



## The Abba Hillel Silver Digital Collection

Featuring collections from the Western Reserve Historical Society and  
The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives

**MS-4928: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, Series III, 1916-1945, undated.**

---

Box  
1

Folder  
3

American Zionist Emergency Council,  
1943 November-December, undated.

11.1.43

[Nov. 1, 1943]

## OUTLINE OF A PLAN FOR A CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE FOR PALESTINE

### I. TIME AND PLACE

The Christian Conference for Palestine would be held in the latter part of February, 1944. The most desirable site would be Washington. This might be possible despite travel restrictions, since no more than one hundred important persons would be expected to attend. In the event that this is considered undesirable, New York City is the second most desirable place.

### II. AUSPICES

The Christian Conference for Palestine would be initiated by the American Palestine Committee. Senator Robert F. Wagner as Chairman of the American Palestine Committee would serve as one of the Chairmen of the Conference and would invite the following others as possible co-chairmen: William Green, President, American Federation of Labor; Philip Murray, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations; Bishop Henry St. George Tucker, President, Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America; Herbert Agar, President, Freedom House, New York; Joseph W. Henderson, President, American Bar Association; Eric Johnston, President, United States Chamber of Commerce; Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson; Wendell Willkie; Honorable Frank Knox; Thomas J. Watson, President, International Business Machines; Raymond B. Fosdick, Director, Rockefeller Foundation; Reverend Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union; Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt; Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers; James G. McDonald and Dorothy Thompson. Several other names might be added, depending on the reaction of the foregoing to the invitation. The heads of liberal, labor, church, women's and similar organizations would be invited to serve as co-chairmen and vice-chairmen.

### III. INVITATIONS SCHEDULE

- (1) The first invitation to co-chairmen of the Conference would go out as promptly as it is approved by Senator Wagner.
- (2) As soon as word is received -- within two weeks at the latest -- of the reaction of those invited to become co-chairmen and vice-chairmen, invitations will go out to all members of the American Palestine Committee to join in sponsorship of the Conference.
- (3) Simultaneous with (2), Senator Wagner would address himself to the various organizations asking them to join with the American Palestine Committee in sponsorship of the Christian Conference for Palestine. The original invitations to chairmen will have been addressed to them in their individual capacity; the subsequent letters will ask for organizational identification. It will be necessary in the process of completing (1) and (3) that telephone calls be made to the respective individuals by the office of Senator Wagner.
- (4) It will then become necessary for individual friends of the Conference to send specialized invitations on their own stationery to certain colleagues who are to be invited to join in sponsorship of the Conference and to attend. Thus, people like Reverend Reinhold Niebuhr, Reverend Dr. Henry Atkinson, Messrs. William Green and Philip Murray, Pierre van Paassen, James G. McDonald, Dorothy Thompson, etc. would ask from five to ten friends to share in the Conference on a personal basis.



- (5) It will be desirable for the Chairman to extend special invitations for attendance to leading professors of sociology and international relations in a selected number of universities, insofar as their work touches upon the Middle East and the Jewish problem.
- (6) Beginning in the latter half of December, there will be a winnowing of the list of those who agreed to sponsor the Conference. Those most likely to attend will be asked to indicate their intention to attend the sessions.
- (7) Simultaneously, representative Jews in local communities will be sent the names of Christian leaders in their community who have signified their willingness to sponsor the Conference. Through these local contacts, leading Christians will be asked personally to make their business, as a matter of public interest, to attend the Conference.

#### IV. TENTATIVE AGENDA OF CONFERENCE

The exact details of the Conference agenda will have to depend on the personalities available. But, in general outline, the agenda would be on the following lines:

First session: Saturday night, 8:30 P.M.

"The Framework of the Jewish Problem" William Green, presiding

- The Need for Jewish Migration, James G. McDonald
- The Christian Obligation to Jews, Senator Robert F. Wagner
- Jewish Achievements in Palestine, Dr. Walter Lowdermilk

Second Session: Sunday, 10:30 A.M.

"America's Relation to Palestine" Dorothy Thompson, presiding

- The History of American Policy on Palestine, Professor Carl Friedrich
- Non-Partisan Support of the Jewish National Home, Senator McNary
- In Fulfillment of the Lodge Resolution, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

Third Session: Sunday, Luncheon

"Arab-Jewish Relations in the Middle East" Wendell Willkie, presiding

- Status of the Arabs in Palestine, Professor William F. Albright
- Arab-Jewish Relations in the Middle East, Pierre van Paassen
- Redressing Ancient Wrongs, Edgar Ansel Mowrer

Fourth Session: Sunday, 3:00 P.M.

"Christian America Speaks on the White Paper" Josephus Daniels, presiding

- The Voice of the Church, Rev. Reinhold Niebuhr
- The Voice of the Law, Joseph W. Henderson, President, American Bar Association

- The Voice of Humanity, Dr. Frank Kingdon
- The Voice of the Administration, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace





DRAFT OF A LETTER OF INVITATION TO CHRISTIAN CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE

Dear \_\_\_\_\_:

As the outlines of peace draw closer, it is desirable that certain broad principles of justice be stressed in the education of public opinion. One of the very great problems that challenge the imagination, vision and humanity of the United Nations, and particularly of our own Government, is the status of Palestine after the war as the Jewish National Home.

The Jews were the first instrument upon which Hitler tested his brutal theories of racial and world domination. Millions of Jews have been slaughtered in the succeeding years. All Christians feel that the world owes reparation to the Jewish people for the suffering they have endured. One of the most significant means by which this sympathy can be expressed is through the realization of the ancient dream that the homeless and harassed Jews might find safety, security and freedom in the ancestral Jewish homeland.

A number of us have given a great deal of thought to the matter and have decided to call a Christian Conference for Palestine, to be held in New York in February, 1944. It would bring together a limited number of leading figures in Government, social science, philanthropy, industry and human welfare for a discussion of the various problems surrounding the preparation and achievement of plans for the reestablishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. As Viscount Cecil remarked after the last war, it is a long overdue redress for the wrongs that Christendom has administered to the Jews. It is my hope that the Conference will be so carefully planned and have the benefit of such representative attendance that it may invoke international attention. If it does, it will offer some consolation in the midst of great despair for millions of Jews in Europe.

The purpose of this letter is to ask you to serve as one of several chairmen, together with myself, of this Christian Conference for Palestine. Plans for the conference and details of the sessions will be made available to you as we proceed.

It is my belief that if you would associate yourself in the capacity indicated with this Conference, you would be rendering a great public service and one which, I am sure, would earn the deep appreciation of the Jewish people.

I hope to hear from you at your earliest convenience, so that our further plans may be ~~made~~ accordingly.

Sincerely yours,

Robert F. Wagner  
Chairman

If approved, this letter is to go to:

William Green, President, American Federation of Labor  
Philip Murray, President, Congress of Industrial Organizations,  
Bishop Henry St. George Tucker, President, Federal Council of Churches  
of Christ in America



Herbert Agar, President, Freedom House, New York  
Joseph W. Henderson, President, American Bar Association  
Eric Johnston, President, U. S. Chamber of Commerce  
Mr. Justice Robert H. Jackson, Supreme Court of the United States  
Wendell Willkie  
Honorable Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy  
Thomas J. Watson, President, International Business Machines  
Raymond B. Fosdick, Rockefeller Foundation  
Reverend Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Church Peace Union  
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt  
Congresswoman Edith Nourse Rogers  
James G. McDonald  
Dorothy Thompson





*Donna Shinn / NW*  
*1944 20/10/43 15 31*

November 1, 1943

Honorable Bernard A. Rosenblatt, President  
Palestine Foundation Fund  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City

Dear Judge Rosenblatt:

I should like to convey to you the results of a meeting of the Finance and Personnel Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, held on Monday morning, November 1st. Those present, in addition to myself, were Abraham Goodman, Archibald Silverman, Abraham L. Liebovitz, Samuel Berson, Mark Sugarman, I. N. Kowalsky, Jacob Sincoff and Henry Montor.

In compliance with the directive of the Executive Committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council at its meeting on October 18th, our Committee revised its original budget of \$604,000 to \$509,382, this budget to finance the operations of the American Zionist Emergency Council for the period from October 15, 1943 to October 15, 1944. After a thorough analysis of the items which had been submitted in detail, the Finance and Personnel Committee voted to send a communication through me to the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth to make the following recommendations:

(1) that the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth agree to finance the budget to the amount of \$509,382, and that each provide \$254,691 for the period from October 15, 1943 to October 15, 1944;

(2) that at least half the sum, or more if possible, be paid out immediately to the American Zionist Emergency Council by each of the two organizations, and that the balance be made available in 1944 up to October 15 as sums are requisitioned by the American Zionist Emergency Council. It is considered advisable to pay out as substantial an amount as possible before the end of 1943 inasmuch as the Allotment Committee of the United Jewish Appeal for 1943 has already completed its findings with respect to the amount to be allotted to the Joint Distribution Committee and the United Palestine Appeal for 1943.

(3) It should be called to the attention of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth that certain items, which were included in the original budget of \$604,000, have been eliminated in the revised budget not because it is felt that these activities are unessential, but because the budget had to be drawn up in accordance with the amount which it was stated would become available. We are calling this to the attention of the Keren Hayesod and Keren Kayemeth and of the American Zionist Emergency Council in view of the possibility that subsequently the situation may compel us to submit requests for additional sums.



November 1, 1943

The members of the Finance and Personnel Committee would appreciate the earliest possible assurance of final action taken with regard to the above matters so that they may direct the financial activities of the Emergency Council accordingly.

May I add that I or other members of the Finance and Personnel Committee would be available for any session of your body which wishes to inquire into the nature and details of the budget of \$509,382 which was adopted at our meeting at the Sherry Netherland Hotel on Monday morning, November 1st.

With kindest regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Charles J. Rosenbloom

Chairman of Finance and Personnel Committee

CJR:MFE





[Nov. 1, 1943]

6.

# PRESS RELEASE

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

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

176

FOR RELEASE Tuesday, Nov. 2.

WENDELL WILLKIE URGES ABROGATION OF WHITE PAPER

In message to Balfour Day meeting in New York

-----

Declaring that the United Nations must prevent the closing of Palestine either as a temporary haven or as a permanent home, Wendell L. Willkie, the 1940 Republican presidential nominee, last night called for the abrogation of the White Paper, which bars Jewish immigration into Palestine next April.

Mr. Willkie voiced his plea in a message to a meeting of New York Jewish leaders at Carnegie Hall, West 57th Street, marking the 26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration, in which the British Government pledged its support for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

"The policy of the White Paper mirrors the era of appeasement which gave it birth, and, as that philosophy has been discredited, so must the White Paper be abrogated," Mr. Willkie wrote.

"The extent of Jewish immigration to Palestine must be measured by the needs of the Jewish people and by their ability to develop their homeland in accordance with the international covenant made with them...

"It will be a shameful blot on the conscience of mankind if this promise is extinguished."

The meeting adopted a resolution addressing an appeal to President Franklin D. Roosevelt "that all appropriate action be taken to ensure the withdrawal in its entirety" of the Palestine White Paper "with its unjustifiable restrictions on immigration and land settlement."

The resolution urged that the gates of Palestine be opened to Jewish immigration and that Palestine be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth, "to the end that the Jewish people may be enabled to take its rightful place in the progressive order of mankind, which, we pray, may issue from this struggle."

The meeting was addressed by Miss Dorothy Thompson, commentator on international affairs, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council, Mrs. Judith Epstein, president of Hadassah, Rabbi Joseph H. Lookstein, speaking for orthodox Jewry, and Baruch Zuckerman, representing Labor Zionists. Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, under whose auspices the meeting was held, presided.

(more)

The Willkie message, which was read by Mr. Herman Shulman, of New York, expressed the Republican leader's conviction that the promise contained in the Balfour Declaration "must be fulfilled in accordance with its clear intent and underlying purposes."

In America, Mr. Willkie continued, "every person must be made aware of his individual responsibility for this accomplishment."

He asserted that up to the present time "no effective measures have been taken to rescue the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe who are still alive." The recent demonstrations by Denmark and Sweden "show with dramatic clarity that the will to act honorably continues to live in Europe.

"The splendid defiance of these two small democracies must be followed and strengthened by measures of direct action by the United Nations."

Willkie, who visited Palestine on his trip around the world, said that "the Jewish people have expressed their eagerness to co-operate fully with the Arabs in Palestine" and he said he was convinced that a just solution "which will be equitable both to the Jews and Arabs "can, must and will be worked out so that the world of tomorrow may justify the struggle of today."

The resolution adopted by the assembly declared that the White Paper threatens the very existence of the Jewish National Home.

"It does so at a time when millions of Europe's Jews have perished at the hand of the Nazi oppressor, and when it has become clear, as never before, that the solution of the problem of homeless Jewry is in their re-establishment as a nation in Palestine.

"The Palestine White Paper was condemned at the time by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations and was denounced as a breach of trust by many who later led Britain in her hour of darkest trial.

"The Palestine White Paper is legally, morally and humanly indefensible."

Among other messages received was one from Governor Thomas E. Dewey, of New York, who said that one of the causes of the present war was the failure to solve the problems of minorities after the last one.

"Now, even more than after the last war, it is essential that a way be found to open the doors of Palestine," Dewey wrote.

(more)



Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, cabled from London:

"On this 26th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration and at a turning point in the world's history, I greet all friends here assembled. We are passing through a time of persecution and massacre unparalleled even in Jewish history and in these terrible days, the gates of Palestine have stood no more than ajar. Yet Palestine remains our star of hope.

"Those inside Jewry who still remain lukewarm or stand aside should remember that but for our work half a million Jews now in Palestine would have shared the fate of European Jewry.

"Now we aim to put our utmost strength into the great task facing us. Every Jew must answer before his own conscience for help or hindrance now to his people's cause. The Yishuv is undergoing great strain. They will remain steady and unshakable. But it is for you to stand by them."

Miss Dorothy Thompson, commentator on international affairs, asserted that it was no longer a question as to whether there should be a Jewish homeland.

"The question is, shall the Jewish Homeland be allowed to grow and thrive, or shall the existing Jewish Homeland be destroyed?" she said.

"It can be destroyed, of course, in one of two ways. It can be blotted out as the Polish ghetto was blotted out by the gestapo or it can be allowed to die a lingering death."

The first step toward disentanglement of the problems of the Near East "must be a clear-cut division of the political spheres of sovereignty of Jews and Arabs." That division, Miss Thompson said, was clearly implied in the Balfour Declaration.

"But implied or not, it is obvious, in practical politics, that it is essential. Until that is done, there can be nothing but strife with the British continually mediating between contending interests.

"Until it is clear that here the Arabian world stops and the Jewish world begins, there will be neither a Jewish nor an Arab sovereignty anywhere in the Middle East but only a British, de facto, if not de jure.

"Now to pretend that the British Empire, or better the United Nations, or even the Anglo-American powers alone, cannot do this is preposterous.

"To admit that after this war in which they will be victorious over all the existing powerful enemies, they cannot draw a frontier, and say, 'Beyond this is Jewish, beyond that is Arabian', is simply to admit that they cannot draw any frontiers or, indeed, deal with the Colonial problem at all.

(more)

"The tactics of playing off one people against another, and vice versa, and holding the balance has not worked at all well since war flamed and it will never again achieve any stability anywhere.

"And you cannot reverse history either without being guilty of the utmost frivolity, a crime for which history alone seldom knows forgiveness."

Miss Thompson declared that under the Balfour Declaration it was not suggested that Palestine should be opened merely as a refuge for the persecuted.

"Palestine was to be a National Home, that is to say, the home of the Jewish nation," she said.

She asserted that she could see no solution to the problem of conflicting interests in the Near East "in the present pattern of Colonial power and of League of Nations, so called mandates.

In the past, she said, the Mandatory had considered chiefly its own interests, "and I see no reason to hope that any such Mandatory power in any future is likely to do anything else." She said she spoke with "malice towards none" and least of all the British, for the British have their own problems and of tremendous significance." She insisted that the problems of the Arabian and Jewish homelands would have to be solved in the framework of a new world order.

Dr. Stephen S. Wise said:

"This is a day of joyous remembrance and of mournful reflection: joyous remembrance of the issuance of a great instrument, a charter which after the World War gave to the Jewish people a new hope and a new opportunity; mournful reflection because Balfour's England has not presided over the Palestine government throughout the more than a quarter of a century that has passed. Too often, and most especially at this moment, the Jewish rebuilders of Palestine have had not facilitation nor furtherance from that Palestine government which may have represented the Colonial Office, but has utterly misrepresented the spirit of Balfour's England and the English people. Had the British instead of the Palestine government cooperated with us, Palestine today might in every sense be Jewish, as President Wilson said some in 1918 he expected Palestine again to become.

"But one thing more remains to be said. There might have been a Jewish Palestine today, if Jews of influence and power and circumstance -- such as they who recently withdrew from the American Jewish Conference -- had given their furtherance and their facilitation to the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home. These have failed us but the Jewish National Home is being created. It will be, provided the Jews the world over deeply care and greatly help, provided the United Nations act in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter."

(more)



"The oft-repeated formula that all will be well with European Jewry when Hitler is vanquished is a snare and a delusion" said Dr. Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, who presided.

"In the war's aftermath, with its economic dislocations and social turmoil, Jews will again be the scapegoat. It will take generations before the poisons sowed by Nazism can be eradicated. Let those who talk of enforced repatriation after the war consider that for most Jews enforced repatriation may mean enforced reincarceration.

"For great numbers of European Jews, Palestine alone will appeal as the only means of economic, social and psychological rehabilitation. Neither enforced repatriation nor enforced emigration should be tolerated, but for those who choose to emigrate as well as for those who choose to be repatriated every facility should be provided."

Dr. Goldstein criticized "irresponsible" suggestions proposing the transfer of Arabs from Palestine to Iraq as unauthorized by "any responsible Jewish body here or abroad." He said they emanated from the same irresponsible elements which announced that Rumanian Jews could be saved at \$50 a head and which recently brought hundreds of rabbis to Washington on the spurious assurance that the President would receive them.

"We repudiate any solution of the Palestine problem conditioned upon the transfer of its Arab population and we declare that Palestine can accommodate millions of Jews in addition to its present population."

