the United Jewish Appeal for their consideration and if you do not wish to do this, the responsibility for handling the details and program of the U.J.A. Publicity Department, as far as I am concerned, is entirely on your shoulders. I have formally advised both the J.D.C. and the N.R.S. of my stand in this matter.

As far as I am concerned, the record is clear and here it is. (1) On behalf of the J.D.C., Mrs. Popkin, as instructed, registered a protest with you and urged that political propaganda incorporated in the address of Mr. James G. McDonald be deleted. This was on Friday morning, April 30. (2) Friday afternoon, April 30, I discussed with you in detail the desirability of eliminating this same propaganda from a news release which you prepared for distribution to the general and Jewish press. Based upon the J.D.C. protest I stated that I was unable to approve the release embodying this propaganda and at your urging, I gave my qualified approval reading, "Approved only on condition that J. G. McDonald's paragraph on White Paper or any political reference for any of the agencies be eliminated." In our conversation you accepted this with assurances from you that if you were unable to comply with this conditional approval, you would not issue the release as submitted to me.

You did release it as originally prepared, without further consultation with me, with any officer of the J.D.C., or with either National Chairman Jonah B. Wise or National Chairman William Rosenwald. Subsequent to your issuing of this release and in response to my memorandum of confirmation of disapproval, you advised me on May 3 for the first time that this release had been issued at the direction of National Chairman Abba Hillel Silver. Obviously, I respect the authority of Dr. Silver as one of the National Chairmen but the question still remains as to the authority of the other two National Chairmen who were not consulted by you in the matter after Dr. Silver overruled me. In my discussion with you and in my qualified approval of the release with conditions noted, I authoritatively represented the J.D.C. as a full partner of the U.J.A.

You specifically have broken faith by breaking your word to me, which I accepted in good faith, as you so well know. I am, therefore, stepping out of the picture at this time and will not concern myself further with the publicity policies and program of the U.J.A. until this matter is settled by the National Chairmen or the appropriate officers of the constituent agencies and partners of this organization.

IC:JB

Isidor Coons (signed)



COMMISSION ON PALESTINE SURVEYS  
Administrative Office521 FIFTH AVENUE  
ROOM 1903  
NEW YORK CITY

EW

June 24, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
Commodore Hotel  
East 42nd Street  
New York City

Dear Abba:

I tried to reach you by telephone at about 11:15 this morning, but you were out. I have spoken with Joseph Brainin and have gotten the impression that the program of the meeting at the Polo Grounds is still pretty much in the air. He admitted that it was not definitely "set". They are hoping to have ~~at least~~ Ickes; Mme. Litvinoff; Mrs. Pool; yourself, and, I think, ~~even~~ Monsky. He did not mention Lehmann at all. About Ickes, he said he did not know whether he would agree. I did not ask him how they stand with Mme. Litvinoff. My own feeling is that you should speak only if either Ickes or Lehmann, or some other person of equal <sup>official</sup> standing will definitely appear.

Incidentally, he told me that the only two American Zionist leaders who have accepted membership on the Sponsoring Committee are yourself and Mrs. Pool. The others have been "frightened off", according to Brainin. Nahum Goldmann has also accepted membership. I would like to have another talk with you some time tomorrow. Please reserve a little time, either before noon or after noon. I shall ring you about 9 o'clock *in the morning*

*If you can, please ring me this afternoon, here.*

Yours,

*Emanuel*

Emanuel Neumann

en:hb



NOTES FOR A PROGRAMFor the Zionist Emergency Committee

1/6/44 1944  
 1944/1945  
 1944/1945

It is assumed that all Zionist organizations agree that a uniquely critical situation faces the political future of Palestine; that the facilities and energies of all must be coordinated and the primacy of each must be subordinated in order to achieve the maximum effectiveness in impressing the public mind, Christian and Jewish, governmental and lay.

-- --

I ORGANIZATION

The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs has a national and international function to perform; but its effectiveness depends also on the proper utilization of local facilities within each community in the United States. The division between national and local responsibility is indicated in this outline:

A. National Headquarters.

The personnel of the Emergency Committee, to carry out the functions described below, should consist of the following:

1. An Administrator, whose task it should be to direct all activities of the Committee and to coordinate the duties of all personnel, lay and professional.
2. Under the Administrator, in addition to the requisite number of stenographers, secretaries and other usual office help, there should be:

A Publicity Director, who will coordinate newspaper, magazine, radio, movie, photographic and other publicity.

Director of Community Relations, whose exclusive function it will be, under the direction of the Administrator, to keep in touch with the local committees to be set up as hereinafter described.

Director of Research, with bibliographical background and literary skill, for the purpose of accumulating all records in connection with the post-war research hereafter described.

Director of Speakers' Bureau, to administer a wide-ranging and coordinated program of speakers as described hereafter.

Office Manager, with the normal duties of an office manager, including purchase of supplies, management of office, control of bookkeeping, etc., so that these details, essential in themselves, do not interfere with the proper functioning of other personnel chosen for quite other abilities and duties.

Director of Fund-Raising, who shall carry out the fund-raising program as described hereafter.

## B. Local Responsibility

There shall be formed in every community of any substantial size a local branch of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. All parties now represented in the national Committee and other local groups which may be entitled to be represented shall be included in the local committees. Each such local committee shall choose only two principal officers: the Chairman, who shall serve as the key person for political contacts, and the Publicity Director, with whom the national office shall have contact for all promotional activities.

## II CONTACT WITH THE PRESS

Publicity is a term of wide meaning. It includes all forms of promotion, through the normal channels of newspaper publicity, magazines, photographs, radio, motion pictures, leaflets and other devices to catch the public eye.

Up to the present, each Zionist group in the United States has its own publicity department. Each sends to virtually all channels the same kind of material, some well done, some less well done. But because of the multiplicity and planlessness of such publicity, the whole Zionist movement suffers: but primarily the injury is done to the cause of Palestine.

The concentrated hostility to Zionist aims, or indifference to them, on the part of influential elements in American life require an abandonment of standard techniques that have prevailed up to this time in Zionist life. Failure to establish new methods can only enhance Zionist difficulties; prompt action in accepting new procedures will give the Zionist cause a type of approach to publicity which it does not now command.

It is, therefore, recommended that the publicity departments of all Zionist bodies represented in the Emergency Committee shall be unified and placed directly under the control and in the premises of the Emergency Committee. This will ensure for each organization the continuation of its present publicity program, except that all of them will be directed to a central purpose and serve a single aim. It is likely to mean that each organization, weak perhaps in certain directions, may be greatly strengthened by a streamlined, full-sized publicity department. The aim will be to utilize the meetings, announcements and other publicity stories of each organization to concentrate attention on political objectives and the winning of maximum attention, at appropriate times, for Palestine. The continuation of the present competitive, haphazard, duplicatory publicity system unquestionably retards the achievement of the greatest political good for the Zionist program. The availability of greater manpower and resources will help each individual group in addition to enhancing the Emergency Committee's ability to get to the American public, Jewish and Christian, the best presentation of Palestine's case.

### Newspaper Publicity

The Director of Publicity will work out a unified program for publicity in the daily press of the nation, in the Yiddish press, in the English-Jewish press. There will be sent to the Publicity Director of each local committee suitable material for local insertion at appropriate times: letters to the editor, feature material, photographs, data for editorials. The local Publicity Directors will be expected to keep the Emergency Committee advised of all local material which appears on Palestine, whether good or bad and in whatever form. The purpose will be to get a national picture of what America is saying and thinking about Palestine and to be able to answer promptly and effectively inaccurate information.



In connection with such publicity, various devices would be perfected to draw attention to Jewish achievements, in the war and in peace-time. An effort would be made to bring to America, for example, several PATS, a delegation of Jewish soldiers who have fought in the North African campaign, some 12-14 year old youngsters, perhaps those who have come to Palestine from Poland originally.

#### Authors' Bureau

One of the most valuable sources of publicity -- but the most difficult to reach -- are the nation's magazines. These are of all types lending themselves to special approaches: for example, the scores of army publications which could use material on Palestine Jewry's fighting efforts; the business publications which would be ~~interested~~ <sup>interested</sup> in accounts of Palestine's economic growth; the art and literary journals, the trade papers of various fields -- all these in addition to the weekly and monthly magazines of broad popular appeal.

At the present time, no individual Zionist organization devotes itself to this field, except for an occasional chance achievement in this field. This territory is usually not covered because it promises least in returns for the particular organizational publicity department. But such material carries the largest gains for Palestine as a whole.

The best way in which to reach this field is through systematic, concentrated effort. There would be set up an Authors' Bureau, either within or without the Emergency Committee, but as an E.C. project. Its purpose would be to deal exclusively with manuscripts on Palestine. Where occasion warranted, it would commission well-known and qualified writers to write special articles for the general or important trade publications. This would serve as additional encouragement to writers. Manuscripts would, of course, be sold wherever feasible -- because a purchased manuscript is more valuable property -- or given free where circumstances are favorable.

#### Photographs

It is axiomatic in the publicity field that photographs, whether in magazines or newspapers, have the greatest reader appeal. The Emergency Committee would coordinate the receipt and distribution of Palestine photographs in the United States and would stimulate the transmission of pictures from Palestine calculated to advance the general program of the Emergency Committee.

#### Confidential Letters

Acquisition of good will is as valuable as the securing of newspaper space in long-range publicity planning. It is, therefore, desirable to issue a regular, but not too frequent, confidential letter to a selected list of writers, columnists, editors and special commentators. This letter would give some details on facts not given to the general press and would discuss ideas and events which Zionists are <sup>not</sup> prepared to give out for general discussion but which would be most helpful in the formation of good background among this special group of contacts. Background interpretation of happenings in Washington, London and Jerusalem; highlight but still unpublished economic, military, political and similar data would be material for such a confidential letter.

The same type of letter, but not necessarily having the same content, would go to the Chairman and Publicity Director of each Local E.C. Unless there is this regular contact and unless local representatives can be made to feel that they are being taken into the confidence of the national leaders, their incentive to helpfulness rapidly disappears.



In connection with such letters, it would occasionally be desirable that such letters be sent from Jerusalem or Tel Aviv by some prominent personality. The contents of such a letter would have been discussed in advance with New York. Properly edited, it would then be sent from Palestine to a selected list of people in the United States, such as (1) the special list of writers and commentators; (2) heads of local branches of the E.C.; and (3) prominent Christians, Clergymen, legislators, etc. It is likely that the contents of the letters would vary for each of the categories. But there can be no more effective form of contact than a direct link with the Holy Land, with information coming directly from the spot. A prominent author or woman leader or political or industrial personality would be the author of one of these letters from time to time: their infrequency will, of course, be one of their assets.

### III. CONTACT WITH THE COMMUNITY

Understanding of Zionist aspirations is as important -- if not more important -- among Jews as among Americans at large. Publicity in its usually understood forms is perhaps the least effective means of molding sound public opinion. These suggestions point in the direction of a more solid program.

#### A. Contact with Jewish Communities

At the present time, each of the Zionist organizations composing the Emergency Committee reaches its own special clientele, largely. This is particularly true in the local sphere. Except for extraordinary events, members of Z.O.A., Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi are the only attendants at functions sponsored by these groups, even though the speakers are frequently of a calibre to attract a much wider audience.

The Zionist movement depends for its strength on its mass character. Unfortunately, this necessary emphasis has sometimes diverted attention from the fact that it is also desirable to win the support of leaders in the community who are not already sympathetic. Moreover, such leaders, in the communal, financial, cultural sphere have a capacity for good -- or for harm -- greater than their numerical strength, just because of the prestige they enjoy. These men are to be found in the leadership of Jewish Welfare Funds, Federations, Jewish clubs, B'nai B'rith Lodges and similar groups.

Through the Speakers' Bureau, hereafter described, an effort would be made to coordinate the schedules of speakers already booked by local Zionist groups so that they could, during their visit to a particular community, also talk to one of these other groups on its own grounds.

A key list would be composed of some five thousand active communal workers, not necessarily Zionists. These people would be kept informed of major developments, by letters, basic pieces of literature and special requests for assistance in particular fields.

#### B. Contact with the General Community

Prestige is a basic asset in publicity, whatever form it takes. The Emergency Committee has launched a variety of enterprises, American Palestine Committee, Clergy Committee, Writers' Committee, etc. The functioning of these is haphazard, if not abortive. The auspices are vague.

Because reaching the general community with a sound, dignified presentation of the

Zionist case is one of the basic essentials of the effort to win through, a personality of outstanding reputation must be associated with the program.

The name of James G. McDonald is suggested. His headquarters could be in New York or Washington, as he preferred. His background as former President of the Foreign Policy Association, as former League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as a radio commentator makes his selection obvious. Whether he would accept an assignment of this kind is another matter. But he should be approached. But before doing so, the E.C. should make up its mind that this will involve (a) an honorarium befitting the reputation of the man; (b) an expenditure balance that might be expected for an ambassador of this type; and (c) a readiness to give him wide opportunities for action, once basic policies were decided on.

Under Mr. McDonald or a similar personality, the Publicity Department and other departments of the E.C. would function: in the issuance of a bulletin for the particular clientele involved, specialized publicity, occasional functions, etc.

#### C. Contact with Government

Personal relationship is the most enduring form of promotion for a cause. It is in that sphere that local branches of the Emergency Committee can have their greatest usefulness. Each committee will be asked to have regular contact with its Senator or Representative. Through the local committees, special letters will be sent calling attention to vital situations. Literature will be sent. Once a year, each such committee will arrange a function in honor of the local legislator, be he Senator, Representative or Governor. These men cannot be neglected for a decade or two and expected, in a crisis, (a) to know all about Palestine and its relation to the Jews and (b) to go out of their way to be helpful. The cultivation of their knowledge, intelligence and generous human instincts is a year-round essential. If, then, crises arise and immediate appeals are necessary, a representative or a delegation from the local E.C. can then go to Washington to make a bid for support -- a bid that is strengthened if there has been this contact previously.

#### IV. SPEAKERS' BUREAU

The spoken word is more effective than the written word in reaching the public. But much of the Zionist spoken word has been addressed on a hit-or-miss basis. It is, therefore, suggested that a central speakers' bureau be established. Its purposes shall be:

- (a) to receive the itinerary from all Zionist organizations of the speakers they are using, such lists, where available, to be obtained far in advance.
- (b) these speakers, while visiting a town, will be asked to address a special non-Jewish group: clergymen, Chamber of Commerce, Kiwanis, Rotary, etc. etc. The local E. C. will be utilized to obtain maximum publicity for such speeches.
- (c) these speakers will, in addition to speaking for the particular Zionist organization, also be asked to meet with another group, consisting of local Jewish leaders, where the two meetings will not have the same type of attendance.
- (d) all such speakers when talking under the auspices of the E.C., will be kept informed of E.C. activities and policies, so that a uniform picture may be presented to the country.



- (e) In addition to using these other speakers, for the sake of economy and avoidance of duplication, the E.C. will also have a special group of speakers -- volunteer or fee speakers -- whom it will route into key cities for special occasions as well as on regular tours. The aim will be to avoid duplication of activities already carried on by local Zionist groups.
- (f) A careful check will be kept on all Jewish conventions of a national character and an effort made, through friends in each of the organizations, to get a Zionist speaker on the program to deal with Jewish aspirations, achievements and political problems in Palestine.

## V. RELATIONS WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

### A. Non-Jewish

There are scores of American organizations engaged in post-war research and planning. Some of these bodies are governmental; others semi-public; others private. Their findings, their outlook will help determine the shape of the post-war world. The Emergency Committee cannot be effective by itself. It should try to utilize the understanding and support of these other organizations in a systematic way. Bodies like the Free World Association, League of Nations Union, English-Speaking Union, American Legion, Federal Union, etc. have influence in various fields. It is essential that an effort be made in each case to have one Zionist accept an important post in connection with the post-war planning of these organizations. It will probably be necessary to go outside the framework of the Emergency Committee in some instances to fit personalities into the special character of the organization. That person would be, in essence, the liaison between the E.C. and the other organization. He could report to the E.C. on what is being done; in turn, he could report to the other organization on Zionist plans, defend or further the Zionist point of view, submit suggestions, literature, etc. Each such representative will have to be carefully selected: for his sense of responsibility, his understanding of the Zionist program and his congeniality with the particular non-Jewish organization involved.

### B. Jewish

What is said of non-Jewish organizations is also true of Jewish bodies. Many members of the Emergency Committee are also affiliated with these other organizations, e.g. Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Jewish War Veterans, Jewish Welfare Board, National Council of Jewish Women, etc. etc. It is essential that a representative of the E.C., whether now a member of that body or not, should be specifically designated as a liaison officer with the other organization, to report back to the E.C. and, in turn, to serve as an informed spokesman for the Zionist point of view on administrative bodies of these other organizations.

## VI. RESEARCH CENTER

The lack of a research center for specific Zionist purposes must be remedied. In conjunction with the Zionist Archives, there should be established a Research Center, headed by a competent Director. The staff would do nothing else but correlate all material relating to Zionist political aspirations and pledges to Zionists before, during and after the last war. All important pronouncements, documents, literature, Arab as well as Jewish, would be compiled and thoroughly indexed for instant availability.



All current information on and about Palestine and the whole of the Near and Middle East, insofar as it has a bearing on Palestine, would be similarly collated and indexed. The Research Center would also be used, of course, for the compilation of material for speeches and other factual data.

A link would be created between the Research Center and the research departments of all other post-war planning bodies; with the intention of providing for a full exchange of material and facilities. Any factual presentation of the Zionist case, before American authorities or at the peace conference, is inconceivable without such a fully-financed, adequately-staffed Research Center, able to provide geographic, demographic, economic, industrial, etc. information at a moment's notice.

## VII CAMPAIGN FOR FUNDS

A program such as is outlined above will involve unprecedented sums of money. The Emergency Committee must decide how much Palestine is worth to hold for Jews. There is no other source from which the funds can be obtained in adequate supply except through the public. A campaign for funds by the E.C. is desirable and practicable for these reasons:

- (1) The present economic situation is responsible for a surplus of funds. Individuals are prepared to give such funds in unusual degree, if the cause is deemed worthy, if adequate organization is perfected to raise these funds.
- (2) Present reliance for funds on other agencies which appeal to the public for Palestine purposes means a limitation on the sums available and leads to misunderstanding of the validity of the purposes to which the money is put.
- (3) But the most important reason for conducting a public campaign for funds is that it can be the most powerful instrument for creating a better understanding among Jews of just what the position is with respect to Palestine and with respect to post-war Jewish prospects.

The launching by the E.C. of a campaign for \$1,000,000 will in itself be the finest step toward educating American Jewry in the dangers faced not by the Zionist movement as such but by Jews whose hope of survival is buried if Palestine is closed. Around such a campaign for funds can be built an even better program of education for the general community as well as the Jews. Moreover, people who give funds to a purpose have a closer identification with it. Never was it so important to make Jews feel that they have a personal stake in the post-war achievement of Zionist aims.

LEADERS OF REFORM JEWRY VOICE DEMANDS CONCERNING PALESTINE AND JEWISH RIGHTS IN EUROPE

CINCINNATI, June 10. (JTA)-- A declaration of principles outlining its policy on the position of European Jewry and Palestine after the war was issued here today by the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in connection with the forthcoming American Jewish Conference.

Expressing the hope that the American Jewish Conference will attain unity on problems concerning Palestine and the post-war rights of the Jews in Europe, the declaration reaffirms "positive sympathy with the eagerness to cooperate in the up-building of Palestine as stated in the resolution adopted at the Union's 35th biennial council in New Orleans in 1937." In this resolution the UAHC urged American Jews, "irrespective of ideological differences," to unite in the activities leading to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It also urged its constituencies "to give financial and moral support to the work of rebuilding Palestine."

"Since the adoption of this resolution," the declaration of principles reads, "the situation of world Jewry has tragically deteriorated, and the part that Palestine must now play has become correspondingly more significant."

Civic Equality, Rehabilitation, Resettlement Demanded for European Jews

With regard to the Jewish position in a liberated Europe, the Declaration of Principles advances the following program to the American Jewish Conference:

1. No peace to follow this war can be just or enduring unless, as for all other men, it provides for Jews complete civic equality, guarantee of the right of worship, and full parity of economic opportunity.
2. In view of the especially tragic condition of the Jews in Europe, exceptional measures need to be taken by a Commission of such a concert of nations as shall be established after the war, to rehabilitate and to restore the Jews of Europe to a full share in European life.
3. Even with this, great masses of Jews in Europe will be in such a deplorable condition after the war that their plight can be alleviated only by resettlement. A world in which persecution and slaughter of large masses of Jews have been possible, owes those remaining alive the right to find a place where they can live in peace. This task will be of such magnitude that it will be capable of solution only by the united effort and with the united aid of the nations of the world.

Wants Palestine Under Stewardship of "Concert of Nations"

The UAHC executive board urges also that the American Jewish Conference attain agreement on the following objectives:

1. Provision shall be made for large scale immigration into Palestine regulated, in cooperation with the Jewish Agency for Palestine, by such a concert of nations as shall be established after the war.
2. Palestine shall remain under the stewardship of this concert of nations until it shall become possible to establish self-government without jeopardizing the rights or status of any group in Palestine.
3. Such a government shall be democratic and non-sectarian, modeled upon the governments of the democratic nations. There shall be complete separation of Church and State. The inviolability of the holy places of the various religions shall be guaranteed.



ZIONIST GROUPS REACH AGREEMENT ON ZOA PRESIDENCY; DR. WISE ANNOUNCES CONDITIONS

NEW YORK, Aug. 6.(JTA)-- The question of who shall be named president of the Zionist Organization of America at its forthcoming convention in September was settled today to the satisfaction of all interested groups, Dr. Stephen S. Wise announced in a special statement. He revealed that Dr. Israel Goldstein will be nominated for the Z.O.A. presidency, while Dr. Abba Hillel Silver will be summoned to political leadership in the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. Dr. Wise's statement reads:

"In the midst of the serious problems facing the Zionist movement at this time and on the eve of the forthcoming convention of the Zionist Organization of America, I felt it incumbent upon me to do what lay in my power toward achieving the maximum degree of unity joined with the maximum effectiveness in the conduct of Zionist affairs. Having conferred at length with my colleagues in the leadership and the representatives of various groups in the Zionist Organization of America, it is a source of deepest satisfaction to me to be able to announce that we now find ourselves in complete accord on the following program.

"By general agreement among leaders of all groups Dr. Israel Goldstein, after many years of faithful and gifted service within the Zionist movement and particularly as head of the Jewish National Fund, is planned and expected to be the only nominee for the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America at its forthcoming convention in September.

"Similarly, it is planned and expected 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."

MILDER CITIZENSHIP REQUIREMENTS FOR REFUGEES IN AMERICAN COUNTRIES EXPECTED

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6.(JTA)-- A recommendation that all the republics of the Americas make their citizenship more freely available to refugees may soon be considered by the Emergency Advisory Committee for Political Defense, now consulting here with officials of the United States Government. The committee was created as a result of the Third Meeting of American Ministers of Foreign Affairs at Rio de Janeiro in January, 1942, and has been in continuous session since April of that year.

Some of the American nations, notably Mexico, deny citizenship to all persons of Axis origin, whether or not they are refugees. This makes it difficult for refugees to earn a living, especially if they are professional men. In this country, and in several others, the practice is to judge each case on its merits. The naturalization of more than 100,000 persons who are technically "enemy aliens" is now in process here.

NEW YORK POST OFFICE EMPLOYEES GIVE \$12,000 TO UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

NEW YORK, Aug. 6.(JTA)-- Post-office employees here presented a check for \$12,000 to the United Jewish Appeal at a victory rally this week in the Hotel Pennsylvania, it was announced today.



## PRESS RELEASE

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated organizations: ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA  
HADASSAH - MIZRACHI- POALE-ZION

41 EAST 42nd STREET

NEW YORK

MURRAY HILL 2-1160

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FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELYZIONIST COUNCIL STEPS UP FIGHT AGAINST WHITE PAPER

The American Zionist Emergency Council has reorganized in a move to decentralize responsibility and to speed mobilization of all forces in American Jewry to further Jewish aspirations in Palestine, it was announced today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee.

Fourteen committees have been established to carry forward an unprecedented program to win public opinion in America. The immediate objective of all the committees is to work for the abandonment of the White Paper policy under which Great Britain would shut off all Jewish immigration into Palestine by May 1944.

The basic difference in the new plan of operation for the Emergency Council is that it will call for maximum effort by local Jewish communities instead of concentrating the program in the hands of the Council itself. The Council now comprises the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrahi.

The committees and chairmen announced by Dr. Silver following approval by the executive committee of the Council include: Finance and Personnel, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Chairman; Community Contacts, Joel Gross, Newark; Committee on Christian Clergy, Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Rochester; American Palestine Committee, Herman Shulman; Committee on Economic Resources, Emanuel Neumann; Committee on Contact with Allied Post-war Groups, Mrs. Rose Halprin; Research, Mrs. Rose Jacobs; Press, Hayim Greenberg; Publications, Louis Lipsky; Committee for American-Jewish Religious Forces, Rabbi Wolf Gold; Post-war Political Planning, Robert Szold; Committee for Intellectual Mobilization, Rabbi Milton Steinberg; Special Services and Events, Meyer W. Weisgal; and Committee on Labor Relations, Chairman to be designated.

- - 30 - -

IK: 6/29/44

June 29, 1943

Dr. Stephen S. Wise  
35 E. 62nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Wise:

When I attended the recent sessions of the Executive of the American Jewish Conference, Judge Proskauer asked me to have luncheon with him, and discussed with me the Zionist question at the forthcoming Conference. He was interested in my views and asked me to send him a memorandum. Upon my return to Cleveland I had a note from him repeating the request. I sent him the enclosed letter which I thought may be of interest to you.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK  
Enc.

EMANUEL NEUMANN  
749 WEST END AVENUE  
NEW YORK

July 1, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio


Dear Abba:

Thanks for your note of the 29th, and the copy  
of your letter to Proskauer, which I have carefully read.  
I think it is a splendid and cogent statement. I take it  
you are sending copies to Wise, Goldmann, et al.