Closing of the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration next April would be equivalent to "consigning to ruin and ravage, hundreds of thousands of Jewish children and hundreds of thousands of adults who will be caught in the maelstrom of post-war European chaos and for whom emigration to Palestine would be the most feasible and the most available means of rehabilitation and salvation."

Mrs. Epstein, new president of Hadassah, recalled that 26 years ago, she had participated as a member of a choral group in a great celebration that marked the granting of the Balfour Declaration. At that time, Dr. Wise, holding aloft a copy of the Balfour Declaration, had said, "this is not a scrap of paper. This declaration is written in the English language."

"After 26 years, we return to the thought which Dr. Wise expressed at that time," Mrs. Epstein continued.

"We believe that the Anglo-Saxon spirit of fair-play, of decency and justice will conquer, that expediency as a philosophy will be discarded; and that Great Britain will live up to the great traditions of her history and will act in a spirit that is in consonance with the magnificent role which she has played in

(more)

this war and which we believe she will and must play in the new and better world which will emerge from this holocaust.

Rabbi Joseph Lookstein criticized those who protest against the White Paper but oppose a Jewish Commonwealth.

"Whosoever consciously opposes a Jewish Commonwealth subconsciously approves the White Paper," he declared. "You cannot favor Palestine as a place of refuge and doom the next generation to the fate of refugees. You cannot speak of Jewish need today and doom the Jews of tomorrow. You cannot be honest to Jewish history if you stab Jewish destiny in the back."

--30--

#6/11/1/43





C  
O  
P  
Y

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
TIMES SQUARE

November 2, 1943

Dear Dr. Silver:

I presume that in the long history of Israel other leaders also permitted their fire to consume their judgment and that they, too, misrepresented those who did not see eye to eye with them.

I have read your recent attack upon me and The New York Times in the columns of that paper --- that is where one does read Zionist as well as other news --- and I am prompted to write you because I think you should have certain facts, all of which easily could have been obtained had the religious spirit of the Rabbi not been dominated by political considerations. But, since you won't seek the truth, I send it to you.

Up to twelve months ago I was not an anti-Zionist. I have never approved of the conception of Jewish statehood, but I have classed myself solely as a non-Zionist, and made this distinction because I could not bring myself affirmatively to deny to any group, no matter what its common denominator, the right to seek a country of its own. And then last November I made a speech in Baltimore, in which I urged upon my fellow countrymen who were not of Jewish faith the need of exercising care before lending their names to the cause of a Jewish Army or extreme Zionist positions. I am enclosing a copy of that speech, which I read. I did not interpolate. I urged this course because I knew that we were about to land in Africa and fight in a Moslem country (we did so a week after) and the lives of my countrymen and the cause of the United Nations were my sole concern.

You probably will not agree that agitation for a Jewish Army or a Jewish state makes trouble in Arab lands. That is your privilege. All I ask is the right to speak my mind without having a Zionist barrage of misrepresentation directed against me, for that is what happened; and, interestingly enough, the result was my conversion from a non to an anti-Zionist. I believe that it would be fundamentally bad judgment to entrust the responsibility of statehood to any group which so willfully perverts and distorts facts --- a group which seeks to destroy the character of individuals who differ with it, or the reputation of newspapers which report that which the group would rather have suppressed. I am opposed to Goebbels' tactics whether or not they are confined to Nazi Germany.

You are inaccurate when you associate me with the American Jewish Committee. I have never been a member of it, nor have I any influence upon its policies. If I had, the Committee would never have sent delegates to the American Jewish Conference, for it was obvious to me from the beginning that the Conference was a Zionist maneuver --- and I have no lack of respect for your political astuteness. Believing, as I do, that Judaism is a faith and a faith only, it was with real regret, that I tendered my resignation as a member of the Executive Committee of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations when they, too, agreed to send delegates to a strictly Jewish meeting gathered together for other than religious purposes.



You don't know - and you couldn't have known without asking me - that I was originally associated with the American Council for Judaism. I helped prepare its statement and am entirely in sympathy with it. On the other hand, when they determined to release the statement during the period of the Conference I withdrew my support. I did this because I felt that the news at that time belonged to the Conference.

I suppose you find it difficult to comprehend that I am concerned with equity for Zionists as well as for others, or that The Times values its warranted reputation for objective reporting too much to stoop to your methods. But then I'm not a religious leader - merely a working newspaper man who takes pride in his own and his journal's integrity.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) Arthur Hays Sulzberger

Rev. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. and Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Enclosure

L

P.S. I am sending copies of this letter to several people and do not regard it as private.





C  
O  
P  
Y

November 9, 1943

Mr. Arthur Hays Sulzberger  
Publisher, The Times  
Times Square  
New York, N. Y.

My dear Mr. Sulzberger:

I would not reply to your intemperate letter of November 2nd but for the fact that you broadcast it. This compels me to reply in order to correct certain false impressions which your letter might create. I trust that you will send copies of my letter to the people to whom you addressed copies of yours.

1) I did not state in my address before the Hadassah Convention that you were a member of the American Jewish Committee and that you urged the withdrawal of the Committee from the American Jewish Conference. I traced the attitude of the American Jewish Committee since the issuance of the Balfour Declaration in 1917 and showed that under the statesmanlike leadership of men of the type of Louis Marshall, Felix Warburg and Cyrus Adler, it had been possible to achieve friendly collaboration which culminated, in 1929, in the enlarged Jewish Agency when Zionists and non-Zionists together, and on the basis of equality, assumed responsibility and authority in the upbuilding of Palestine. This action, I stressed, was predicated upon the acceptance by all of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which recognizes the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to establish their national home there. I read at length the resolution which was unanimously adopted at Zurich on August 15, 1929, by the Council of the enlarged Jewish Agency in which it "rejoices that all Israel is united for the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine and calls upon every Jew throughout the world to rally to the sacred cause". The resolution expressed "its appreciation to Great Britain for the issuance of the Balfour Declaration", and confidently hoped "that the Mandatory will cooperate with the enlarged Agency in fully realizing the great aim set by the Declaration and the Mandate."

I then stated that there has been a sharp departure from the historic line of the American Jewish Committee in recent months, a definite break with the past, and that a new leadership has taken hold of that organization which represents not the earlier attitude of non-Zionists, but that of anti-Zionist bitter-enders in our country. Among these I mentioned Lessing Rosenwald, the chairman of the American Council for Judaism, Judge Proskauer, present head of the American Jewish Committee, and yourself, in your capacity as president and publisher of the "New York Times". I regret the fact that by bracketing your name with the other two who are members of the American Jewish Committee an impression was conveyed that you, too, belonged to it.

But wherein have you been wronged by such an unintentional identification? And why do you feel that I and other Zionists have "perverted and distorted" your position? Surely you approve the action of the American Jewish Committee in with-



November 9, 1943

drawing from the Conference. You state in your letter that you would have urged the American Jewish Committee, in the first place, not to send delegates to the Conference because you were convinced that the Conference was a "Zionist Maneuver". You say that you resigned from the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations because that body did choose to send delegates to the Conference. Wherein, then, has your position been misrepresented? And why do you act the part of innocence abused?

2) You complain that Zionists are out to destroy your character because you differ from them. Actually you as an individual and your character do not interest the Zionists, nor the Jews of America, at all. No reference was made in my address to you or to your character. I mentioned you only in your capacity as president and publisher of the "Times", and my strictures were not against you personally, but against the "Times". I made certain definite charges against the "Times", none of which you take the trouble to answer in your letter. I will here enumerate them again so as not to permit you to shift the issue on to a plane where it does not belong.

3) The "New York Times" has not reported Zionist news impartially and objectively as befits a responsible newspaper. Your anti-Zionist bias has colored its news and determined its editorial policy. It is not a true statement of fact nor, for that matter, much of a tribute to the manner in which you arrive at fundamental conclusions, when you state that up to twelve months ago you were a non-Zionist but that as a result of the "barrage of misrepresentations" directed against you since your Baltimore speech in November 1942, you have become an anti-Zionist. You have a short memory, my dear Mr. Sulzberger. As far back as January of that year, nearly ten months before your Baltimore address, the "Times" published that well known editorial on the "Zionist Army" in which you attacked not only the movement to create a Jewish Army of Palestinian and stateless Jews, which your editorial in a very unfair and jaundiced manner called a "Zionist" army, just as on another occasion the "Times" coined the phrase the "Zionist" instead of the Jewish National Home, but the whole idea of the Jewish National Home. "The primary reason for the creation of a separate Zionist Army at this time would be of course to establish a Zionist state as one of the official war aims of the United Nations...But the wisdom of the Zionist objective has been questioned by many people including many who are themselves of the Jewish faith; and much misunderstanding may arise among people of other faiths if this objective comes to be regarded as an expression of the full hopes of Jews and of those who fight the wrongs done them. These hopes can not be achieved by the creation of a Zionist (sic!) state. They can be achieved only by the fulfillment of the Atlantic Charter, etc. etc."

This editorial, you will recall, aroused great resentment among the Jews of America and called forth an official statement of protest from the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs. It is therefore not accurate to state that the attacks made by Zionists on you, since your Baltimore address, have converted you from a non to an anti-Zionist. You and your newspaper have been anti-Zionist right along. In fact the "Times" was fighting Zionism back in 1917. The sole editorial reaction of the "Times" to the issuance of the historic Balfour Declaration was an expression in its columns on November 24, 1917 of a fear that the Zionist project might involve the possibility of a recurrence of anti-Semitism, and further that "multitudes of Orthodox Jews still cherish the belief that the return to Zion is to be preceded by the coming of Elijah, and among these there is either indifference to the proposed establishment of the Jewish state, or doubt as to the wisdom of the movement..." Under your piloting in recent years the hostility of the "Times" to the national aspirations of Israel in Palestine has been sharply intensified. You seem to have dowered the "Times" with a mission to fight Zionism.



November 9, 1943

We Zionists can not all match your own unimpeachable integrity, but if your anti-Zionist position has any intellectual consistency at all, we must assume that even if all of us were like yourself, without blot or blemish, you and your paper would still be opposed to the Jewish National Home in Palestine because, as you state in another part of your letter, you believe that Judaism is a faith, and a faith only. It follows therefore that the Jewish people, or sect, should not seek any political or national solutions of its problems.

Your bitter reaction to criticism suggests that you are laboring under some strange delusion. You seem to think that attacks on Zionism and Zionists such as are made by the American Council for Judaism of which you are a member and with whose program you say you are in complete sympathy, constitute a legitimate exercise of free speech. It is perfectly proper to brand Zionism as inimical to the welfare of Jews everywhere, and as responsible for keeping Jewish refugees out of Palestine. It is perfectly proper to brand Zionists as guilty of a double allegiance. But to attack those who make such statements and to express indignation at such brazen falsehoods is, to use your own elegant phrase, "Goebbels' tactics". You would like immunity from criticism while indulging in criticism yourself to your heart's content

A friend of yours in the American Council for Judaism, Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, recently took the same position which you take. He, too, is indignant at criticism levelled against him. Recently he came to Cleveland for a meeting of the American Council for Judaism, preceded by a flock of telegrams sent out from Philadelphia to many people in Cleveland inviting them to attend. The public press likewise carried the announcement of the meeting. The meeting was held and Mr. Rosenwald and his friends had their say. No one interfered with their right to utter their views. But because the Cleveland Jewish Community Council decided to utilize the occasion to express its own views on the American Council for Judaism and to inform the community concerning the composition, purpose and tactics of the Council, Mr. Rosenwald was moved to address a communication to the president of the Cleveland Jewish Community Council, since published by him, sharply criticizing that body for "having forgotten the right of free speech" and for putting itself in opposition to "one of the basic tenets of our Constitution"....

Free speech must be responsible speech, and no man should expect immunity from criticism if his opinions and utterances on vital Jewish issues are regarded as false and misleading. Those who are too thin-skinned should not enter the arena of public discussion and controversy or should not whimper when they are hurt.

4) Again and again the "Times" has transformed itself into a transmission belt for anti-Zionist propaganda. It never misses an opportunity to focus attention on the anti-Zionist viewpoint. Last May and June, the "Times" carried a series of articles by Cyrus L. Sulzberger. The evident purpose of these dispatches from Cairo, Baghdad and Ankara was to press for a crystallization of American policy in the Middle East when it could only be in the interest of the Arabs. Mr. Sulzberger was not here functioning as an objective reporter, but as a commentator seeking to affect policy in an anti-Zionist Direction. It was quite apparent that Mr. Sulzberger was collaborating for the issuance of that joint statement by Great Britain and the United States which would have done irreparable harm to Jewish life in Palestine as well as affecting unfavorably the status of the Jews in this country. In the "Times" of August 22, Mr. Sulzberger reported finally, and with ill-concealed disappointment, that the governments had refused to issue such a statement for which he had been so zealously plugging.

5) The series of stories which appeared in the "Times" beginning on July 30 and carried through to August 3, also from the pen of Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and



November 9, 1943

which carried such scare headlines as "Palestine Fears Deeds of Despair", "Palestine Faces Clash After War" and "Palestine Arabs Fear Loss of Land", was patently designed to create the impression that there was a state of terrible tension, verging on civil war, in Palestine and that therefore no changes should be made in the White Paper policy closing the doors of Palestine to Jewish immigration early next year, because such changes might endanger the security of the armies of the United Nations in the Near East. This, of course, was the official line taken by the Palestine Administration, which is determined at all costs to save the White Paper. "The Times", alone among the papers in the United States, lent itself lock, stock and barrel to this panic propaganda.

This series of articles also suggested that the overwhelming desire of the Jews of Palestine to assist in the prosecution of the war was motivated not by their wish to help destroy Hitlerism in the world, but by a cunning calculation to militarize the Jewish population of Palestine in preparation for the threatened conflict with the Arabs. These articles, you will recall, likewise elicited a formal protest from the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

6) In August and September of this year, there appeared the notorious series of articles in the "Times" on the arms trials in Jerusalem. The "Times" devoted an amazing amount of space to the routine trials of a few gun-runners in Palestine. It went to great lengths to present the anti-Zionist and anti-Jewish opinions of the British Major who transformed the trial into an anti-Zionist propaganda putsch and into a smear attack on the Jewish Agency. The "Times" correspondent, A. C. Sedgewick, took it upon himself to editorialize the news and to express judgment on Mr. Ben Gurion's criticism of the trials and his description of Major Verdin's address as "characteristic of the lowest type of anti-Semitism". Mr. Sedgewick opined that "many find it hard not to consider such a description exaggerated, especially when the Nazi excesses in Berlin and Warsaw are borne in mind", and further, "that there are many, too, who feel that any charge of anti-Semitism in its accepted sense is most noticeably incompatible with the military court proceedings against the Jewish defendants which are carried out with a scrupulousness and courtesy designed to preclude any such castigation."

But on November 3, the Jewish Council of Palestine felt constrained to call for a two-hour strike during which work in all Jewish enterprises throughout the country stopped, in order to protest the incitements and false accusations against the Jews of Palestine voiced by British military officials during the arms trials....

7) It has now become a commonplace in news about Zionism emanating from Palestine and appearing in the "Times" to find the word "extremist" employed as an adjective to describe the official policy of the Zionist Movement and the Jewish Agency. "Extremist" has an ugly connotation, and the trick now is to present the official and classic Zionist position which calls for the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration in letter and spirit, and the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as "extremist".

8) From the very beginning the "Times" became the mouthpiece of the American Council for Judaism. No other paper in the United States found it necessary to give that insignificant group the space and publicity which the "Times" gave it. It was the "Times" and only the "Times" which devoted so much space to the release of the American Council for Judaism during the week of the Conference. You stated that you did not approve of the release of that statement during the Conference. But the "Times" did give it a large and provocative display which no other paper in New York City, or in the country, found it necessary to do on the basis of objective reporting. Similarly, an examination of the "Times" coverage of the American Jewish Conference



November 9, 1943

will disclose that an unusual effort was made to give prominent display to the viewpoint of the very small minority in the Conference which dissented from the Palestine resolution.

9) In the "Review of the Week" published on Sunday, September 5th, the "Times" conveyed an erroneous impression when it declared that speakers at the American Jewish Conference demanded the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine while neglecting to say that the Conference voted almost unanimously in favor of it. Continuing, the "Times" dismissed the American Jewish Conference with forty-two words and then gave twice that space to the position of the American Council for Judaism. The device is transparent. This insignificant handful of individuals is not only paralleled in importance with the Conference which represented every Jewish community and nearly every national Jewish organization in the United States, but is even rated above it.

It is clear, my dear Mr. Sulzberger, to any impartial observer, that the "Times" has been following a definite anti-Zionist policy. The Jews of America who are overwhelmingly in sympathy with Zionism, as the recent Conference clearly demonstrated, resent this fact, and are making their resentment audible and will continue to do so. Their criticism is due not to any hostility to you personally or to your paper. It is due entirely to the wrong and hurtful policy which your paper has been pursuing and which is calculated to do great harm to a cause which is dear to the hearts of our people all over the world, and which has now entered upon its historic hour of decision.



Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK



FORTY-FIVE REFORM RABBIS JOINTLY REPUDIATE DR. MORGENSTERN'S VIEWS ON PALESTINE

BOSTON, Nov. 2. (JTA)-- Forty-five reform rabbis from all parts of the country, all alumni of the Hebrew Union College, today issued a joint statement deploring the views on Zionism and Palestine recently expressed by Dr. Julian Morgenstern, president of the Hebrew Union College.

The statement, made public by Rabbi Joshua Loti Liebman of Boston, calls for the "establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth with democracy, freedom and equal rights for all the inhabitants, Arab as well as Jew." It declares that Dr. Morgenstern's remarks on Zionism and Palestine "appear to us as detrimental to the constructive solution of the problem of Jewish homelessness in this time of sorrow for world Israel."

"We believe," the statement says, "that Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth is that constructive solution. It is for this reason that we profoundly disagree with the reported views of Dr. Morgenstern both on the necessity of Palestine and the nature of Zionism. We reject his view that Palestine will not be the most important and invaluable factor in the rehabilitation of the Jewish people. We likewise reject the idea that Jewish nationalism is in any way 'practically identical with Nazi and Fascist theory.' It is untrue and unfair so to characterize a movement which enjoys the loyalty of so many alumni of the Hebrew Union College, and in which they see great spiritual significance. The Central Conference of American Rabbis in its convention this past June passed a resolution which declared that Zionism and reform Judaism are not incompatible, a resolution which Dr. Morgenstern himself supported."

"We cannot help but regard it as tragic at this crucial hour in Jewish history for any obstacles to be placed in the way of the fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the free immigration of Jews to Palestine and the establishment of Palestine as a national home for hundreds of thousands of Jews who will need and will want to leave the haunted house of Eastern and Central Europe that Hitler has created, and who can find their individual and collective restoration best in the ancient land of their fathers."

"We therefore vigorously dissent from Dr. Morgenstern's viewpoint on Zionism and Palestine as it has been reported in the press of the country, and we affirm our equally vigorous support of the Palestine resolution adopted at the American Jewish Conference in September, a resolution which calls for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth, with democracy, freedom, and equal rights for all of its inhabitants, Arab as well as Jew - a Commonwealth that alone can make possible a basic solution to the present Jewish tragedy."

The statement is signed, in addition to Rabbi Liebman, by the following: Rabbi Morton M. Applebaum, Rabbi Garry J. August, Rabbi Solomon N. Bazell, Rabbi Albert T. Bilgray, Rabbi Philip D. Bookstaber, Rabbi William G. Braude, Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner, Rabbi Frederick Doppelt, Rabbi Leon I. Feuer, Rabbi Herbert E. Droos, Rabbi Jerome D. Folkman, Rabbi Leon Fram, Rabbi Eric Friedland, Rabbi Milton L. Grafman, Rabbi Avery J. Crossfield, Rabbi Melbourne Harris, Rabbi Bernard Heller, Rabbi James G. Heller, Rabbi Jacob H. Kaplan, Rabbi Julius Kerman, Rabbi Arthur J. Lelyveld, Rabbi Hershel Levin, Rabbi Irving M. Levy, Rabbi Samson H. Levey, Rabbi Lee J. Levinger, Rabbi Felix A. Levy, Rabbi Theodore N. Lewis, Rabbi Maurice Lyons, Rabbi Samuel H. Markowitz, Rabbi S. Felix Mendelsohn, Rabbi Louis D. Mendoza, Rabbi Harry B. Pastor, Rabbi Jacob Polish, Rabbi Max Raisin, Rabbi Marius Ranson, Rabbi Efraim M. Rosenzweig, Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver, Rabbi Phineas Smoller, Rabbi Mordecai M. Thurman, Rabbi Joshua Trachtenberg, Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein, Rabbi Harvey E. Wessel, Rabbi Samuel Wohl, Rabbi Samuel Wolk.



PRESS RELEASE from

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL  
41 East 42nd Street  
New York City Murray Hill 2-1160

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELYLABOR UNITED IN DEMAND TO KEEP DOORS OF PALESTINE OPEN FOR JEWISH IMMIGRATION

-----

The two major wings of America's labor movement have united in demanding that the gates of Palestine shall not be closed to Jewish immigration as would result from the British White Paper which would prohibit all Jews from entering that country after March 31, 1944.

The Congress of Industrial Organizations in convention in Philadelphia last week adopted a resolution calling for the abrogation of the Palestine White Paper, issued by the Chamberlain government in May, 1939, which it attacked as "discriminatory, unfair, unjust and a hindrance to the war effort."

The American Federation of Labor went on record to the same effect in its meeting at Boston last month.

In supporting Jewish aspirations in the Jewish National Home, the two American labor organizations have joined with the British Labor Party and the CCF, the Labor Party of Canada. Both organizations last summer voiced opposition to existing policies in Palestine and called for abolition of immigration restrictions.

The CIO resolution urged the United Nations to warn the Nazis that atrocities against the Jewish people will be avenged. It requested that refugees be given full immigration opportunities and that adequate measures be taken to save the Jewish people in Nazi-occupied countries. It also called for a vigorous fight against anti-Semitism in this country.

The resolution supported the demand of Palestinian Jews for full opportunities for unrestricted participation in the war.

In its resolution, the American Federation of Labor urged "that the right of the Jewish people to a national home in Palestine be reaffirmed and that every aid and encouragement be given to enable the victims of Nazi persecution to be settled upon their ancient soil and make it bloom once more as it did in the days of the prophets."

Dominant group in Jewish Palestine today is the Histadruth, the Palestine Federation of Labor, which affects some 200,000 people and which wields majority influence in the political and economic life of the country.



## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date November 9, 1943

From Mr. Henry Montor

I had a lengthy discussion on November 8th with Mr. Shulman, to check on his visit to Washington last Wednesday and Thursday.

- (1) Will Rogers, Jr. will not leave the Jewish Army group. He is completely sold on them. (I am trying to follow through with our Los Angeles friends) ✓
- (2) The letter of invitation to members of the American Palestine Committee has been approved on the basis that it is to be jointly signed by Senators Wagner and McNary, which would be excellent. ✓
  - (a) Senator Wagner has already given his signature
  - (b) Leo Sack, our Washington contact, was to meet with Senator McNary on November 8 to get his approval. But the Senator was laid up with sinus and will be seen (I hope) on November 9.

These delays seem an inevitable part of conducting public action which is approved by responsible public figures.

- (3) Senator Wagner wishes the American Palestine Committee to sponsor the Christian Conference. Other Christian groups will be asked to be co-sponsors. It is suggested that Washington would be the most desirable place for such a conference. I agree.
- (4) I will probably be in Washington on Friday, November 12th -- to see Raymond Clapper, Philip Levy, secretary to Senator Wagner, and Meyer Jacobstein, of the Brookings Institute. Mr. Shulman is trying to arrange to go there the same day so that we can complete details with Senator Wagner about the A.P.C. and the Conference. ✓
- (5) During the latter meeting, Mr. Shulman will talk to Senator Wagner about a visit with the President. Senator Wagner is prepared to do this and wishes as much background information as possible. ✓
- (6) Through Leo Sack, an effort is being made to suggest to Senator Connally that he invite you to attend a formal session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. You will be going there not as a lawyer but as a prominent Jewish leader appealing to the good will of legislators. I will discuss this with you further, when it materializes. ✓

There were two alternatives: (1) that Senator Burton, in a private way, invite his fellow-members of the Foreign Relations Committee to meet with an important Ohio constituent; (2) that Senator Connally arrange a formal meeting. I trust you agree with me that the latter procedure is preferable.



- (7) Mr. Shulman has been in touch with Dr. Jacob Robinson, head of the World Jewish Congress Research Institute. He was asked to prepare the legal brief on the White Paper case. He said this would take at least six weeks to two months of concentrated work, so that it would be an acceptable legal document. The President of the American Bar Association is being approached. The former President thinks it a good idea and felt it would be important to get the approval of Prof. Philip Jessup, Professor of Law at Columbia, and powerful figure in the various research groups. The latter angle will be followed up.

HM:BR



AMERICAN EMERGENCY COMMITTEE FOR ZIONIST AFFAIRS

41 EAST 42nd STREET, NEW YORK

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*Date* November 9, 1943

*From* Mr. Henry Montor

Attached herewith for your information is a copy of the letter ~~which~~ went out over the signatures of Mr. Gross and yourself to various national organizations, a list of which is attached.

You will note that no such letter went out to the American Jewish Committee and the Agudas Israel. Have you any comment to make on that?

HM:TMN



# *American Zionist Emergency Council*

## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

41 EAST 42nd STREET  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
Murray Hill 2-1160

On March 31, 1944 the British White Paper on Palestine will go into effect. It will suspend all Jewish immigration into Palestine. It is a prospect which will have ominous consequences for the Jewish community in Palestine and for the Jewish people throughout the world. The American Zionist Emergency Council makes this formal request of

to join in the mobilization of American public opinion to the end that the British Government may be prevailed upon to withdraw the White Paper.

The White Paper was issued in May 1939 as one of the means by which Great Britain under Prime Minister Chamberlain hoped to avert war by appeasing aggression. It is the one document of that appeasement era which has not been rescinded. It is our conviction that all American Jews are united in their opposition to this document. In the first place, it establishes a principle that Jews may be excluded from a country because of their religious belief. This principle has far-reaching implications for the status of the Jews in the post-war world. In the second place, it repudiates the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine Mandate, the British and international pledges under which the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home was inaugurated with the moral and material support of the Jews of America and other lands. In the third place, it constitutes a cruel blow to the Jewish people in the midst of their greatest sorrows as millions are destroyed in Europe because they are Jews.

The American Zionist Emergency Council is initiating an effort in which it asks your cooperation: to bring to the attention of Christian and Jewish public opinion, and finally of the legislative and executive bodies of the United States, the cruelty, the illegality and the inhumanity of the British White Paper. This task requires the utmost of our energy because we have only three or four months in which to arouse our country to a realization of the great wrong that would be committed if the White Paper went into effect as intended on March 31, 1944.

There are many ways in which  
can be of service.

These are two suggestions which we submit for your immediate consideration.



(1) We respectfully urge the adoption by your appropriate body of a resolution voicing the opposition of your organization to the White Paper, calling for its abandonment by Great Britain and petitioning our own Government to use its influence with our British ally to that end. The public issuance of such a declaration by your organization would have an important effect in the molding of public opinion;

(2) We urge your prompt communication with the heads of your local groups throughout the country stating your own position with respect to the White Paper and urging their cooperation with the local Emergency Committees on Palestine which are now being organized throughout the nation as part of this mobilization of public opinion.

A great danger to the Jewish people must be averted. The future of Palestine must be safeguarded. The time in which to act is limited. We are confident that you will understand the significance of your action at this time and will cooperate accordingly.

May we have word from you at the earliest possible moment in response to this appeal.

Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver  
Chairman of Executive Committee

Joel Gross  
Chairman of Community Contacts Committee



AMERICAN JEWISH CONFERENCE DEPLORES WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

NEW YORK, Nov. 10. (JTA)-- The American Jewish Conference, through its interim committee, today issued a statement deploring the withdrawal of the American Jewish Committee from the Conference and emphasizing that the door has been left open for the return of the Committee.

"Through its action, the American Jewish Committee has isolated itself from the American Jewish Community at the most perilous hour in the history of our people," the statement reads. "Its reaction will be deeply deplored and resented by millions of Jews, concerned with the need for organized collaboration in this desperate moment, united through the American Jewish Conference in a program looking to the rescue of the Jewish people from destruction and to the assurance of their continued existence as a free people in a free world."

"This act of withdrawal," the statement continues, "is the more unjustifiable in that, prior to the sessions of the American Jewish Conference, the conditions of the American Jewish Committee for its entry were accepted, without, however, infringing on the central principle of seeking, through democratic processes, to secure agreement on a program of action in the area of post-war rehabilitation and the implementation of the Jewish rights with reference to Palestine."

The statement concedes the legal rights of any organization within the American Jewish Conference to withdraw. It points out, however, that "the exercise of that right is morally indefensible when it involves the arbitrary disrupting of unity only newly achieved, too long deferred and imperatively needed." It challenges the allegation that the differences with respect to the Palestine resolution were the basic reasons for the American Jewish Committee's withdrawal. It expresses the belief that the American Jewish Committee's decision to withdraw "would appear to have been dictated by its determination to maintain an independent course of action without public responsibility to the organized Jewish community."

This view, says the statement, is based on three facts:

1. That apart from the Palestine Resolution, ten other resolutions were adopted after four days of deliberation, seven with respect to rehabilitation at the end of the war and three with respect to an immediate program of rescue. On these there was complete accord on the part of all the delegates, including the three representatives of the American Jewish Committee.
2. That even with respect to the Palestine Resolution, the American Jewish Committee was in accord with certain portions of it, and dissented from the Jewish Commonwealth idea primarily on the basis of the timeliness of projecting the issue at this time.
3. That the President of the American Jewish Committee at the sessions, in expressing his dissent on the Palestine Resolution, expressed the view "that we can still cooperate for the cause of Jewry within the great area in which we found accord and agreement."

Charging that "the American Jewish Committee has introduced divisiveness in the councils of American Jewry, which is calculated to impair the effectiveness of the efforts on behalf of the Jewish people in the hour of its greatest need," the statement asserts: "The American Jewish Committee has chosen the path of separatism, a course which it is still not too late for it to abandon." At the same time it declared that the work of the Conference in implementing the resolutions adopted in the three areas of immediate rescue, post-war rehabilitation and the implementation of Jewish rights to Palestine will not be retarded. The statement rejected the charge of the Committee that any of the resolutions adopted by the Conference involve diminution of loyalty to our country.



[Nov. 17, 1943]

8

# PRESS RELEASE

## AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

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

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

176

FOR RELEASE

IMMEDIATELY

ZIONIST COUNCIL RENEWS DEMAND  
FOR WITHDRAWAL OF WHITE PAPER

---  
SAYS POLICY REMAINS UNCHANGED  
DESPITE STANLEY STATEMENT  
---

Assailing the Palestine White Paper policy as "a repudiation of a solemn obligation," the American Zionist Emergency Council yesterday demanded that the British government abrogate the policy, which bars all new Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31.

In a formal statement, the Council declared that this policy "remains essentially unchanged," despite last week's announcement by British Colonial Secretary Oliver Stanley that immigration certificates for Palestine available under the White Paper quota and unused owing to war conditions will be valid after March 31, 1944.

The Council asserted that it was "not conceivable" that the White Paper should represent the "last word of British statesmanship" on the future of Palestine. The Council speaks for the Zionist Organization of America, the Mizrahi Organization of America, Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, and the Poale Zion, and is led by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver of Cleveland and Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, who are co-chairmen.

Following is the Council's statement:

"The American Zionist Emergency Council takes note of the announcement by the British Colonial Secretary that immigration certificates for Palestine available under the Palestine White Paper quota until March 31, 1944 and unused owing to war conditions will be valid after that date. However, the statement of the Colonial Secretary and replies given by him to questions make it clear that the policy of the Palestine White Paper remains essentially unchanged.

"The purpose of that policy is to ensure that the Jews shall remain a permanent minority in an Arab Palestine. To this end it was provided that (1) beyond the quota above referred to no further Jewish immigration into Palestine was to be

(more)



permitted after March 31, 1944; (2) Jewish agricultural settlement was to be severely limited by prohibiting the acquisition of land by Jews throughout the greater part of Palestine and an act of anti-Jewish discrimination unique in the British Empire; and (3) conditions were to be created for the establishment of Palestine as an Arab-dominated State.

"The policy of the Palestine White Paper is a product of the unhappy era of expediency in international relations. It has been denounced by many of the present leaders of British public opinion as a breach and a repudiation of a solemn obligation -- the obligation undertaken with the consent of the fifty-two nations of the League of Nations, and unanimously approved by the Congress of the United States, to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It has likewise been condemned by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations as inconsistent with the trust assumed by Britain under the Mandate for Palestine.

"It is not conceivable that the White Paper should represent the last word of British statesmanship on the future of Palestine. The achievements of the Jews in Palestine as well as the terrible, unparalleled sufferings of the Jews of Europe have made it indubitably clear that the problem of Jewish homelessness can be solved only by the reestablishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in the land with which the Jews have always been historically associated. We renew our appeal and we believe that we shall not appeal in vain to the conscience of the British people and of all the democratic peoples in urging that the policy of the White Paper be withdrawn as in conflict with the dictates of justice and humanity, and that the gates of Palestine be opened wide to Jewish immigration."



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

## MEMORANDUM

*To* Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

*Date* November 22, 1943

*From* Henry Montor

Attached hereto for your confidential information are several letters which Philip Slomovitz of Detroit has received from Senator Vandenberg of Michigan.

I am suggesting to Slomovitz that he undertake to arrange a meeting for you with Senator Vandenberg in Washington.

HM:FE

Enc. 2



C O P Y

SENATOR VANDENBERG'S LETTER UNDER DATE  
OF OCTOBER 29

My dear Phil:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 26th with further reference to your meeting of November 2nd.

You will have in mind that I have previously written about the alleged military exigencies in North Africa. I am trying to get first hand and completely authentic information upon that score from our own reliable military authorities. What I have been able to learn the last ten days is so wholly confidential that I am not at liberty to discuss it. But it seems to be quite clear that there is--at least temporarily-- a military factor involved which has critical bearing not only on the security of our own A. E. F. but perhaps also on the safety of Jewish Palestine itself. You will understand why I cannot ignore these considerations, in view of my official position (particularly on the Foreign Relations Committee); and why, therefore, I am not as free to speak, at this particular moment, as fully and as directly as I otherwise could and would do. But I hope I can make a sufficiently strong statement to satisfy your immediate request. I suggest the following:

(SEE STATEMENT QUOTED IN JEWISH NEWS...CLIPPING ATTACHED)

If this does not seem to suffice, you can wire me and I will try again.

I am anxious always not to disappoint your expectations. But I am certain that some degree of prudence is advisable at the moment, if I am to maintain a status which will permit me to be of the greatest service to the cause.

LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 3

Thanks for your letter of November 1st.

You are entirely correct in your comments. The statement I sent you is "only a temporary expression" which is tempered by the immediate military situation in North Africa.

Good luck!

LETTER DATED NOVEMBER 4th

It was most thoughtful and generous of you to send me your supplemental note of November 2nd. I like it immensely.

I tried to put everything possible into the statement I sent you--within the necessary temporary limitations which I confront.



C O P Y

VANDENBERG'S LETTER DATED OCTOBER 28

My dear Phil:

This will acknowledge your letter of October 26th with further reference to your November 2nd meeting.

In the course of a day or two, I will send you a statement. Unfortunately, there are phases of the Palestine matter which I cannot possibly discuss. I have written you confidentially about them before. We cannot ignore the military necessities in North Africa while we have yet to win the war. War is cruel under any circumstances. It is obviously necessary that there should be no rebellion behind our lines in North Africa. Any such rebellion would represent a greater victory for Hitler than he has yet been able to win for himself. I must consult the military point of view (for the time being) in a situation of this nature because the potentiality involves the lives of millions of our boys. I do not intend to be misled in this connection by any propaganda. But I must consult the realities lest we do more harm than good to the long range cause. I do not need to reiterate to you that I am deeply attached to the cause itself.