I shall be writing you soon again.

As ever,

Faithfully yours,

  
Emanuel Neumann



(COPY)

FORTY NINE CHAMBERS STREET  
Room 527  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

August 10, 1943

Dear Colleague:

We purposely refrained from any public agitation in connection with the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America, excepting the wire which was sent to you a few days ago. It was assumed months ago that Dr. Israel Goldstein, who has made a distinguished record in the Zionist movement - as President of the Jewish National Fund, as Vice-president of the Zionist Organization of America, and as Co-chairman of the United Palestine Appeal - would be the successor to Judge Louis E. Levinthal. We did not deem it desirable to form any committees for his election, nor was a single public statement made in the press, because of the general agreement that he would be the next President.

1. It was agreed by the Zionist leaders in this country that Dr. Goldstein would succeed Judge Levinthal, who has given us an efficient, progressive Administration. Under his leadership our Organization has grown in numbers. We today have the largest membership in the last two decades. The reforms that were introduced within the organization, after much struggle, have been maintained and strengthened under Judge Levinthal's leadership. The mounting deficit, which had impeded our progress over a period of many years and served as a crushing burden passed on from one administration to another, has now been wiped out. The reorganization of the Keren Hayesod was effectuated. The work for the Jewish National Fund has shown marked progress. We have carried on a vigorous program for the education of our Youth through the Youth Commission, in which we have taken a leading part. New growing forces within the organization are being mobilized throughout the country to make their impress upon public opinion, Jewish and non-Jewish, for our cause.

2. When suddenly a Committee sponsoring the candidacy of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver as President was formed, it came as a complete surprise. The communications which were sent out, together with the press releases, coming on the eve of the American Jewish Conference, naturally aroused a good deal of misunderstanding. Many of those who accepted membership on the Dr. Silver Committee were not aware that Dr. Goldstein was a candidate for the Presidency. When Judge Levinthal, who was on tour on the Pacific coast, was informed of developments, he sent the following wire which was never made public:

"FOR SEVERAL MONTHS NOW ZIONISTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY ENTHUSIASTICALLY  
HAILED THE REPORT THAT DR. GOLDSTEIN WAS TO BE OUR NEXT PRESIDENT. THIS  
CHOICE WAS MADE KNOWN TO OUR COLLEAGUE AND LEADERS. PERSONALLY  
CONVINCED ZIONIST CONVINCE ZIONIST CAUSE WILL BE BEST SERVED BY HIS  
ELECTION. WE NEED SELFLESS DEVOTION AND UNFLINCHING LOYALTY. HE HAS  
THE CAPACITY AND GIFTS OF LEADERSHIP WHICH WE NEED AT THIS CRITICAL  
JUNCTURE. HOPE ALL WILL UNITE BEHIND HIM AND THAT YOU AND OTHER  
LEADERS WILL DO ALL IN YOUR POWER TO INSURE CONTINUED PROGRESS OF  
Z. O. A. BY SUPPORTING DR. GOLDSTEIN.

3. Urged publicly to announce his candidacy, Dr. Goldstein decided first to exert his best efforts to avoid a contest. Despite the many messages pledging support to him from many parts of the country, Dr. Goldstein felt that this was not the time to engage in an internal struggle.

4. On August 6, 1943, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Chairman of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, and founder of the Zionist Organization of America, made the following statement:

"In the midst of the serious problems facing the Zionist Movement at this time and on the eve of the forthcoming Convention of the ZOA, I felt it incumbent upon me to do what lay in my power toward achieving the maximum effectiveness in the conduct of Zionist affairs. Having conferred at length with my colleague in the leadership and the representatives of various groups in the ZOA, it is a source of deepest satisfaction to me to be able to announce that we now find ourselves in complete accord on the following program:

"By general agreement among leaders of all groups, Dr. Israel Goldstein, after many years of faithful and gifted service withing the Zionist movement and particularly as head of the Jewish National Fund, is expected to be the only nominee for the Presidency of the Zionist Organization of America at its forthcoming Convention in September.

"Similarly, it is expected 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 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.

"It is hardly necessary to dwell upon the far-reaching significance of this accord and of the promise which it holds for our movement in the critical days which lie ahead. We shall, I am persuaded, face the approaching hour of decision as a united body under a courageous, militant and effective leadership."

The foregoing statement was issued after Dr. Silver had agreed to withdraw his name as a candidate.

5. Dr. Goldstein is now the unanimous choice for President of the Zionist Organization of America. He has gained valuable experience in organization work. Under his leadership the gains which have been ours under Judge Levinthal's Administration and those who preceded him will be maintained and advanced. We are coming to the Convention united as one movement, determined to carry out the great task which faces us. We are for a maximum Zionist program, not only in word but in deed. We will have a fighting, aggressive Administration to fight the White Paper and for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. We must come to Columbus prepared to give Dr. Goldstein the fullest support to which he is entitled.

We will be glad to hear from you and we will keep you in touch with further developments.

Sincerely yours,

ROBERT SZOLD

DANIEL FRISCH

49 Chambers St., room 527.  
New York, N.Y.



U.S. URGES ENGLAND TO BAR DISCUSSIONS ON PALESTINE FOR THE DURATION, PEARSON REPORTS

WASHINGTON, Aug. 9.(JTA)-- Official circles in Washington are astir with intrigue regarding the question of Palestine, it was disclosed today in an article by Drew Pearson, noted Washington columnist.

"Ex-Secretary of War Pat Hurley and the State Department are in hot debate over Palestine and the Jews," the article reveals. "Zionist leaders are upset over a proposed statement by the U.S. and British Governments, barring any further discussion now of Jewish settlement in Palestine. Churchill and Eden oppose barring further discussion of the question, but the State Department is pushing them.

"The question arose after Pat Hurley, now a Major General, visited Arabia, where he called on the famous chieftain, Ibn Saud, now recognized as the most powerful of Arabs. He spoke strong words against the Jews in Palestine, said he was determined to drive them from all Arab lands. Hurley reported he told Ibn Saud, diplomatically, he agreed.

"After Hurley's return to the U.S., the State Department prepared a new policy for approval of the White House and the British Government to bar further discussion of Palestine and the Jews until after the war," Mr. Pearson states. "The State Department men who prepared and pushed it are:

"1. Wallace Murray, Hull's political adviser on the Near East, ardent champion of the King of Italy.

"2. Adolf Berle, Assistant Secretary of State, original Brain Trustee, who began some time ago to "build up" a series of buffer states in Hungary and Poland against Russia.

"3. Harold Hoskins, former chief investigator for Berle, now in the Army, who was raised in Syria, where his father was an official in the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut, and expert on the Arabic language. When in the State Department, Hoskins, an admirer of the Arabs, was sent by Berle to Capitol Hill to interview Congressmen who had signed the Zionist petition for a Jewish army.

"This new policy, when sent to London, got a rebuff, but under pressure from Washington, Churchill and Eden yielded," Mr. Pearson writes.

Rabbi Wise Appeals to President Roosevelt to Postpone Decision

"News of this maneuvering leaked out and alarmed some of the President's close advisers," Mr. Pearson continues. "While many of them do not necessarily believe in Jewish settlement in Palestine, they do emphatically believe that the door should not be closed to discussion of the question, as they believe it is healthy for all peace problems to be discussed.

"Rabbi Stephen S. Wise came to see the President several days ago. When he entered the Executive Office, the State Department's proposed policy was lying on the President's desk, awaiting his approval.

"Rabbi Wise persuaded Roosevelt to postpone decision for a while and the matter is in abeyance. The State Department has been trying to get Secretary of War Stimson to support Hull. Stimson replied that he favored a frank discussion but has not yielded."

Mr. Pearson also discloses that Senator Langer of N.D. served notice that if the State Department puts through its plan, he will demand an investigation.





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CONFERENCE HEARS DEMAND FOR JEWISH COMMONWEALTH

Dr. Silver Emphasizes Democracy Does Not Imply Unanimity But  
Willingness of Minority To Submit to Decision of Majority

New York (JPS) -- The establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine was presented to the American Jewish Conference as an objective which it must incorporate into its program for postwar Jewry, it was declared by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, and by other speakers at the Monday night session, which began a consideration of the role of Palestine in the postwar Jewish world.

The Conference heard a series of addresses in which the Jewish achievements in Palestine were praised and the need for the strengthening of the political structure underlying the Jewish Homeland was urged. Speakers at the Palestine session included: Judge Louis Levinthal, President of the Zionist Organization of America, who presided, Dr. Nahum Goldmann, Rabbi James G. Heller, Israel Goldberg, Solomon Goldman and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver.

In the course of his address Dr. Silver asked why it is that certain groups feel that if agreement is given to their views, that is unity, whereas if he asked for agreement with his views, that would be disunity. He said: "the Jews may be comforted with the hope that the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms will bring healing to the Jewish people." He warned those who were "turning away from loyalty to dreams," reminding them of the "millennial homelessness and persecution of the Jews. Discussion of the present situation as an immediate emergency loses sight of history," he continued. "Actually the Jewish plight is a persistent emergency which can never be permanently disposed of until the basic solution is provided."

He warned the Conference of "intellectual confusion under a thick blanket of appeals to Jewish unity and affability. The only solution for Jewish homelessness," he declared, "is a National Home. This does not mean merely opportunities for refugees or new lands for colonization," he added.

Reviewing the background of the Balfour Declaration, he cited statements of Lloyd George, Winston Churchill, Woodrow Wilson and others to point out that they thought of the Declaration in terms of the ultimate establishment of a "Jewish Commonwealth" or a "Jewish State," with specific use of those phrases. "The Declaration was not intended as a scheme to aid immigration but as a political national act," he observed. "Why has there suddenly arisen a mortal fear of using the term 'Jewish Commonwealth,' when this phrase

(Continued on Page 2)



had already become part and parcel of international legal language twenty and twenty-five years ago?" he asked. "Those who oppose the phrase on the alleged ground of unity have never really reconciled themselves to the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate and are still trying to avoid their realization."

Referring to the use of the word "ideology" to dismiss the Zionist program, Dr. Silver asked whether it was an ideology to express "the natural normal hope and desire of the Jewish people to live a normal existence. It is they who are motivated by ideologies who ask for the repudiation of the international covenant made with the Jews."

Advocating "unity in Israel," he said that this unity was for a "total Jewish program to include relief, rescue, reconstruction and national restoration and not a unity for a fraction of that program which makes a mockery of the whole program. All elements of the total program are woven together and cannot be separated. There cannot be immigration without political rights; there can be no political rights without recognition of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine."

At one point he remarked with respect to the Colonial Office that "it and the Arabs for the moment seem to be synonymous." He emphasized that the Yishuv is asking American Jewry for strong support and wanted to know whether American Jewry intended "to let the Yishuv down. A cry of "No!" was heard through the room in reply to a series of questions along these lines.

In closing, Dr. Silver said: "I am for unity, but unity of action in a democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decision of the majority."

"The immemorial problem of our national homelessness, the principal source of our millennial tragedy remains as stark and as menacing today as it ever was. Yet some Jews are again trying to circumvent it with wishful thinking."

He observed that the Conference "has no power to enforce its decisions" but warned that "there is tremendous moral authority in this solemn conclave. The minority will not lightly disregard the will of the majority when its will has been registered."

#### Excerpts from Dr. Goldmann's Address

Dr. Nahum Goldmann, director of the Washington office of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, stressed the point that "the Jewish Agency has never been in favor of enforced Jewish immigration into Palestine. We have always opposed the Revisionist theory of Jewish evacuation from Europe -- but just as we oppose this, we have to raise our voices against any attempt on the part of the United Nations to enforce repatriation on those Jews, many of whom, if not the majority, will refuse to go back to the countries of their persecution to relive the nightmare and risk similar experiences for their children or grandchildren," he continued. "Nothing, it seems to me, is more realistic than to demand the right for every European Jew to choose either repatriation or immigration into Palestine. And let me utter a word of warning against a policy which would disperse Jewish postwar immigration, either by directing it

(Continued on Page 3)

HIGHLIGHTS OF CONFERENCE SPEECHES

(Notable passages from the addresses delivered at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria, New York during the American Jewish Conference, August 29-September 2, 1943)

\* \* \* \* \*

"Will of Majority Must Prevail: Dr. Abba Hillel Silver"

"Unity in Israel . . . is for a total Jewish program to include relief, rescue, reconstruction and national restoration and not a unity for a fraction of that program which makes a mockery of the whole program. All elements of the total program are woven together and cannot be separated. There cannot be immigration without political rights; there can be no political rights without recognition of the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine. . . . I am for unity, but unity of action in a democratic organization depends not upon unanimity but upon the willingness of the minority to submit to the decision of the majority. . . . The Conference has no power to enforce its decisions but there is tremendous moral authority in this solemn conclave. The minority will not lightly disregard the will of the majority when its will has been registered."

- - - - -

"Jewish Homeland Not International: Dr. Nahum Goldmann"

"The Jews never intended to set up in Palestine a kind of international state with Jews all over the world citizens of it. The chief aspect of Zionism is territorial. It wants to concentrate a part of the Jewish people, as many as possible, in a country of their own, where they would live their own normal, national life. The Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, legally and politically, will be the Commonwealth of those who are there -- then there will remain the great Jewish diaspora with Jews living as equal citizens in their countries, with their primary loyalty to those countries, but with a moral and spiritual interest in the Palestinian Jewish Commonwealth. . . . The position of the Jewish citizens of various countries would be in no way different from these other groups and all misinterpretations and misunderstandings by anti-Zionist groups to the effect that the Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine will claim the primary loyalty of the Jews all over the world, are either conscious or unconscious misrepresentations of the basic aims of Zionism."

- - - - -

"Zionism Vindicated by Events: Judge Louis E. Levinthal"

"Public discussion of Zionism in 1943 need not necessarily be characterized by appeal to emotion. The cold, hard realities of life during the past ten years have, in my opinion, vindicated all that the founders of Zionism wrote and uttered years ago. . . . With startling clarity they probed to the very essence of the Jewish problem. They were not prophets,

(Continued on Page 11)



who could foresee the future, but they recognized that given conditions could lead to given results, and they indicated that the anomalous position occupied by the Jews of Europe in the social, political and economic life of their respective countries, no matter what the degree of equality or so-called emancipation, would inevitably lead to certain dire consequences. The Zionists have been the first scientific sociologists of modern times, recognizing a problem and advocating a planned correction."

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"Open Gates of Palestine: Israel H. Goldberg"

"The Jewish Labor Committee insists that the gates of Palestine be kept open for Jewish immigration. It regards the White Paper as a product of appeasement and as an instrument of race discrimination. The Jewish Labor Committee demands the immediate annulment of the White Paper. Insofar as a definite Labor Committee program for Palestine is concerned, this takes two specific forms: First, we declare our solidarity with organized Jewish labor in Palestine and support its demands for Jewish immigration and colonization. Secondly, we demand free Jewish immigration, land purchase and colonization in Palestine. With regard to the ultimate objective, the Jewish Labor Committee takes no stand, because there is no unanimity among its members on this subject."

- - - - -

"Eliminate Partisanship: Rabbi James G. Heller"

"The Conference must not permit itself to be broken on the rock of insensate partisanship. . . . Individual conceptions should not take precedence over the consideration of the totality of Jewish life."

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[Sept. 8, 1943]

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Send the following telegram, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

To Meyer W. Weisgal

September 8, 1949

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Street and No. New York

Place

DO NOT BELIEVE MEETING DELEGATION HULL SHOULD BE POSTPONED MUCH LONGER.

EXECUTIVE OF REFORM CONGREGATIONS WILL NOT MEET BEFORE OCTOBER 3. AMERICAN

JEWISH COMMITTEE MAY NOT RATIFY PALESTINE RESOLUTION. VALUE OF VISIT

CONSISTS IN PRESENTING AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT SENTIMENT AND DECISIONS OF

CONFERENCE TO HULL. HENCE REGARD WISE PRELIMINARY VISIT AND POSTPONEMENT

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SILVER.

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DR ABBA HILLEL SILVER=

THE TEMPLE (CLEVELAND OHIO)=

NO 9-8-43 TO SEP 9 1943  
BY LIT AT 147 TO BE MAIL



AFTER DISCUSSING MATTER WITH WISE MONSKY OTHERS IT WAS AGREED THAT  
THE TOTALITY OF CONFERENCE DECISIONS SHOULD BE PRESENTED TO  
SECRETARY OF STATE THAT A MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE LATER IN  
THE MONTH PREFEREABLY AFTER REFORM CONGREGATIONS AND AMERICAN  
JEWISH COMMITTEE WILL HAVE HAD TIME TO RATIFY CONFERENCE  
DECISIONS WISE HOWEVER WILL SEE HULL ALONE THURSDAY OFF THE  
RECORD PURELY AS A PERSONAL VISIT TO ARRANGE FOR THIS LATER  
REGULARLY CONSTITUTE DELEGATION OF THE CONFERENCE REGARDS=

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ANSEL ROAD & E. 105TH ST (CLEVELAND OHIO)=

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DELEGATION MEETS SATURDAY 10:30 AM APARTMENT 246 DORCHESTER

HOUSE 16TH STREET N.W. WASHINGTON. REGARDS=

MEYER W WEISGAL.

(58) ==

12 10:30 246 16TH

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הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

# The Jewish Agency for Palestine

New York Office: SUITE 708, 41 EAST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • Murray Hill 2-5967

Washington Office  
1720 SIXTEENTH ST., N. W.  
Michigan 4480

September 8, 1943

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver,  
The Temple,  
Cleveland, Ohio

My dear Rabbi Silver:

I sent you the following telegram:

"After discussing matter with Wise Monsky others it was agreed that the totality of Conference decisions should be presented to Secretary of State That a meeting should take place later in the month preferably after Reform Congregations and American Jewish Committee will have had time to ratify Conference decisions Wise however will see Hull alone Thursday off the record purely as a personal visit to arrange for this later regularly constituted delegation of the Conference  
Regards Weisgal"

I am also sending you for your perusal a copy of a report I sent to Dr. Weizmann on the Conference, giving him the "inside dope", so to speak. After you will have read it, I would appreciate it if you would return it to me.

I am also sending you here a copy of a plan of action I submitted to the Emergency Committee last May in response to a request by the Public Relations Department to prepare a plan of action for the Emergency Committee. No consideration has been given to the plan either by the Public Relations Department or the Emergency Committee as a whole. If you will have time to read it before the Convention in Columbus, I would like to have an opportunity to discuss it with you when we meet at the Zionist Convention.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

MWW:FR

P.S. Received your telegram transmitted it  
Monsky who suggested after the 20th, and

I thought it would fit in with farm  
scheduled since you are to be in New York on  
the 20th. I believe there should be a meeting of a few people in Columbus to  
consider the strategy.

הסוכנות היהודית לארץ ישראל

# The Jewish Agency for Palestine

New York Office: SUITE 708, 41 EAST 42ND ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. • MURRAY HILL 2-5967

*Washington Office*

1720 SIXTEENTH ST., N. W.  
MICHIGAN 4480

September 8, 1943

- 2 -

P.S. I am enclosing herewith the exchange of cables between Dr. Weizmann and yourself in connection with your election as Chairman of the Emergency Committee.





1943  
C O P Y

LONDON

RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
THE TEMPLE  
CLEVELAND OHIO

MY HEARTIEST CONGRATULATIONS UPON YOUR ELECTION  
AS COCHAIRMAN WITH DR WISE OF THE AMERICAN EMERGENCY  
COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS AND AS CHAIRMAN OF ITS  
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE IT IS AN EVENT FRAUGHT WITH  
SIGNIFICANCE FOR OUR CAUSE AT THIS CRITICAL MOMENT  
WHEN THE ZIONIST WORLD LOOKS TO AMERICA AND AMERICAN  
ZIONISM FOR POLITICAL SUPPORT STOP I AM CONFIDENT THAT  
YOU WILL PLACE UNRESERVEDLY AT ~~THE~~ THE DISPOSAL OF THE  
CAUSE YOUR GREAT GIFTS AND THE QUALITIES OF VISION COURAGE  
AND STATESMANSHIP WHICH YOU POSSESS AND WHICH THE MOVE-  
MENT REQUIRES WARMEST GOOD WISHES FOR SUCCESS OF YOUR  
WORK AND CORDIAL REGARDS

CHAIM WEIZMANN

[Sept 9, 1943]

## PRESS RELEASE

# AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Associated Organizations: Zionist Organization of America  
Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion

41 EAST 42nd STREET • NEW YORK • MURRAY HILL 2-1160

175

Friday A.M.  
For Publication

### DR. WEIZMANN HAILS DR. SILVER'S ELECTION

-----

Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, today in London, England, hailed Dr. Abba Hillel Silver's election as co-chairman of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs "as an event fraught with significance for our cause at this critical moment when the Zionist world looks to America and American Zionism for political support."

Cabling his congratulations to Dr. Silver, who was also elected chairman of the executive committee of the Emergency Committee, Dr. Weizmann said:

"I am confident that you will place unreservedly at the disposal of the cause your great gifts and the qualities of vision, courage and statesmanship which you possess and which the movement requires."

In reply, Dr. Silver cabled:

"For myself and my colleagues in the leadership, as well as for the whole of American Zionism, I assure you of our unshakeable resolve to carry on the struggle for the full realization of Zionist aims recently endorsed by the whole of American Jewry through the American Jewish Conference. The Zionist movement and you as its leader may count upon our utmost effort and devotion."



COPY

JEWISH TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY, INC.  
106 East 41st St.  
New York City

September 9, 1943

CONFIDENTIAL

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
East 105th St. at Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Doctor Silver:

With regard to the matter which interests you most, Mr. Hull's remarks were as follows:

British and American military forces have for some time been concerned with the agitation and restlessness prevailing in Palestine. This agitation assumes more and more vehement proportions. We are urging that some statement be issued which might succeed in calming down extremists. The War Department approached us with the suggestion of a joint statement. However, the War Department has withdrawn the request and the idea has been abandoned.

Mr. Hull used the term "abandoned." Mr. Hull called in Mr. Breckinridge Long who, he told me, would give me more details. (Mr. Hull mentioned that I should see Mr. Long every three or four weeks. I gathered from his remarks that Long might succeed Sumner Welles.)

Mr. Long, when I asked him about Hoskins, stated that Hoskins was no longer with the State Department, which had not had any contact with him for some time, and that Hoskins was in the army.

Mr. Long confirmed that Ibn Saud is about to come over.

I was told by another very well-informed gentleman that the man who blocked the measure in the War Department is Mr. Herbert Bayard Swope.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Jacob Landau  
Managing Director

MINORITY LEADER OFFICES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
Washington, D. C.

Sept. 14, 1943

Mr. Edward A. Friedburg  
34 Ashland St.,  
Taunton, Mass.

Dear Mr. Friedburg:

I have your letter and the enclosed resolutions and thank you for the same.

I shall be very glad to endorse these Resolutions to the Secretary of State.

As you probably know, I have on many occasions advocated a Jewish Homeland in Palestine. Several months ago, it was my privilege to be one of the speakers at a large meeting in the Statler Hotel in Washington and I advocated it at that time.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Joseph W. Martin, Jr  
14th Dist. Massachusetts



Whereas the Congress by joint resolution passed without a dissenting vote and approved September 21, 1922, affirmed that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people;

Whereas the British mandate over Palestine adopted in 1920, ratified by the League of Nations in 1922, was formally recognized by the United States in the Palestine convention of December 3, 1924 between this Government and Great Britain;

Whereas the record of the Jewish people in Palestine since 1923 is one of notable achievement, with deserts reclaimed, modern cities established, and health, educational, and recreational facilities provided;

Whereas, the despoilation of the Jews in Western Europe and the unspeakable cruelties which they have suffered at the hands of the Nazis, bringing death to millions, and leaving other millions homeless and penniless, has evoked the sympathy of all decent mankind everywhere;

Whereas, a consequence of the Nazi savagery toward the Jewish people is to create conditions which make the maintenance and expansion of the Jewish Homeland in Palestine in the post-war era an even more pressing necessity than ever before;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the long established policy of the United States in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish People is hereby expressly reaffirmed, and that no barriers should be interposed to Jewish immigration into Palestine, and further Jewish acquisition of lands there.

# PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND

(Keren Hayesod) Inc. - קרן היסוד

FINANCIAL INSTRUMENT OF THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK CITY  
MURRAY HILL 2 - 4448

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and officers

September 16, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Abba Hillel Silver:

I have your telegram but was unable to get to the office until today because of a bad cold that I contracted in Columbus. We shall, of course, do everything to satisfy you in connection with room for the Emergency Committee. It is rather short notice to get it all arranged by Monday, but I am taking it up with the renting agent to see if any other arrangements can be made, and hope to have the entire matter concluded by Monday, even though the actual removal may take a few days longer.

I wonder whether you saw, in the public press, the announcement that Ambassador Lawrence Steinhardt is on his way back to America. You might remember him as a nephew of Samuel Untermyer, whom I first introduced to the Zionist movement some years ago, during the period of the last war. His sister is married to my brother, so that I have had the opportunity of keeping in constant touch with him. In fact, just about a year ago, when he was here, before he went to Turkey, at the request of Dr. Weizmann I brought him over for an hour's visit with Dr. Weizmann, which was highly satisfactory. I am certain that at the proper time he will do everything, with the President, to get maximum results for us in Palestine. I think it of the greatest importance that you see him as soon as he gets to this country, and I shall be glad to arrange the appointment at your request.

I also want to mention a matter that I discussed rather fully with Emanuel Neumann during the time of the Convention. I know from unimpeachable sources that Bernard Baruch is on very intimate terms with Churchill. In the past, Baruch has unfortunately refused to work with Dr. Wise, because of something to which he took personal affront. I think it of the utmost importance that a friendly relationship should be established, especially through you, and I have suggested to Emanuel some ways in which that can be done. It should be followed up without delay.