I think I can send you a statement which will be adequate: but I want you to know the difficulties under which I labor in this connection. I will write you again in a couple of days.



From: 638  
I. L. Kenen  
41 E. 42nd Street  
New York City

RABBI B. L. LEVINTHAL RESIGNS  
FROM AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

- - - - -

DEAN OF ORTHODOX RABBIS WAS ONE  
OF FIVE COMMITTEE FOUNDERS

- - - - -

Rabbi B. L. Levinthal of Philadelphia, dean of American Orthodox rabbis and one of the five founders of the American Jewish Committee, today resigned from the Committee in protest against "its utterly indefensible" secession from the American Jewish Conference.

In a letter to Judge Joseph M. Proskauer, president of the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi Levinthal voiced "profound regret that after a continuous association with the American Jewish Committee since it was first instituted in our city (Philadelphia) in the year 1906, I find it impossible to remain a member of it any longer and must tender my resignation, to take effect at once."

Recalling the meeting thirty-seven years ago, when at the invitation of Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Rabbi Levinthal, Cyrus Adler, William B. Hackenburg and Morris Rosenbaum gathered to formulate plans for the organization of the American Jewish Committee, Rabbi Levinthal declared: "The composition of that small group clearly indicated that what Judge Sulzberger had in mind was to organize a representative body of American Jews, one of whose primary purposes would be to promote unity in American Israel.

"Under the Judge's leadership and during the presidency of Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler, Solomon Stroock and Maurice Wertheim, I was pleased to observe ample evidence of a genuine desire to overcome deep-rooted prejudices for the sake of the welfare of our people and because of a decent regard for the opinions of the great majority of the Jews of America and of the world. When you were elected president, I was, of course, aware of your own predilections. I nevertheless cherished the hope that you would deal with the problems confronting the Committee judicially and with an open mind, that you would rise above your prejudices and would respect the convictions of the overwhelming majority of our fellow-Jews.

"The recent action of the Executive Committee, on your recommendation, in withdrawing from the American Jewish Conference is, in my opinion, utterly indefensible. I cannot help but feel that Louis Marshall or Cyrus Adler would have found the means of preserving, rather than disrupting, unity in the ranks of American Jewry. Surely, they would have permitted the full membership of the Committee, rather than the Executive Committee alone, to decide so vital a question of policy.

(more)



"Moreover, as an orthodox rabbi, perhaps the only one in the entire membership of the American Jewish Committee, I feel it would be particularly improper for me to continue my association, however nominal, with the Committee, for without a doubt virtually all orthodox Jews are vigorously opposed to the stand taken by you and the Executive Committee.

"It is my ardent hope that you and your associates may soon realize the grievous error of your decision and its unfortunate implications. It is my fervent prayer that the spirit which animated Mayer Salzman and Louis Marshall, Cyrus Adler and Solomon Stroock, all of blessed memory, may soon again prevail in the American Jewish Committee."

--30--

#9-11/18/43





Nov. 18, 1943

## A M E R I C A N   Z I O N I S T   E M E R G E N C Y   C O U N C I L

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

41 East 42nd Street --- New York --- Murray Hill 2-1160

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELYEMERGENCY COMMITTEES FORMED EVERYWHERE TO FIGHT WHITE PAPER

Jewish communities in every major city of the country are being swiftly mobilized in the fight to win abrogation of the Palestine White Paper.

More than 120 Emergency Committees for Palestine have already been formed for the purpose of rallying public opinion throughout the United States in opposition to the White Paper policy, under the terms of which Jewish immigration into Palestine is now sharply limited and is soon to be denied completely.

This was announced today by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

The emergency committees are being established at the request of the Council in an effort to unite Jewish leaders representing every shade of opinion in their respective communities. The purpose is to decentralize the work of the Council and carry it into every city in the country.

The program was launched less than a month ago under the direction of Joel Gross, of Newark, N. J. who is chairman of the Community Contacts Committee of the Council and Rabbi Leon Feuer, who is Community Contacts Director of the Council. The Emergency Committees are patterned after the Council in form and program.

Chairmen have been designated for local Emergency Committees in the following cities: Charles E. Schwartz, Akron, Ohio; Julian V. Boehm, Atlanta, Georgia; Rabbi Henry R. Goldberger, Altoona, Pa.; Rabbi Robert P. Jacobs, Asheville, N. C.; Judge Sol Rubenstein, Albany, N. Y.; Joseph Halbert, Atlantic City, N. J.; Rabbi Albert N. Troy, Aurora, Ill.; Abe Berkowitz, Birmingham, Ala.

Dewey D. Stone, Brockton, Mass.; David Diamond, Buffalo, N. Y.; Albert B. Fickman, Canonsburg, Pa.; Rabbi Solomon D. Goldfarb, Charlestown, S. C.; Ruben H. Klainer, Chelsea, Mass.; Mrs. Wolfe Leskoff, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Judge Harry M. Fisher, Chicago, Ill.; Jacob W. Mack, Cincinnati, Ohio; Ezra Shapiro, Cleveland, Ohio,

Albert Schiff and Justine L. Sillman, co-chairmen, Columbus, Ohio; Gabe Goldberg, Corsicana, Texas; Philip Slomovitz, Detroit, Mich.; Dr. Albert G. Fleischman, Des Moines, Iowa; Israel Krohn, Easton, Pa.; Harry Weltcheck, Elizabeth, N. J.; Prof. I. Sternberg, Eveleth-Virginia, Minn.

Dr. B. M. Edlavitch and Byron Novitsky, co-chairmen, Fort Wayne, Indiana; Dr. Arnold Lieberman, Gary, Indiana; Simon Davis, Greensburg, Pa.; Dr. Philip D. Bookstaber, Harrisburg, Pa.; Rabbi Abraham J. Feldman, Hartford, Conn.; Rabbi Jacob Danziger, Huntington, W. Va.; Rabbi Israel Chodos, Indianapolis, Ind.; William Boxerman, Jacksonville, Fla.; Jacob Brown, Kansas City, Mo.; Hyman Hurwitz, Kilgore,

Texas; Arthur B. Ewig, Kingston, N. Y.; Ben Winick, Knoxville, Tenn.; Rabbi Isadore Ravitch, Long Beach, Calif.

David L. Winer, Lynn, Mass.; Abe Waldauer, Memphis, Tenn.; Samuel Umansky and Rabbi Hyman Cohen, co-chairmen, Meriden, Conn.; Rabbi Melvin Kieffer and Louis Silversher, co-chairmen, Milburn, N. J.; Herman D. Schwartz, Milwaukee, Wisc.; Rabbi Max Maccoby, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; Mortimer May, Nashville, Tenn.; Michael Stavitsky, Newark, N. J.

Rabbi Abraham N. Ayrutick, Newburgh, N. Y.; Jacob E. Raffel, New Castle, Pa.; Rabbi Judah Washer and Dr. Samuel Sparks, co-chairmen, New Kensington, Pa.; Leon H. Rittenberg, New Orleans, La.; Joseph L. Hecht and David Friedman, co-chairmen, Norfolk, Va.; Rabbi William Stern, Oakland, Calif.; Rev. Martin Adolph, Paterson, N. J.; Judge Harry Medinets, Perth Amboy, N. J.; William H. Sylk, Philadelphia, Pa.; Charles J. Rosenbloom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Abe Lapides, Pontiac, Mich.; Saul G. Chason, Portland, Me.

Charles D. Kanter, Portsmouth, Va.; Rabbi M. Bertram Sachs, Pottsville, Pa.; Archibald Silverman, Providence, R. I.; Joseph Goldstein, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. L. J. Manhoff, San Antonio, Texas; Joseph Grosberg, Schenectady, N. Y.; Sam Prottos, Seattle, Wash.; Ben E. Salinsky, Sheboygan, Wisc.; Maurice Tucker, South Bend, Ind.; Rabbi David W. Pearlman, Stamford, Conn.; Bernard G. Rudolph, Syracuse, N. Y.; J. Eugene Farber, Toledo, Ohio; Judge Saul Yager and Julius Livingston, co-chairmen, Tulsa, Okla.

Henry Rubinstein, Tucson, Arizona; Lester Cohen, Uniontown, Pa.; David H. Lurie, Utica, N. Y.; Rabbi Joseph H. Wagner, Wheeling, W. Va.; E. I. Glassman, Warren, Pa.; Leo V. Freudberg, Washington, D. C.; Rabbi William P. Greenfeld, Waterbury, Conn.; Joseph Goldberg, Worcester, Mass.; Oscar Altschuler, Youngstown, Ohio.

The White Paper limited Jewish immigration to 75,000 in the period from 1939 to 1944. After March 31, the doors close to all but the remainder of the 75,000 who have still not been able to enter.



70  
PRESS RELEASE

[Nov. 23, 1943]

AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

Associated Organizations: Zionist Organization of America  
Hadassah -- Mizrachi -- Poale-Zion

41 East 42nd Street -- New York -- Murray Hill 2-1160

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY

ZIONISTS DEMAND REMOVAL OF PALESTINE OFFICIALS

BLAME OFFICIALS FOR DISTURBANCES

- - - - -

New York, November 23 -- The American Zionist Emergency Council tonight blamed the Palestine administration for the murder of a Jewish colonist and the resulting disturbances in Tel Aviv and called for the removal of the officials responsible.

The Council speaks for the major Zionist bodies in the United States: the Zionist Organization of America, Hadassah, the Poale Zion, and the Mizrachi Zionist Organization, and is led by Dr. Stephen S. Wise and Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, co-chairmen.

The Council asserted that the demonstrations which have been taking place in Palestine are "the direct result of a series of increasingly provocative actions on the part of the Palestine administration" which reached their climax in a recent raid on the Jewish settlement of Ramat Hakovesh, where a Jewish settler was killed.

The administration's conduct, it charged, "has been animated by one desire -- to clamp down on the Jews of Palestine the infamous policy of the Chamberlain White Paper which seeks to put an end to Jewish immigration into Palestine and to reduce the Jewish National Home to a ghetto in an Arab state."

The Council called on the government to put an end to its arms searches in Jewish settlements. It declared that these searches and prosecutions had been started by the government to create an atmosphere in Palestine "calculated to provoke the Jews and ultimately to prejudice the cause of the Jewish National Home."

"The theory apparently is that the Middle East is in an explosive condition, that the fuse is all ready and that the Jews will apply the match to it. We say unequivocally, with full knowledge of our responsibility, that that view can only be described as utterly fantastic. There will be a rising in Palestine only if the government wishes it."

The statement follows:

"The demonstrations which took place last Saturday in Tel Aviv are the direct result of a series of increasingly provocative actions on the part of the Palestine Administration which reached their climax in the raid a few days earlier by a body of police and troops on the isolated Jewish settlement of Ramat Hakovesh. The ostensible purpose of that raid was to seek for deserters from the Polish army and for hidden arms. The settlers were subjected to physical indignities, herded into a



Barbed wire enclosure, and one of them, Samuel Wolinietz, was killed as a result of two shots fired by a police officer.

"From the beginning of the war the Administration of Palestine has been animated by one desire -- to clamp down on the Jews of Palestine the infamous policy of the Chamberlain White Paper, which seeks to put an end to Jewish immigration into Palestine and to reduce the Jewish National Home to a ghetto in an Arab state. To this end it has obstructed in every way possible the desire of the Jews of Palestine to contribute their utmost to the war effort. The offer of the Jews of Palestine at the beginning of the war to devote their manpower and resources to the common cause was rejected. Not until the crisis which followed Italy's entry into the war did the civil authorities give way to the pressure of military demands and permit any Jewish enlistment at all. Many thousands of Jews enlisted in the British armies in the Near East and their conduct has on numerous occasions been praised by British military leaders, from General Wavell downwards. Even at that time of crisis the Palestine Administration diverted shipping for the purpose of deporting to the tropical island of Mauritius (where they are rotting away to this day) more than 1500 Jews who had sought refuge from the Nazis in Palestine. It was the same Administration which was responsible for sending to their deaths 760 people on the "Struma" rather than to permit their admission into the one land which, under international right, they could claim to enter.

"In recent months, as the Nazi tide has receded from Africa, the Palestine Administration has steadily set about creating an atmosphere in Palestine calculated to provoke the Jews and ultimately to prejudice the cause of the Jewish National Home. The theory apparently is that the Middle East is in an explosive condition, that the fuse is all ready and that the Jews will apply the match to it. We say unequivocally, with full knowledge of our responsibility, that that view can only be described as utterly fantastic. There will be a rising in Palestine only if the Government wishes it. To support its theory, however, the Government has begun a series of searches and prosecutions for illegal possession of arms which have been accompanied by maximum publicity abroad.

"It is true that throughout the war period there has been a considerable traffic in military arms throughout the Middle East, that is, not only in Palestine, but also in Transjordan, Syria, Egypt and Iraq. Large quantities of military arms have found their way into the hands of Arabs in Palestine and Transjordan. In view of the previous attacks by armed Arabs on Jewish settlements, it is not surprising if, in self protection, the Jews too are storing away arms in case of need. The Government is fully aware of the fact that it has in the past been unable to give the Jewish colonies adequate protection and that Jewish arms have been used in the past, as they will in the future, for self-defense and not for aggression.



"The Administration of Palestine is to blame for the murder in Ramat Hakovesh and it alone is to blame for the disturbances in Tel Aviv. We share the indignation of the Jewish community in Palestine. We demand that immediate action be taken to put an end to the arms searches in Jewish settlements, and that the 35 settlers arrested be released. We further demand the removal of the officials responsible for this series of outrages."

#11-11/23/43





November 24, 1943.

Mr. Lewis R. Sutin  
District Grand Lodge, No.2, B'nai B'rith  
402 Sycamore Building,  
Terre Haute, Indiana.

PERSONAL  
NOT FOR PUBLICATION

Dear Mr. Sutin:

I am grateful to you for your thoughtful letter of November 15th. Let me say at once that I agree with your conception of the future Jewish Commonwealth. It would be a democracy in which all its citizens would have equality of rights, including the right of election and of franchise. This was provided for in the American Jewish Conference Resolution, in the following words:

X "The Jewish people pledges itself to scrupulous regard for...  
the civil and religious equality of all the inhabitants of  
Palestine before the law"

There is also provision in the Resolution for the preservation of the religious, linguistic and cultural rights of the Arabs. This, of course, would be provided for in some fundamental document or bill of rights.

X It is clearly intended that those who would govern the Commonwealth would be citizens of the country, whether they be Jews or not. On the other hand, our objective is certainly a Jewish Commonwealth, that is to say, one which would be predominantly Jewish, and it is for this reason that the Conference Resolution refers to "the attainment of a Jewish majority and... recreation of the Jewish Commonwealth." The idea was put clearly by Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the Balfour Declaration, in his evidence before the Royal Commission:

X "The idea was, and this was the interpretation put upon it at the time, that a Jewish State was not to 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 Resolution of the Conference certainly does not contemplate a Jewish Commonwealth in which, to quote your suggestion, there shall be a



X million Jews as against two and a half million Moslems and Christians. As you rightly indicate, such a situation would not result in the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. The Resolution of the American Jewish Committee, however, in the circumstances which you suggest, conceives of the possibility of the establishment of a "self governing Commonwealth" in those circumstances, that is to say, with the Jews a considerable minority. The term "self governing Commonwealth" in that event would be merely a cover for what is in fact an Arab Commonwealth. I think that that is where the fundamental difference lies. The Conference Resolution aims specifically at the building up of a Jewish majority and, on the basis of that majority, of establishing a self governing Commonwealth which would ipso facto be a Jewish Commonwealth. The Resolution of the American Jewish Committee, while paying lip service to the idea of continued Jewish immigration, does admit of self government in Palestine with an Arab majority. The value of the promise to continue Jewish immigration once there is an Arab dominated Palestine, I leave to your good judgment.

The proposal for an international trusteeship sounds well, but requires further analysis. Under the Mandate ultimate authority in Palestine was vested in an international body, but the actual administration was entrusted to British officials. I have no great confidence that the replacement of the latter by a heterogeneous group of men from different countries is likely to effect any real improvement. In any case, they will certainly be subjected to the same pressure which brought about the stoppage of immigration in Palestine. It is for this reason again that our experience of the last twenty-five years has impressed upon us the necessity of Jewish control of immigration during the crucial interim period until a Jewish majority is built up. This proposal, too, as you know, is disapproved of by the American Jewish Committee, and yet it seems to me to fall essentially within your phrase "practical, realistic mechanics" if we are to achieve our aims in Palestine.

Your inquiry as to what would happen if, after the Jews have become a majority, large numbers emigrate and they become a minority, is I think too hypothetical for us to pursue at this point. If that should happen I would say that we would not deserve to have a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine.

X I think the above contains the answers to your first two questions. As for the proposal for transplanting Arabs with Jews, this is a proposal fostered by the Revisionists. It is not one which has the backing of the official Zionist bodies. There is room in Palestine, with proper development, not only for the Jews and Arabs there today, but for many who will immigrate or who are yet unborn. The proposal to urge the removal of the Arabs from Palestine seems to me both unfeasible and politically dangerous.

One word in conclusion on your remark that if the leaders on both sides would calmly discuss the mechanics of forming a Commonwealth there could be an agreement of minds. As is, I think, fairly generally known, for a period of nearly two years discussions were in fact carried on as a result of the initiative of Dr. Weizmann and the late Mr. Saul Stroock, between the Zionist leaders and the representatives of the American Jewish Committee. A tentative agreement was reached at a time when Mr. Wertheim



was president of the American Jewish Committee, for which he obtained the support of a majority of the Executive of the Committee. The threat of the minority to split the Committee if the agreement was ratified caused the majority group to yield and at the subsequent election the intransigents, represented by Mr. Proskauer, assumed the leadership of the Committee. As far as the Zionists are concerned, the negotiations were carried on patiently and over a long period with a genuine desire to reach an understanding. It was the American Jewish Committee leaders who saw fit at the end of these discussions, without doing us the courtesy to inform us of the contents of their intended statement, to come out last January with a unilateral declaration in opposition to the proposal for a Jewish Commonwealth.

Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:L:B





November 24, 1943

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

My dear Mr. Montor:

When Herman Shulaman or Rabbi Miller visit Washington in the next few days to consult the senators who submitted the Gillette Resolution on the subject of the inclusion of a Palestine amendment to the Bill, one or the other of them should see Congressman Celler who, you will recall, wrote to us recently expressing his impatience with the fact that we have not authorized him to proceed with the resolution on the White Paper. I think in fairness to him he should be told what the American Jewish Conference plans to do in connection with the Gillette Resolution, and if the senators favor the inclusion, Celler's assistance should be invited in getting favorable action on it in the House.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very cordially yours,

AHS:BK

P.S. I have not heard about the Sidney Hillman appointment. I will be in New York for our meeting Monday, and our interview may be arranged for Monday morning if Hillman is in town. Zaritzky is waiting on this interview to decide whether he or Hillman should be chairman of our Labor Committee.

In connection with my visit to Washington on Tuesday, please arrange appointments for me with Senators Burton and Taft, both of Ohio.

What is the present address of Mr. Charles Rosenbloom?



November 24, 1943

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

My dear Mr. Montor:

Dr. Nahum Goldmann is to submit a memorandum on our conversation with Murray. Please ask Dr. Wise to submit a memorandum on his conversation with Ickes. Elihu Stone is to submit a memorandum on my conversations with McCormack and Senator Lodge. Please obtain these right away.

Inasmuch as it has not been possible for you to arrange a meeting with Rosenman, please ask Goldmann to write or see Rosenman immediately and inform him that we are withholding action on the "Committee" pending my future discussions with Welles. This is important.

With all good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours,

AHS:BK



Indianapolis 2, Indiana  
November 24, 1943.

Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple, E. 105th St. at Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Last night I attended a meeting at the home of Mr. J. J. Kiser to hear Mr. Morris D. Waldman of the American Jewish Committee explain why they had withdrawn from the conference.

Twenty-four of the leading Indianapolis Jews were present, the majority of them being either non-zionists or anti-zionists.

The meeting lasted four hours and Mr. Waldman went into considerable detail to explain two of the major reasons they withdrew from the conference.

As I understood it, one reason was they felt the conference was an unrepresentative body, on account of the methods used by which the delegates to the local elections were selected, and that the conference was not a true conference in that the delegates were all instructed, so they had to vote in a body and there was very little opportunity for any expressions of opposition.

The second reason, as I got it, was that the American Jewish Committee did not feel that they could go along with the conference on their Palestine Commonwealth Resolution at this particular time. Mr. Waldman did not say that the American Jewish Committee is absolutely opposed to a Jewish Commonwealth such as covered by the resolution but that they felt that the action at this time was most untimely and inadvisable.

Mr. Waldman made one statement that created a profound impression on all present, - that the leaders of the American Jewish Conference, including yourself, had been informed prior to the conference by Judge Proskauer, that the administration in Washington felt that if the conference passed the Palestine Resolution it would consider it a "very unfortunate thing at the present time".



- 2 - Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver November 21, 1943.

Furthermore when Mr. Waldman was asked what was the attitude of the administration when the conference committee actually presented the resolution to Washington -- Mr. Waldman said that the state department was "very much perturbed".

When some members of the group assembled last night, who were very much disturbed over this remark -- asked Mr. Waldman whether or not the action of the conference in passing such a resolution could be classed as "unpatriotic" and whether or not Mr. Waldman felt that you, Dr. Silver, were unpatriotic in your action, Mr. Waldman hastened to say that he emphatically did not consider you unpatriotic, but did feel that your action was very unwise.

My own attitude at this meeting last night was expressed in the statement that while I felt it was a good thing for Mr. Waldman to present the American Jewish Committee side of their case since our local community needs its interest stimulated on this subject, - at the same time I urged all present to keep an open mind on the subject until they would have an opportunity to hear the other side of the story presented by someone equally as well qualified as Mr. Waldman.

There seemed to be a strong sentiment at the meeting last night on the part of many present to want to hear all of the facts and particularly more detail with regard to the "behind-the-scenes" negotiations which Mr. Waldman had referred to so frequently, and which interpretations we all know from experience, can vary.

I do wish, however, that you would write me at once giving me specific information particularly with regard to the attitude of the administration toward the conference resolution before and after it was passed.

I am sending a copy of this letter to each of the men who were present at the meeting and wish to inform you that a copy of any letter that you write me will be distributed in the same manner.

Sincerely yours,

L. L. Goodman

kc



Here is a copy of the reply just received from Dr. Silver which I think you will find of interest. I have written him for copies of the booklet he refers to and will see that you get a copy when I get it.

L. L. G.

November 26, 1943

Mr. Lazure L. Goodman  
National Hosiery Mills, Inc.  
Indianapolis, Indiana

My dear Mr. Goodman:

Permit me to thank you for your kind letter of November 24 and for bringing to my attention the meeting addressed by Mr. Morris D. Waldman in your community to explain the reasons why the American Jewish Committee has withdrawn from the Conference. A complete answer to the charges of the American Jewish Committee which Mr. Waldman reiterated at this meeting has been given by the Conference itself. It is now available in booklet form and can be sent to the men who attended the meeting if they are interested in receiving it. I will therefore refrain from commenting on Mr. Waldman's arguments which are covered in the Conference rejoinder.

I feel, however, that I should make an observation on a statement which you reported as having been made by Mr. Waldman to the effect that "the leaders of the American Jewish Conference including yourself (meaning Dr. Silver) had been informed prior to the Conference by Judge Proskauer that the Administration in Washington felt that if the Conference passed the Palestine Resolution it would consider it a 'very unfortunate thing at the present time'", and that furthermore, "when Mr. Waldman was asked what was the attitude of the Administration when the Conference Committee actually presented the Resolution to Washington -- Mr. Waldman said that the 'State Department was very much perturbed'".

All of which, my dear Mr. Goodman, is I am afraid made out of the whole cloth! There were all sorts of rumors circulating during the Conference to the effect that this man or that man in the Administration had said this or that about the attitude of the Administration towards the Palestine Resolution. As chairman of the Commission on Palestine, I made a particular effort to trace down the authenticity of these rumors -- who in the Administration had said it, and what it was that was said. The closest inquiry by myself and by others of the Palestine Commission yielded absolutely no authentic information that we could put our fingers on. When I was in Washington on Tuesday, October 12, I had an hour's conversation at the White House with Judge Samuel J. Rosenman who told me quite categorically that he was not authorized nor did he speak for the President at any time on matters connected with the American Jewish Conference, nor to his best knowledge had the President expressed any opinion about the American Jewish Conference whatsoever.



Mr. Goodman

- 2 -

November 26, 1943.

As far as the attitude of the Administration when the Conference Committee actually presented the resolution to Washington, which attitude Waldman characterized as being "very much perturbed", I can only say that I was a member of that Conference Committee which called upon Secretary of State Hull and which included Dr. Solomon B. Freehof, President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mr. Louis Lipsky and Mr. Goldman, National Vice-President of the B'nai B'rith. Secretary Hull was not only not disturbed, but was most friendly and sympathetic, and our intimate half-hour conversation in which the Palestine Resolution was discussed in great detail was carried on in a most cordial spirit. The Secretary asked for additional data especially on the absorptive capacity of Palestine which we have made since available to him. I have had other contacts since with the highest officials of our Government, and I have yet to find one unfavorable reaction to the Resolution on Palestine which was adopted by such an overwhelming majority by the American Jewish Conference.

You may make this letter of mine available to the men who attended the meeting and you may also send a copy of it to Mr. Waldman.

With all good wishes, I remain

Most cordially yours,

Abba Hillel Silver

AHS:BK



C  
O  
  
P  
Y

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY A GROUP OF RABBIS IN CINCINNATI

NOV. 30, 1943

The Union declares that its function is to interpret, maintain and promote Reform Judaism and reaffirms its loyalty to its spiritual purposes.

The Union declares its sense of fellowship with all Israel and will associate itself with all worthy and practical efforts designed to ameliorate the tragic plight of world Jewry and, therefore, continues to be a member of the American Jewish Conference, upon the conditions mentioned below.

Because in the congregations of the Union there are divergent opinions on the question of Zionism, the Union recognizes the right of each individual to determine his own attitude on this controversial question.

Therefore, the Union as an organization, is unable to associate itself with those parts of the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference which call for exclusive Jewish control of immigration into Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Union's position on Palestine has been stated, and we herewith reaffirm the Resolution passed at the Committee meeting on May 30, 1943, whose recommendations were subsequently ratified by the Executive Board of the Union, as follows:

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, modelled 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.

We call upon our congregations and their members to rally loyally to the support of the Union.

We further resolve that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the American Jewish Conference with the request that they communicate it to the constituent members of the American Jewish Conference and make it known through their publications.



November 30, 1943

Rabbi Carl Manello  
316 S. Minneapolis Avenue  
Wichita, Kansas

Dear Rabbi Manello:

We are anxious to have our current mobilization of public opinion against the White Paper result in the introduction and passage of a Resolution in Congress, since, as you know, the Congress unanimously endorsed the Balfour Declaration in 1922; and the Senate, in 1925, ratified the American-British Palestine Mandate Convention, which approves British trusteeship of Palestine based on the Balfour Declaration.

It would be an historic service on your part if you could enlist the support of Senator Arthur Capper. A visit by you and a good Kansas delegation to Washington to see him would be incalculably important.

Please do let me know what is possible.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,

Henry Montor  
Executive Director

HM:PFE

December 6, 1943

Mr. Emanuel Neumann  
Commission on Palestine Surveys  
521 Fifth Avenue  
Room 1903  
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Neumann:

This will acknowledge your letter of November 30.

Naturally, the ideas suggested by Dr. Silver as to coordination of effort respecting the work of the Economic Studies and Planning Committee will guide us.

It would seem to me that your Committee might find it possible to accomplish some of its best work by stimulating outside bodies to undertake certain studies. I need hardly point out to you, a veteran in such matters, that indiscriminate studies are not always helpful. For example, I understand that it might be feasible, through someone like Professor Oscar Janowsky, to suggest to the Commission for the Organization of Peace, headed by Professor Shotwell, to undertake a study of "Jewish homelessness and refugee havens." On the other hand, it might be possible to get a substantial grant from an individual to finance a Brookings Institution study of a special program: such as transportation of 500,000 Jews into Palestine within a year or two.

Whether these or similar suggestions are feasible is for your Committee to determine. I am not unmindful of the fact that too often people get mixed up in these studies who start off with a lukewarm or hostile attitude to our work and their studies merely tend to strengthen their original conceptions.

Do you think it would be helpful to have your Committee serve as a clearing house to which reports might be brought by such bodies as the Palestine Economic Corporation, the American Economic Committee for Palestine, the Esco Foundation -- insofar as its research relates to Palestine. The purpose of this would be to have one authoritative central body serving as a clearing house for what various groups in the United States might be doing in terms of economic research for Palestine.

Cordially yours,

Henry Montor  
Executive Director

HM:BB



RABBI SAMUEL WOHL  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

December 7 , 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
E. 105th St. and Ansel Road  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

Two important congregational engagements prevent me from attending the Emergency Council meeting in Cleveland.

During my recent visit to New York I had the opportunity to talk with Montor and Feuer and presented a few suggestions to them. I know that they are competent people and under your guidance the job will be done.

Some of the proposals I make may have already been considered, and some of them I have mentioned in previous communications to Montor. Since I do not have the opportunity to participate actively on the national front, I shall set down some ideas which I feel can be of benefit to our cause.

1. RELIGIOUS BODIES

(a) Ask some outstanding members of the Religious Council of the Committee for Palestine under Dr. Niebuhr to solicit from a number of outstanding ministers some articles which may be published in various church publications. An article by Niebuhr in the Christian Century would be of great importance. John Haynes Holmes also writes for that publication. The Editor of The Churchman, outstanding Episcopalian Journal, is friendly.

(b) Plan for a "Church Petition Day". This is a comprehensive piece of work. Bishop Tucker and Dr. Cavert of the Federal Council, can be persuaded to proclaim a "National Petition Day" for the abrogation of the "White Paper". A declaration of the Federal Council shall be read by ministers in all the churches, and at the conclusion of the service all congregants present in each church be asked to sign a petition to the President.

This is not an easy job and the Federal Council will not spend the funds to get it done. But if you can assure them that the actual work of the undertaking would be carried through by our personnel, at the expense of our Emergency Council, they would be willing to cooperate.

(c) A similar declaration ought to be obtained from the various



RABBI SAMUEL WOHL  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

#2

denominational bodies, to be circularized to their respective constituencies. These statements by various Bishops and dignataries of the church to be obtained and forwarded to the necessary authorities.

I have also suggested to Montor that Sholem Asch draw up a plea in his own name, to be addressed to such leaders of the church. He is probably today the best man to reach them.

## 2. LABOR

(a) The American Federation of Labor has already made an important pronouncement. But will it reach the various labor leaders in their respective communities? I hope that Mr. Zaritsky will organize the work and persuade, through the national office of the American Federation of Labor, all state labor councils and all city labor councils to draw up resolutions and forward them to the necessary authorities. *The same for the C. A. & Railroad Brotherhoods.*

(b) The labor press should be made aware of the problem. We ought to find competent people whose names can be attached to certain articles to appear in the national and state labor publications. For instance, the magazine "Labor", which is published here in Cincinnati for the railroad unions, certainly reaches several hundred thousand men and women, and the Editor can be persuaded to publish a worthwhile article on the subject. Perhaps advertisements in those organs would also be of value.

## 3. FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

Non-Jewish fraternal organizations and service clubs are strongly influencing public opinion. They also publish national magazines. Their national officers could be reached and perhaps <sup>appeals</sup> coming from their respective national bodies, would be read at all the fraternal meetings throughout the country. Local lodges and clubs should also be asked to forward resolutions.

## 4. SPECIAL PRESS AND FEATURE SYNDICATE

The small town press is very valuable. They could be reached if material was presented to them through a special syndicate. Men and women in smaller communities are more responsive when asked to do something by their newspapers.

## 5. POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

, The most effective action by Congressmen, Senators and Bureaus is often achieved through the activity and request of local political leadership. These influential people can be reached in every local community. It should not be made a party affair. Political leaders can reach their legislators, state and national.



RABBI SAMUEL WOHL  
CINCINNATI, OHIO

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

#3

6. SCIENTIFIC, LITERARY AND ACADEMIC LEADERSHIP

(a) Einstein, Compton or someone in the scientific field should address a plea to his colleagues, but it should reach them as individuals, and ask for their response.

(b) In the literary field, a number of men ought to be asked for the popular magazines and for the quality magazines. Again a Niebuhr article would probably be accepted by the Atlantic Monthly or Harpers. Waldo Frank could contact a few hundred literary figures. There may be others of similar caliber who could do the job.

(c) In the academic field, we might prevail upon President Conant, or the President of another outstanding University, to contact colleagues in the academic group/

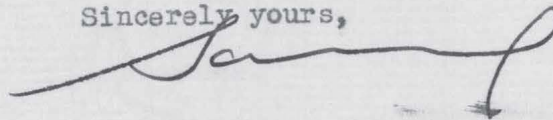
The last suggestion I want to make would require a great deal of elaboration. I have in mind an unofficial committee of a half dozen distinguished men (non-Jews) to investigate and to receive testimony regarding the whole problem. It ought to be conducted as an investigating committee, like ~~the~~ U. S. Senate Committee. The importance would be in the names of such a committee to be set up and in the witnesses which would be called to testify. ~~It would have no such power as a Senate Committee. On the other hand, it could accomplish a great deal, just as the committee that investigated the Russian purges. Prof. Dewey was then Chairman of it. Or the committee that investigated the Reichstag burning and trials. Those commissions attracted international attention and they were informal. But they created important public opinion.~~

If we were to set up a commission that would meet for a week or two in Washington, and the national and international press could be gotten to such hearings, I am sure that the country would be tremendously stirred, informed and would act favorably. The influence upon authorities would be most significant.

Please let me hear from you. Let me again assure you that I am ready to serve the Emergency Council.

With all good wishes and warmest regards, I am

Sincerely yours,



SW:AS

P.S. GEORGE SOKOLSKY. This gentleman has unique contacts among business men and industrialists more than any other columnist, and often discusses Jewish questions. He has the ear of the Chamber of Commerce and National Manufacturers Assn. He can be very useful. Please discuss the matter with him.

Supplementary  
suggestions

### American Legion

McNutt is friendly; there may be others in the affairs of the Legion, the Disabled American Veterans and other veterans organization. Indianapolis, the center of Legion activity is near by. I could investigate. Please contact also Jewish War Veterans to act as liaison with the other bodies.

### News bureaus:

The important newspapers maintain special bureaus in New York and Washington. Friendship should be established with these important men and agencies, and vital information be given them from New York & Washington for their home newspapers.

---



[Dec 9, 1943]

15

**PRESS RELEASE from**

**AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**

*Associated Organizations:*

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrahi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

**CHICAGO DAILY NEWS BLASTS WHITE PAPER**

-----

**KNOX PUBLICATION CALLS DOCUMENT BREACH OF FAITH**

-----

Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox's Chicago Daily News has editorially assailed the British White Paper on Palestine as "a policy of bad faith toward the Jews and a breach of faith with the United States," and demanded that it be "scrapped outright."

Entitled "That Not Very White Paper," the editorial declared that "as a relic of Chamberlain's general appeasement policies -- and they included appeasement of every bullying aggressor from Berlin to Tokyo -- the White Paper has been an anachronism and a war handicap ever since Hitler began World War II."

The Chicago Daily News, which is known as an ardently pro-British newspaper, asserted in its editorial:

"The British government has postponed a critical test of its policy in Palestine by modifying the terms of the White Paper by which all Jewish immigration to the Holy Land, except with Arab consent, would have been barred as of March 31. Under the latest redefinition, or reshuffling, or whatever it is, the time will be extended to allow for additional immigration equal to that of the unused quotas since the war began in 1939. Many hope that the change really means that the British are only putting off an open decision, with the idea that later they can just forget it and the matter will solve itself, immigration going on as usual. But even if this should turn out to be true, it is not the frank, hale and hearty way of doing things  
(more)



that one likes to associate with 'the bulldog breed.' It is just more temporizing and evasion with a question that never should have arisen, and never would have arisen if British diplomacy had been true to its better traditions.