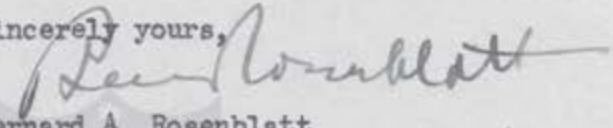
You probably were as agreeably surprised as many of us were at the friendly telegram from President Roosevelt to Judge Levinthal, but I doubt whether you know the story behind the telegram, which goes a long way to support your point of



view of taking a strong stand for Jewish rights. A couple of weeks before the Convention I was requested to see whether I could get a statement from the President, since the ordinary channels through Senator Wagner, as Chairman of the Palestine Committee, seemed to be unproductive of results, at that time. I had a long a long personal interview with Ed Flynn, whom I know, and I told him of the resentment felt among the Jews generally, because of the policy of keeping quiet about Palestine, and warned him of the danger that "our" party might have to face next year, if it were made evident that the State Department was simply following a British policy with respect to Palestine. (I pointed out to him that he, as an Irishman, ought to know that the British are using the Arabs in Palestine just as they are using the Orangemen in Ireland - to which of course he responded sympathetically.) I was assured that he would bring this matter immediately to the attention of the White House, and then I called his office again to remind him of it. I am sure that the representations made in plain language had its effect, at least to give us once more, in the telegram, the words "National Home".

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

  
Bernard A. Rosenblatt  
President

bar.sb



STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

MINUTES  
MEETING OF AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE  
FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Thursday evening, September 17, 1942.

A meeting of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs was held on Thursday evening, September 17, 1942 at 41 W. 42nd Street, New York.

PRESENT: Dr. Wise, presiding; Mesdames Benjamin, Epstein, Goldstein(Mizrachi), Pool, Schoolman, Shulman; Messrs. Boukstein, Bublick, Furmansky, Gellman, Gold, P.L.Goldman, Greenberg, Itzkowitz, Kirshblum, Louis E. Levinthal, Lipsky, Mereminski, Naiditch, Quittman(Order Sons of Zion), Rosenblatt, Rothenberg, Silver, Szold, Wertheim, Wise.

Dr. N. Goldmann, Mr. Perlzweig; Mr. Lourie Mr. Weisgal.

By invitation: Mr. Alpert, Miss Leibel, Mr. Fisher, Mrs. Tourover.

It was reported that the Committee at its meeting last week had resolved to adopt a resolution in regard to the Ichud, but it had been decided to postpone final action to permit Hadassah to discuss the matter at its National Board.

The latest draft of the resolution as prepared by the Office Committee was presented to the meeting as follows:

" 1. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs takes note of the formation under the leadership of Dr. Judah L. Magnes of a political group in Palestine called "Ichud", which seeks to engage in a separatist political activity without the knowledge and consent of the Executive of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, which is the only duly elected and internationally recognized representation of the Jewish people in regard to the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

2. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs disassociates itself from the views of the Ichud and reaffirms the resolution adopted unanimously by all Zionist parties at the extraordinary Zionist Conference held in New York May 9, 1942 urging that "the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine ... and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world."

3. The Committee identifies itself with the resolution adopted at the last Zionist Congress held in Geneva, August 1939 and declares that it will do all in its power to establish relations of good-will and mutual cooperation with the Arabs of Palestine and of the neighboring Arab countries.

4. The Committee regards any separatist political activities such as those which the Ichud is undertaking as disruptive of Zionist discipline, and destructive of the solidarity of the Jewish people in their aspirations to achieve a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. "



Mr. Gellman presented an amendment to the resolution by adding the following paragraph:

"The Committee recommends the resignation of Dr. Magnes from his position as head of the University."

A motion to table the amendment was carried.

On behalf of Hadassah, Mrs. Pool made the following report:

"The discussion at the National Board meeting was one of procedure and not one of principles. We considered that we lacked sufficient facts on which to form a judgment on the Ichud and the actions of Dr. Magnes and Miss Szold and others associated with the group. If we, as leaders of American Zionism, are to pass judgment on the basis of reports which come either from the press or from one side alone and not from those against whom charges are made, we might reach unfair and unwarranted conclusions.

"After a very long and earnest discussion in which every point of view was presented, the National Board came to the conclusion that we should wait until the letter from Miss Szold comes. In the meantime we are sending to Dr. Magnes and to Miss Szold letters by airmail which in unequivocal terms state our position on the fullest possible platform that anyone with responsibility in Zionism would support, as repeatedly expressed at conventions and more recently at the Biltmore Conference."

Mrs. Pool added that it had been the unanimous decision of the Board that the representatives of Hadassah to the Emergency Committee be bound by the action of the national board to wait until an explanation came, and therefore they had to ask the Emergency Committee that no resolution be passed with reference to Ichud. If the Committee cannot accept this recommendation and request, it must be clearly indicated that any resolution adopted does not have the support of Hadassah.

Judge Levinthal said he was opposed to making public any resolution on this question until Miss Szold's communication reached us. He felt it would be a mistake to issue a resolution in accordance with the decision of the last meeting because it would magnify the Ichud and Magnes and weaken American Zionism. Mr. Willkie spent an hour with Henrietta Szold as the most celebrated American in Palestine - that in itself indicated the danger that by attacking Miss Szold before we give her an opportunity to explain, we might be discrediting ourselves.

Mr. Szold said he believed the whole discussion about Dr. Magnes served to divert us from more important matters. We should devote ourselves rather to a consideration of our objectives. It was from that angle that he offered a substitute motion as follows:

"The events of the past few years have emphasized the tragic position of the Jews and the urgent necessity for a permanent solution of the problem of Jewish homelessness. This requires that Palestine be recognized by the nations of the world as a Jewish Homeland, where Jews shall have unlimited right of immigration and colonization, free to become a majority. The crux of the solution is large-scale immigration, as of right, free from administrative or political obstacles. In the words of the resolution adopted unanimously at the extraordinary Zionist Conference held in New York, May 9, 1942, by the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America, Mizrahi and Poale Zion, to the effect that in order to

(cont.)



solve the problem of Jewish homelessness "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."

No plan which does not clearly and effectively insure these fundamental objectives can be acceptable to American Zionists."

With regard to publicity for any resolution, we must distinguish between the "Times" and the general press, and our own people. Our own people are entitled to know where we stand. However, it would be unwise to go to the general press with an attack on Magnes-- in the columns of the Times we would surely be beaten. He would suggest therefore that we issue a statement in connection with Mr. Ben-Gurion's departure for Palestine, as a message from American Zionists for him to take back. The question of further publicity could be left until the receipt of the letter from Palestine.

Dr. Goldmann said he did not believe that it was in principle wrong that the Emergency Committee should speak out clearly and specifically against the Ichud, or that there was any validity to the argument that we might thereby make Magnes seem too important. If Hadassah were prepared to vote favorably, he believed we ought to pass the original resolution presented at the beginning of the meeting. But it would be bad to adopt it without Hadassah's acceptance-- public opinion would interpret the exclusion of Hadassah as Hadassah's adherence to the Ichud program, and we cannot risk such an interpretation either in America or in Palestine. The substitute resolution meant complete negation by the Emergency Committee of the program of Ichud, and in the circumstances, if Hadassah were willing, as he understood they were, to join in such a resolution, he would favor its acceptance.

It was Mr. Naiditch's view that such a resolution by itself was meaningless and that it was necessary to take some action which would restrain Dr. Magnes, and he urged adoption of the Mizrahi amendment.

Mr. Wertheim pointed out that in view of the fact that Mr. Willkie had visited Dr. Magnes, presumably at the suggestion of the High Commissioner, it was important for us to publicize our stand clearly and definitely so that the public would not be misled as to his significance. The substitute resolution did not go far enough.

Rabbi Kirshblum stated that it was important for the Emergency Committee to take some action at once since the constituency at large was waiting for them to act in the matter. The Mizrahi office had received numerous calls endorsing their attitude, from ZOA members and others, after the publication of their own resolution. He further pointed out that no action on the part of the Emergency Committee might easily be misinterpreted to mean approval of the Ichud.

Mrs. Schoolman made the following suggestions for the substitute resolution:

1. That in connection with the phrase "Jews shall have unlimited right of immigration and colonization" the word mass be substituted for unlimited.
2. Inclusion of a positive clause favoring Arab cooperation
3. The reference to "historic boundaries" should be made more specific.



Mr. Mereminski urged the need for issuing a statement which would clearly refer to the Ichud. He suggested the inclusion of a preliminary phrase in Mr. Szold's resolution to indicate that the occasion of its adoption was in connection with reports of the establishment of the Ichud.

Mr. Greenberg said he would urge the Committee to adopt no resolution at all that night. To adopt the resolution introduced by Mr. Szold was meaningless today. It was full of meaning four months ago when we adopted a resolution at the Conference and today it was just a reaffirmation of the principles then adopted. In passing such a resolution now we must state clearly the occasion for it- the establishment of a new political group in Palestine called Ichud- and unless this was done and the resolution made a disavowal of this group, no one would understand what it was about.

We could not ignore Magnes- there were important people associated with him and they were stronger politically today than we were, stronger in the sense that whatever they say and write is more acceptable to the government than what we "chauvinists and extremists" say. It is worth while passing a resolution if we say what we want to say- and he would favor the original resolution presented tonight, with modifications, if Hadassah would vote for it too. But since Hadassah will not vote for it and they have already stated they would have to disassociate themselves from any such resolution at this time- it would be dangerous to take any action that might indicate lack of unity- and therefore the best thing seemed to be to wait until Miss Szold's letter arrived.

Mr. Lipsky urged that a letter from Miss Szold or Dr. Magnes would not materially affect the position in view of what we already know. Our concern is to state our policy with regard to this new group which is negotiating on its own authority - if we wait several weeks before doing so it would appear that we have given our consent. The question of Dr. Magnes must involve us in public action, because his activity has created the impression of action by an American Zionist group, and it was important for our own people to know that we were not in line with this action.

Mr. Lipsky went on further to say that unless we took immediate action there was danger not only of a split in our own ranks but also among non-Jews and non-Zionists. The latter would rather accept the "moderate" demands of Magnes than those of the "extremists" - and whatever we have accomplished until now in creating an important circle of friends in this country will be threatened. If Hadassah's vote was considered indispensable then we should adopt no resolution at the moment but any resolution we did adopt must state clearly the purpose for adopting it.

Dr. Wise stated that he had come prepared to support either the original or the substitute resolution, but since it was clear that Hadassah held it necessary to disassociate itself from a resolution in any way linked with the "Ichud", he would urge holding up action. Out of respect for Miss Szold, too, he would want to wait until a detailed explanation was received- and then issue a statement which would condemn Magnes "with words out of his own mouth". He therefore urged tabling both resolutions until such information was received.

Mrs. Epstein suggested the possibility of adopting the substitute resolution without prejudicing any future resolutions. There would be an editorial in the New Palestine explaining the occasion for the resolution- and by the time the convention came there would be material for a full resolution to be adopted by the convention.



Mrs. Pool pointed out that it had been suggested earlier in the evening that the resolution proposed by Mr. Szold be tied up with Mr. Ben-Gurion's departure as a message from American Zionists to Palestine. She was not able to accept the resolution if it was amended to include any reference to the Ichud.

Dr. Silver said that the plea to defer action until we received correspondence from Miss Szold seemed a peculiar one. It would appear far more logical for Miss Szold to have written letters before she acted to sound us out to see what we thought, and not to have the whole American Zionist movement wait for information after action had been taken. If this was intended to forestall action, then reasons would be found to forestall further action later on. What new revelations did we expect from these communications. We knew what Dr. Magnes' stand was. Ichud was not a new movement- it was a new name. It was a movement which, at the most critical juncture in our history, was organized to scuttle the Zionist Organization and undermine prestige of the Jewish Agency. There was an official report of the meeting held in Palestine at which the delegates present were committed to a definite program - there was no denial of such a meeting or of that program. We here have a responsibility as leaders in American Zionism- and if after three meetings on this matter we are afraid to pass a resolution that would reject a movement that runs counter to the fundamentals of Zionism, and which is headed by a man who occupies a responsible position in Zionist institutions- then we should dissolve our organization. We pass beautiful resolutions at conventions but when we come to apply these to specific matters we find reasons for not taking action.

Dr. Silver said he believed we must speak frankly. We are either for a Jewish State or not for it. We are for a bi-national state or not for it. We cannot make one statement mean two things. There is only one Zionist movement left outside of Palestine, and that was right here. If we did not accept the responsibility in these times to scotch when we can, every movement against our movement, we were not worthy of holding the position we now occupied. The Ichud was a definite challenge to our movement- it ignored the Zionists of America and went against the Jewish Agency. It was to have been expected that Miss Szold would first turn to friends in America before joining, and ask how it would affect Zionists in America- how it would affect high public opinion here. That had not been done. He urged that either no resolution at all be passed- or else we pass a resolution tonight with clarity and courage.

The chairman then presented the three proposals to be voted on:

1. Proposal that no resolution at all be adopted.
2. Substitute resolution submitted by Mr. Szold.
3. Original resolution submitted on behalf of the Office Committee (subject to editing).

The vote was as follows:

- 1.- 6 in favor; 10 opposed to tabling resolution
2. - 6 in favor; 9 opposed. Substitute resolution negatived.
- 3.- 9 in favor; 10 opposed. Original resolution negatived.

The chairman again emphasized that the whole matter would be given renewed consideration following the receipt of communications awaited from Palestine.



Mr. Lipsky then raised the question of the internal functioning of the Emergency Committee. He pointed out that at the time the constitution was adopted the members were urged to vote as individuals- however it now appears that on important issues members come "under instructions" and vital questions that come up are faced with "bloc votes." This makes it impossible to establish the authority of the Committee and its good standing in public opinion. He realized it might not be possible to achieve complete harmony, but members should not arrive bound by the votes of bodies which have not participated in our discussions and to whom we had not the opportunity of presenting our views.

Mrs. Pool pointed out that this was the first occasion on which Hadassan had so bound its members. For reasons already explained they felt that the circumstances here were exceptional. It must be recorded too that there were occasions on which other bodies had sought to act as blocs in the committee. Mrs. Pool referred also to the desirability of representation of the groups on the basis of the number of their Shekel payers.

Dr. Goldmann pointed out that as long as the Emergency Committee was a federated body of four autonomous groups it might not be possible to prevent one party from binding its members on certain action. Referring to the resolution itself, Dr. Goldmann stated that the action at this meeting was unfortunate because it would create the impression that the Committee had decided not to say anything about the Ichud, which was not the intention of those present. He suggested therefore that a statement be issued to the Yiddish press explaining that the Committee had discussed the matter but had decided to wait for full information from Palestine (Miss Szold) before making any definite statement.

Dr. Silver referred to previous instances in which the committee should have taken action and failed to do so because of its failure to act as a unified body. Unless this could be remedied it would lead to the disintegration of the committee.

No vote was taken on the question of issuing a statement to the press.

The meeting adjourned at 11:30 p.m.

Arthur Lourie.

AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS  
41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK

## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 17, 1943

From Abram S. Magida

I regret exceedingly that because of the pressure of activities incident to the American Jewish Conference and Convention of the Zionist Organization of America, as well as the effort to keep up with routine work in the office, it has not been possible to prepare until now the memorandum which you requested.

In this memorandum I have avoided any reference to my personal relationship to any phase of the work of the Emergency Committee, as that is a matter for your decision as part of any general determination as to the size of our staff and the scope of the work which will be undertaken. However, I do wish to point out that it is of greatest importance to maintain a direct relationship with the American Palestine Committee, with the Christian Council on Palestine, and to establish a direct relationship between this office and the communities throughout the country in order to make our work more effective. This is a task that requires organization and personal contact. As matters stand now, I am the only one in the office familiar with the processes involved in reaching those people who are in a position to be helpful to us in setting up the necessary organization.



## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date September 17, 1943

From Abram S. Magida

Personal and Confidential

SUBJECT: The Scope of Activities for the Emergency Committee

As I view it, the work of the Emergency Committee falls into the following categories, all of which must be completely integrated and coordinated:

- Political
- Press and Publicity
- Public Relations
- Research
- Publication and Information

This memorandum will avoid discussion of details as these are matters for further consideration after the general lines of policy are determined.

### Political Affairs

For the present, our political "endziel" has been clearly defined. The so-called Biltmore Program, accepted in Jerusalem as well as by our people in England, South Africa, Australia and Canada, has been completely endorsed by the American Jewish Conference, and reiterated by the 46th Annual Convention of the Zionist Organization of America. The problem now is to meet whatever special political situations may arise from time to time, to secure the abrogation of the White Paper and the approval of the governments in Washington and elsewhere of the Commonwealth idea. Towards the latter end it is important to consider very soon the advisability of pressing for some expression by Congress. Already Senator Van Nuys of Indiana has stated that he is willing to sponsor a resolution calling for the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. It would, in my opinion, be futile to ask Senator Van Nuys or anyone else to sponsor such a resolution unless we secured in advance pledges of support from such people as Senators Wagner and McNary (the heads of the American Palestine Committee), the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Majority and Minority Leaders in the Senate, and perhaps also in the House, as well as a number of other leading members of both houses of Congress. In this connection we ought to keep in mind the opportunities that present themselves in a national election year.

In a recent conversation Congressman Emanuel Celler told me he is most anxious to help in an effort to bring together a considerable number of Congressmen to acquaint them with our situation and to prepare them to take the lead in our behalf when necessity arises. Regardless of whether Mr. Celler is exactly the right person to do this, the idea is important. It should receive careful consideration.

(Memorandum to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver)

September 17, 1943

### Public Relations

In this area there are a number of fields of activity. Our efforts in some of these must be expanded and others we should explore as promptly as possible.

(A) We need to expand the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council on Palestine, and we must see to it that these bodies become more effective instrumentalities in our immediate political tasks.

I: The American Palestine Committee which now includes about 1100 members, should have an executive committee which can be made the working body for the organization. We should cultivate personal relationships with as many members as may be considered advisable and get them to speak and write in our behalf. We should plan an early function (perhaps between Thanksgiving and the Christmas holidays, if the general situation is favorable) in Washington which ought to be built up around the theme of abrogating the White Paper, or if we decide upon pressing for a congressional resolution, the theme might very well be "the post-war period in particular relation to Palestine." In either case we could get in plenty of good propaganda for the Jewish Commonwealth idea. In this connection it may be recalled that the first dinner (1941) of the American Palestine Committee was devoted to organization, and the second (1942) to the United Nations theme. Plans that had been prepared for a conference and dinner in Washington last May had to be cancelled at the request of Senator Wagner who considered it inadvisable to hold such a function at that time.

II: The Christian Council on Palestine is growing steadily and now has about 1000 members. I am almost in daily touch with Dr. Atkinson, its Chairman, and Dr. Voss, its Executive Secretary, and our relationships are most cordial. In conjunction with the Church Peace Union, the Council is planning a series of institutes in Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Boston, New Orleans, San Francisco, and a number of other places, on the general theme "Win the War and Win the Peace". In each institute the Palestine problem will occupy a very prominent place on the agenda. We should have one of our spokesmen participate in each of these institutes, the first of which will be held in Detroit beginning October 11th. I have already asked Rabbis Fram and Adler of Detroit to cooperate behind the scenes with Dr. Voss in the organization of the institute. Those clergymen who are already members of the Council and who live within a radius of 100 miles or so from the scene of these gatherings will be invited to attend. However, we should explore other methods for making the Council more effective, bearing in mind the fact that the Council officers are determined to do their own experimenting.

(B) We need to get closer to academicians, particularly in the fields of history, government, political science, etc. Very few of them are thoroughly conversant with our viewpoint. Most of them have long ago made up their minds that Palestine presents a very perplexing problem and so have avoided it like the very plague, or else have decided that in the fullness of time the problem will solve itself and so they have divorced themselves from any serious consideration of it. Many of them unfortunately have taken a definite stand against us on various grounds. There is much work to be done in this area.



(Memorandum to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver)

September 17, 1943

(C) We should make a careful check of the many national and local post-war study groups and work out methods through which our people, either nationally or locally, may be enabled to make an impress on the course of thinking of such groups.

(D) We should continue the effort to secure the adoption of appropriate resolutions by State Legislatures. Twelve states have already acted in recent months. Action is now pending in New Jersey, and in addition Massachusetts has spoken four times (the last time in 1939). This office must serve as the motivating force to secure the cooperation of local groups to carry the work through to successful completion.

(E) In order to carry on our work more effectively we must be in continuous communication with Zionists everywhere, but more especially in the fifty to seventy-five larger cities in the country. We must impress upon them the necessity for engaging in various forms of public relations activities (cultivating congressmen and other public officials, newspapers, radio stations, etc. etc.). The sentiment at the recent Zionist Convention indicated clearly that the Emergency Committee must take the lead in this work. We should be able to use the machinery of the ZOA and the other constituent bodies of the Emergency Committee, but the policy as to the relationship between the Emergency Committee, the national headquarters of the constituent bodies and the local groups of Zionists needs to be more clearly defined than it is at present. Whatever that policy may eventually be, we should certainly arrange to be present at every regional conference in the coming months in order to supply the necessary impetus to get the Zionists to think more seriously of the vital importance of this task.

#### Press and Publicity

We need to widen the scope of our work in this field as well. We must get more of our story into the daily newspapers, the Anglo-Jewish press, periodicals of general interest, etc. We must arrange for more radio programs. We should try to establish the necessary contacts for the production and distribution of films that are designed to meet the taste of the American public as well as to tell our story more effectively than does the great bulk of material now available. We should make a more concerted effort to reach the church press (perhaps primarily through the Christian Council), the labor press, etc. Above all, we must devote ourselves to the business of finding writers who will prepare the necessary articles, stories, essays, etc.

#### Research

There is now no one on our staff with time enough to engage in the research, collation and proper presentation of all the material on which questions come to us day in and day out. I refer to such general subjects as the current economic, agricultural and industrial conditions in Palestine, the background and current status of Arab-Jewish relations, governmental documents, etc., etc. A well trained research worker could dig out a great deal of the material which is now available and which could be put to use as the basis of a great many publications, as well as provide the necessary data for government officials in Washington and others,

(Memorandum to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver)

September 17, 1943

some of whom turn to us with all sorts of queries and others who should be supplied with such data and which we cannot now furnish except in an haphazard manner simply because we lack the manpower to do the job as it should be done.

### Publications

We recently decided to issue a semi-monthly eight page bulletin under the title "Palestine", designed primarily to convey information to non-Jews. The first issue was originally scheduled for publication about the first of October, but this will probably be delayed. The first mailing is to consist of about 10,000 copies. I believe that if the publication is made attractive enough it should eventually be distributed among a total of 50,000 people, such as important federal and state government officials, newspaper men, clergymen, etc. etc.

In addition to this, we should work out a program of the kind of brochures, pamphlets, books and other material that should be published under the imprimatur of the Emergency Committee or otherwise, and arrange a schedule so that the publications will appear at such times as will be most advantageous to our cause. The publication in itself is obviously insufficient. It is necessary to give the task constant attention in order to make sure that whatever publications we may issue should be properly distributed.

What I have stated above is by way of mere suggestion as to the scope of the work of the Emergency Committee. Obviously a full implementation of these suggestions will entail a much larger budget and a much larger staff than that which is now available. But in my humble opinion the crystallization of American public opinion in our favor is a task that is worthy of the best abilities that can be mustered for it, and all the funds that can be found for its implementation.

ASM:IM



September 24, 1945

Mr. Joel Gross  
744 Broad Street  
Newark, N.J.

My dear Joel:

A copy of the letter which you forwarded to Wise, with reference to your resignation as a member of the administrative Committee of the UPA and the Executive Committee of the JDC, reached me. I fully understand the reasons which prompted your actions and I am sure your wishes will be complied with. However I must say that some of the former neutral members of the Allocations Committee were members, I believe, of one of the other bodies and did not feel called upon to resign; nor did anyone suggest the impropriety of their remaining on the Allocations Committee.

I am sorry that I did not have a chance to talk to you in Columbus. By the time I got through with some of the "pressing business" in which I was involved, you had left. I was very anxious to talk to you about the re-organization of the Emergency Committee which I began last Monday. The old system will be scrapped. A number of important committees of competent people, each headed off by a responsible chairman, and each given maximum autonomy to carry on his work and to explore new avenues and new projects, will be appointed, and each committee will be given a full time executive to carry out its program. The entire work will be coordinated in an administrative sense by an executive director. I am happy to tell you that Mr. Henry Montor was elected unanimously to the post of executive director. His abilities and energies will now be at the disposal of this most important service. I am most anxious that you should take the committee on Community Contacts concerning whose work I spoke to you -- in many ways the most important branch of our work -- contacting with important people all over the country and creating in each state or region a committee of influential men whom we can use to champion our cause. We are casting about for some outstanding person who would, under your chairmanship, devote full time to this work. Perhaps you can recommend such a person. The name of Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, of Toledo, has been mentioned in this connection -- a very gifted young man, the author, you will recall, of that splendid book, "Why A Jewish State".

September 24, 1943

You have received word by now, I am sure, of our failure to agree with the JDC people on the distribution of funds. After a careful study of the financial statement which the JDC people submitted, we felt justified in asking for eighty percent of the funds. We asked for seventy. The JDC people at first stated that they had no counter proposal to make, but finally suggested that the figure of last year be used -- that is, thirty-eight percent for the UPA. It became clear that we were too far afield to come to an agreement. You will, yourself, have an opportunity to study the JDC financial statement. Confidentially, I have never seen one that is so shamelessly padded as that one, -- huge sums marked as commitments and carried as actual expenditures although they have no way of knowing how much of the commitments have actually been used up, huge sums set aside as one-time grants which can not possibly be expended this year or even next year, \$600,000 set aside as a reserve and \$640,000 set aside to make up for a nest egg of surpluses of the last five years, which presumably has been spent. And all this in the face of \$6,000,000 in Government Bonds and cash in the banks.

When we called attention to the fact that they have not only covered every possible expenditure and commitment of theirs with hard cash, while the Jewish Agency in Palestine is laboring under the burden of an accumulation of over \$9,000,000 which should in part, at least, be liquidated, the answer was that the Jewish National Fund has great assets in land!! When we told them that this land does not represent an investment, but an expenditure, that it is not an asset which can be converted into capital, that it can not be sold or alienated, we drew a blank. We made no progress either when we told them that a dollar spent by the JDC today in almost every part of the world has as much or more value than it had last year, whereas in the case of Palestine the cost of living has gone up so sharply that the purchasing power of the dollar is forty-five percent of what it was last year.

It now remains for the Allocations Committee to determine whether our request for seventy percent of the funds is justified or not. Neither Mr. Goldwasser nor Mr. Levy, the JDC representatives, seemed to be well-informed concerning their own financial statement, and were rather confused when we brought out some of the facts above mentioned.

Some good friend ought to tell the JDC that it would be far smarter on their part not to have their financial statement scientifically analyzed at a full meeting, and that it would be very desirable, from their point of view, and with an eye to the 1944 campaign, that a quick and satisfactory agreement be reached between them and the UPA.



Mr. Joel Gross

-8-

September 24, 1943

May I also suggest that as chairman of the Allocations Committee, you should request the NRS to submit a financial statement for the year. While they are not asking for any allocations, it was part of the agreement that each of the beneficiaries of the campaign would submit a financial statement. I am under the impression that the NRS, too, has more money than it can spend.

With all good wishes to you and Terry in which Virginia joins me, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:EK



From letter by Dr. Silver to Emanuel Neumann  
September 28, 1943

"I am somewhat concerned with Nahum Goldmann's over-zealousness in contacting people. Before I can get around to it, I am confronted with a fait accompli. He has been there. He has seen the person. And there you are. He has been interpreting his role as representative of the Jewish Agency in such a way as to cover practically the entire American political scene as far as the Emergency Committee is concerned. This is an impossible situation. (I will have occasion to meet with him next Tuesday when we will have to have a show-down on this matter."

WRHS  
From letter addressed to Stephen Wise by  
Dr. Silver - February 12, 1944

bx  
Judge R. thought it feasible to postpone the meeting. He told me that Nahum Goldmann had carried on negotiations with him in the name of the Zionist Emergency Council and had agreed to this joint delegation, and that he, Judge R. had assumed right along that the arrangement would be satisfactory to us. This is another of the by-products of the very unfortunate conditions which exist by having two political bodies carrying on work in Washington. I am convinced more than ever that the political bureau of the Jewish Agency should be closed or that its work be restricted entirely to Latin-American affairs, else we will be getting into one morass after another."

"Judge R. Told me that he was not aware that the President had any important announcement to make or that a discussion about Palestine had entered any final stage."



Handwritten note in Hebrew: "אני מודה לך מאוד" (I thank you very much)

September 28, 1943

Mr. Henry Montor  
American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

I have given some additional thought to the Emergency Committee set-up. I am inclined to think that Mrs. Rose Jacobs would be a better person than Mrs. Halprin as chairman of the Research Committee. I would put Mrs. Halprin on the Committee on Intellectual Mobilization. Please put Mrs. Pool on the Post-War Political Planning Committee.

Emanuel Neumann writes me that he has had some informal talks with Peter Bergson. I would suggest that you get in touch with Mr. Neumann about it. Bergson has had a long conference in the State Department in connection with the prospective arrival of Feisal. If we handle this matter well in cooperation with the Bergson group, it might serve as a precedent for other united efforts. Please pull the negotiations with Bergson, as well as the contact with the Anglo-Jewish press about Feisal's visit, into your own hands. I had been planning to contact Mr. Lawrence Stenhart but I have learned that Mr. Goldman has already made arrangements to see him in New York. He is certainly a busy boy....

Are you seeing also Mr. Kohansky for the post of Director of Research? I should like to know of your conversation with Berkson and Kohansky.

I am very happy that Rabbi Feuer is coming along with us into the work.

With all good wishes for a happy new year, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AMS:RK

# United Palestine Appeal

FOR THE DEFENSE AND UPBUILDING OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD) and JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (KEREN KAYEMETH)

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK CITY

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-3320

Cable Address — Palfund

September 28, 1943

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Solomon Goldman  
Julian W. Mack  
Henry Monsky  
Nathan Straus  
Henrietta Szold

### National Chairman

Abba Hillel Silver

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### Executive Director

Henry Montor

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

You will recall my reference to Nathan Straus. Samuel Blitz, who has offered his effective help in New York City, advises me that he met with Straus over the week-end and Mr. Straus is extremely anxious to help. He feels very keenly on the White Paper and he wants to do everything in his power to help avert it.

He expressed himself as most pleased that you had accepted the Chairmanship of the Emergency Committee and feels that under your leadership a fine job can be done. He has volunteered his services in any capacity in which he can serve, with a title or without a title, as long as there is a job to be assigned to him.

On the subject of his being Chairman of the Radio Committee, he feels that it would be presumptuous of him to take such a title. He has just come into the radio business and he feels that it would not look well for him immediately to set himself up as a radio expert. However, he points to his very close relationship to a number of important figures in whom you are interested and places himself completely at your disposal.

I would suggest the attached letter to him.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

*Henry Montor*  
Henry Montor  
Executive Director

HM:BG  
Enc.



# United Palestine Appeal

FOR THE DEFENSE AND UPBUILDING OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD) and JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (KEREN KAYEMETH)

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK CITY 17 •

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September 29, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

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Charles Ress  
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Robert Szold  
Joe Weingarten  
Herman Weisman  
David Wertheim

### Executive Director

Henry Montor

Dear Dr. Silver:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter of September 28th. The changes which you suggest are being incorporated in the new lists. There seems to be a general feeling that Mrs. Halprin is a much more flexible person, able to adjust herself to circumstances. But I assume that the change which you suggest is based on more familiar knowledge of the attributes of each.

I have plans to see a number of the people you have mentioned. The intervention of the holiday period wrecks my hopes to dispose of these exploratory meetings by the time of the next session of the Emergency Committee.

There are several matters on which I would like to make observations at this time:

(1) I note that Mr. Emanuel Neumann has had "some informal talks with Peter Berkson". You will recall that during my visit to Cleveland I suggested the possibility of my making a contact with that gentleman, and you then indicated that in my first conversation it might be desirable for the two of us to come to Cleveland to go into the situation thoroughly. The Zionist movement is a democratic one, and everyone has a right to have as many conversations with as many people as he chooses; but it seems to me that restraint with regard to exploratory discussions should be exercised by Mr. Emanuel Neumann as well as by Dr. Nahum Goldmann. I do not think it is necessary for me to discover for Mr. Emanuel Neumann what Mr. Berkson's views are. If I am to be Executive Director of the Emergency Committee, I must become acquainted at first hand with the position of a group with which we plan to discuss coordination of activities.

(2) I continue to be deeply distressed by the approach to the Emergency Committee problem which would tend to present the budget in fragments rather than as a whole. Your election to the political leadership of the Zionist movement in America was hailed everywhere as the augury of a bold approach to Zionist political problems. If the members of the Emergency Committee are not prepared to assent to a \$500,000 program when you first take office and when the first flush of enthusiasm is still noticeable, it is doubtful whether assent can be secured to this type of program by slow stages subsequently.

My reason for bringing up this matter is a conversation I had today with Dr. Israel Goldstein. He said that during his recent



meeting with you there had been a discussion of the framework of proposed expenditures by the Emergency Committee. The sum of \$250,000 was mentioned. It was his view that some of this should be assigned to the Z.O.A., to whom a special piece of work should be "farmed out". I recall your having spoken to me of this in Cleveland. To my mind a \$250,000 program will stultify our planning from the beginning. It is not so much the exact amount of money that is involved, but the creation of an atmosphere where the effort seems to be directed at saving money rather than doing a total job.

I should like you to look at this problem for a moment from my point of view. I am going into a job which is distasteful to me from many points of view. I am doing it as a matter of Zionist discipline. Perhaps I am not qualified for it, but I do have certain ideas as to how the Emergency Committee job should be done. There is no point in my leaving the U.P.A., even temporarily, if the ideas with which I approach this problem are not to be part of the machinery. I am not concerned with the formulation of policy. That is the responsibility of the total Emergency Committee. But I am concerned with the technical effectuation of such policies as are adopted. I have indicated to you through the submission of a detailed budget how I think the Emergency Committee can make itself felt on the American scene. I do not relish the thought that in the months to come I shall have to fight from time to time with one committee after another to get an additional few thousand dollars to run one project or another. It will just be a waste of my time when I should be giving that time fully to the multitude of daily duties that will arise within the Emergency Committee.

The purpose of this note is to urge that the framework of the program in terms of finances and of activities should be discussed promptly with the Emergency Committee. I feel so strongly on this subject that I believe I ought not to go into the Emergency Committee unless the Emergency Committee understands in advance that it is not hiring an office manager, but someone who has in mind the utilization of his skills and contacts for an efficient program of public relations.

(3) I want to call your attention to the fact that I have not yet physically transferred to the Emergency Committee. I am trying to dispose of the outstanding items affecting the U.J.A. and the U.P.A. There are a number of things happening within the Emergency Committee to which objection might be offered, but it would be unfair on my part to make any critical observations with respect to the operation of the Emergency Committee when I am not personally present to attempt to improve upon conditions. I make this point solely because in the next ten days or so there may still be a sense of overlapping and disorganization in the Emergency Committee.

I think you know that I want to do a good job, but I must have the conditions which will enable me to do so, otherwise I will be useless to the Emergency Committee and to myself.

With warmest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

*Henry Monter*

Henry Monter  
Executive Director

HM:FE



October 1, 1943

Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Chairman  
Christian Council on Palestine  
70 Fifth Avenue  
New York 11, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Atkinson:

Permit me to thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing to me and in sending me your greetings and those of the Executive Committee of the Christian Council on Palestine on the occasion of our New Year. I deeply appreciate the sentiments which prompted your communication, and I share with you profoundly the hope that the coming year may be a year of victory and peace for our sorely tried humanity. I share with you too the profound hope that in the new world order which will be built upon the ruins of the old, the people of Israel which has suffered so much in this war may receive, along with all other peoples, a full measure of justice, and that its national life may finally be rebuilt in its ancient and historic homeland. Thus a millennial problem, the root of so much misfortune for our people, will find its final, just and noble solution. It is most heartening to know how many truly great Christian spirits within the Christian Ministry and outside of it are helping in the attainment of this goal.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:BK

October 1, 1948

Mr. Nathan Straus  
Nathan Straus Duperquet, Inc.  
Sixth Avenue & 18th Street  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Straus:

Within the past few weeks I have accepted the Chairmanship of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council. I have not yet had an opportunity of completing proposals for action and of communicating with the several leaders upon whose cooperation and counsel I count for the effective prosecution of our work. One of those upon whom I have been counting most strongly from the beginning is yourself.

Mr. Samuel Blitz has told me of your desire to be of service. Knowing your deep devotion to the Zionist cause and your insight into public affairs, I know that you can be of great help in the situation which confronts us.

The intervention of the High Holidays prevents me from spending my time continuously in New York at this period, although I plan subsequently to be there a great part of the time.

In the meantime, I am asking Mr. Henry Montor, whom I have asked to take a leave of absence from the United Palestine Appeal, to become Executive Director of the Emergency Council, to meet with you so that he may give you in some detail the plans which we have in mind and to suggest ways whereby your own great usefulness can be most advantageously employed.

I look forward with a great deal of pleasure to seeing you and spending time with you upon my next visit to New York. It is a source of deep encouragement to know that I may have the benefit of your help.

With very best wishes to you and yours for the New Year, I am

Very cordially yours, AHS

AHS:RK - 11/1/48 E. A. 11/1/48



[Oct. 1943]

3338-210th St.  
Bayside, Long Island

Dear Dr. Silver:

Since talking to you at your home on Friday night, my mind has been in a turmoil. There were so many obstacles, real or imaginary, that I had to overcome in my own mind in order to reach an affirmative decision on your very gracious invitation to work with you. My mind is now fully made up and, although for personal reasons I know it would be far more comfortable not to do the job, I am ready to go ahead with you.

But in undertaking the Emergency Committee job I want to be sure that it will be possible for me to be effective. As I see it at this time, it will not only be a hard job but one of immense proportions. I visualize it perhaps on a scale not thought of by others who have dealt with it. To me the same kind of work that must be done to put over the Polish government, the Czech government or any other of the governments-in-exile must be done for Palestine at this time. There is a difference, however -- that it is much harder for Palestine. I have been thinking of the general budget. The sum of \$200,000 is totally inadequate. We must spend from \$500,000 to \$1,000,000. The money can be gotten. Unless it is visualized in these terms my association with the Emergency Committee will merely mean a sense of frustration for me -- but, far more important, a waste of the smaller resources that would otherwise be spent.

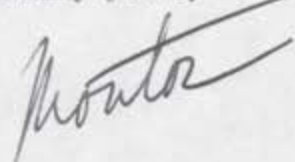
I understand that there is to be a meeting of the Emergency Committee on Monday: one session at 4 P.M., the other in the evening. In the event that you propose to present my name at either one of these occasions, here is what I would like to ask:

(1) That my salary be \$15,000.

(2) It would be advisable from my point of view, as well as yours I think, that before an actual vote is taken on your recommendation that I speak briefly to the committee: outlining my conception of the work and the scope of authority I expect to have. (I shall expect the resignation of everybody who doesn't fit into the picture, insofar as the staff is concerned) The Emergency Committee had better know in advance what it is committing itself to. It will make the work later on much easier.

With warmest regards, I am

Cordially yours,



October 4, 1943

Mr. Arthur Lourie

Mr. Henry Montor

It is my intention to issue a Confidential Bulletin to picked people throughout the country. It is to be called

-----  
CONFIDENTIAL BULLETIN  
of the  
American Zionist Emergency Council

(All information contained herein is exclusively for your personal information and background and is not to be made available to anyone, except if written permission has been obtained from the Emergency Council)

41 East 42nd Street, New York City  
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(You might have Kenen get a printer to set the above up promptly. You or Kenen might have thoughts on improvement of the above, for title and content, etc.)

-----  
This Bulletin will give selected friends a feeling of being communicated with on worth-while matters that are either not to be reported in the press, or interpretations of matters appearing in the press. It should be issued bi-weekly or weekly as the situation may demand. It should be multigraphed and not be more than four pages, - less if possible. You, Kenen and I will be responsible for the compilation of the data. Exactly what do I have in mind? Let me give you the following for merely illustrative purposes:

- (1) Mr. Robert Szold has left the United States by ship for Palestine. Before he went, he had long discussions with Dr. Silver and other officers of the American Zionist Emergency Council in regard to political, economic and other problems affecting Palestine and American Jewry's responsibility toward them.
- (2) Dr. Bernard Joseph, Legal Adviser of the Jewish Agency, has been summoned to come from Jerusalem by the American Zionist Emergency Council. Developments along the political front are so urgent that it was deemed essential to get at first hand the reaction of the Yishuv to political problems now under discussion. Dr. Joseph, one of the most brilliant figures among Palestine Jewry, is responsible for most of the legal presentations of Palestine Jewry's case before the Government. He has also been active as head of the Recruiting Section of the Jewish Agency Executive. He is one of Palestine's foremost lawyers.



Memorandum to Mr. Arthur Lourie

October 4, 1942

(3) A delegation of the American Zionist Emergency Council, consisting of . . . . . visited the British Embassy on October . . . and met with Sir Ronald Campbell. The immediate purpose was to supplement a memorandum previously submitted by the Council protesting against the manner in which these-called "gun-running trials" had been conducted in Palestine, against the action of the Palestine Government in making a cause celebre of the case and in permitting the vilest attacks on the Jewish Agency to go unchecked by correspondents who must depend on the Government, in war-time- for the nature and content of their news dispatches. Sir Ronald indicated that . . . . .

(4) In Dr. Silver's view, the most important objective facing the American Zionist movement at this time is the fight to force abandonment of the White Paper. The following action has been initiated . . . . etc.

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WELL, these are samples only  
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To make the Bulletin readable, it will have to be written well and contain facts or interpretations not available elsewhere. It should be light in touch where possible -- by which is not meant facetious.

A great deal of the success of this Bulletin will depend on you. I will count on you to make available the contents of items on the political front which should be passed along.

Too long have our people felt no relation to the Emergency Committee because no one ever took them into confidence.

Who would compose the reader list? A VERY SELECTED LIST -- each name carefully chosen: (1) The Chairman and Publicity Chairman of each local Emergency Council as it is formed; (2) Persons selected by the Chairman of the Committee on Community Relations. Individuals who may be added from time to time after it is clear that they are the type who would respect the confidential nature of the Bulletin.

PLEASE let me have your thoughts on this matter. The first bulletin should be issued no later than November 1st.

HM:FE

October 6, 1943

Mr. Henry Montor  
American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

That was a good job done at the Allotment Committee, and I am very much delighted with the results. That \$300,000 was a windfall, and I think that my analysis of the JDC Financial Statement on Tuesday afternoon had a little to do with the results. Be that as it may, Palestine will have more funds to operate with during the coming year.

I want to compliment you on the manner in which you presented our case and the expert way in which you answered all questions bearing on our financial statement. A definite effort was made to give the impression that our financial statements were vague, contradictory, etc. You repudiated every one of the insinuations with cold facts. Considering that you are not the treasurer of the Jewish Agency, and could only interpret the statements which they submitted to you, and that you are not a professional public accountant, you did an extraordinary job.

The meeting of the Emergency Committee, yesterday afternoon, went off very smoothly and satisfactorily. Please meet at the earliest moment with the chairmen of those committees which must get into operation at once, agree on the membership of the committees, and get to work.

I am returning to you the list of the committees which you submitted to me with a few suggestions.

I am enclosing herewith also the letter which is to be sent to Rosenblatt and Goldstein requesting the money transfer to the Emergency Committee. You may send it out in my name, and get Rosenbloom's signature to it. I would also suggest that you meet with Rosenbloom at the first opportunity, and with the chairmen of those committees of which substantial budgetary requirements are indicated, and get up a tentative budget for the coming twelve months to be presented, if possible, for approval to the Emergency Committee at its next meeting. We ought to ask for approximately a half million dollars inclusive of the \$183,000 already allocated. The immensely increased income of the UPA should make this appropriation simple because it would in no way interfere with the work in Palestine. When you have your tentative budget, it might be advisable for you and Rosenbloom to have a talk with Rosenblatt, Goodman, Goldstein, etc. and get their consent to the budget.



Mr. Henry Montor

-2-

October 6, 1943

With reference to the request of Samuel Dickstein, I am returning his letter with the suggestion that you get in touch with Dr. Stephen Wise and find out what he thinks about it, and with Dr. Jonah Wise. I assume that a similar letter which was addressed to me at 342 Madison Avenue was also addressed to Jonah Wise, and perhaps also to Rosenwald. Whatever is done should be done concertedly.

I hope that you will arrange to be in Washington on Monday, October 11 to meet with Goldmann, Lipsky, Weisgal and myself to talk over the Washington Office of the Emergency Committee and the relation of the Emergency Committee with the Political Bureau of the Agency. Please arrange for the meeting at one o'clock for luncheon, as I have an eleven o'clock meeting with Bloom that morning. We could have luncheon sent up to our offices in the Dorchester House.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. Please follow up the matter of a Research Director and part-time Director of Publications. I should like to get these two positions filled definitely.



[Oct 7, 1943]

SIMILAR LETTER WENT TO: MRS. DAVID DE SOLA POOL, PRESIDENT  
HADASSAH

MR. DAVID WERTHEIM, SECRETARY  
POALE ZION-ZEIRE ZION

C O P Y

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

41 East 42nd Street  
New York City

Mr. Leon Gellman, President  
Mizrachi Organization of America  
1133 Broadway  
New York City

Dear Mr. Gellman:

Attached hereto is a copy of a letter which we have addressed to Dr. Israel Goldstein, President of the Zionist Organization of America. Its contents describe the action to be initiated. We are confident that the Mizrachi Organization of America will be ready and eager to cooperate in this undertaking.

Presumably you will wish to communicate promptly with your constituents to advise them of the action contemplated so that they may be ready to respond.

As we have indicated in our letter to Dr. Goldstein, the efficient operation of this project will be greatly facilitated if you will route to the Zionist Emergency Council for such action as may be required in relation thereto all correspondence that you may receive from your groups in this connection.

Cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver  
Chairman of Executive Committee

Joel Gross  
Chairman of Community Contact Committee

AHS;JG:MFE



C O P Y

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COMMITTEE

41 East 42 Street  
New York City

October 7, 1943

Dr. Israel Goldstein, President  
Zionist Organization of America  
270 West 89th Street  
New York City

Dear Dr. Goldstein:

In our view the effectiveness of the work of the Zionist Emergency Council will depend in great measure on the extent of the participation by local communities in the undertakings of the Council. This is especially true in connection with activity which we desire to initiate immediately to mobilize public opinion against the White Paper.

May we, therefore, suggest that the Zionist Organization of America take the responsibility of initiating the convening of meetings in each community for the purpose of creating a local section of the American Zionist Emergency Council. Our thought is that you communicate promptly with the Presidents of all Zionist Districts urging that each, in turn, get into touch with the officers of each of the other organizations represented nationally on the Emergency Council. The aim of the first meeting should be to create an Emergency Council similar in character and aim to the national body. The national office of the Emergency Council will then deal directly with whatever person or persons are selected to head the local Emergency Council. This will facilitate action in the current political picture.

We are advising the heads of Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi of the contents of this letter so that they may apprise their Chapters and Branches of what is intended. In suggesting that the Zionist Organization take the initiative, we are merely trying to accelerate action, confident that all the groups will be ready to cooperate.

There is no occasion for our suggesting what type of letter you wish to write. We believe, however, that it would be desirable that the letter contain at least the following points:

- (1) To facilitate political action on a national scale, it is urged that you communicate promptly with the officers of Hadassah, Poale Zion and Mizrachi in your community and set up the framework of a Zionist Emergency Council in which all will be represented;
- (2) The local Emergency Council should have a small membership of not more than ten or twelve, in order to make it promptly responsive to whatever situation might arise. This Emergency Council would serve to inform and stimulate the membership of the various organizations through their own groupings;
- (3) Prompted by considerations of efficiency, and in order to avoid duplication, the local Emergency Council should not have more than two offices for (a) a Chairman and (b) a Public Relations Chairman. When these persons have been selected, their names should be communicated to the American Zionist Emergency Council, 41 East 42nd Street, New York City, which will be in further contact with them, to provide information and such direction as may be required.

Your early action in the above matter will be greatly appreciated. It would be most helpful if you would send us a copy of the letter which you circularize. In the event that further information on this subject is sent to your office, it would be additionally valuable if your office would send us copies of such correspondence so that we may follow through.

Very cordially yours,

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver  
Chairman of Executive Committee

(Signed) Joel Gross  
Chairman of Community Contacts Committee

AHS;JG:MFE

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City #17

M E M O R A N D U M

October 7, 1943

To : Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

From: Mr. Henry Montor

I attach herewith for your personal and confidential information, a copy of a note which has reached me - not through the regular mails, however - from Leo Herrmann, Secretary of the Keren Hayesod in Jerusalem. The problem he describes is one of immense concern to every individual in the United States who has any relationship to the remittance of funds to Palestine, or the description of such remittances that may be forwarded to Palestine.

I call this to your attention even though it is a note of the most private character, because I am hopeful that it will influence your methods in communicating with Jerusalem in the future should the need arise for such communications either by cable or letter. It is important to note not only that letters be examined carefully in accordance with the principles established by Mr. Herrmann, but that any written or printed documents that may be sent to Palestine, should be carefully examined, so that our national institutions should not be subjected to embarrassment.

HM:GG  
Encl.



UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Note to: Mr. Henry Montor, United Palestine Appeal  
41 East 42nd Street, New York City

Jerusalem, August 26, 1943

We could have saved ourselves a good deal of correspondence, misunderstanding, delay and irritation if only I could have spoken to you, Jaffe, Blumenfeld, Martin Rosenbluth or Bernard Rosenblatt for half an hour during the past few years. True, a number of mutual friends have passed to and fro across the Atlantic, but they generally dealt in major policies and had neither the time nor the thoughts to spare for the details which must, necessarily, take up a share of my attention from time to time. Let me, therefore, use this opportunity to clarify one or two points.

By now the United States have been long enough in the war to enable you and other of our friends to understand some of the difficulties we are up against. A few weeks ago I sent you the text of a regulation issued by the Palestine Controller of Finance. These, and preceding rules, have been issued without much concern for the special conditions governing our work. The Keren Hayesod - as well as the KKL - is engaged in collecting funds all over the world, or at all events in countries of the United Nations, for transmission to Palestine. The Controller of Finance is not interested in the manner in which we raise that money. It is not his task to help us achieve optimum results. He is solely concerned to see that no money of ours should be spent abroad without his prior consent. It is hard to explain to him that money raised on our behalf, i.e., for us, in the United States or elsewhere, is so raised by independent committees of Jews not subject to Palestine laws, and that if these committees agree to abide by our instructions, it is by virtue of their recognition that, as Zionists, they have to submit to the central Zionist authorities in Jerusalem. Even if the Controller of Finance personally realizes the difference between the moral and legal aspects governing the relations between ourselves and our committees abroad, the letter of the law compels him to put to us the hundreds of questions which make our correspondence with New York so difficult. And if any of your letters or cables do not fit into the framework of legal terminology, they may be, or are being, hung up, intercepted, or, at the best, delayed, and that merely because you, or Bernard Rosenblatt, or Jaffe seek our approval for some item of expenditure or grant to be made in America; despite all previous experience and explanations, the Controller of Finance still suspects that, by our approval of such expenditure, we may be reducing the flow of dollars into the coffers of the Palestine or English Treasury. Let me quote only one recent example.