"The White Paper should be scrapped outright. As a relic of Chamberlain's general appeasement policies -- and they included appeasement of every bullying aggressor from Berlin to Tokyo -- the 'White Paper' has been an anachronism and a war handicap ever since Hitler began World War II.

"A policy of bad faith toward the Jews, the 'White Paper,' was also a breach of faith with the United States, because this country agreed to the British mandate over Palestine 18 years ago, at a time when sentiment against any participation in League of Nations affairs was very strong, on the understanding that the original Balfour promise to the Jews that the Holy Land should become a real home and refuge for such members of the faith as cared to establish themselves there, would be honored."



[Dec. 13, 1943]

16.

**PRESS RELEASE from**

**AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL**

*Associated Organizations:*

Zionist Organization of America • Hadassah • Mizrachi • Poale-Zion

342 Madison Avenue • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY

**UAW JOINS FIGHT FOR ABROGATION  
OF BRITISH WHITE PAPER**

- - - - -

The United Automobile Aircraft Agricultural Implement Workers of America (UAW-CIO), largest CIO affiliate, has joined in the fight for abrogation of the British White Paper of 1939, which would prohibit all new Jewish immigration into Palestine after March 31, 1944.

In a letter to Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, chairman of the executive committee of the American Zionist Emergency Council, George F. Addes, Secretary-Treasurer of the UAW, today transmitted the text of a resolution urging "immediate withdrawal by the government of Great Britain of the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 under which Jewish immigration into Palestine is restricted and under which this Jewish national homeland will be closed to Jews forever starting April, 1944."

The resolution, which was adopted by the UAW's International Executive Board, is as follows:

"WHEREAS: The Nazi program of extermination of the Jewish people, a barbarous program of mass murder unequalled in the history of the world, continues unabated, and

"WHEREAS: The United Nations engaged in war upon the forces of Axis militarism have frequently given a pledge to restore religious tolerance and racial security to all peoples of the earth, therefore

"BE IT RESOLVED: That the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO calls upon our national government and the governments of our allies, particularly Great Britain, to give all possible effect to the following program:



"1. Prompt and effective action to rescue as many of the helpless victims of Nazism as possible; to evade this responsibility is to cast doubt on the integrity of the cause for which we fight.

"2. Positive action by the governments of the United Nations to establish havens for those Jewish people who can still be saved and extricated from Nazi-dominated countries.

"3. Immediate withdrawal by the government of Great Britain of the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 under which Jewish immigration into Palestine is restricted and under which this Jewish national homeland will be closed to Jews forever starting April, 1944.

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED: That copies of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, and to the State Department of the United States government with a request that it be forwarded to the foreign office of Great Britain as the expression of more than 1,000,000 American workers organized in the UAW-CIO."



AHS Fib

## MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Silver

Date December 14, 1943

From Mr. Henry Montor

RE: Activities Fostered by Various Committees of American Zionist Emergency Council

re:  
Public  
relations  
work +  
political  
action

### COMMUNITY CONTACTS

Community Contacts Committee - headed by Joel Gross - Mobilizing American Jewish communities to act as arm of Emergency Council. These local committees are made up of representatives of ZOA, Hadassah, Poale-Zion, Mizrachi, with addition of such representative persons as accept all the resolutions of the American Jewish Conference - approximately 200 communities have thus far created Emergency Committees or made arrangements for their establishment. The activity that has been undertaken will result in the coming weeks in the establishment of several hundred more such committees - each of these local Emergency Committees will mobilize local Christian and Jewish public opinion in every conceivable way. These local committees are also being mobilized through their Congressional Districts to approach Congressmen and Senators in connection with any action which the Emergency Council may decide to undertake.

The Emergency Council is in constant touch with these Emergency Committees, sending them material for the local press, pamphlets, radio material, films and other aids for local campaigns - a private national conference of Emergency Committee Chairmen was held in Cleveland the past week-end. Some 110 leaders from Maine to Oregon participated in a two day session to organize the work.

Research Committee - Mrs. Rose Jacobs - Chairman - This department is to prepare material internally for the officers of the Emergency Council and to prepare data for the outside public both for popular and scholarly use - Dr. I. B. Berkson, former director of Education of the Jewish Agency, is coming in on January 1st as Director of Research. He will have a staff of prominent experts in the various fields important to Palestine knowledge including political activities, Arab-Jewish relations, economic development, etc., etc. This is being geared to become the largest research enterprise ever organized by the Zionist movement in the United States.

American Palestine Committee - Herman Shulman - Chairman. This Committee has abandoned the previous idea of having a limited group of one thousand or more Christian leaders and is engaging in a nation-wide mobilization with the thought in view of reaching some 200,000 Christian leaders, covering such varied groups as heads of universities, presidents of Chambers of Commerce, members of all the State Legislatures of the U.S., heads of American Legion Posts, prominent industrialists, educators and other important moulders of public opinion - the functioning office of the American Palestine Committee has been transferred from New York to Washington, 1720-16th Street, N.W. An Executive Committee of some 15 is being established by Sen. Wagner. This will consist of six members of



To: Dr. Silver  
From: Mr. Henry Montor  
Re: Activities - American Zionist Emergency Council

the Senate, five of the House, and four others, the purpose being to establish a group of men who will become familiar with all the problems of Palestine through constant education. It is intended to obtain a prominent Christian Director for the work of this Executive Committee.

One of the first projects of the American Palestine Committee which it is working on at the present time is a Christian Conference to be held in Washington in February. It will be held under the sponsorship of the American Palestine Committee with the cooperation of many national Christian organizations. The Conference will seek the participation of a number of important Government leaders and representative Christian leaders from all parts of the country.

A well-known international lawyer has been engaged to prepare a legal brief giving in legal phraseology the complete history of the White Paper and American interest in the Mandate. It is intended to obtain the concurring opinions in this brief of a number of noted American international lawyers. This will be presented to the American Government and to interested persons.

Intellectual Mobilization Committee - Rabbi Milton Steinberg - Chairman. Recognizing the importance of moulders of public opinion, this Committee will try through private approaches and public action to make contacts with writers, artists, newspaper columnists, radio commentators and the academic world.

Contact with Post-War Groups - Mrs. Rose Halprin - Chairman. This group is establishing contacts with the various organizations concerned with the drafting of post-war blueprints so that they may obtain a picture of Zionist aspirations and take into account in their own planning the needs of Jews with reference to Palestine - an instance of the type of work being undertaken by this Committee was the interview with Mrs. Roosevelt - this group also has in view contact with important national men's and women's organizations which include post-war planning in their research or educational material.

Publications Committee - Louis Lipsky - Chairman - this committee is responsible for the issuance of all publications issued under the imprint of the Emergency Council - a Confidential Bulletin is issued to members of Emergency Committees throughout the country giving inside information on political developments affecting Palestine here and abroad - this Committee is responsible for the issuance of a Monthly called "Palestine" which now goes to 15,000 Christian leaders throughout the country - this



To: Dr. Silver  
From: Mr. Henry Montor  
Re: Activities - American Zionist Emergency Council

Committee has already issued or is in the process of issuing 6 pamphlets intended for immediate distribution. These include: 1) a summary of the White Paper including Winston Churchill's attack upon it in 1939; 2) The speech of Dorothy Thompson on the 26th Anniversary of the Balfour Declaration; 3) a statement on the absorptive capacity of Palestine; 4) Arab-Jewish Relations; 5) American Interest in the Palestine Mandate - this Committee is also responsible for fostering and facilitating the publication of certain important books which might not otherwise reach the public.

Committee for Christian Clergy - Rabbi Philip Bernstein - Chairman. This Committee is the liaison between the Emergency Council and the Christian Council on Palestine, which is obtaining a membership of thousands of Christian clergymen throughout the country and keeping them constantly informed on Palestine developments - 1) through the regular issuance of literature; 2) through regional and local meetings being arranged by the Christian Council.

Economic Studies and Planning - Emanuel Neumann - Chairman. This Committee will receive support from the Emergency Council to undertake certain important studies to indicate - a) the economic possibilities of Palestine for post-war development; b) plans in concrete form for the transfer of Jews to Palestine when mass migration begins; c) suggestions for the expansion or the introduction of economic methods in Palestine - this Committee is utilizing the abilities of important scientists and researchers. 737

American Jewish Religious Forces Committee - Rabbi Wolf Gold - Chairman. The aim of this Committee is to organize religious Jewry in America to emphasize the relationship between Zionism and Judaism - one of the first undertakings of this Committee is the National Conference of Religious Jewry being convened in New York at the end of January - publications of various kinds will be issued to serve the purposes of this Committee.

Press Committee - Chaim Greenberg - Chairman. Through this Committee materials are made available to the press and also to the local Emergency Committees for transfer to the local press - as an illustration of the type of material issued by this Committee - a Press Book is to be issued every month prepared in such a way as to provide the Emergency Committees with a complete range of material which can be submitted to the local press for use. This includes suggestion for editorials, feature articles, news stories, radio talks, etc.



To: Dr. Silver  
From: Mr. Montor  
Re: Activities - American Zionist Emergency Council

Special Services and Events Committee - Meyer W. Weisgal - Chairman. This Committee will arrange functions in New York and elsewhere designed to dramatize the Zionist program in connection with the work of other committees - this Committee will undertake that type of service which cannot always be described in advance, but whose effectiveness can only be seen when certain events happen. It will not even be possible on many occasions for the Emergency Council to claim credit for these activities whether they include the appearance of certain articles in various magazines, the issuance of books on Palestine, the appearance of certain film material, etc.

Labor Relations Committee - Max Zaritsky - Chairman. - the aim of this Committee is to utilize the friendship already expressed by the CIO, AFL and other labor bodies to intensify this support through regular contact.

Finance and Personnel Committee - Charles J. Rosenbloom - Chairman. This Committee is responsible for obtaining the finances for the promotion of the large-scale program of the Emergency Council, and is also responsible for the managerial administration of the office.

Washington Office - there has been established in the same building with the Zionist Organization at 1720-16th Street, N.W. a full office of the Emergency Council. It is headed by Rabbi Leon Feuer of Toledo. From this office the Emergency Committees throughout the country will be able to meet their Congressmen and Senators in Washington and be directed as to contacts in the local Congressional Districts - this office will also administer the activities of the American Palestine Committee.

There are now in the Washington office, in addition to the regular staff, 2 men who are giving their full time to legislative work involving contacts with Senators and Congressmen. It is planned to expand this effort. The New York office is to be used for the creation ~~of~~ and supervision of Emergency Committees throughout the country, for the supplying of literature, speakers, materials and all other aids not connected with the Congressional work, all of which will be centralized and in Washington.

Various other special activities have not been touched upon in this report such as radio - newspaper advertisements and the use of specialized personnel.

HM/md



C  
O  
P  
Y

December 17, 1943

Honorable Breckinridge Long  
State Department  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Long:

You will recall that in your evidence before the Committee of the House on November 26 with reference to the proposal for the establishment of a Rescue Commission, the question was raised of the ill-fated refugee ship, the "Struma". It appears from Page 44 of the published evidence that, in answer to a question by the Honorable Mr. Mundt as to why the vessel was turned back from Istanbul, you did not at the time recall the details but undertook, if Mr. Mundt so desired, to look them up and advise him.

As this avoidable disaster, involving the death of 768 persons, was one which stirred very deeply the feelings of every Jew and very many non-Jews in this country, I am venturing to send you a copy of the memorandum setting out the relevant facts relating to this and a number of other refugee ships which was submitted on March 19, 1942 to the Acting Secretary of State by a delegation of representatives of the leading Jewish organizations in this country, including the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, Jewish Labor Committee, and the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs.

The recollection remains bitter that owing to the refusal of the Palestine Administration, in the face of urgent humanitarian pleas from many quarters, to admit these refugees to Palestine, the boat with its human cargo was ordered back to Roumania. It was in the course of this return trip that the explosion took place, as a result of which all aboard, with one exception, were drowned. One may be permitted the reflection that the explosion came perhaps as a merciful release for people who had already suffered greatly and who were now faced with return to the death chambers and concentration camps of the Nazis.

I am sending a copy of this letter for his information to the Chairman of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Sincerely yours,

Abba Hillel Silver  
Chairman, Executive Committee

AHS:LMW  
Enclosure



# American Zionist Emergency Council

## CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS

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

342 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.  
Murray Hill 2-1160

December 20th, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

CONFIDENTIAL

Dear Dr. Silver:

Some two months ago I wrote to Mr. James G. McDonald, saying that I would like to meet him. Today he called to say that he would like to have lunch with me.

When I wrote to him originally it was with the thought in mind of inquiring whether he could render a service for the Council in Washington. I believe that Dr. Nahum Goldmann approached him on this subject about six months or a year ago. At that time he turned it down. His attitude today was the same. He is occupied with his radio work and is also expert for post-war relations for the Blue Network.

After a discussion of various aspects of Zionist work, Mr. McDonald felt that much of the Washington activity was without point unless the President had made up his mind to do something practical and effective. He did not believe that a Resolution would serve a purpose unless the President were prepared to implement that Resolution or to utilize it for pro-Jewish purposes.

He believes that there is a very close connection between the attitude of the State Department and the President. Mr. Breckinridge Long, for example, would not do the various things attributed to him if he were not the close friend and confidant of the President. Mr. McDonald's views on Congressman Bloom are not very flattering to the latter.

Mr. McDonald did not seem to think that 1944 was a particularly better year for Zionist "pressure" than any other year, since he believes that Jewish weight is entirely insufficient to offset other factors in 1944. The only basis for trying to create a more favorable attitude is to be found in the intellectual and moral approach.



Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

-2-

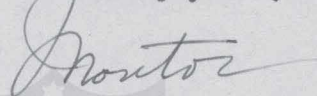
December 20th, 1943

He emphasized again and again that the key to the problem lies in the President and that if the latter wanted to exert himself with the British, there is very little he could not do. In the absence of that will to be of service, no matter what Zionists did, they could not be effective. He insisted that the President is thoroughly familiar with the whole refugee problem in all its aspects and that failure to act is only partially due to a preoccupation with global affairs.

I thought you would wish to have this information for your background purposes.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Cordially yours,



AMERICAN  
ARC  
Henry Montor  
Executive Director

HM:SH





1/60/1943 [Dec. 22, 1943]

ELIHU D. STONE  
ATTORNEY AT LAW  
44 SCHOOL STREET  
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

RESOLUTION RELATIVE TO PALESTINE

RESOLVED by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Congress hereby reaffirms the policy of favoring the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people in accordance with the joint resolution unanimously adopted by the 67th Congress on the 30th day of June, 1922. (Public No. 73, 67th Congress.)

THAT recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their National Home in that country.

THAT the tragic homelessness of the Jewish people intensified by the ruthless persecution of the Axis powers is and should be the concern of the United States of America.

THAT the doors of Palestine be kept open and free for Jewish immigration, subject to the supervision and control of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

THAT complete freedom be granted to the Jewish people to purchase and acquire land in Palestine in order to facilitate the work of colonization and resettlement of Jews in Palestine.

THAT the Government of the United States take the necessary appropriate steps to effect the purposes of this resolution to the end that in due time Palestine shall be reconstituted as a Jewish Commonwealth.

Elihu D. Stone  
Bostn Dec. 22, 1943



SENATE ADJOURNS WITHOUT VOTING ON BILLS TO AID JEWS IN EUROPE

WASHINGTON, Dec. 21. (JTA) -- The Senate today adjourned until January 10 without taking any action on the two resolutions approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee yesterday recommending the establishment of a special U.S. commission to deal with the question of rescuing the Jews of Europe and urging that the State Department cooperate with the British, Swiss and Swedish Governments in supplying food immediately to the starving populations of occupied territories.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee held no hearings on the bill which suggested the Establishment of a U.S. Commission for saving Jews and to which it gave unanimous approval. After discussion, it amended the resolution to urge the creation of a commission to formulate and effectuate "plans," rather than "a plan" as the original bill suggested, of immediate action to save the surviving Jews of Europe. The House Foreign Affairs Committee has been holding open hearings on identical bills. No action will be taken before Congress convenes.

Sen. Gillette, the "father" of the bill, inserted in the Congressional Record a telegram received by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from seven prominent clergymen supporting the establishment of a "special governmental commission to find ways and means to save the surviving Jewish people of Europe." They said: "We cannot approach Christmastide without declaring that too many of us have been wanting in the will to rescue these suffering people." They urged that "No possible sanctuary be closed, whether in America or elsewhere." Signers of the telegram were Rt. Reverend William T. Manning, Bishop of New York, Protestant Episcopal Church; Archbishop Athenagoras, Greek Orthodox Archdiocese of North and South America; Dr. Henry Sloan Coffin, Moderator of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church, and President of the Union Theological Seminary; Bishop William J. McConnell, resident Bishop of the Methodist Church; Rt. Reverend Thomas J. Heistand, Protestant Episcopal Theological Church, Cambridge, Mass; and Dr. Russell Stafford, Minister of Old South Church, Boston.

Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes has accepted the honorary chairmanship of the Washington chapter of the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, according to an announcement made today. In his letter of acceptance, Mr. Ickes said: "As one of the many millions of free Americans who have been infuriated by the savage brutality of the Nazis, I only hope that the Committee may contribute in a real way to the saving of as many as possible from the fury of Hitler and his hosts."

AMERICAN ZIONISTS MUST CHOOSE THEIR OWN DELEGATION TO LONDON, WEIZMANN SAYS

LONDON, Dec. 21. (JTA) -- Dr. Chaim Weizmann, in a statement issued through the Jewish Agency today, denied a report from Palestine that he has invited Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the Zionist Organization of America, and Dr. Nahum Goldmann, a member of the executive of the Jewish Agency who heads the Agency office in Washington, to come to London to assist him in his political negotiations with the British Government with regard to Palestine.