Mr. Jaffe intends to go to Mexico, where he expects to raise a very considerable sum of money for us. He wished us to send a telegram to Bernard Rosenblatt authorizing the Palestine Foundation Fund Inc. to pay him a definite sum of money to cover his travelling expenses and his maintenance in Mexico. I need hardly say that the amount involved is negligible in comparison with the sums he expects to raise. Nevertheless, based on the letter of the law, the Controller of Finance refuses to pass the cable we proposed to send. All he is prepared to do is to authorize the expenditure covering the trip to Mexico; the money Mr. Jaffe will need for his stay there can only be furnished by our opening an account with a Palestine Bank which, in its turn, will instruct its Mexican agent or representative accordingly. Withal, even that amount has to be approved by the Controller of Finance.

What I wish you and other friends to understand is that we have great difficulty in replying to cables or letters asking for our approval of payments made at your end, irrespective of their description, i.e. loans, grants, or anything else. Far better if, in the case of payments or grants made by the UPA, the Palestine Foundation Fund Inc., or Messrs. Blumenfeld or Jaffe, you all are satisfied with a formal acknowledgment of

UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

- 2 -

such communication received from you. That is the reason I have repeatedly asked you, Mr. Bernard Rosenblatt, Sarah Behrman and Martin Rosenbluth to refrain from sending us, or Mr. Kaplan, statements with covering letters giving details of payments made "on behalf" or "for the debit of" the KH or Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. We understand the need for such payments on your part without further explanations, just when we receive the bare statements.

The above naturally applies to all grants made in America by the Palestine Foundation Fund, Inc., to the office of Messrs. Blumenfeld and Jaffe and its various officials, or any other persons. Of course, we are glad to know of such payments, but we should like the correspondence to be confined to bald statements; you, and other friends, can take our approval, or disapproval, as the case may be, for granted without expecting any lengthy communications on the subject.

This will also help you to understand the reason why we cannot always credit you in our books with amounts expended for us at your end. You may rest assured that, in the end, full and due consideration will be given to all such payments, but neither you nor Mr. Rosenblatt should worry over temporary differences between the American and Jerusalem accounts. The whole matter may seem ridiculous, because this cumbersome procedure has been devised solely to protect the rights of the Palestinian and, presumably, British Governments in properties or accounts of Palestinian or British residents or institutions in America. We have always sought to explain to our authorities that, legally speaking, funds collected for Palestine pass into our possession only when transferred to Palestine; the above will show, however, that this difference has not always been appreciated.

I tried to explain this matter also to Mr. Nelson Glueck, and I hope he has meanwhile had a talk with you.

Please convey the contents of this note to Mr. Bernard Rosenblatt and Messrs. Blumenfeld and Jaffe's office.

L. H.



# United Palestine Appeal

FOR THE DEFENSE AND UPBUILDING OF THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME IN PALESTINE

PALESTINE FOUNDATION FUND (KEREN HAYESOD) and JEWISH NATIONAL FUND (KEREN KAYEMETH)

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK CITY

• Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-3320

• Cable Address—Palfund

## NATIONAL OFFICERS

### Honorary Chairmen

Albert Einstein  
Solomon Goldman  
Julian W. Mack  
Henry Monsky  
Nathan Straus  
Henrietta Szold

October 11, 1943

### National Chairman

Abba Hillel Silver

### National Co-Chairmen

Stephen S. Wise  
Chairman,  
Administrative Committee

### Louis Lipsky

Chairman,  
Executive Committee

### Israel Goldstein

Louis E. Levinthal  
Bernard A. Rosenblatt  
Morris Rothenberg

### Treasurer

Charles J. Rosenbloom

### Associate Treasurers

Abraham Goodman  
Abraham L. Liebovitz  
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Harry A. Pine  
Charles Ress  
Elihu D. Stone  
Robert Szold  
Joe Weingarten  
Herman Weisman  
David Wertheim

### Executive Director

Henry Montor

Dear Friend:

Attached hereto are the minutes of a  
meeting of the Administrative Committee of  
the United Palestine Appeal, held on Monday,  
October 4, 1943,

Cordially yours,

*Henry Montor*  
Henry Montor  
Executive Director

HM:JB  
Encl.

MINUTES OF A MEETING OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL

MONDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1943 at 12:30 P.M.

HELD AT THE HOTEL BILTMORE, NEW YORK CITY

PRESENT: Stephen S. Wise, presiding: Herman W. Bernstein, Philip S. Bernstein, Samuel Berson, Maurice M. Boukstein, Abraham H. Cohen, Sol Cohen, Joshua S. Epstein, Harry P. Fierst, Mendel N. Fisher, David Freiburger, Israel Goldstein, Abraham Goodman, Emanuel Greenberg, Joseph E. Grosberg, Isaac Hamlin, Herman Hollander, Abraham Krumbein, Israel H. Levinthal, Abraham L. Liebovitz, Irving D. Lipkowitz, Irving Miller, David Pinski, Mrs. David de Sola Pool, Hyman J. Reit, Sol Reiter, Louis Rinsky, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Charles J. Rosenbloom, Mrs. Samuel J. Rosensohn, Mrs. Dvora Rothbard, Joseph Schlossberg, Max J. Schneider, Arthur I. Shain, Abba Hillel Silver, Maxwell Silver, Mrs. Archibald Silverman, Robert Silverman, Jacob Sincoff, Ferdinand Sonneborn, Rudolf G. Sonneborn, Elihu D. Stone, Sigmund Thau, Harold M. Weinberg, Herman Weisman;

Samuel Blitz, Kurt Blumenfeld, Josef Cohen, Nahum Goldmann, Mrs. David Greenberg, Leib Jaffe, Arthur Lourie, Henry Montor, Martin Rosenbluth, Alex Rothenberg, Jesse Schwartz, Hyman Shulson, Meyer F. Steinglass, Meyer W. Weisgal.

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FINANCIAL STATUS OF U.P.A.

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom presented a report on the financial status of the U.P.A. (Appendix A). Mr. Rosenbloom also stated that \$6,400,000 additional was expected to be distributed by the Allotment Committee of the 1943 United Jewish Appeal. The sessions were to start that afternoon and continue the next day. He expressed the view that this year the U.P.A. would get a better break in the division of the funds than it had in many years.

The report was adopted as read.

LEAVE OF ABSENCE FOR HENRY MONTOR

Dr. Silver pointed out that in recent weeks he had accepted the new post in the Zionist movement of Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Emergency Committee as well as Co-Chairmanship of that body. He did so with the feeling that for the duration, the work of the Emergency Committee, charged with the prosecution of our political work in defense of our position in Palestine, is of paramount importance and should command the best everyone can give to the work at this time. The Emergency Committee was being reorganized for more effective service for the final attack. The Emergency Committee was greatly in need of the kind of administrative skill, energy and devotion that Mr. Montor had given to the work of the U.P.A. these many years. The field had been canvassed. Other candidates had been sought. None had been found who would most satisfactorily meet the requirements of that position. Therefore, he had turned to Mr. Montor and asked him to come over for the duration to the Emergency Committee and work with the group there. It is a full-time job for a man to be doing all that the Emergency Committee should be doing at this time.



Mr. Montor was very reluctant to do it. But he finally understood and yielded to the inevitable. The Emergency Committee, conditional upon the U.P.A. granting him a leave of absence, had already elected him as its Executive Director. He was, therefore, asking that the Administrative Committee grant Mr. Montor a leave of absence to the Emergency Committee for as long as the job will require - for the duration.

In the meantime, Dr. Silver had canvassed the situation for someone to take Mr. Montor's place. Mr. Montor will not be completely disassociated from the work of the U.P.A. He will always be available for helpful guidance and all other services for which his particular help would be needed. It might be some time before someone could be found to take his place. For the time being and until permanent arrangements might be made, he suggested that Mr. Robert Silverman who had been with the U.P.A. for many years and knows its activities thoroughly, and is a veteran campaigner, familiar with U.J.A. problems, should be asked to step in and carry on until permanent arrangements would be made for a successor to Mr. Montor during his leave of absence.

As far as the relationship to the U.J.A. is concerned, Dr. Silver would try to work out a similar arrangement there so that Mr. Montor would not be completely cut off from his contacts with the U.J.A., because his experience there is invaluable and no new person can step in. He therefore asked for approval for a leave of absence for Mr. Montor and for the temporary arrangement with reference to Mr. Silverman.

The Chairman said that he felt just as Dr. Silver did about Mr. Montor. All felt, he said, that Mr. Montor would be immensely helpful to both himself and Dr. Silver in the Emergency Committee.

Dr. Goldstein said that when the name of Mr. Montor was projected for the Emergency Committee work, those responsible for the U.P.A. in the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth had begun to consider the problem. They too reluctantly came to the same conclusion reached by Drs. Silver and Wise. A number of people in the joint Keren Hayesod-Keren Kayemeth committee felt so convinced of Mr. Montor's indispensability to the U.P.A. that they debated whether it would be the wisest thing to permit Mr. Montor to leave the U.P.A. in order to serve the Emergency Committee. But good Zionists as they all are, they could come to one conclusion. He expressed the hope on behalf of the joint committee that Mr. Montor's services in the Emergency Committee would be of the same high calibre as they have been in the U.P.A. and that all would feel justified in making the sacrifice from the point of view of the U.P.A.

It was moved, seconded and unanimously carried that Mr. Henry Montor, Executive Director of the United Palestine Appeal, be granted a leave of absence for an indefinite period to do work with the Zionist Emergency Committee.

Discussion was given to the question of someone taking Mr. Montor's place. Dr. Goldstein suggested that the joint Keren Hayesod-Keren Kayemeth committee would appreciate the opportunity if action were postponed and there could be a further discussion of the matter with Dr. Silver in the very near future.

Dr. Silver did not feel that the appointment of an interim director came within the purview of the joint committee. It is a campaign post, an office filled by the U.P.A. Administrative Committee and not the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth. It is unlike the position of the Chairman of the U.P.A. who is selected by the K.H. and K.K. But when that is done, the U.P.A. selects its own administrative staff to carry on its work. He didn't think that precedents of this kind should be established.



Mr. Weisman asked who, under ordinary circumstances, would take Mr. Montor's place if he were away from the city. The answer was given: Robert Silverman. Mr. Weisman felt that automatically in Mr. Montor's being given a leave of absence, Mr. Silverman would continue temporarily until a different selection were made.

Mr. Montor said that he would very much feel that the services of one of the most devoted Zionist workers in the United States had been inadequately understood and appreciated if Mr. Silverman were permitted to come into this position by a negative approach. He ought to point out that Mr. Silverman had been director of the U.P.A., had served at one time as Co-Director of the U.J.A. Above all titles, he has the interests of Zionism and Palestine and the U.P.A. at heart in a way which no other person could surpass. He felt the Administrative Committee ought unanimously to accord him at least this tribute of the temporary appointment.

The Chairman felt it was a fine thing to make acknowledgment now of Mr. Silverman's devoted services for a whole generation and more to the Zionist cause.

Dr. Silver's suggestion for the temporary appointment was put to a motion, seconded and unanimously carried.

#### 1943 ALLOTMENT COMMITTEE OF THE UNITED JEWISH APPEAL

Dr. Silver referred to Mr. Rosenbloom's remarks on the subject. A fine statement of the income and expenditures in Palestine had been prepared in the office and every effort would be made to present the material effectively.

#### RESIGNATION OF JOEL GROSS

A letter was read from Mr. Joel Gross submitting his resignation from the Administrative Committee of the United Palestine Appeal (Appendix B) because he felt such membership incompatible with his duties as Chairman of the 1943 Allotment Committee of the United Jewish Appeal.

The motion was made, seconded and unanimously carried that the resignation be provisionally accepted and that Mr. Gross be reinstated as a member of the Administrative Committee following the conclusion of his activities in the Allotment Committee.

#### YOUTH ALIYAH COORDINATION

Mr. Rudolf Sonneborn reported on behalf of the Youth Aliyah subcommittee of the U.P.A. on a meeting held at the Hadassah office on September 28th with a subcommittee of Hadassah. He reviewed the Youth Aliyah problem, the form which it had taken when the announcement was made early this year of the expectation of 29,000 children and the changes that had taken place since then. It was still desirable to create some machinery to cope with the problem when it assumed acute form.

Following a cordial discussion with the Hadassah spokesmen, the U.P.A. had this morning received a counter-draft proposal from Hadassah. The U.P.A. subcommittee had not yet had an opportunity to discuss it, and, therefore, no point of view was presented. Mr. Sonneborn read the draft (Appendix C). He submitted the draft as factual material without any recommendation.

The Chairman assumed that the committee would study the matter further and, at the next meeting, submit a report.



MIZRACHI - UNITED PALESTINE APPEAL RELATIONSHIP

For the sake of facilitating the discussion, Mr. Montor read from a minute circulated by Mr. Mendel Fisher as secretary of the joint committee of the K.H. and K.K. in regard to a discussion held with Mizrachi representatives on Mizrachi's relationship to the U.P.A. in 1944 (Appendix D). The joint committee had voted to recommend \$200,000 as an allotment from the U.P.A. in 1944, dependent on acceptance by the respective organizations and the Mizrachi.

Mr. Hollander, speaking on behalf of Mizrachi, stated that a letter had been written rejecting the proposal. Mizrachi would launch an independent campaign and hoped that this could be done with the issuance of a joint statement emphasizing the cordial relations which have existed and which will continue.

In response to Mrs. Pool's question as to the specific request made by Mizrachi, Mr. Hollander stated that the requests were two: (1) a change in status so that Mizrachi would not be a silent beneficiary but an active factor in the U.P.A.; (2) an allotment of \$300,000.

The Chairman inquired whether it wasn't true that at one time the figure of \$250,000 had been discussed. Mr. Hollander stated this was an unofficial figure. Judge Rosenblatt said that a number of Mizrachi leaders had come to him unofficially and used that figure.

Mr. Liebovitz said that he had attended a Keren Hayesod meeting at which Rabbi Meier Berlin had used the \$250,000 figure. He had said that the reason more money was needed was because of the many children who were arriving in Palestine, for whom houses had to be built. In the light of the Youth Aliyah status, with a subcommittee discussing the whole problem, he did not think that Mizrachi would require the full sum it had mentioned.

Mrs. Pool said that she was for giving the Mizrachi a maximum sum of money but she thought it wrong to predicate any request for additional funds on the needs of the children. The budget of the Youth Aliyah had been met 100% by the Hadassah funds. Furthermore, \$108,000 had been cabled to Miss Szold for housing. This was the amount she asked for, since that was all the priorities for building she could obtain. If she had asked for more money, more might have been cabled. The buildings are to provide accommodations for children where they can observe the traditions of Judaism, that is, for Orthodox children only. Any appeal based on housing needs for the children was, she believed, unwarranted.

Mr. Hollander said that Mizrachi agrees 100% with Mrs. Pool's statement. When Rabbi Berlin had first arrived, the problem of children was paramount. In the meantime, it is correct that Youth Aliyah has provided for housing in the Mizrachi colonies. Mizrachi itself has given over \$60,000 for additional buildings in Palestine and has adopted a budget for building irrespective of what the Youth Aliyah has given for additional facilities for the children. He said Mizrachi is not basing its request on the children. Mizrachi needs the money it asks.

Mr. Boukstein felt the Administrative Committee could take no action for the time being, since the matter is still in the hands of the joint committee. A communication, described by Mr. Hollander, is on the way, from the Mizrachi to the joint committee. Until that communication is received and dealt with, no action can be taken.

Dr. Silver did not feel that any action was required by this body. The matter of allocation of funds is within the competence of the K.H. and K.K. The only reason the matter had come up here was because at the last meeting when the subject of a Mizrahi independent campaign was raised, it was felt this affected the U.P.A. campaign relationship for 1944. A resolution had been passed urging the joint committee to reconsider its original allocation and act sympathetically, perhaps increasing the allotment. The Administrative Committee had not indicated what the additional amount should be; nor did it wish to indicate any amount at this time. Since the matter is still in the process of negotiation, the matter should be left to the joint committee for final action.

There was some discussion of the continuation of campaign activities currently on behalf of the Mizrahi Rehabilitation Fund. Mr. Hollander said this was merely collection of pledges already made.

Mr. Hamlin inquired whether, when a new agreement is concluded with Mizrahi, reference would again be made therein to two points: (1) that the money received from the U.P.A. should be spent in Palestine; and (2) that the Mizrahi should submit an annual report to the Jewish Agency as well as the U.P.A. on how the money is spent.

Dr. Goldstein stated that these points would be reiterated in the 1944 agreement with Mizrahi, if there is one.

Mr. Montor stated that Mizrahi had submitted a statement for the current period. This included the report of the receipt of \$51,000 for the Mizrahi Rehabilitation Fund. He added that to his knowledge a campaign was still in progress.

A motion was made, seconded and carried that the report of the joint committee be accepted as an interim report.

The meeting was adjourned at 2:30 P.M.



October 13, 1943

Mr. Henry Montor  
American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs  
41 East 42nd St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Mr. Montor:

Mr. Louis Segal informs me that on Friday, October 8, the American Federation of Labor passed a resolution supporting the upbuilding of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. I wish you would consider with the proper people the advisability (a) of having the American Federation of Labor send this resolution immediately to the State Department and to the President, or (b) having the American Federation of Labor send a delegation to the State Department to convey this resolution. If organized labor has a Radio Hour, it might be well to request them to mention this resolution on it. Perhaps other radio hours might also be persuaded to refer to the resolution.

I wish you would explore with Rabbi Gold and his Committee, the advisability of approaching a Catholic hierarchy before long. You might inquire what our past experience has been in our contacting the Catholic people in this country about Palestine, what prominent Catholic layman in New York would be the right person to arrange for such a contact, or should it be through a Catholic layman?

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

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N E W S

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A M E R I C A  
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WASHINGTON LEGISLATIVE CAMPAIGN AGAINST WHITE PAPER STARTED

Washington (JPS) -- Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, newly-elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, has already made his presence in Washington felt as, assuming political leadership of the Zionist movement, he launched the campaign against the British White Paper which would bar Jewish immigration into Palestine in April, 1944.

In a series of interviews with leading government personalities, Dr. Silver is understood to have emphasized the determination of American Jews to fight the White Paper as a step offensive to the honor and security of Jews throughout the world and not only because it is in violation of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate. Among a variety of activities in which Dr. Silver engaged during his visits here was a press conference at which leading Washington newspapermen hammered away at the Zionist leader with many questions which were answered so effectively that the veteran reporters made special note of the circumstance.

Spokesmen for the American Zionist Emergency Council indicated that Dr. Silver intends to spend a great deal of time in Washington as well as in New York in carrying out his responsibilities in the Emergency Council.

A delegation representing the Council visited Sir Ronald Campbell, the British Minister, to protest against the manner in which the Palestine Government had turned the arms-running trial into an attack upon the Yishuv and the devotion of Jewry to the United Nations war effort. The delegation consisted of Dr. Israel Goldstein, Mrs. Rose Halprin and Hayim Greenberg. Dr. Goldstein, spokesman for the delegation, sounded a vigorous protest and stressed that the Jewish people would not be deterred in their campaign for the abandonment of the White Paper because of the tactics of pressure used by the Palestine Government to "smear" the Jews of Palestine.

. . . . .



MINUTES OF MEETING

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

October 18, 1943.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency was held Monday, October 18th, 1943, at 4:00 p.m., at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Silver (presiding), Mr. Bublick, Mrs. Epstein, Mr. Gellman, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Halprin, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Neumann, Mrs. Pool, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Shetzer, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Wertheim, Dr. Wise.

Dr. Nahum Goldmann; Rabbi Feuer, Mr. Isreeli, Mr. Kenen, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Montor.

Mr. Gross, Mr. Rucker, Judge Rosenblatt, Mr. Rosenbloom, Mr. Silverman, Mr. Weisgal.

Dr. Silver introduced Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, who had joined the executive staff that week and would direct the work of the Community Contacts Committee. Rabbi Feuer said that he had taken leave of absence from his congregation in order to do a job for the Emergency Council and he intended to do it with all the enthusiasm and energy he possessed.

Dr. Silver also introduced to the Executive Mr. Joel Gross, the chairman of the newly constituted Community Contacts Committee, and Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, chairman of the Finance and Personnel Committee, who, although not members of the Executive would henceforth, as chairmen of committees, attend its meetings.

PLAN OF ACTIVITIES

Mr. Montor made a brief introductory statement on the plan of activities, indicating that proposals which had been drawn up for the work of the various committees would be presented by their respective chairmen. Mr. Montor was, he said, proceeding on the assumption that the fourteen Committees which had been appointed are to be active units in the efforts of the Emergency Council to deepen and expand Zionist sentiment in this country.

Mr. Montor also made a personal statement, in which he stressed the fact that he had left his work at the United Palestine Appeal and had accepted the duties of Executive Director of the Emergency Council in the belief that the Zionists of America are determined that whatever failings there may have been in the past in mobilizing the strength of American Jewry there must now be a new conception of the efforts to be made in order to achieve our political objectives. His concern was, he stated, that every avenue of approach to the American Jew and the American Christian shall be explored, whether it involves radio, publications, press contacts, the mobilization of local Jewish and

non-Jewish communities, etc. The program as he visualized it will require a great deal of money, he emphasized, a far greater sum than has ever been spent in the United States for similar purposes. If the Emergency Council gives the signal, he felt certain that Jews throughout the country who are profoundly devoted to the Zionist ideal will give their time, their energy and their resources to the work.

Dr. Silver stated that the Emergency Council, in calling Mr. Montor to its service, had in mind the kind of intensified program of activity which he indicated, and that Council intended to uphold his hands.

#### COMMUNITY CONTACTS COMMITTEE

Mr. Gross, reporting on the plans of the Community Contacts Committee, stated that the purpose of this Committee will be to organize Jewish and other public opinion within local communities with respect to Zionist aims. Mr. Gross had met with Dr. Silver, Mr. Montor and Rabbi Feuer in order to define the scope of activities of the Committee. A letter had been directed to the four organizations which constitute the Emergency Council asking their assistance in organizing on a local community basis, wherever it was deemed advisable to do so, replicas of the Council insofar as this scheme of organization would lend itself to local adaptation. The intention is to integrate into the work of the Community Contacts Committee every person in every community who can be of help in mobilizing public opinion on behalf of our cause, and to synchronize all activities on a local community basis so as to produce the most effective attack possible. It is hoped to enlist the help, as aides to the local committees or as participants thereon, those individuals who command public respect in their communities.

All the four constituent organizations, Mr. Gross continued, are being asked to make available to the Community Contacts Committee all their facilities and all of their manpower, so that they may be integrated immediately through the work which is now being undertaken.

The first task of the Committee, Mr. Gross stated, will be to educate the mass population with respect to the White Paper and what it means, and the necessity of taking concerted political action throughout the country. Its plan is to build up an atmosphere in the country which will lead to the holding of a number of mass meetings, about the middle of March, at a time when local public opinion will have been influenced sufficiently. By that time it is hoped to have Congressmen and Senators cognizant of the mass support behind our program, and the intention is to culminate the activities with respect to the White Paper through this series of mass meeting.

The plans are so far in embryonic state, Mr. Gross concluded. The Committee to be formed will consist of 60 to 70 key people throughout the country. When the plans are more crystallized they will be presented to the Executive.

#### AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE

Mr. Shulman, chairman of this Committee, reported as follows: Steps have been taken to constitute this Committee, invitations having been sent out to the proposed members and a considerable number of acceptances having already been received. The first meeting of the Committee was to be held the following day.



In the meantime, Mr. Shulman had taken steps to set up an Executive Committee of the American Palestine Committee, which he felt was the first task of his committee. For this purpose he visited Washington, where he met with Senator Wagner's secretary and with Senator Wagner himself. The Senator approved of the proposal to organize an Executive and suggested a committee consisting of twenty to twenty-five members, which Mr. Shulman hoped was set up by this time. He also indicated that he was prepared to do whatever he could to activize the American Palestine Committee.

Mr. Shulman had also discussed the White Paper with Senator Wagner and our plans for fighting it, and the Senator sympathized with our program. He expressed the opinion that we had not yet made full use of the American Jewish Conference and its accomplishments, and that we ought to make clear to the country that the Conference speaks for American Jewry.

Mr. Shulman reported further on political aspects of his talk with Senator Wagner. He had also met with Senator Connally.

Mr. Shulman then outlined the proposals which would be submitted to the meeting of the American Palestine Committee the following day, including plans for the launching of a campaign to enlist some 50,000 members in the A.P.C. (the present membership is 1200). The first step would be to send letters to 100,000 - 200,000 leading figures throughout the country, members of the State Legislatures, leaders in professions and other people prominent nationally and locally. Other proposals to be discussed at the meeting the following day included the use of newspaper advertisements, spot advertising on the radio, engaging one or two experts in international law to render an opinion on the White Paper, convoking of a Christian Conference, and special functions to be held by the American Palestine Committee during the presence in this country of Mr. Bernard Joseph, whose arrival was expected shortly.

Discussing the proposed expansion of the American Palestine Committee, Dr. Silver referred to the elaborate plans being made by the Army Committee to build up a League for Free Palestine, and to enlist non-Jews in a competitive movement to the Zionist movement in America. The American Palestine Committee will try to enlist as many non-Jews as possible in our work, Dr. Silver stated, and channelize their Palestine interest through the A.P.C.

After some discussion on the Jewish Army Committee and the proposed League for a Free Palestine, it was agreed that the whole question be made the subject of a thorough discussion by the Emergency Council at an early meeting. Mrs. Halprin also urged that the question of bringing Mr. Meir Grossman back into the Emergency Council be taken up.

#### UPA SHARE OF UJA COLLECTIONS FOR 1943

Dr. Silver reported on the decisions of the Allotment Committee of the United Jewish Appeal with reference to the U.P.A. Under the agreement for 1943, of the first \$9,100,000 raised, the U.P.A. received \$2,760,000. An additional \$6,400,000 had been received by the U.J.A., of which the U.P.A. is to receive 45% (or \$2,880,000), which is the largest percentage the U.P.A. has ever received from an Allocations Committee. The next \$300,000 to be raised will go outright to the U.P.A., to pay off a deficit of the Jewish Agency; if there is any additional income after that, its distribution will be decided by the Allotment Committee. The total income of the U.P.A. for 1943,

therefore, will be \$5,940,000, plus the traditional collections of the Jewish National Fund, which will amount to about \$900,000 - making a total of \$6,840,000; and the Youth Aliyah and other income, which will bring the total to almost \$7,000,000.

#### REPORT OF FINANCE COMMITTEE

Mr. Charles J. Rosenbloom, chairman of the Committee on Finance and Personnel, presented the following report:

The Committee had met that morning and had heard from Mr. Montor of the work of the Emergency Council as it has been reorganized, and of the activities to be carried out by the fourteen committees which have been set up. The Finance Committee considered carefully the requests made for the various committees and felt that only by giving them the money they will require will it be possible for an effective job to be done.

The budget presented by Mr. Montor called for an expenditure of \$604,500, for the period from October 15, 1943 to October 14, 1944, and the Finance Committee unanimously passed this budget. Although broken down departmentally, Mr. Rosenbloom explained, that does not mean that it is a rigid budget. There are items included which may not be spent, but if they can be expended advantageously the Finance Committee believed they should be available.

Following are the amounts budgeted for the various departments:  
General office costs - \$155,000; Publicity Department - \$46,000;  
Publications Department - \$50,000; Community Contacts - \$20,000; Research - \$46,000; American Palestine Committee - \$55,000; Speakers Bureau - \$59,500; Christian Clergy - \$15,000; Special Services and Events - \$158,000.

The Finance Committee, Mr. Rosenbloom reported, recommended the adoption of this budget and made the following recommendations as to how the required sum should be procured:

The Keren Hayesod and the Jewish National Fund, under the terms of the obligation they undertook in the 1943 contract for the U.P.A.

to turn over the balance of the \$25,000 pledged, namely .....\$190,000.

Hadassah to make available an additional .....	50,000
Mizrachi to be asked to pledge .....	10,000
Poale Zion " " " " " .....	10,000
	<hr/>
	\$260,000

This amount should be supplemented by another..... 44,000  
to be made available from the K.H. and K.K.L. for 1943

For the period up to Oct. 15, 1944, a sum of. .... 230,000  
should be made available by the K.H. and K.K.L.

To be made available by Hadassah for this period.....	50,000
" " " " " Mizrahi and Poale Zion, each (10,000.....	20,000
	<hr/>
	\$604,000.

It was pointed out that without the Contingency Items, which amount to \$80,000, there is a budget of \$525,000 required.



In the discussion that followed, reference was made to a recommendation of some time ago that the work being done by the Emergency Council is in the nature of an insurance fund for all the fund raising institutions, and on that principle the funds of Hadassah, the Gewerkschaften and Mizrachi have just as much at stake as the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth, and benefit just as much from the work of the Emergency Council.

Dr. Silver pointed out that although this was a sound approach, practically it would not be possible of realization, since there were considerable difficulties in the way of obtaining the sums required from Hadassah, the Gewerkschaften and Mizrachi. He believed that since all the organizations are cooperating in raising funds for the U.P.A., and since out of these funds the Jewish Agency has always used money for political activities, in Jerusalem and in London, it is perfectly legitimate to use some of the money in the United States, which has become the most important center of the political work. He suggested that instead of trying to get the money from the organizations, which would in any event use that money in Palestine, the U.P.A. should be requested to make available 8% or 9% of its total income for 1943 for this work. If we want to do the work that must be done, Dr. Silver stated, a half million dollars used in the next year is not excessive, and we have a right to ask our public funds to set aside the money for political work. If that much money will not be required, it will not be spent. The Executive Committee will pass on every important item. Dr. Silver recommended that the budget be adopted, subject to experience as we go along, and that the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth be requested to make the money available for the coming year. A motion was moved to this effect.

Mr. Neumann suggested that a decision be taken now on the total sum which it is believed will be required, and that the rest of the financial report be taken as a working basis. He moved, as an amendment to the motion, that since the budget is a tentative one, the round sum of \$500,000 be requested of the Funds.

The question was raised of the special position of the Jewish National Fund with respect to the approval of its allocation by the Jerusalem headquarters. It was felt that, in view of war conditions and the urgent needs of the political work in the United States, the procedure of the J.N.F. should be revised and the Fund here should assume full responsibility for the allocation.

It was pointed out that if the money required for the political work is not made available by the Funds, it would be necessary to launch a special political campaign in the United States for this work and that would hurt the U.P.A., as well as the Keren Hayesod and the Keren Kayemeth.

There was some further discussion on the amount of the budget to be presented. Mr. Montor pointed out that a program of work had been planned on the basis of a budget of \$604,000, and that certain activities might suffer if the budget was reduced without reference to the content of a very carefully planned program.

The amendment, that a budget of \$500,000 be presented to the Funds, was put to the vote and was carried by a majority of 6 to 4.

Dr. Silver pointed out that the \$500,000 budget adopted by the Executive would be sufficient to launch the program, and that if more funds were



required, another request could be made later. He also stressed the importance of obtaining the decision of the Funds within a week or so, so that the personnel may be engaged without delay.

#### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Mr. Lipsky reported on the plans of the Publications Committee. This Committee had started work a few months ago with a small membership which would now have to be changed and new personnel engaged. Thus far, certain general understandings had been arrived at. The first task to be undertaken is to issue a bulletin, which is to be called "Palestine," and is to be similar in intent to the little pamphlet published in England for a number of years before the Balfour Declaration and after. The idea is to have this book reflect the line of the Zionist movement with reference to American conditions and American traditions for the purpose of acquainting American public opinion of the status of Zionism with reference to American political life and policy. The first issue of the Bulletin will be out November 1 and it will be published fortnightly thereafter. The format will be similar to the "Reconstructionist," and the editing will be done by Mr. Lipsky, Mr. Montor, Mr. Shulman, Miss Sulamith Schwartz, Mr. Lourie and by a number of the writers who are being invited to participate. All articles and editorials will be unsigned.

In addition, Mr. Lipsky stated, it is intended to get out a mimeographed paper to be used to disseminate, in a relatively confidential manner, basic ideas on the political position to a list of contacts throughout the country which will be established by the Community Contacts Committee and the American Palestine Committee. The Publications Committee also plans to publish from time to time certain publications that are needed to meet situations that emerge out of the activities of the Council, e.g., an authoritative little pamphlet on the absorptive capacity of Palestine, a pamphlet on certain aspects of the work in the United States, etc.

Left over from previous arrangements, Mr. Lipsky reported, are two books which are now in process of completion: Dr. Walter S. Lowdermilk's book, which is scheduled to appear in February; and a memorandum on American Policy in Relation to Palestine, which is being prepared by Professor C.J. Friedrich, of Harvard University. This memorandum was to be submitted by Prof. Friedrich and if accepted by the Emergency Council, was to be published in report form or book form.

With regard to the Lowdermilk book, the question was raised as to whether it might not be possible to rush the publication of this book, paying the publisher an additional sum, if necessary. It was pointed out that it would be well worth the additional expenditure to have this book available very soon, in view of the campaign to be conducted against the White Paper. It was agreed to communicate with the publisher in this respect.

#### INCORPORATION OF EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Mr. Montor pointed out that the Emergency Council at present has no legal status, since it is not incorporated and its name has not even been registered with the Clerk of the County of New York. It seemed to him, he said, that in incorporating the Council, there would be an advantage in that in view of the financial expenditures involved, the officers of the corporation would be free from any personal responsibility.



Dr. Silver moved that a sub-committee of three lawyers be appointed to look into the matter and bring back a recommendation to the next meeting. This motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

#### COMMITTEE ON SPECIAL SERVICES AND EVENTS

Mr. Weisgal reported on the plans of this Committee. Certain projects have been undertaken, some of which are a continuation of previous activities conducted by the Emergency Committee with which Mr. Weisgal had been charged by the Jewish Agency and the Emergency Committee. With regard to Balfour Day, there was not sufficient time to undertake any large-scale enterprise and it had been agreed that if the Emergency Council engages in such events it must be on a scale in keeping with the program we have in mind. The Zionist Organization, however, had made arrangements for Balfour Day celebrations.

One of the projects Mr. Weisgal had been engaged in previously was connected with the new book by Pierre Van Paassen which was to appear shortly. It was clear that the Emergency Council could not officially associate itself with the book because of its very severe strictures with regard to Great Britain. But Mr. Weisgal felt that the book should be circulated as widely as possible.

Mr. Weisgal further reported that material had been prepared during the past few months on the White Paper and submitted to Mr. Edgar Mowrer with a view to having him publish it as a paper-covered book. Mr. Mowrer, who is a man of the highest standing and integrity, is at present studying the material and is to advise us concerning its publication. The book, if published, will consist of the official documents together with comments by Mr. Mowrer.

Another publication that was pending was one on Churchill and Zionism, which consists of articles, addresses and statements by Mr. Churchill, relevant to the Palestine question. This is ready for publication, but the question has arisen as to whether we have a right to publish it without Mr. Churchill's permission. It was agreed that this matter be taken up by Mr. Weisgal with the Publications Department.

With regard to special events, these, Mr. Weisgal pointed out, will grow out of the activities of the various committees. He believed that Mr. Joseph's presence in this country should be utilized not merely for political work but also to present the Zionist case generally.

As far as the Special Services and Events Committee itself is concerned, it seemed to Mr. Weisgal that since its activities would grow out of the activities of the other committees, perhaps it might be advisable to have its membership consist of the chairmen of all the committees. Dr. Silver believed that that would be unwise and expressed his desire to go into this matter further with Mr. Weisgal and Mr. Montor.

The meeting adjourned at 6:30 P.M.

A.L.

COPY

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

October 19, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
American Zionist Emergency Council  
43 East 42nd Street  
New York City

Dear Rabbi:

I was very much interested in learning that you have been elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

Perhaps now, under the vigorous leadership which I know you will give to this worthy cause, something concrete may develop in regard to the British White Paper.

As a Jew, I feel this proposed action of the White Paper to be a great injustice and terribly unfair and cruel to our already long-suffering co-religionists.

As a legislator, I am appalled by the action of one of our Allies in a war, the chief aim of which is to preserve and extend the Four Freedoms.

I have been doing as much as possible, as have some of my Colleagues, to create some official feeling here in Washington against the White Paper. I have not given any of my actions any publicity because I do not want to receive any personal advantage out of the suffering of our people. I want you to know, however, that I am willing to follow any suggestions which you may make and take pride in the feeling that I may be of some assistance. Do not hesitate to call on me whenever necessary.

With kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Arthur G. Klein

et  
ec  
10/20/43



October 20, 1943

Dr. Stephen S. Wise  
40 West 68th St.  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Dr. Wise:

I am enclosing herewith two letters which again point up the situation which confronts us in Washington very sharply and very ominously. In behalf of the "Night of Stars", Mr. Straus personally placed on the President's desk a draft of a message which he requested the President to send to the Year Book which the United Palestine Appeal issues on the occasion of the Night of Stars. A few days ago, we received the President's message which I am also enclosing herewith. You will note how scrupulously every reference to Palestine and to the whole subject of the Jewish National Home was omitted from the President's message. Even the address is made to read not Nathan Straus, Honorary Chairman United Palestine Appeal, but Nathan Straus, Honorary Chairman Night of Stars.

I began calling attention to this fact, you will recall, in Philadelphia. The same thing had happened to the draft letter which we submitted to the President in the name of the United Jewish Appeal at the beginning of its 1943 campaign. The message that came back to us had not a single reference to Palestine.

I think the matter is most serious, and lends urgency to our suggestion which we made to you yesterday morning that you see Justice Frankfurter at the earliest possible moment and insist that he talk to the President about this entire matter. He owes it to himself, to his own convictions, and to the position which he occupies as a Zionist in the minds of American Jewry. This is the hour when friends of Palestine must use the privileged positions which they occupy close to Government or to the President, and speak up.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

AHS:DK  
Enc. 2

October 20, 1943

Mr. Nathan Straus  
650 Sixth Avenue  
New York, N.Y.

My dear Friend:

I should like to bring to your attention a matter which has disturbed me and our friends on the Zionist Emergency Council greatly for some time now. This matter has been brought again into serious focus by a letter which President Roosevelt sent to you in response to your request to him for a letter on the occasion of the tenth annual "Night of Stars" and the publication of the Year Book of the United Palestine Appeal.

I have been informed that you placed the suggested draft of the statement before the President, a copy of which I am enclosing herewith. On October 15, we received from the President his message. The great contrast between what you requested him to say and what he said is startling in the extreme. In his message he omits every reference to Palestine. The very name is not even mentioned. It speaks of the work of relief organizations, and that our activity is devoted "to the relief of human suffering throughout the world", and is in behalf of mankind. You will also note that you are not addressed as the Honorary Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, as the original draft contained, but you are addressed as the Honorary Chairman of the "Night of Stars".

This is not an accident. It has happened once before with the President when he was requested, a few months ago, to send a message on the occasion of the opening of the 1943 campaign for the United Jewish Appeal. A draft was sent to him then and the message which came back omitted every reference to Palestine.

This withdrawal from contact with Palestine has been evidenced too in the statements of some members of the President's Cabinet, and Government officials connected with the Administration. It all stems from what we have come to believe is a negative and even hostile attitude which has developed within Government circles in the last year or so with reference to the Jewish National Home and the tacit compliance with the official British attitude on the White Paper, and all that goes with it.

There is a growing resentment on the part of the Jews of America towards this reversal, if it is that, of the traditional American



October 20, 1943

policy of friendship and helpfulness towards the Zionist Movement. Unless there is a clear indication soon that such a reversal has not taken place, there will be a public outcry against the Administration. It has been difficult for me, I assure you, to hold it in check so far. I have recently spoken about the matter to Mr. Rosenman at the White House, and to Justice Frankfurter.

The White Paper goes into effect in March, 1944. The Jews of America, along with the Jews of England, are going to carry on a bitter campaign against this policy which Winston Churchill himself characterized as "a breach and repudiation of the Balfour Declaration". In the course of this campaign I hope that it will not be necessary to attack the Administration on the ground that it is tacitly acquiescing in the White Paper policy, and in the liquidation of the Jewish National Home -- for that is what it amounts to.

As you know, the American Jewish Conference which met recently in a remarkable assembly, and which was the most truly representative gathering of the whole of American Jewry that we have had in our lifetime, passed almost unanimously, and with extraordinary enthusiasm, the resolution on the immediate abrogation of the White Paper. The five hundred delegates assembled there represented every Jewish community of America. They will be shocked to learn, as learn they will, if the present attitude in Washington persists, that our Government, by action or inaction, is insuring a policy which sounds the death knell of the just and internationally sanctioned aspirations of the Jewish people in Palestine.

I think, my dear Mr. Straus, that as a loyal Zionist, and as a close friend of the President, you ought to bring this to his attention. It is later than you think! Pro-Arab forces have been busily working in the Near East both with the British and with the Americans. Arrangements and commitments are even now being made. Arab delegations have begun to visit the United States. Arab propaganda is being spread on a large scale in the American press. You may have seen the article, last Sunday, in the Herald Tribune by the Military Attache to the Iraq Legation in Washington (another name for an official propagandist in the United States). Our own Near East section in the State Department has always been unfriendly to us, and pro-Arab.

There are only a few Jews in the United States who have the ear of the President, and in this hour of decision, if they wish to serve the cause of our people, they must utilize the opportunity of their privileged position now.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

[Oct. 24, 1943]

Confidential

COMMENT

by

I. B. BERKSON

Director, Research Department  
American Zionist Emergency Council

on

The New Zionism and a Policy for the United States

A Memorandum prepared by William L. Westermann  
for the Council on Foreign Relations  
October 19, 1943

American Zionist Emergency Council  
342 Madison Avenue  
New York, N. Y.

October 24, 1944



Comment by

I. B. Berkson

on

The New Zionism and a Policy for the United States  
A Memorandum prepared by William L. Westermann

(Comments are made on statements in the order in which they appear in Professor Westermann's memorandum, page and paragraph being indicated.)

The first part of Professor Westermann's memorandum (pages 1-3) is designed to give the impression that there is a great deal of "active opposition among American Jews to the Zionist program" and that there is "at best a high degree of apathy toward Zionism among American Jews." Analysis of the views of the Jewish organizations mentioned by Professor Westermann does not support these generalizations. Moreover, developments during the past year since the memorandum was written indicate even more clearly that these opinions are erroneous.

Page 1

para. 1

The American Jewish Conference, held during the week of August 29 to September 2, 1943, is described "as the supreme effort to unify the conflicting claims and attitudes of all the Jewish-American groups interested in the general Zionist plans respecting Palestine." This is true as far as it goes. However, Professor Westermann fails to indicate that the Conference was in the first instance called to consider the position of the Jews as a whole, and that it recommended action to secure the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world generally, as well as in Palestine.<sup>1</sup> Omission of reference to the general purpose of the Conference obscures the fact that all parties - not only the Zionists - evinced a deep interest in Palestine as an indispensable factor in Jewish post-war reconstruction. The Conference was unquestionably the most widely representative of Jewish assemblies held in recent years. The large vote for the

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The initiative in calling the Conference was taken by Mr. Henry Monsky, President of the B'nai B'rith. When the Conference convened sixty-five national Jewish organizations were represented, comprising practically every organized national body of Jewish citizens in America, with a total membership of over a million men and women. The agenda adopted for the Conference was as follows:

- a. "To consider and recommend action on problems relating to the rights and status of Jews in the post-war world.
- b. "To consider and recommend action upon all matters looking to the implementation of the rights of the Jewish people with respect to Palestine.
- c. "To elect a delegation to carry out the program of the American Jewish Conference in cooperation with the duly accredited representatives of Jews throughout the world."

(American Jewish Conference, A Statement of the Organization of the Conference and a Summary of Resolutions Adopted at the First Session Held in New York City, August 29 to September 2, 1943, p. 7)

Jewish Commonwealth program was undeniably the expression of the views of the great majority of the Jewish leaders and communal workers assembled at the Conference, and reflected the mass opinion of the constituencies. The minority who did not approve of the Commonwealth formula were nevertheless united with the Zionists in demanding freedom of Jewish immigration and land settlement, unrestricted by political considerations.

Page 1

para. 3

It was, of course, no accident that the American Council for Judaism met on the same day as the American Jewish Conference. The American Council, despite its broad title, is an ad hoc organization created for the single purpose of combatting the Zionist effort, and its decision to meet on the same day as the American Jewish Conference was deliberately made with the idea of dividing the attention of the public. Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger, publisher of the New York Times, is prominently associated with the American Council for Judaism and therefore it is not surprising that the New York Times, on the morning of August 31st, gave to the opinion of this small minority a disproportionate publicity in comparison with that devoted to the broadly representative American Jewish Conference.<sup>2</sup> Professor Westermann - on the next page - agrees that the American Council for Judaism represents "a small group of non-Zionists", but he fails to indicate how very small that small group is. According to the testimony offered by Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, President of the American Council for Judaism, during the Congressional hearings in February 1944, the membership of that organization comprised "close to 2,500 leading Jews all over the country." The various Zionist organizations affiliated with the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represents the Jewish Commonwealth point of view, have about 300,000 members.

In order to give a balanced view of the state of Jewish public opinion, Professor Westermann should have made mention of the fact that there are some groups in the United States, e.g., the New Zionist Organization and the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation, which are more extreme in their advocacy of the Jewish state and of a "maximalist" program than are the official Zionist bodies and the Jewish Conference. If some organizations have opposed the Jewish Conference resolution as being too extreme, others have opposed it because it has not gone far enough in the demand for the immediate establishment of the Jewish state. As formulated by the Zionist organizations at the Biltmore Conference, the Jewish Commonwealth resolution incorporated in the American Jewish Conference position may properly be regarded today as the middle-of-the-road view of Zionism.

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A similar partisanship was in evidence in the reports of the discussions of the Palestine Resolution before the House Committee on Foreign Affairs in February 1944. The character of the headlines, the proportion of space devoted to the testimony of the representatives of the American Council for Judaism gave a misleading impression of the general character of the hearings.



Page 2

para. 1-2

Professor Westermann does not point out that even the anti-Zionist American Council for Judaism is opposed to the White Paper of 1939, the principle of which Professor Westermann himself aims to support. The grounds of the opposition are clearly stated: the White Paper "shuts the immigration doors of Palestine to Jews and restricts their acquisition of land in that country." In his testimony before the Congressional hearings on the proposed Palestine Resolution, Mr. Rosenwald, President of the Council, declared that he agreed to that part of the Resolution which called for taking "proper measures to the end that the doors of Palestine shall be opened for the free entry of Jews." The American Council for Judaism pleaded for this on humanitarian grounds and on the ground of non-discrimination against Jews - and not to further the Jewish national home idea. Nevertheless, the main point stands, viz., that the American Council for Judaism favors free entry of Jews into Palestine on the basis of equality.

It is not wholly correct to say that the attitude of the American Council is "based more strongly upon religious than upon secular convictions." The Council rationalizes its objection to the Jewish Commonwealth program on the ground that the Jews are a religious group only, but as is generally known, it is primarily concerned with the problem of the equal status of Jews throughout the world, and this may be regarded as a "secular conviction." At any rate, other Jewish groups, equally or more religious than the Council, do not entertain any such objection to the Zionist purpose. Orthodox and Conservative Jews regard the restoration of Israel to Palestine as part of the Jewish religious tradition; Reform Judaism, though originally opposed to Zionism, now has declared Zionism compatible with Reform Judaism. A number of the outstanding leaders of American Zionism - Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. James G. Heller - are rabbis of the Reform persuasion.

para. 3-4

The American Jewish Committee certainly expresses a more important minority viewpoint than does the Council for Judaism. Professor Westermann fails to note that the objection of the American Jewish Committee was mainly to that part of the Conference resolution which used the term "Jewish Commonwealth" and not to that part of the Zionist program which demanded a large immigration into Palestine. The American Jewish Committee holds that in the light of wide divergence of opinion with reference to the character of the future government of Palestine, no preconceived formula should be advanced concerning the ultimate political structure of Palestine, but it regards Palestine as an important factor in the solution of the problem of postwar Jewish rehabilitation and has affirmed its desire to cooperate with those Jews who wish to settle in Palestine. A resolution on the subject, adopted on January 1, 1943, suggests an "international trustee" for Palestine, one of whose main functions would be "to safeguard the Jewish settlement in and Jewish immigration into Palestine, and to guarantee adequate scope for future growth and development to the full extent of the economic absorptive capacity of the country."



Professor Westermann's attempt to prove that there is a lack of interest amongst Jews in Zionist affairs, on the basis of the small amount of space devoted to Zionism in the general press, borders on the ridiculous. By his method one could prove that Poles living in the United States are not interested in Poland, that Catholics are not concerned with the affairs of the Church, and that American Jews indicate "a high degree of apathy" with reference to all Jewish matters, not only with reference to Zionism. It should be obvious that the extent of Jewish interest can be gauged not by an examination of the space allotted to Zionism in the general press, but by the amount and character of interest indicated in the Jewish press. Clearly, such a study would have to be supplemented by other inquiries: analysis of recently published Jewish books; of discussions at various conferences; of the size of membership in various types of Jewish organizations; of the amounts contributed by Jews to Palestine funds. Such tests would prove beyond any shadow of doubt that the interest in Zionism and Palestine has been growing during the last quarter of a century and has reached a degree of high intensity during the war years.

Interest in Zionism has been fostered first of all by the great constructive Zionist achievement - economic and cultural - in the upbuilding of Palestine; by the terrible fate of the Jews in Central Europe; by the restrictions on immigration in the democratic countries; by the destruction of Jewish religious and cultural life in Russia; and to some extent, by the growth of anti-Semitism in the United States. Although views on the ultimate purpose of Jewish restoration to Palestine vary, so far as the immediate objective is concerned, the overwhelming majority of Jews in the United States are united in the demand for free entry of Jews into Palestine, unrestricted by political considerations, and for free opportunity for economic and cultural development of the Jewish national home.

The Jewish Commonwealth program does not call for the immediate establishment of a Jewish State or provisional government in Palestine, but it demands: Jewish mass immigration into Palestine; the granting of the right of Jewish bodies to develop the economic potentialities of the country; the establishment of a democratic commonwealth after the Jews shall have reached a numerical preponderance. The Jewish Commonwealth Resolution guarantees equality of all citizens, non-Jewish and Jewish alike; provides for cultural, religious and communal autonomy for the non-Jewish communities; and proposes to recognize Arabic as an official language and an Arabic educational system parallel to the Jewish.

Page 3

Conclusion

3

Professor Westermann casts doubt on the authenticity of the widely reported statement of President Wilson with reference to the Jewish Commonwealth, quoted by David Lloyd George in The Truth About the Peace Treaties. President Wilson's declaration may be corroborated by reference to a number of sources. The statement was reported in the New York Times on March 3, 1919, the morning after it was delivered, and



in the London Times on March 4, 1919. It is accepted as authentic in non-Zionist books which are usually regarded as authoritative,<sup>3</sup> and likewise by the Palestine Royal Commission.<sup>4</sup> The statement was delivered by President Wilson to a delegation of the American Jewish Congress, consisting of Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Julian W. Mack and Mr. Louis Marshall. The full statement, with dateline, is given by Fannie Fern Andrews in The Holy Land Under Mandate, (p. 360) as follows:

"White House, March 2, 1919

"As for your representations touching Palestine, I have before this expressed my personal approval of the declaration of the British Government regarding the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people in regard to Palestine. I am, moreover, persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our own Government and people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish Commonwealth.