"I have invited a delegation of American Zionist leaders to come to London, but the choice of the delegates has been left to the American Zionist Emergency Council," the statement to the Jewish Telegraphic Agency said.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews today announced that it has studied the details of the Ramath Hakovesh incident in Palestine in which one Jewish settler was killed and several wounded while resisting a raid by police searching for hidden arms. After getting acquainted with the facts, the Board expressed its support of the Jews in Palestine and declared itself ready to aid them in the fight for "their justified cause," the announcement says.



**PRESS RELEASE**

**AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE**

342 Madison Ave. • New York 17, N. Y. • MU 2-1160

Washington Office • 1720—16th Street, N.W. • MI 4480

[Dec. 23, 1943]

14.

FOR RELEASE IMMEDIATELY

AMERICAN PALESTINE COMMITTEE CALLS ON  
CHRISTIAN AMERICA TO BACK UP JEWISH HOMELAND

- - - - -

SENATORS WAGNER AND McNARY HEAD ENTERPRISE

- - - - -

New York, N. Y. -- Recognizing the tragic plight of Europe's uprooted Jews and the need for immediate action in view of the plans for the post-war world now being drafted by United Nations leaders, the American Palestine Committee today launched a nation-wide drive to mobilize American public opinion in support of the movement to reestablish the Jewish National Home in Palestine. This was announced by Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and Senator Charles L. McNary of Oregon, co-chairmen of the American Palestine Committee.

The Committee, which is Christian America's vehicle for the expression of sympathy for Jewish aspirations in Palestine, and which includes many outstanding figures in the field of education, government, church and labor, now aims to enroll the broad mass of Christian Americans.

"The initial response to our appeal for membership is highly encouraging," Senator Wagner said.

In a formal statement Senators McNary and Wagner pointed out that "in the years between two world wars, the Jewish National Home has received moral and political support from the United States under successive administrations, regardless of party," and declared that by joining the American Palestine Committee, Americans "will strengthen the hands of the American Government in its traditional

(more)



support of the Jewish National Home policy, and hearten the homeless Jews of Europe with the assurance that the pledge to rebuild the Jewish Homeland will be redeemed with our help."

The text of the Senators' statement follows:

"A Hitler edict has pledged the destruction of all the Jews of Europe. About two millions have already been wantonly slaughtered. The voice of conscience and humanity calls to leaders of American public opinion to express their sympathy in practical terms; to assure the Jews of Europe still living that the hope of re-creating their lives in a free, democratic Jewish National Home will be realized with our support.

"In the years between two world wars, the Jewish National Home has received moral and political support from the United Nations under successive administrations, regardless of party. The reasons which have led our people and government to favor this cause from the outset are still valid; but the case for the Jewish National Home is far stronger today. First, the resettlement of the Jews in Palestine is no longer a doubtful experiment but a convincing reality. The Jewish National Home has made a truly inspiring record in peacetime pioneering and development, in saving hundreds of thousands of refugees from Nazi terror, and in contributing valuable manpower and economic support to the United Nations' war effort.

"Secondly, the need for the Jewish National Home -- for many hundreds of thousands, indeed millions, of uprooted Jews -- will be far more pressing on the termination of the present war than at any previous time.

"The American Palestine Committee is working earnestly and constructively toward that humanitarian goal, in cooperation with the leading responsible organizations of all faiths throughout the country."

Vice-Chairmen of the Committee are William Green, William H. King and John A. Ryan.

In addition to the more than 2000 prominent Americans who have joined the American Palestine Committee since its inception a little over a year ago,

(more)



within the past few days among the prominent Americans throughout the country who have enrolled their aid and sympathy are the following:

Mr. E. A. Albert, Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Charles L. Anspach, Mount Pleasant, Mich., Mr. Henry J. Arnold, Oneonta, N. Y., Mr. S. E. Atkins, Duluth, Minn., Mr. Frank E. Baker, Milwaukee, Wisc., Mr. Leo A. Ball, Duluth, Minn., Mr. Earle F. Beirs, Springfield, Mass., Mr. Jos. G. Bennis, El Paso, Texas, Mr. Johnson Black, Minneapolis, Minn., Mr. Hugo E. Bothe, Kenosha, Wisc., Mr. A. C. Bougher, Elizabethtown, Pa., Miss Rosa M. Bowker, Springfield, Mass., Mr. Paul S. Brallier, Niagara Falls, N. Y., Mr. M. L. Brittain, Atlanta, Ga., Mr. E. E. Burlingham, Bryn Mawr, Penn., Mr. Harmon W. Caldwell, Athens, Ga., Rev. Howard R. Carey, Grand Rapids, Mich., Mr. Hugo A. Carlson, Omaha, Nebr., Mr. Francis J. Cavanaugh, Oakland, R.I., Mr. Paul G. Chandler, Clarion, Pa., Mr. John G. Cielergren, Duluth, Minn., Mr. Leon J. Clark, Hammond, La., Mr. P. P. Claxton, Clarksville, Tenn., Mr. Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta, Ga., Mr. George R. Conge, Minneapolis, Minn., Mr. H. V. Cooper, Vicksburg, Miss., Mr. Michael P. Cronin, Marlboro, Mass., Mr. Wm. Crooks, Youngstown, Ohio, Rev. John J. Dillon, Providence, R. I., Mr. Alfred R. L. Dohma, Baltimore, Md., Mr. Howard H. Don, El Paso, Texas, Miss Ellen K. Doughty, Allentown, Pa., Mayor Joseph H. Downey, Brockton, Mass., Mr. R. L. Duffy, Hartford, Conn., Mr. James Dugan, Lowell, Mass., Mr. John L. Dunkle, Frostburg, Md., Mr. J. E. Durham, Jr., Allentown, Pa., Mr. Wm. Edwards, El Paso, Texas, Mr. Henry Elliott, Seattle, Wash., Mr. Douglass N. Ellis, Springfield, Mass., Mr. J. M. Ellison, Richmond, Va., Mr. Ben F. Ewing, Louisville, Ky., Mr. Paul W. Finks, Grand Rapids, Mich., Mrs. G. Walter Fisk, Springfield, Mass., Mr. Alexander Fitzhugh, Vicksburg, Miss., Mr. D. F. Fleming, Nashville, Tenn., Mr. Alfred C. Fuller, Hartford, Conn., Mr. J. E. Garner, Fort Smith, Ark., Mr. Edgar G. Garvin, Hampden Spring, Va., Mr. Wm. L. Gleason, Brockton, Mass., Miss Helen Gragg, Seattle, Wash., Mr. James T. Healey, Albany, N. Y., Mr. M. N. Hein, Chippewa Falls, Wisc., Mr. John M. Hennessy, Louisville, Ky., Mr. N. G. Henthorne, Tulsa, Okla., Mr. Ralph D. Hetzel, State College, Pa., Mr. Edward J. Hickey, Hartford, Conn., Mr. N. D. Hoem, El Paso, Texas, Mr. Bertram L. Hughes, Ithaca, N. Y., Mr. Joseph

(more)



Hunter, Bloomfield, N. J., Mr. Charles K. Hutchens, Newport News, Va., Mr. Arthur B. Johson, Minneapolis, Minn., Mr. Paul M. Jones, Tampa, Fla., Mr. Whittier R. Jones, Baltimore, Md., Mr. J. J. Kavanagh, Louisville, Ky., Mr. H. Kinstry, Troy, N. Y., Mr. Samuel J. Kreage, Sayre, Pa., Mr. H. Carrington, Lancaster, Baltimore, Md., Mr. Frank J. Laube, Seattle, Wash., Mr. Henry Leterd, El Paso, Texas, Mr. P. D. Lowry, El Paso, Texas, Mr. Clyde A. Lynch, Annville, Pa., Mr. Jos. Mahoney, Coatesville, Pa., Mr. Kemp Malone, Baltimore, Md., Rev. Cuthberg McDonald, Atchison, Kansas, Mr. Robert T. McDonald, Seattle, Wash., Wilfred T. McQuaid, Esq., Baltimore, Md., Mr. Foster May, Omaha, Nebr., Mr. Tristram Walker Metcalfe, Brooklyn, N. Y., Mr. Thomas J. Molloy, Hartford, Conn., Mr. E. K. Morrow, Salina, Kansas, Mr. Erland Nelson, Carthage, Ill., Mr. Duley K. Nice, Baltimore, Md., Mr. Wm. L. Norton, Seattle, Wash., Mr. Michael J. O'Connell, Chicago, Ill., Mr. Henry Olson, Storm Lake, Iowa, Mr. Henry Orbach, Little Rock, Ark., Mr. Robert C. Paulson, Albert Lea, Minn., Mr. B. H. Pennings, W. Depere, Wisc., Dr. W. B. Prothro, El Paso, Texas, Mr. Hubert T. Quillian, LaGrange, Wyo., Mrs. Florence M. Read, Atlanta, Ga., Mr. James A. Reeves, Greensburgh, Pa., Mr. Charles F. Rhodes, Pontiac, Mich., Mr. Robert L. Rice, Niagara Falls, N. Y., Mr. S. W. Ridgeway, Coatesville, Pa., Mr. V. P. Rosenavine, Grand Rapids, Mich., Mr. Walter H. Ryle, Kirksville, Mo., Mr. Charles M. Sandrin, Baltimore, Md., Mr. James Scavotto, Seattle, Wash., Mr. Leslie J. Schlax, Kenosha, Wisc., Mr. D. T. Schoonover, Marietta, Ohio, Chancellor Benjamin F. Schwartz, Lincoln, Nebr., Mr. Mason F. Sexton, Utica, N. Y., Mr. S. L. Sharpe, Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Jesse Sluegloff, Baltimore, Md., Mr. Henry A. Smith, Utica, N. Y., Mr. R. R. Smith, Lancaster, Pa., Mr. Henry I. Stahr, Frederick, Md., Dr. Jas. B. Stanford, Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Howard Stanley, Washington, D. C., Mr. Fred Stroh, Seattle, Wash., Mr. Mark E. Swingleef, Tampa, Fla., Mr. Paul D. Thomas, El Paso, Texas, Mr. W. C. Thomas, Seattle, Wash., Mrs. Alexander Thomson, Oxford, Ohio, Mr. Irwin M. Tobin, Kingston, R. I., Mr. Wm. H. Vaughan, Morehead, Ky., Mr. Paul F. Voelker, Grand Rapids, Mich., Mr. Leonard L. Ward, Baltimore, Md., Mr. Hugh Ingram Webb, Opelika, Ala., Mr. John M. Weidman, Socorro, New Mexico, Mr. James B. Weller, Genesee, N. Y., Mr. Travis White, El Paso,

(more)



Texas, Mr. Clair S. Wightman, Paterson, N.J., Mr. F. C. Willcoxon, Vicksburg, Miss.,  
Mr. C. C. Williams, Bethlehem, Pa., Mr. J. D. Williams, Huntington, W. Va., Mr.  
John S. Willis, Burlington, Vermont, Mr. Lewis M. Wrenn, Pontiac, Mich., Mr. Louis  
G. Wright, Berea, Ohio, Mr. Wesley Youngblood, Lubbock, Texas, Mr. Jas. F. Zimmerman,  
Albuquerque, New Mexico, Mr. W. S. Ward, Big Rapids, Mich.

#14-12/23/43





C  
O  
P  
Y

CHRISTIAN COUNCIL ON PALESTINE

December 23, 1943

Memorandum

To: Mr. Henry Montor  
From: Dr. Carl Hermann Voss

Dr. Atkinson is still ill with the flu but I phoned him today and spoke with him at length about your suggestion concerning advertisements in magazines. He agrees with me that advertisements in religious magazines will not only from a tactical standpoint be completely useless, but also so far as accomplishing anything is concerned. He is in accord with me in my suspicion that giving it to certain Protestant periodicals would serve only to give them a chance to train their anti-Zionist guns on us.

We should like to make another suggestion: As I wrote to Rabbi Feuer recently, and as you no doubt know by this time, we are planning to have an Executive meeting quite soon to secure the approval of our Executive Committee on a proposed Resolution in forthright and unequivocal terms denouncing the White Paper. We plan to send this Resolution to all our constituency and secure as many names as possible. When we have a sufficiently large and influential list of signatures we should like to publish that Resolution and the signatures in a large advertisement in the New York Times, and perhaps one or two other papers such as, let us say, the New York Post or the World Telegram, etc. In this way we shall line ourselves up with secular groups in the secular Press. To advertise in the religious press, we feel, would be a waste of time and money, as well as most impolitic.

We shall await your reaction on this with interest. Within a fortnight we can promise some definite action."



GEORGE BACKER  
PRESIDENT

JACOB LANDAU  
SECRETARY & MANAGING  
DIRECTOR

JACOB BLAUSTEIN  
CHAIRMAN

HAROLD K. GUINZBURG  
VICE-PRESIDENT

BERNE  
LONDON  
JERUSALEM  
WASHINGTON  
RIO DE JANEIRO  
BUENOS AIRES

# Jewish Telegraphic Agency, Inc.

106 EAST 41ST STREET  
NEW YORK CITY 17

DECEMBER 23, 1943

3-2641  
murray hill  
DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
THE TEMPLE  
105TH ST AT ANSEL ROAD  
CLEVELAND, OHIO

CONFIDENTIAL

DEAR DR. SILVER:

IN VIEW OF THE STATEMENT YOU MADE AT THE RECENT DINNER MEETING, YOU MAY BE INTERESTED IN THE REMARKS MADE TO ME BY MR. ISADOR LUBIN DURING MY STAY IN WASHINGTON.

HE DENIED THAT OUR GOVERNMENT HAS ADOPTED A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS ZIONISM. ICKES' ATTITUDE, HE STATED, WAS NOT DUE TO ANY ATTITUDE OF THE CABINET OR ROOSEVELT. HE DID NOT THINK THAT ROOSEVELT WAS UNFRIENDLY. HE INDICATED, HOWEVER, THAT SOME PEOPLE IN THE STATE DEPARTMENT WERE UNFRIENDLY, AND THESE HAD BEEN IN FAVOR OF THE "JOINT STATEMENT." HE DID NOT SEEM SURE THAT HULL WAS FRIENDLY.

LUBIN HIMSELF IS UNQUESTIONABLY FRIENDLY TO ZIONISM.

I LEARN FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT NEITHER MURRAY NOR ALLING HAVE LEFT FOR LONDON. I UNDERSTAND THAT THE QUESTION IS WHETHER THE CONFERENCE SHOULD BE HELD IN WASHINGTON OR LONDON. ALLING I HEAR IS PROVINCIAL, RETICENT AND MILDLY ANTI-SEMITIC. HE HAS STATED THAT HE HAS GREAT RESPECT FOR WEIZMANN, BUT IS REPORTED TO HAVE LITTLE USE FOR THE OTHER ZIONIST LEADERS.

FROM WHAT I HEAR, THERE IS VERY LITTLE CHANCE FOR AN EARLY ABROGATION OF THE WHITE PAPER. THE ARABS, ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH, CONSIDER THE WHITE PAPER AS THEIR MAGNA CHARTER - AS A DEFINITE OBLIGATION WHICH THE BRITISH CANNOT BREAK WITHOUT INVITING TROUBLE.

I AM ON MY WAY TO MEXICO.

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,

JL:F

*Jacob Landau*  
JACOB LANDAU  
MANAGING DIRECTOR



C  
O  
P  
Y

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

December 28, 1943

My dear Dr. Silver:

I have your letter of December 17, with the enclosed memorandum containing an account of the tragic voyage of the "Struma". I well remember the disaster though I was not clear as to certain details, notably the cause of the destruction of the vessel. Whether this was due to enemy action or to the unseaworthy nature of a ship used as affording a hope of escape does not affect the terrible character of the event. I wish to thank you for the information contained in the memorandum with respect to this and other refugee ships.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) Breckinridge Long  
Assistant Secretary

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



MINUTE OF CONVERSATION WITH COLONEL HAROLD HOSKINS  
State Department Building-- Washington, D. C.  
December 28, 1943

Present: Col. Hoskins, Dr. Goldmann

Dr. Goldmann went to see Col. Hoskins at the latter's invitation.

Col. Hoskins said he had returned from London about ten days ago. He had seen Dr. Weizmann several times and he had asked Col. Hoskins to get in touch with Dr. Goldmann. He had reported to Dr. Weizmann on the result of his visit to Ibn Saud and wanted to give Dr. Goldmann the same report. He had discussed the Zionist problem with Ibn Saud and had proposed to him on behalf of the American government that Ibn Saud, or one of his representatives, meet with Dr. Weizmann, or other representatives of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. Ibn Saud had refused on two scores-- first, because of his generally antagonistic attitude toward Zionism, and, second, because Sir John Philby had come to see him in 1941 and, on behalf of Dr. Weizmann had offered him 20 million pounds (or dollars, the figure escapes me--RG), which he regarded as a personal insult to him. When Col. Hoskins saw Ibn Saud he did not know what the actual facts were and learned them only later in his conversations with Dr. Weizmann.

The real story is that Sir John Philby suggested to Dr. Weizmann that he be authorized to discuss with Ibn Saud the question of a loan for the development of Saudi Arabia; that Dr. Weizmann had discussed this proposal with British officials and had told Philby that if Ibn Saud would help the Jews, it should not be impossible that such a loan be arranged. It appeared that Philby, who had spent several months in Saudi Arabia without achieving anything, did not tell Ibn Saud that the idea of the loan originated with himself.

Col. Hoskins said that Dr. Weizmann felt that the President should be informed of the real facts and had wanted to give Col. Hoskins a memorandum to be submitted to the President, but since Col. Hoskins left England a few days before his scheduled departure the memorandum was not ready. He expects to get it through the American Embassy in London. In any case, Hoskins concluded, it is clear from his talks with Ibn Saud that the idea of using him as an intermediary was a mistake and that door must be regarded as definitely closed.

Dr. Goldmann said this was no surprise to the Jewish Agency. As Col. Hoskins might recall, in conversations with him and with Mr. Murray, Dr. Goldmann had said that the Agency was more than skeptical about Ibn Saud's taking a moderate stand; that Mr. Shertok had warned against the whole idea. However, since the State Department thought there was a chance, the Agency did not think it should prevent their trying it.