Woodrow Wilson"

That this was Wilson's true opinion, and not "an inadvertent statement," is evidenced in the Report and Recommendations made on January 21, 1919, only a month or two earlier, by the Intelligence Section of the American Delegation to the Peace Conference, which had been organized by Colonel House, acting under instructions from Wilson. (Professor Westermann should know about this since he was head of the division for Western Asia.) This American group of experts recommended "that the Jews should be invited to return to Palestine and settle there," and that the policy of the League of Nations should be "to recognize Palestine as a Jewish State as soon as it is a Jewish State in fact."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, statements were made by leading Senators and Congressmen at the time, indicating that the Balfour Declaration was understood as a pledge to facilitate the ultimate development of a Jewish State or Commonwealth in Palestine. Senator Charles L. McNary, for instance, declared:<sup>6</sup>

"Palestine is the connecting link between Europe and Asia. The Jews, originally hailing from Asia, but who have become Europeans in their diaspora, extending for two thousand years, may now also serve as a link between the people of these two great continents. It is, thus, a piece of good fortune that the Jews should become the governing people of Palestine. This, added to the fact that the Holy Land is their historic home, the land of their dreams and ambitions, makes the realization

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<sup>3</sup> Fannie Fern Andrews, The Holy Land Under Mandate, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1931, p. 360; and Cyrus Adler and Aaron A. Margalith, American Intercession on Behalf of the Jews in the Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, 1840-1938, New York, 1943, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Palestine Royal Commission Report, Cmd. 5479, London, 1937, p. 24.

<sup>5</sup> David Hunter Miller, My Diary at the Peace Conference, Vol. IV, p. 263. Also see Enclosure A for full document.

<sup>6</sup> Zionist Organization of America, American War Congress and Zionism, New York, 1919, p. 60.



of Zionism at this time almost ideal. Europe may expect great results and much benefit from this promised State of Judea, and the Allied Governments will not be the losers in helping Israel in this accomplishment."

Page 4

Conclusion  
5

Professor Westermann says that it would be "dangerous to the unity of the United Nations" for the Government of the United States to advocate the abandonment of the White Paper. But it should be remembered that the White Paper was the decision of that British Government which was party to the Munich Pact. It was bitterly attacked in Parliament by leading members of all parties and managed to pass only because the Opposition did not wish to overthrow the Government on this issue. Leopold Amery, member of the War Cabinet which adopted the Balfour Declaration and Secretary of the Colonies for many years, declared the White Paper "a direct negation of the principles on which our administration in Palestine has been based and, in my view at any rate, a repudiation of the pledges on the strength of which the government of Palestine was entrusted to our hands." It was attacked by Herbert Morrison, leading member of the Labor Party and Minister of Home Security in the present Cabinet, as another example of the Government's collaboration with "the agents of Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini" which began "in the days when the Prime Minister had a particular friendship with these gentlemen. Winston Churchill made one of the most brilliant speeches in his career, characterizing the White Paper as a mark of the moral and physical bankruptcy of the Chamberlain Government. Is it not preposterous to say that it is dangerous to the unity of the United Nations to oppose a policy which was a betrayal of the pledges of all previous British Governments and which has been so vehemently repudiated by leading members of the present Cabinet?

It should also be borne in mind that morally and even "technically" - to use Professor Westermann's term - the Palestine Mandate is not only "the business of the Mandatory Power over Palestine," but of the League of Nations and of the United States which was party to it. After a careful and lengthy discussion in which Malcolm MacDonald, on behalf of the British Government, made a tortuous effort to defend the White Paper, the Permanent Mandates Commission declared that the "policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the Mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had placed upon the Palestine Mandate." It would appear that the United States, as party to the Mandate for Palestine through the 1924 Convention with Great Britain, has an interest and a responsibility, despite the fact that it is not a member of the League, to express its view on this White Paper, which is unanimously opposed by all Jews and by the vast majority of American liberals.

Page 4

para. 3

#### I. The Balfour Declaration and the Peace Conference at Paris

It is certain from the many statements made at the time by British leaders, that the British Cabinet, in issuing the pronouncement which later became known as the Balfour Declaration, envisaged the ultimate establishment of a Jewish State. Lloyd George, who was Prime Minister at the time, has affirmed this in unmistakable terms. He reports that Balfour, in presenting the proposed declaration to the Cabinet in October



1917, said: "It did not necessarily involve the early establishment of an independent Jewish state, which was a matter for gradual development in accordance with the ordinary line of political evolution." Lloyd George's own view of the issue is stated as follows:<sup>7</sup>

"There has been a good deal of discussion as to the meaning of the words 'Jewish National Home' and whether it involved the setting up of a Jewish National State in Palestine. I have already quoted the words actually used by Mr. Balfour when he submitted the Declaration to the Cabinet for its approval. They were not challenged at the time by any member present, and there could be no doubt as to what the Cabinet then had in their minds. It was not their idea that a Jewish State should be set up immediately by the Peace Treaty without reference to the wishes of the majority of the inhabitants. On the other hand, it was contemplated that when the time arrived for according representative institutions to Palestine, if the Jews had meanwhile responded to the opportunity afforded them by the idea of a National Home and had become a definite majority of the inhabitants, then Palestine would thus become a Jewish Commonwealth. The notion that Jewish immigration would have to be artificially restricted in order to ensure that the Jews should be a permanent minority never entered into the heads of anyone engaged in framing the policy. That would have been regarded as unjust and as a fraud on the people to whom we were appealing."

Page 5

para. 2

The statement made that "Zionism was not a problem which warranted discussion by the American advisors of President Wilson at Paris" is hardly borne out by the recommendations of the Intelligence Section of the American Delegation referred to above. The recommendations on Palestine (referred to above) were part of a carefully considered general plan for a postwar settlement, the section on Palestine being itself part of a division dealing with the disposition of territories formerly under the Ottoman Empire, including Mesopotamia, Syria and Arabia. In other words, the idea of setting aside Palestine for Jewish settlement with the policy of ultimately recognizing Palestine as a Jewish State was part of an organic plan which gave due consideration to the claims of the Arabs in other sections of the Near East.

Professor Westermann maintains that the United States Government never went beyond a general approval and acceptance of the Balfour Declaration. But it is generally agreed that through the Convention between the United States and Great Britain,<sup>8</sup> the United States became party also to the Mandate for Palestine. In Article I of the Convention, it is declared: "Subject to the provisions of the present Convention the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the Mandate recited above." It is

<sup>7</sup>

David Lloyd George, The Truth About the Peace Treaties, London, Gollancz, 1938, Vol. II, pp. 1138-1139. See Enclosure B for other statements by British leaders.

<sup>8</sup>

Signed at London, December 3, 1924.



true that the United States did not actively pursue its interest in Palestine, but as Professor Carl J. Friedrich, of Harvard University, has pointed out, the United States' attitude toward Palestine paralleled its general isolationist policy with reference to European and world affairs generally, and cannot be taken as a lack of interest in Palestine in particular. It is obvious that with the growing importance of the Near East in world affairs and the development of American interest there, the United States cannot avoid formulating an independent position on the Palestine question. As Assistant Secretary of State Breckinridge Long recently declared in testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee, the American Government has an interest in the broader issues of the future of Palestine. He stated: "But the question of Palestine has a larger significance ... We have been interested and will continue to be interested from the point of view of the larger aspects of world security and of world peace, as well as the rights of humans and humanitarian sympathies and the religious sentiments involved."<sup>9</sup>

Page 5    II. The Development of the Zionist Claims with Respect to Palestine

para. 3        The official proposals made by the Zionist leaders, it is true, did not employ the term "Jewish State" or "Jewish Commonwealth"; but they contained provisions which would give a representative Jewish Agency powers to facilitate a large Jewish immigration and make possible the creation of a Jewish majority so that when the autonomous Commonwealth envisaged would come into being, the Jewish national home would be established. This purpose is implied in Article II of the present Mandate, which states: "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the Preamble..." The purpose was clearer in the original version proposed by the Zionist Organization, which states: "Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish National Home, and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous commonwealth..."<sup>10</sup>

Page 5        Professor Westermann implies that the Zionists, though still a minority, claim the right to a Jewish Commonwealth because "of their superiority to the Arabs of Palestine and the assertion that they already have become the most advanced and modern element in the Palestine population." No such claim has ever been made. The Jewish Commonwealth formula maintains that it should be established only after the Jews have become a majority in Palestine. The recommendation of the American Intelligence Section at the Peace Conference was made with full awareness of the fact that at that time the Jews constituted only a minority of the population of Palestine; but the American experts as well as the British statesmen

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As quoted by Carl J. Friedrich, American Policy Toward Palestine, American Council on Public Affairs, 1944, p. 22.

10

Reports of the Executive to the XIIIth Zionist Congress (1921), Vol. I, p. 74.



and the League of Nations, which approved the Mandate, thought it altogether right that in the general arrangement in which the Arabs received vast territories which were to be developed as Arab states, that the "small niche" of Palestine - to use Lord Balfour's phrase - should be set aside for the development of a Jewish Commonwealth.

There is no record that the Arabs "claimed Palestine for the Palestinians at the Paris Peace Conference." David Hunter Miller, in his Diary, records the fact that Feisal definitely agreed that "Palestine", for its universal character, should be "left on one side for the mutual consideration of all parties concerned." There are several statements on the part of Feisal in which he indicates his willingness to cooperate with the Zionists; there are, of course, the famous Feisal-Weizmann Agreement and the Feisal-Frankfurter Correspondence. If the Palestine Arabs - as distinct from the Arab delegation generally - had another point of view, it was not expressed at the Peace Conference. At the time of the Peace Conference the Arabs agreed to relinquish Palestine if British support could be obtained for the ambitious plan to establish a large Arab state in which Arabia, Mesopotamia and Syria would be included. The Palestine Royal Commission puts it in a nutshell: "If King Husain and the Emir Feisal secured their big Arab state, they would concede little Palestine to the Jews." Years later the Palestine Arabs repudiated the leadership of Feisal, declaring that he represented only his father, the King of the Hedjaz, but this was an afterthought. At the time of the Peace Conference Feisal was universally recognized as the leader of the Arab movement; it will be remembered that his father, Husain, had negotiated with the British on behalf of all the Arabs. The change in Arab policy did not result primarily because of increased Jewish immigration into Palestine, although this was used as an argument. It was due mostly to the fact that Great Britain and France had failed to keep their promise to encourage a united Arab state outside of Palestine and to fulfil their pledge to the Arabs with reference to the degree of independence in Iraq and Syria. This failure threw the Arab extremists into the saddle, and these rejected Feisal's compromise.

Page 6

para. 1

It is true that there has been a general increase in anti-Zionist feeling among the Arabs in Palestine, and anti-Jewish feeling in the Near East generally. But Professor Westermann fails to note that this has gone along with a general increase of Arab chauvinism which has found expression in intolerance toward Greeks, Armenians, Assyrian Christians, and even toward the gentle followers of Bahai. He fails, moreover, to point out the part that Nazi propaganda and the activities of the Mufti of Jerusalem have played in the development of anti-Jewish feeling. He forgets to mention that the Ali al-Gailani revolt in Iraq was stimulated by German propaganda and was backed by a powerful organization built up by the Mufti of Jerusalem.<sup>11</sup> It becomes ever clearer that the disturbances

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See C. L. Sulzberger, "German Preparations in the Middle East", Foreign Affairs, July 1942, pp. 666 ff.

between 1936 and 1939 were aided and abetted by the Axis Powers as part of their general plan to draw off British forces from Europe to the Near East as the first step in the attack against the West.

The Palestine issue has been sedulously cultivated by Arab nationalists and by British officials antagonistic to Zionism as a means of cementing "Arab unity." The unity of the Arab world on the Palestine issue is, however, more apparent than real. Of course, all the Arab states are opposed to making Palestine a Jewish state; but this does not mean that the Arab states are agreed as to the future role of Palestine in the Arab world. Each Arab state would naturally like to have Palestine under its own influence. Superficially, it might appear that the Arabs, although much divided on the question of forming a federation after the war, are at least united on the Palestine question, but it is more likely that Palestine is the important bone of contention between them because of its strategic and commercial importance. The difficulty of finding a Palestine representative for the recent Cairo Conference has been attributed to various causes - most generally to the internal conflict between the Nashashibis and the Husainis, the leading Arab political families of Palestine. It is more probable that it has a deeper cause in the rivalry between the various Arab states and the reluctance of the Arab leaders of Palestine to place themselves in a position of subordination to the larger states which have already achieved independence.

Page 6    III. The Possibility of Population Movement in Palestine in the Coming Decades

para. 2        The purpose of the discussion of Miss Ruth Hinden's article on the population problem in Palestine is not clear; in any case, the implications are not those that she suggests. Miss Hinden points out that despite the relatively high birth rate of the Jews in Palestine as compared with European populations, the natural increase of the Moslem Arabs in Palestine - which is the highest recorded in the world - is still greater, and that if Jewish immigration is stopped or greatly limited, the Jewish ratio in the population is bound to fall. The article was written after the publication of the White Paper, and has generally been taken by Zionists to support their view that the curtailment of Jewish immigration into Palestine is bound to result in giving the Jews a permanent minority status in Palestine.

Professor Westermann correctly quotes Miss Hinden when he says that, "The true rate of natural increase of the Arabs of Palestine as compared with that of the Jews is 21.4 against 10.9 per thousand," but he fails to indicate that Miss Hinden uses the word "true" in a purely technical sense to indicate the method she uses to calculate natural increase. (She bases the calculation of the fertility of the Moslem Arab in Palestine on the number of women and age distribution in the population during 1931 and on certain assumptions concerning the Moslem mortality tables during the next generation.) In the summary, she warns the reader that: "The 'true' rate



of natural increase which can be calculated from the net reproduction and the mean length of a generation is only applicable in fact once a 'stable' population has been reached - which may, if the present rates of fertility and mortality are maintained, take some sixty years."

The actual experience during the last twenty-five years does not indicate as great a difference in the natural increase between the Jewish and Arab populations as Miss Hinden's purely theoretical formula would indicate. The following short table shows the actual figures for various periods in the past:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Moslems</u>	<u>Jews</u> <sup>12</sup>
1922-25 average	23.26	21.19
1926-30 "	25.14	22.63
1931-35 "	24.90	21.01

Because of the many factors involved, particularly the great divergence in infant mortality as between the Jews and Moslems, the difference in the rate of natural increase between Jews and Moslems in the next generation will probably resemble the actual figures during the last twenty-five years more closely than the scientifically correct, but purely theoretical, figures shown by Miss Hinden. Miss Hinden, of course, indicates quite clearly that the actual situation need not follow the theoretic one closely. In any case, her main conclusion stands: namely, if Jewish immigration is curtailed, the percentage of Jews in the population will show a marked fall with the passage of time.

Professor Westermann concludes: "In any of these cases, the Zionist claim to leadership in the country as based upon the superiorities deriving from a higher cultural standard, must in the long run be seriously impaired." As noted above, the Zionists do not claim leadership in the country on the basis of superiority, and they are the first to decry the difference in cultural and economic standards between the Jews and the Arabs. The Zionist program is predicated on the idea that the Arab standard of life is to be raised and should gradually approach the higher standards in health, education and wages now maintained by the Jewish section of the population. The Zionist plan is to develop the natural resources and the industrial possibilities of Palestine to their utmost, and to provide for the natural growth of the Arab population as well as for a very much larger Jewish population. The present Arab superiority in numbers is to be overcome through opening the doors of Palestine to large Jewish immigration, unrestricted by political considerations, and by giving the Jewish Agency the powers necessary to initiate a large scale economic development.

The graph shown by Professor Westermann in his Appendix 2, which indicates that an immigration of 20,000 Jews per year could be permitted without appreciably changing the present ratios in the population is, of

course, not an original or novel affair. Such graphs were introduced in the Shaw Commission Report on the Palestine disturbances of 1929 when the political limitation of Jewish immigration into Palestine was first hinted at.<sup>13</sup> (Hitherto only the "economic absorptive capacity" principle had been employed to limit Jewish immigration.) The Royal Commission Report of 1937 made the principle of "political limitation" of immigration a definite recommendation in case their suggestion of partition fell through. This Report also shows a graph indicating the ratio of Jews to Arabs in the future, on the basis of various assumptions concerning natural increase and annual immigration (p. 281). It should be clear that such tables or graphs do not indicate any inevitable line of development: what will actually happen will depend upon a variety of factors. For instance, a large Jewish immigration immediately after the war would upset all of these prognostications. What they do indicate is that if the Jews are not to remain a minority in Palestine, a large Jewish immigration is requisite.

Page 7      IV.      Recommendations (of Professor Westermann)

Professor Westermann avoids meeting the issue: it is not proposed that Palestine be accepted as the "sole refugee solution." Professor Westermann's argument is designed to prevent Palestine from contributing in the measure that it can to the problem of the refugee.

Immediate Policy

2. Professor Westermann suggests that the United States offer temporary refuge to those who may wish to come here. He does not indicate what he means by "temporary" nor what disposition should be made of these refugees after the period of temporary provision shall have passed.

3. He urges that countries freed from Nazi domination be encouraged to receive any Jewish refugees from Europe who may desire to enter them. In the face of the failure of the Evian and Bermuda Conferences, and in view of the well-known fact that these countries have their own problems and are not anxious to welcome Jews, this can hardly be regarded as a serious recommendation.

Long Range Plans

Is the wish of 21,000,000 Arabs to prevail whether it is reasonable or unreasonable, in the face of the great Jewish need and as against the reasoned wish of the great majority of Jews, supported by a large section of the Christian world? By making the Jewish state issue the predominant one, Professor Westermann obscures the real issue. The main questions that must be answered at the present time have to do with immigration and the right of settlement in Palestine. The Arabs are opposed not only to the Jewish state ultimately, but to any further Jewish immigration now.

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13

Report of the Commission on the Palestine Disturbances of August 1929, 1930, Cmd. 3530, pp. 202 ff.



The Zionist belief that the problem of rehabilitation of the Jews in Europe will prove an extraordinarily difficult one is not "based on a defeatism", but on an analysis of the Jewish situation which has proven only all too tragically correct. Professor Westermann is ready to limit immigration into Palestine on the assumption that many Jews would not go there, although he admits that it is as yet anybody's guess how many of the Jews will wish to return to the countries of their origin or go to Palestine after the war. The Zionist position does not involve forcing any Jews to go to Palestine, but keeping the doors of Palestine open so that those Jews who need to, or who wish to, will have the choice of going to Palestine or settling elsewhere.

The Zionist view of the attitude of European Jews toward Palestine is attested to by non-Zionists acquainted with the situation in Europe. Mr. David Schweitzer of the American Hias-Ica Emigration Association (Hicem), the largest non-Zionist Jewish emigration agency, recently declared: "The Jews of Europe do not engage in debates for or against Palestine, but only think of possibilities of reaching it."<sup>14</sup> He pointed out that one important factor on the part of the refugees settling in Palestine was the desire to "bring up their children in the Jewish homeland." Mr. Schweitzer, who had handled the settlement of refugees in San Domingo, which he described as "the mouse to which Mount Evian has given birth," declared that the difficulties and defeats involved in this experiment had increased his interest in Palestine as a place of possible Jewish settlement.

Page 8

In his final recommendation, namely, that "the Department of State continue to follow the Balfour Declaration in its strict interpretation," Professor Westermann begs the whole question. As abundantly indicated above, the evidence accumulates to support the view that the Balfour Declaration intended the establishment of a Jewish state in due course if the Jews took advantage of the opportunity offered. This purpose was obscured by vague wording and by vacillation of the British Government in implementing the Mandate. The lack of a clear and firm policy was a major cause for the disturbances in Palestine: the Arabs were led to believe that they could have the Jewish national home policy whittled down or completely repudiated if they used violence. The aim of the Jewish Commonwealth proposal is to restore the original meaning of the Balfour Declaration and to set forth the policy of the Jewish national home in terms that would be unmistakable. Such a clarification of the purpose of the Balfour Declaration, it is submitted, is necessary not only that justice should be done to the Jews, but that security and peace be established in Palestine. To leave the Balfour Declaration undefined is simply to continue the sense of insecurity that has plagued the development of Palestine during the last quarter of a century.

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14

Zionist Review, February 11, 1944, p. 4



*Churchill*  
SECRET

*confidential*

*AHS File*

EXTRACTS FROM MINUTES OF THE 25TH OCTOBER, 1943.

*re: British policy  
Weizmann*

TALK WITH THE PRIME MINISTER:

Dr. Weizmann said that there had been present at the lunch, besides Mr. and Mrs. Churchill, and Major Churchill, Mr. and Mrs. Attlee, Lord Portal, the Dowager Lady Reading, and another Labour man whom Dr. Weizmann did not recognise. Dr. Weizmann sat between Mrs. Churchill and Lord Portal. During lunch, Mrs. Churchill talked about Quebec and Orde and Lorna Wingate, and at one stage Mr. Churchill joined in by saying that he knew Dr. Weizmann had wanted Orde Wingate for Commander-in-Chief of the Jewish Force, but they could not have him because he was wanted for other work.

After lunch the ladies retired and Mr. Churchill had introduced him to the other guests in very complimentary terms. The Prime Minister said it was a long time since he had seen him, and Dr. Weizmann said it had been too long for him. Mr. Churchill then said that after they had crushed Hitler they would have to establish the Jews in the position where they belonged. He had had an inheritance left to him by Lord Balfour, and he was not going to change. Dr. Weizmann said he did not think the Prime Minister would change, but there were dark forces working against them which might force the Cabinet's hand. Major Churchill said they were all only human, and none of them getting any younger; it was therefore necessary to act quickly. Mr. Churchill said they would have to take some chances. Turning to Dr. Weizmann, he said: "You have some very good friends: for instance, Mr. Attlee and the Labour Party are committed on this matter." Mr. Attlee said he certainly was, adding that he thought something should be done about Transjordan. Mr. Churchill said he had been thinking about partition, but Transjordan was a good idea. He knew the terrible situation of the Jews. They would get compensation, and they would also be able to judge the criminals. As regards the position in the Near East he did not take for granted all the information that came from that part of the world. Mr. Attlee said to Dr. Weizmann that some of his people were overplaying their hand: they were sometimes threatening. Mr. Churchill said they should not do that. He personally would prefer one good row. He would advise them not to have a series of rows. What they had to do was to watch the timing. He would not say publicly what he was telling Dr. Weizmann now: there would be questions, and he would have to lose time explaining. They could quote his public utterances, and say that he would not budge from them.

Mr. Churchill repeated that they had a number of good friends: Mr. Attlee was committed, the Labour Party was committed, the Manchester Guardian was friendly, etc. He understood, however,



that there were certain Jews in America who were opposed. He thought Dr. Weizmann should try and win over Mr. Baruch. Mr. Churchill had talked to Mr. Baruch, and had told him that he was wrong, but had not succeeded in persuading him. Mr. Churchill went on to say that he was not going to change his views; he would bite deeply into the problem, and it was going to be "the biggest plum of the war."

When Mr. Churchill mentioned partition, Major Randolph and Dr. Weizmann demurred, and Mr. Churchill replied that he had been against it originally, but now they had to produce something new instead of the White Paper. He had not meant partition in the literal sense - he then mentioned something about the Negev and Transjordan.

Speaking of the Arabs, the Prime Minister said that they had done very little, and in some instances had made things difficult for us. He would remember this when the day of reckoning came. Mr. Churchill added that when the Palestine issue came up, he would speak out, and proceeded to give the headings of his speech. He finished off by saying that Dr. Weizmann need not worry - they had a wonderful case.

At one stage, Dr. Weizmann mentioned that anti-semitism was growing, and the Prime Minister said he thought it was not so, and Lord Portal agreed with him.

Mr. Churchill said they could not yet discuss details. On the subject of the Arms Trial, the Prime Minister clearly did not know the details, but said again that they should not threaten. He suggested that Dr. Weizmann should go to Palestine, adding jokingly that he had freedom of movement throughout the Empire.

At one stage Dr. Weizmann said that March 1944 was approaching, and he feared then to see a notice over the gates of Palestine; "No Jew need apply." From Mr. Churchill's reply it had appeared that they were thinking of carrying forward the balance of certificates after March 1944, and Mr. Churchill added that in a couple of months or so after that, something else might turn up.

Mr. Churchill quoted, during the talk, the saying that "God deals with the nations as they deal with the Jews." Mr. Churchill also said that of every fifty officers who came back from the Middle East, only one spoke favourably of the Jews - but that has merely gone to convince him that he was right.

When the party broke up, and Dr. Weizmann said goodbye, the Prime Minister said: "Not goodbye - au revoir", and that he would see Dr. Weizmann again. Dr. Weizmann said he was glad to hear that because he had understood that the Prime Minister was not very keen on seeing him, and sometimes urgent things arose which he could discuss only with him.

The lunch and the talk which followed lasted until 3.30 p.m.

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MEETING OF EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE  
CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS  
CINCINNATI, OHIO, OCTOBER 26, 1943

A meeting of the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis was held at Hotel Sinton, Cincinnati, Ohio, on Tuesday, October 26th, 1943 with the President, Solomon B. Freshof in the Chair.

MEMBERS PRESENT: The following members were present: Solomon B. Freshof, Abba Hillel Silver, Harry S. Margolis, Sidney L. Hegner, Isaac E. Marcusen, Philip D. Bookstaber, Julius Mark, Abraham Shusterman, Maurice J. Bloom, William G. Braude, James G. Heller, Albert G. Mindis, Phineas Smoller, Harry J. Stern.

Maurice H. Eisendrath, director of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was invited to attend the meeting.

PRAYER: The opening Prayer was offered by Rabbi Abba H. Silver.

ELECTION OF MEMBERS: The following were elected to membership: Carl I. Miller, Harria Hirschberg, Seymour J. Stern, Abraham Hasel-Korn, Alfred J. Barnston, Herbert E. Drooz, Leonard A. Greenberg, Eugene J. Lipman, Julius J. Nodel, William Seligman, Richard E. Singer, Bernard J. Starkoff, Leo J. Stillpass, Theodore Wiener.

Rabbi Braude in charge of Refugee applications asked that more time be granted to investigate the application of Abraham H. Goldberg, Sedalia, Mo.

MEMBERS IN ARREARS: The Treasurer reported the members in arrears and the following action was taken: Fredrick Frank, the Treasurer to write him, Moses Abels, dues remitted, Halevi Baron, Treasurer to accept any amount he offers; Raphale Levine, Louis J. Gashdan, Stephen Sherman and Manfred Swarsensky, Treasurer to bill them for full amount.

The Secretary was instructed to write to Mortimer I. Bloom, Ephraim Fischhoff, Peiser Jacobs, Jerome Mark, Maurice Mazure, and inform them that they will be dropped from the membership list unless dues are paid. The dues of Albert Michels was remitted. No bill was to be sent to Harold Reinhardt until after the war.

The membership of Benjamin Parker was discontinued since it was reported that he is no longer in the Rabbinate.



In regard to Chaplains who are exempt from dues while in service it was moved and adopted that they be not billed for dues which they owed upon entering the Chaplaincy until after the war. PRESIDENT'S REPORT: The President reported that he had requested the Jewish Welfare Board to increase our representation on the Army and Navy Committee from six to seven and that he had named Rabbi James G. Heller as the extra delegate.

The President reported that he had named Rabbi Heller as the second delegate of the Conference to the American Jewish Conference. That the Jewish Welfare Board has asked that a special prayer be read on Yom Kippur for soldiers who have lost their lives in the war and the President reported that he had prepared such a prayer and that it had been sent to the members.

The President further reported that he had joined in sending out a letter to congregations asking that unless it was unavoidable pulpits should not be filled during the war so as to protect the interest of the men serving in Chaplaincy.

Rabbi Heller referred to several cases of change of pulpits by men who are not in the Chaplaincy and urged that congregations be requested not to fill pulpits permanently until the Chaplains return.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE: Rabbi Silver introduced the following resolution which was adopted:

Having received the report of its delegates who attended the recent sessions of the American Jewish Conference, the Executive Board of the CCAR expresses its satisfaction with the outcome of this historic Conference and with the contribution which our representatives made towards its deliberations. It ratifies the action of its delegates in supporting all the resolutions which were adopted at the Conference. It expresses the hope that this great and democratically representative body of American Jewry will continue to function and to serve the cause of our people in these critical times.

COMMITTEE ON COMMISSIONS: The President named Rabbis Heller, Silver and Smoler to meet with a similar committee of the Union to nominate representatives on the Joint Commissions.

COMMITTEE ON COMMITTEES: It was moved and adopted that the President shall name a committee on committees to meet the day before the October meeting of the Executive Board and suggest appointments on the standing committees of the Conference.

TREASURER'S REPORT: The Treasurer reported that the Investment Committee recommended that it be authorized to sell certain bonds to the value of \$47,000 and invest the money in government bonds.

The Treasurer reported that the sum of \$500.00 was bequeathed to the Central Conference of Americans in the will of Fanny Shon.

It was moved and adopted that all bequests be credited to the Pension Fund.

The Treasurer further reported that he had been informed that Dr. Mattuck who represents the Conference in England in taking care of Refugee Rabbis had expended a sum of about \$400.00 on behalf of one Refugee "For the Philadelphia Committee" and asked that the money be refunded. It was moved and adopted that Rabbi Mattuck be asked for whom the money was spent and why the Conference should be expected to pay it and if the the Treasurer ascertains that it was for the Conference that Dr. Mattuck be repaid for the amount he has expended.

FINANCIAL SECRETARY: Rabbi Regner gave a report for the financial secretary.

ISSERMAN REPORT: Rabbi Isserman, who had just returned from a trip to the gattle fronts as a Red Cross representative was invited by the President to report on conditions as he found them there. He expressed great concern about conditions in the Chaplaincy and the need of more Jewish Chaplains to look after the Jewish men. It was moved and adopted that we bring these facts to the attention of our representatives on CANRA with a request that they go into the matter and explore if necessary new channels of approach so that more Chaplains may be made available if possible.



CHAPLAINCY: The President read the Tentative Principles on replacements of Chaplains drawn up by the Chaplaincy Committee. It was moved and adopted that the Executive Board commend the committee for its excellent work and that it approves of the principles drawn up but that in the last paragraph referring to the Committee asking Congregations in which more than one Rabbi is serving an exception be made in cases where the senior rabbi is engaged in National Activities which require his absence. It was further moved and adopted that our Committee be informed that it is the opinion of the Executive Board that the Committee shall not be permitted to deal with the Congregations Boards except to safeguard the rights of Chaplains.

The President reported that of the 180 Jewish Chaplains now in service 102 are members of the CCAR.

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS: Rabbi Marcuson reported for the Publications Committee. He reported that revised volume two, Union Prayer Book, was in the hands of the printer but could not appear until after the war, as suitable paper and binding cloth could not be secured. The stock of unrevised volume two, Union Prayer Book was completely exhausted and a new edition was being printed. The services for summer camps had been revised by the chairman of the Liturgy Committee and would be printed during the year. It was moved and adopted that the music which has been published in experimental form for Union Prayer Book, volume one be bound with Union Hymnal, part two when the new music for New Year and Atonement is ready.

The chairman called attention to the fact that the Committee on Ceremonies was publishing special service which consisted of changes to the Union Prayer Book. It was moved and adopted that no additions to the literature of the CCAR shall be published without the consent of the Executive Board and that all the liturgical material necessary for experimental ceremonial services shall be referred to or prepared by the Committee on Liturgy.

In regard to the prayers from the Union Prayer Book which have been printed on ornamental cards and are being sold by the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, it was moved and adopted that the Federation be notified that it is the policy of the CCAR to have all such material published by the CCAR.

the Executive Board that all profits from this source shall be used for the printing of additional copies for free distribution among the armed forces.

PROGRAM: Rabbi Silver reported for the Program Committee for the next convention. It was moved and adopted that there shall be a panel discussion on Practical Problems of the Ministry lead by Rabbis Silver, Abraham Feinstein, Fram, George B. Lieberman, Alfred Wolf. A paper on the Rights of the Individual and the Rights of the States to be prepared by Bernard J. Bamberger and a paper on Judaism and Property and Profits, John J. Tepfer. That on Saturday afternoon there shall be a program of Synagog Music. Rabbi Braude was to prepare the program of music.

That there was to be no Conference Lecture but the President's Message was to be presented in place thereof at the Sabbath Evening Service. That the Conference Sermon be delivered by Jacob J. Weinstein.

It was decided that the Convention shall begin on Friday morning, June 23rd and end Monday noon.

TIME AND PLACE OF CONVENTION: Rabbi Margolis reported for Committee on Time and Place of the Convention. He stated that he had inquired of many resorts but was unable to get hotel accommodations. It was moved and adopted that the Committee shall try whether accommodations can be secured at Atlantic City and if not that we meet in Cincinnati, it being the 60th anniversary of the Alumni Association of the Hebrew Union College.

MORGENSTERN'S ADDRESS: Rabbi Silver introduced a resolution protesting against certain statements reported to have been made by the President of the Hebrew Union College in his address at the opening of the college. The following substitute resolution prepared by Rabbi Minda was adopted:

At its meeting in Cincinnati on Tuesday, October 26th, the Executive Board of the CCAR took cognizance of the address by Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President of the Hebrew Union College on the subject "Nation, People, Religion, What Are We?" dealing with Zionism, The American Jewish Conference etc. which has raised serious questions



the Executive Board of the Conference sets forth the resolution adopted at its annual convention June 22-27 1943 held at New York and one adopted by the Executive Board at its meeting on October 26th, 1943.

It was moved and adopted that copies of this resolution be sent to the Jewish Press.

AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM: Rabbi Heller protested about certain letters which were sent to the members of certain congregations on the subject of Zionism supposedly by members of the American Council for Judaism. The President announced that he would refer the matter to the Arbitration Committee for investigation.

UNION-CONFERENCE PENSION FUND: Rabbi Gup, chairman of the Pension Plan, was invited to address the Board on the subject of the Union-Conference Pension Fund. It was moved and adopted that we accept the proposed Pension Plan; that the Conference will pay the amount agreed upon namely \$1,500 toward expenses \$5,000 a year out of the Treasury toward up-building the fund and that the sum of \$150,000 shall be turned over to the trustees when a committee consisting of the President, Vice-President, Treasurer, and the Secretaries are satisfied that the plan is organized and in working order. The all Legacies which have been ear-marked for Pension Funds shall be turned over to the trustees when the Fund begins functioning.

CONFIRMATION PROGRAM: It was moved and adopted that on account of the short session, the Religious Education Day Program be omitted at the next convention and that the program on Confirmation be postponed for one year. It was likewise moved and adopted that the Program Committee be asked to see whether a discussion of Religious Work in Universities can be fitted into the Panel Discussion.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED: The President presented the list of standing committees for the year which were adopted by the Board.

EMERGENCY PLACEMENT COMMITTEE: The President appointed a committee consisting of Rabbis Morgenstern, Stephen S. Wise, Eisendrath, Egelson, Maccoby, Margolis, Leipziger, and Brickner to serve as the Emergency Placement Committee. This committee was not to be a permanent Placement Committee but was to study and devise plans for the readjustment and replacement of Chaplains and temporary rabbis until such time when a permanent Placement Plan shall be adopted.

RESOLUTIONS: Action on the recommendations of the Committee on Marriage, Family and the Home, on resolution III and on recommendation VII of the President Message Committee Report was postponed until the next meeting of the Executive Board.

The meeting adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,

Isaac E. Marcuson  
Administrative Secretary





AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

October 27, 1943.

A special meeting of the Executive Committee was held Wednesday, October 27, 1943, at 2:15 p.m., at 41 East 42nd Street, New York City.

PRESENT

Dr. Silver (presiding), Mr. Rublick, Dr. Goldstein, Mr. Greenberg, Mrs. Jacobs, Mr. Neumann, Mrs. Pool, Judge Rothenberg, Mr. Shulman, Mr. Wertheim.

Rabbi Bernstein, Rabbi Gold, Mr. Gross, Rabbi Steinberg.

Dr. Goldmann; Rabbi Feuer, Mr. Isreeli, Mr. Kenen, Mr. Lourie, Mr. Montor, Mr. Weisgal.

Mr. Hamlin, Mr. Silverman.

WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE FROM AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

The decision taken by the American Jewish Committee to withdraw from the Conference was discussed.

It was agreed that the resignation of members and groups from the Committee was to be favored. It was urged, however, that no campaign be launched all over the country against the Committee, which would fritter away our efforts and divert attention from our main goal of fighting the White Paper.

The importance of impressing upon our Government that the Committee does not represent a large segment of Jewish life in America was also stressed.

With regard to the opinion expressed that it would be unwise to fight the American Jewish Committee at the same time that we are fighting the White Paper, it was pointed out that it was all one fight, and should be a fight to the finish. It would be most unwise to ignore the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee, it was believed; it was necessary to state again and again, from synagogue pulpits, from the platform, in newspapers, that they represent no one except a few individuals and are responsible to no one beyond themselves.

Dr. Silver stated that in hoping for cooperation between Zionists and non-Zionists in a Zionist program we have been laboring under an illusion, which has led us to many detours and has always brought us to grief. He was convinced that Zionists and non-Zionists can cooperate only on a non-Zionist program. The Jews in England have discovered that, he pointed out, as have the American Zionists time and again, ever since the establishment

of the enlarged Jewish Agency, which disintegrated after the death of Louis Marshall. He recalled that the original purpose of organizing the Conference had been to rally the Jewish community to the Zionist program, and not to work for a program acceptable to Zionists and non-Zionists. Only later was it decided to try to include all groups, in the hope that they would accept our program; and in the endeavor to secure their co-operation many concessions were made to them, - changing the name, the system of elections, etc.

The crux of the matter is, Dr. Silver pointed out, that the American Jewish Committee leaders are opposed to Jewish nationalism. Both in the statement issued by the Committee after Judge Proskauer came to office in January and again in this statement, there is no reference to the Jewish National Home. Dr. Silver believed that we must face the situation, that our task is to undermine the influence of the opposition, to fret them at every opportunity, in order to break their influence in important quarters, and to organize our own work on an outright Zionist program.

Mr. Kenen then read the statement to be issued by the Emergency Council, which he had drafted. There followed considerable discussion, in the course of which further suggestions were made for a number of points to be included in the statement. Attention was drawn to the fact that the American Jewish Committee's present position was inconsistent with its past history and with its own record on the subject of Palestine, in that it now pointedly omits any reference to the Jewish National Home, the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate.

It was decided that Dr. Silver, Rabbi Steinberg, Rabbi Feuer and Mr. Kenen rework the statement to be issued to the press, which should be directed to the Palestine issue on which the American Jewish Committee withdrew from the Conference.

The meeting adjourned at 4:45 p.m.

A.L.



REFORM RABBIS RATIFY ALL RESOLUTIONS OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

NEW YORK, Oct. 26.(JTA)-- All the resolutions of the American Jewish Conference were ratified today by the executive committee of the Central Conference of American Rabbis at a meeting in Cincinnati which adopted the following resolution:

"Having received the report of its delegates who attended the recent sessions of the American Jewish Conference, the Executive Board of the Central Conference of American Rabbis expresses its satisfaction with the outcome of this historic conference and with the contribution which our representatives made toward its deliberations. It ratifies the action of its delegates in supporting all the resolutions which were adopted at the conference. It expresses the hope that this great and democratically representative body of American Jewry will continue to function and to serve the cause of our people in these critical times."

The Mizrahi Organization of America, the Zionist Laborite Party and other Zionist groups today issued statements criticizing the American Jewish Committee for withdrawing from the American Jewish Conference. A meeting of the executive of the American Zionist Emergency Council will be held tomorrow to decide on action to be taken by Zionist groups in the United States with regard to the situation which has developed as a result of the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the Conference.

Hadassah Resigns from the American Jewish Committee

Hadassah's twenty-ninth annual convention, which opened last night at the Henry Hudson Hotel, adopted a resolution to withdraw from membership in the American Jewish Committee. Pointing out that the delegates of Hadassah "have learned with deep regret of the action of the American Jewish Committee, which has withdrawn from the American Jewish Conference, thus isolating itself from the united Jewish representation in that Conference and breaking the unity of American Jewry," the resolution says:

"We are concerned, too, that this decision was made by the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee despite the earnest plea of some of its members that the matter be referred to the large annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, where a wider base for discussion would have been possible.

"When the American Jewish Committee entered the American Jewish Conference it reserved for itself the right to dissent from any decisions of the majority and in so dissenting to take separate action thereon. Their three representatives on the conference expressed their dissent from the Palestine resolution as presented. This was reported in the press, so that the committee's position was made abundantly clear. However, there were large areas in which there was complete accord on the part of the American Jewish Committee with the conference decisions, and we note that the committee continued in its full support of full immigration into Palestine and in its opposition to the White Paper. We believe that these days of dark tragedy for our people demand the utmost effort on the part of American Jews to work together, and that unity of action can be achieved despite differences.

"Hadassah has been a constituent member of the American Jewish Committee for many years despite certain ideological divergencies, because it was deeply conscious of this need for cooperative effort in Jewish affairs. We believe that the action of the American Jewish Committee in withdrawing from the Conference has put a breach into that cooperative effort, rendering impossible Hadassah's continued membership as a constituent body of the American Jewish Committee."

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P R E S S   R E L E A S E

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
41 EAST 42nd STREET      NEW YORK      MURRAY HILL 2-1160

FOR RELEASE  
AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL CHARGES  
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE REVERSES ITSELF

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New York, Oct. 28 --

The American Zionist Emergency Council today charged that the American Jewish Committee had reversed its policies with respect to Palestine, adopting "a new and disruptive line."

Scoring the Committee for its withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference, the Zionist Council, which speaks for the major Zionist groups in the United States, charged that the present position of the American Jewish Committee would "liquidate the Jewish National Home."

"The Committee wishes to ignore not only the expressed wishes of American Jewry but also the facts of history and its own record on the subject of Palestine," The Council declared.

"It is clear that a new regime has come into control of the policies and attitudes of the Committee. In the past the Committee approved of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate which recognize the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and its right to rebuild its national home there...

"But today the American Jewish Committee studiously and pointedly omits any reference to the Jewish National Home, the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate. These annoying facts of history it would like to erase. It speaks of a Commonwealth for Palestine but not of a Jewish Commonwealth. Its present position would liquidate the Jewish National Home. As the American Jewish Committee would have it, the Jewish National Home must not be Jewish and it must not be national. Inevitably, it would cease to be a home."

The Zionist body said that the Committee had retreated to 1916, when "a small handful of Jews in this country and in England violently opposed the Balfour Declaration and attempted to arrest the march of the Jewish people to its rightful place in the world's family of nations.

"They failed then. They will fail now!"

(more)



The Council branded as "absurd" the complaint of the American Jewish Committee that the Conference had subordinated all other issues to the question of Palestine. The Council pointed out that the chairman of the American Jewish Committee had resisted the inclusion of the question of rescue in the Conference agenda.

"If Palestine's future played a major role in the Conference and absorbed in a large measure the interests of the delegates, it is precisely because they realized that Palestine offers the one great constructive solution both to the problem of immediate rescue and the problem of Jewish national homelessness," the Council said.

The Council is political spokesman in the United States for the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, Poale Zion and Misrachi.

The resolution was adopted today at a meeting at its headquarters, 41 East 42 Street.



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"There is the danger of exaggerating the significance of the secession of the American Jewish Committee from the American Jewish Conference beyond all proportions in the light of the relative insignificance of the Committee in American Jewish life.

"The American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference are not correlative bodies. The Committee is a self-constituted and self-perpetuating body, representative of no one except a few individuals, and responsible to no one at all. On the other hand, the Conference is the democratically elected body of American Jewry, consisting of 502 delegates, of whom 375 were elected from every major community and the remainder were designated by 65 national organizations of which the American Jewish Committee was one.

"The withdrawal of the Committee is nevertheless a calculated attack upon Jewish unity and it will be deeply resented by every American Jew who is eager to advance the Conference program of immediate rescue of the Jews of Europe, their post-war rehabilitation and the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine.

"The Conference deliberations revealed the virtual unanimity of American Jewry on all major problems and the profound desire for unity in achieving their solution. On the Palestine resolution only four of the 502 delegates dissented, while less than 20 abstained. The mass enthusiasm for the Conference program was persuasive upon the chairman of the American Jewish Committee who announced at the time that the Palestine resolution was adopted that the Committee would remain within the Conference. But this now seems to have been only a temporary maneuver. The Committee now refuses to accept the will of the majority. It quits the Conference. It has always preached unity but evidently only on its own terms. The Committee must rule or ruin.

"It will do neither.

"As an excuse for isolating itself from the overwhelming majority in American Jewish life, the American Jewish Committee complains that the Conference subordinated all other issues to the question of Palestine. This is absurd. Every major problem affecting Jewish interests was seriously and at great length considered by the Conference and its committees, and this in spite of the chairman of the American Jewish Committee who, it should be recalled, resisted the inclusion of the question of rescue in the Conference agenda. If Palestine's future played a major role in the Conference and absorbed in a large measure the interests of the delegates, it is precisely because they realized that Palestine offers the one great constructive solution both to the problem of immediate rescue and the problem of Jewish national homelessness.



"The American Jewish Committee wishes now to ignore not only the expressed wishes of American Jewry but also the facts of history and its own record on the subject of Palestine. It is clear that a new regime has come into control of the policies and attitudes of the Committee. In the past, the Committee approved of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate which recognize the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and its right to rebuild its national home there. Under the inspiration of the late Louis Marshall, who was president of the American Jewish Committee, an enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine was achieved, which included both Zionists and non-Zionists and which was based upon the acceptance of the principle of the Jewish National Home.

"But today the American Jewish Committee studiously and pointedly omits any reference to the Jewish National Home, the Balfour Declaration or the Mandate. These annoying facts of history it would like to erase. It speaks of a Commonwealth for Palestine but not of a Jewish Commonwealth. Its present position would liquidate the Jewish National Home. As the American Jewish Committee would have it, the Jewish National Home must not be Jewish and it must not be national. Inevitably, it would cease to be a home.

"The American Jewish Committee has always represented itself as desirous of safeguarding Jewish rights all over the world. But as far as Jewish Palestine is concerned, where our people has obtained internationally accredited rights for the rebuilding of its National Home, the Committee interposes compromises and reservations and would oppose every safeguard essential for the realization of that Home.

"It generously allows that Jews should have the right to immigrate to Palestine as to other countries. This we are to regard as a tremendous concession! But it insists that the Jewish Agency must under no circumstances be vested with control over immigration, for that would mean that in the course of time, a Jewish majority would be established in Palestine and as a result the Jewish Commonwealth would be constituted. This must not be allowed to happen! Immigration is therefore to be entrusted to some international trusteeship which the American Jewish Committee now improvises out of thin air.

"This reversal on the part of the American Jewish Committee, representing a new and disruptive line in its policies, is clearly a retreat to 1916, when a small handful of Jews in this country and in England violently opposed the Balfour Declaration and attempted to arrest the march of the Jewish people to its rightful place in the world's family of nations.

"They failed then. They will fail now!

ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL TAKES ISSUE WITH AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEW YORK, Oct. 28. (JTA)-- Taking issue with the American Jewish Committee for its withdrawal from the American Jewish Conference, the American Zionist Emergency Council, which represents all Zionist groups in this country, today issued a statement declaring that "there is the danger of exaggerating the significance of the secession of the American Jewish Committee from the American Jewish Conference beyond all proportions in the light of the relative insignificance of the Committee in American Jewish life."

"The American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Conference are not correlative bodies. The Committee is a self-constituted and self-perpetuating body representative of no one except a few individuals, and responsible to no one at all. On the other hand, the Conference is the democratically elected body of American Jewry consisting of 502 delegates, of whom 375 were elected from every major community and the remainder were designated by 65 national organizations of which the American Jewish Committee was one.

"The withdrawal of the Committee is nevertheless a calculated attack upon Jewish unity and it will be deeply resented by every American Jew who is eager to advance the Conference program of immediate rescue of the Jews of Europe, their post-war rehabilitation and the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine.

"The Conference deliberations revealed the virtual unanimity of American Jewry on all major problems and the profound desire for unity in achieving their solution. On the Palestine resolution only four of the 502 delegates dissented, while less than 20 abstained. The mass enthusiasm for the Conference program was persuasive upon the chairman of the American Jewish Committee who announced at the time that the Palestine resolution was adopted that the Committee would remain within the Conference. But it is now seen to have been only a temporary maneuver. The Committee now refuses to accept the will of the majority. It quits the Conference. It has always preached unity but evidently only on its own terms. The Committee must rule or win. It will do neither.

Calls Arguments of American Jewish Committee "Absurd"

"As an excuse for isolating itself from the overwhelming majority in American Jewish life, the American Jewish Committee complains that the Conference subordinated all other issues to the question of Palestine. This is absurd. Every major problem affecting Jewish interests was seriously and at great length considered by the Conference and its committees, and this in spite of the chairman of the American Jewish Committee who, it should be recalled, resisted the inclusion of the question of rescue in the Conference agenda. If Palestine's future played a major role in the Conference, and absorbed in a large measure the interests of the delegates, it is precisely because they realized that Palestine offers the one great constructive solution both to the problem of immediate rescue and the problem of Jewish national homelessness.

"The American Jewish Committee wishes now to ignore not only the expressed wishes of American Jewry but also the facts of history and its own record on the subject of Palestine. It is clear that a new regime has come into control of the policies and attitudes of the Committee. In the past, the Committee approved of the Balfour Declaration and of the Palestine Mandate which recognizes the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and its right to rebuild its national home there. Under the inspiration of the late Louis Marshall, who was president of the American Jewish Committee, an enlarged Jewish Agency for Palestine was achieved, which included both Zionists and non-Zionists and which was based upon the acceptance of the principle of the Jewish National Home.



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#### Sees Retreat to Committee's 1916 Stand

"The American Jewish Committee has always represented itself as desirous of safeguarding Jewish rights all over the world. But as far as Jewish Palestine is concerned, where our people has obtained internationally accredited rights for the rebuilding of its national home, the Committee interposes compromises and reservations and would oppose every safeguard essential for the realization of that home.

"It generously allows that Jews should have the right to immigrate to Palestine as to other countries. This we are to regard as a tremendous concession! But it insists that the Jewish Agency must under no circumstances be vested with control over immigration, for that would mean that in the course of time, a Jewish majority would be established in Palestine and as a result the Jewish Commonwealth would be constituted. This must not be allowed to happen! Immigration is therefore to be entrusted to some international trusteeship which the American Jewish Committee now improvises out of thin air.

"This reversal on the part of the American Jewish Committee, representing a new and disruptive line in its policies, is clearly a retreat to 1916, when a small handful of Jews in this country and in England violently opposed the Balfour Declaration and attempted to arrest the march of the Jewish people to its rightful place in the world's family of nations. They failed then. They will fail now!"

#### HADASSAH CONVENTION CLOSES; MRS. MOSES P. EPSTEIN ELECTED PRESIDENT

NEW YORK, Oct. 28. (JTA)-- Resolutions expressing "full support" for the American Jewish Conference and appealing to the British people and government to abandon the White Paper policy were adopted here today at the closing session of the 29th annual convention of the Hadassah, which elected Mrs. Moses P. Epstein president of the organization for the next term.

The resolution on the White Paper also urged the U.S. Government and the American public "to add its voice" in support of the Jewish demand. Another resolution appeals to the "conscience of the democratic peoples and the governments of the United Nations" to help bring about the rescue of 29,000 Jewish children in Europe for whom certificates of entry into Palestine have been promised by the British Government.

The convention adopted a budget of \$1,620,000 to be spent during the next year for medical, post-war health, child welfare, vocational education, youth, refugee and land reclamation projects. Tribute was paid by the convention to King Christian X of Denmark, and King Gustaf V of Sweden for the heroism with which their peoples have defended Jewish citizens and refugees in both countries against the Nazis, by announcing the planting of two groves of trees in the name of these monarchs in the Holy Land.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, co-chairmen of the American Zionist Emergency Council, the chief speakers at the concluding session, concentrated upon a plea for the abrogation of the White Paper, which if implemented would curtail Jewish immigration into Palestine by March 1944; upon an attack on the British Palestine administration, which was accused of "staging" the recent arms-smuggling trials; and upon a demand for the creation of a Jewish Commonwealth.