Col. Hoskins said that the idea about Ibn Saud had originated with Mr. Churchill who had discussed it with Dr. Weizmann in 1940. For this reason the President, after receiving his report, thought that Mr. Churchill and the British government, as well as Dr. Weizmann should be informed directly by Col. Hoskins about the failure of his mission; it was for this reason he had been sent to London.

Col. Hoskins said that now the situation was clarified and other avenues of approach will have to be found to bring about an understanding between Jews and Arabs.

The talk then turned to the general situation about



Palestine. Col. Hoskins said he had talked with Nuri Pasha and other Arab leaders in Cairo and had seen Ben-Gurion in Jerusalem; he also had had a long talk with Shertok in Cairo. On his way back from Saudi Arabia, he wanted to go back to Jerusalem to see Ben-Gurion and Shertok, but in Basra he got a cable asking him to return immediately. He got the impression from his talks with the Arab leaders that it should not be impossible to bring about a peaceful solution of the Palestine problem through an understanding mutually acceptable to both parties. He thought the American government could be very useful in this respect as the Arabs have great confidence in America.

Dr. Goldmann said that since the beginning of the war, the Jewish Agency had taken the position that America and England should cooperate in securing a solution to the Palestine problem. The Agency never believed in playing America off against Great Britain, but did believe, and was encouraged by many of its best friends in Great Britain, that it would be difficult for Britain to find a way out of contradictory commitments, and it would be easier if there were joint Anglo-American responsibility.

Col. Hoskins said he fully agreed with this attitude and that such was the main purpose he and others had who suggested the joint statement about Palestine to be issued by America and Great Britain. He said: "I know you were against it and finally prevented it. But I would like you to know my motives; I would not want you and your friends to think I was anti-Zionist." He said he felt that such a statement would ease the tense situation in Palestine and would bring America definitely into the picture as ready to take a hand in the solution of the Palestine question.

Dr. Goldmann said that the intent to bring America into the scene was certainly laudable, but for this purpose it was not necessary to issue such a statement as was contemplated. It was unacceptable for three reasons: (1) the Zionists did not agree with the evaluation of the Palestine situation as being on the eve of civil war, with the Jews ready to provoke disturbances. Dr. Goldmann said he knew that Col. Hoskins felt that way because he had seen his report, but thought that the picture was exaggerated and rather hysterical. The fact that nearly a year had passed without any disturbances should convince him that he was too fearful.

Col. Hoskins said that Dr. Goldmann might be right, but he believed the situation was still tense and mentioned reports of the killing of Jews and Arabs in recent weeks. However, he said, his motive was a genuine desire to prevent anything which would interfere with the war effort, in which Dr. Goldmann was certainly as interested as he.

(2) Any joint statement between America and Great Britain, Dr. Goldmann pointed out, which does not indicate that the White Paper policy is changed, must be regarded as an endorsement of that policy by the American government.

(3) The warning to Jews and Arabs contained in the statement to discontinue public discussion would never have been accepted by Jews in this country or other countries; on the contrary, it would have antagonized Jews and created a breach between the Administration and Jewish public opinion, which should certainly be avoided.

If, Dr. Goldmann said, the British and American governments should issue a statement that both were ready to act jointly to solve the problem and that a new policy would be initiated in due course, no



one would object to it. But for the reasons already given, the statement as it had been drafted was certainly most objectionable.

Hoskins said that the matter was no longer/real issue; a decision had already been made against his position. However, he had raised it only to explain that whatever the differences, his motives were not anti-Zionist. He said his only aim was to be used as a mediator between Jews and Arabs and to help them reach a positive agreement.

Dr. Goldmann said this was again very laudable, but that in order for him to play such a role, he could not give the impression that he was biased against the Zionists and all Zionists had that impression. Dr. Goldmann drew his attention to various conversations with Senators and said that Zionists would have to regard him as hostile, he could not play the role which he wanted to play.

Dr. Goldmann then asked whether he thought the time had come for discussions in London between the Zionists and the British about the final solution.

He said he thought the time was rapidly approaching when such discussions could start and that the British attitude that they were not yet ready for such discussions was beginning to change.

He knew that Dr. Goldmann was planning to go to London and said that there he would get a real picture of the situation and would also realize that the moment for discussing an ultimate solution was approaching. He said he had also read rumors of some partition scheme to be discussed by various British officials and asked what the Zionist position was.

Dr. Goldmann explained why Zionists were now insisting on the maximum area in the whole of Palestine-- the problem is no longer one of gradual and slow immigration; after this war the problem will be one of mass transfer of homeless and uprooted Jews and a small part of Palestins would not serve the purpose.

Col. Hoskins said he thought the Arab leaders understood that the White Paper policy would not stand; on the other hand, the Jews cannot expect that 100% of their demands would be satisfied. Some concessions may have to be made to Arab demands.

Dr. Goldmann said that once the Arabs recognized the right of the Jews to return to Palestine, a basis would be found for agreement with them. However, discussion is of no use, so long as they do not know that the policy of the Jewish National Home will be supported by America and Great Britain. Once they know this, they will be ready to reach an agreement; but so long as they think that America and Great Britain will adhere to the White Paper policy, there is no basis for agreement.

Col. Hoskins said he agreed with this and that the main problem was for America and Great Britain to work out a formula.

Dr. Goldmann said that the Zionists should be kept informed about such a formula and not be faced with a fait accompli.

Col. Hoskins said he would remain in Washington and would be



glad if Dr. Goldmann would keep in touch with him.

Before leaving Dr. Goldmann made an appointment for Dr. Silver.

The interview lasted an hour and a half.

10

Washington, D. C.





December 30, 1943

Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
The Temple  
Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Dr. Silver:

I offered Mr. Montor my resignation week before last and was asked to wait until after the first of the year to present it. Will you consider that you have my resignation now? I hope you will release me before January 10, 1944. I took a leave of absence from my job for three months and I realize the present set-up calls for a longer program. I think it would be wiser to take on someone who could continue with the work. I cannot. Furthermore, there is no point in my working without your confidence. If the matter of chairman of my committee was not even discussed with me, I obviously do not have that confidence.

Yesterday I told Mr. Montor that Mrs. Milton Steinberg had written telling me to place in his hands Rabbi Steinberg's resignation as Chairman of the Intellectual Mobilization Committee. At that time I learned that Rabbi Feuer had already seen Marvin Lowenthal and offered him the chairmanship of the committee.

Rabbi Feuer did not know Mr. Lowenthal and I did. I worked with him and spent time with him. I know the situation of my committee and I am the only one who knows its organization because I had to put into operation a working plan (which it was possible to effect only after the work started). When Rabbi Feuer asked Mr. Lowenthal to be chairman of the committee, it showed he knew nothing of the operation of the committee.

It happens that Mr. Lowenthal did not accept the chairmanship, and I could have told Rabbi Feuer so in advance. If he had asked me, I could have told him what we do want from Mr. Lowenthal, and possibly how to get it. I could have also told him how the committee is organized and where the honors should go.

I would like to inform you that the work has naturally divided itself into three categories--writers, radio commentators, and academicians. The writers should have one person to contact, the radio commentators another, and the academicians a third. The writers think to reach the radio commentators and academicians is a rather trivial idea, much as the scholars think to bother with the other two is unimportant and the radio commentators think that once you have reached them why worry about the writers and scholars.



12/30/43

As a matter of fact, this is how I am working: Mr. Lowenthal has actually, without quite being aware of it, served as chairman of the Writers Committee. He has given advice and gotten people together and is, I hope, preparing a pamphlet for us and in general he has done the work of a chairman of that group.

Hans Jacob has acted as chairman of the radio commentators by advising me how to reach them, by seeing many of them himself and by coordinating the work of that group.

I have spoken with Professor Salo Baron about the academicians and have had advice from him. He is too busy to be of much help but there are others who will work. Since I have not been able to get action on one of the more important things he suggested--a Quarterly--I have not gone further with this group. I am sure, however, that I can get a chairman (in substance, if not in name) for this group too.

What I think is that the three committees should work separately, with a big name chairman to lend the aura of his yiches to us, letting the different committees work in their own fields and having the Executive Secretary coordinate their endeavors.

Cordially yours,

*Faust* *Cohen*





4850 N. Avers Avenue  
Chicago, 25, Illinois  
December 30, 1943

MS

Dear Rabbi Silver,

We all know how urgent is the task of rescuing as many lives as possible from Europe's concentration camps. Undoubtedly smuggling of our brethren out of the concentration camps into Palestine has been going on, and will continue in the future, but I feel sure that for whatever additional aid we can summon, our suffering Jews would be most grateful. From this point of view, I could not consider myself a true Zionist if I did not exert every possible influence and explore every possible channel toward this humanitarian goal of saving lives, and helping our Zionist cause at the same time.

With this in mind, it occurred to me to use my status as a member of the Communist Party, to ask the national leadership of that organization to contact the European Undergrounds for the purpose of having the entire Resistance Movement engage in an immediate, intensive, systematic campaign to smuggle Jews into Palestine, on a scale equaled only by the Underground Railroad in America in pre-Civil War days. You know of course that the Resistance Movements clear across Europe were led and organized in the main by Communists. But I emphasize again, to make it microscope clear (crystals are clouded these days) that I am interested in helping Jews of any country or ideological leaning to gain entrance into Palestine. (Those Jews in Europe who are Communists, by far and large will not want to go to Palestine.) It is also my personal opinion that the Soviet Union would use its varied resources to give full aid to this project to aid the Zionist cause.

However, I did not wish to make any advances before getting the reaction of the responsible leaders of our Zionist Organization. Consequently, I broached this matter to Nathan D. Kaplan of our Chicago executive, and after consultation with Milton Silberman, it was suggested this matter be brought to your attention at once.

Trusting to hear from you in the near future, I remain

Sincerely yours,

*Mike Hecht*  
Mike Hecht

Membership Chairman, Albany Park Dist., Z.O.C.

Carbon Copy to Cleveland



MEMORANDUM

To Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

Date December 31, 1943

From Mrs. Fannie S. Cohen

Your letter of December 26th was misdirected and did not reach me until late yesterday afternoon.

As I wrote you yesterday morning, with my resignation, the work of the Intellectual Mobilization Committee has divided itself into three parts: work with writers, with radio commentators, and with scholars. On November 23 before the long-range program was established, I sent a memo to Mr. Montor from which this is an excerpt:

The purpose of the Committee seems to be two-fold: 1) to enlist opinion-creators on behalf of the withdrawal of the White Paper; and 2) to enlist them in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth.

The first is a short-range proposition, and has to be treated differently from the second. If there were time, and conditions were ideal (which they positively are not), both should be handled in the same way. That is, a list of people we want to reach would be prepared, a parallel list of people to cultivate would be drawn up, a plan would be made whereby a "shiddach" between the two groups, as individuals, could be effected, and a long time would be allowed for the getting-acquainted period, a long engagement, and the ultimate union of the two minds anent Zionism. But as usual we can't wait; the best we can do is adapt that plan.

Since that is the more immediate problem, we must concentrate now on getting "stimmung" against the White Paper. We must do a quick job, spreading ourselves thinner than we like. We can't spend time cultivating people to be our eternal friends, but we can arouse quick understanding of and sympathy for this particular problem. And if we get people to work on that, maybe they'll go along with us on the big issue...

Since so many people we are trying to reach shy away from the thought of being Zionists but are eager to help on the White Paper, I have, in my approach to them, concentrated on work on the White Paper despite our change in policy since then. I feel that once these people are committed to us in one regard, it will be easier to make them permanent bed-fellows. They may even convince themselves, given a chance to learn what we are all about, by doing a definite job. The new policy has resulted in a change in my attitude, not in my methods. I have not forgotten what we really want them for and have warned them that they may yet one day be Zionists.

- - - - -



In connection with the writers, I have been working principally with Marvin Lowenthal and Reuben Rubin (the Palestine artist). It was our plan to organize a small working committee which would solicit manuscripts on the White Paper from writers, which would speak to editors about using articles from themselves or others on the White Paper and which would arrange with literary agents they know to place such articles with publications. The two meetings we were able to call when both Rubin and Lowenthal were in town were not too well attended because of the prevalent illnesses. The "holidays" have interrupted our work too. However, we have had some results. Babette Deutsch is planning to do an article for us for Harper's and has already contacted the editor, Mr. Allen, whom she knows. I have supplied her with material.

Miss Muriel Rukeyser who is a young (and good) poet may do a poem or an article, or both, for us. I have also supplied her with much material and will contact her again after the new year. Miss Rukeyser too is not a Zionist but is eager for new Jewish experience. She has offered to put into poetic form translations of Palestine songs if we furnish her with literal translations. While this is not of interest to the Emergency Council, it will be helpful to Jewish educational groups, and will certainly stimulate her interest in Zionism.

Mr. Lowenthal contacted Manuel Komroff, who is writing a story using the White Paper in some form in his plot. Further details must wait on Mr. Komroff's completion of his story. I spoke at length to Mr. Lowenthal the other day about getting an article or statement from Louis Fischer who I feel is ready to return to Zionist sympathy. I also spoke to him about seeing Louis Adamic, also a friend of his, who is editing a series of books on "The Peoples of America" for J. B. Lippincott. Possibly a book on the Jews, sympathetic to our viewpoint might be done in this series.

Rubin wrote Lewis Browne asking him to do an article for Liberty and was asked to wait until after the first of the year for Browne's final consent. I think Rubin can put enough pressure on him to get it. Rubin has also written to Irving Stone and Irving Fineman in California to ask them for articles on the White Paper, and if I keep after Rubin enough and he after them, some good may result.

Rubin is also spending time on Howard Fast trying to get him to write an article. Fast can be interested, I think, probably from anti-British prejudice and all it requires is more work by me on Rubin and Rubin on Fast.

Mr. Lowenthal is writing a pamphlet which in essence will be a summary of Lourie's pamphlet, but which will be briefer and more dramatic. We will ask friends and members of the working writers group to send one with a personal letter to writers, agents and editors, saying "This is something I want to talk to you about." It will be an entering wedge which will enable us to tell our story in full as we want it told, and it will give each one of our people a specific task in connection with one or many others we want to reach. I need not tell you that a great deal of this work calls for constant hammering and follow-up because every one we are dealing with is busy with his own interests.

- - - - -



On the radio story my contact is Hans Jacob, as I wrote you. I saw him several times and wrote you about Kaltenborn as the result of one of these conferences.

The following is a summary of my work with Jacob: Mr. Jacob felt definitely that you were the man to see Kaltenborn because he is the dean of radio commentators and nobody but the most important person should see him. If properly impressed, he will help us. Have you heard from him, by the way, and do you have an appointment with him? Gabriel Heatter should receive the Kaltenborn approach, with a lot of soft-soap.

Winchell needs special handling and I will discuss him later in this memo. Johannes Steel has been approached by Mr. Weisgal who is also taking care of our friend Dorothy Thompson. Gailmor is a friend of ours and if we can have an item for him we can just telephone him. Mr. Jacob will reach Raymond Gram Swing when he goes to Washington and he is also taking care of Lisa Sergio, George Hamilton Coombs, Frank Kingdon, Cecil Brown, John B. Kennedy, Elsa Maxwell about John Gunther, some of whom are already our friends. Mr. Jacob told me recently that he has had good contact with Shirer, but Mr. Montor can tell you more about this since I have not been told the whole story. I plan to see Mr. Jacob after the first of the year as he is tied up until then.

I feel that we should get out something like our Confidential News reports for the radio commentators who are favorable to us, but for the big boys we should divide some items so that each one of them gets an exclusive at some time. We must convince the commentator that this is given only to him so that there will be no question about his using it. Exclusive tips will make us friends faster than anything else.

I have been in frequent touch with Mrs. Danny Kaye, who is a close friend of Walter Winchell. She is trying to see Winchell to influence him to say something special on his radio program and in his column about the White Paper and Palestine. I told Mrs. Kaye that we would give Winchell every assistance and would be very happy to give him a big exclusive scoop and furnish him with any material he wants. Although she is so cooperative, Mrs. Kaye is enormously busy right now (she may go with her husband to Europe) and has only been so helpful because she is a devoted friend of Rabbi Steinberg's.

-----

On the academic group, I went to see Professor Salo Baron at Columbia University. His feeling is that the most important group to reach is the world of scholars. Dr. Baron says that these are the authorities who are consulted by the State Department in the making of treaties, and all the mass protest we enlist will be as nothing if our side is not properly presented when the treaties are written.

Professor Baron suggested a Quarterly be established on a high intellectual level, in which scholars would write about Zionist problems. It would serve as an important medium for Jewish thinkers on Zionism and Palestine, and it would be the most effective weapon we could utilize for the general academic world, because it would be sent to scholars of every shade of opinion.



Professor Baron also thought that we should approach Jewish academicians individually and explain to them the special importance now of acting as missionaries and making converts to Zionism of fellow-scholars, Jewish and non-Jewish. Among the people who should be helpful to us in the academic field are Prof. Oscar Janowsky, Dr. I. B. Berkson, Dr. Max Gruenewald, Dr. Halkin, Professor Horace Kallen, Sholom Spiegel, Dr. Wechsler, Dr. Isaac Kandel. I am sure we can find a list of others but I think it would be wiser to wait to see them until after we have decided about the Quarterly.

I also discussed with Professor Baron the possibility of adding courses on Palestine to college curricula. Professor Baron says that Arabic is being taught in several of the Universities, that the people who teach the subject are most of the time Arabs who are usually not sympathetic to Zionist aims, that on rare occasions they allow the Jewish point of view to be expressed, and that these infrequent occasions are the only ones on which we have the opportunity to tell the Zionist story. Even if we could influence American people to study in the oriental institutes and Near East Departments of our Universities, they would come under the influence of a non-Zionist viewpoint. There are not enough Jewish scholars qualified to teach the subject even if the Universities would be willing to appoint them--which is not a likelihood.

I think that academicians, like writers and radio commentators, must be handled individually and cannot be asked to come to group meetings. Before I joined the Committee, there was a meeting of radio commentators which resulted disastrously because one dissident voice was raised which caused even our friends to change their attitude about expressing themselves on the White Paper now.

I am sure that I need not tell you that this work takes a long time to show results. It requires constant prodding and individual effort. As I said before, I think the function of the Executive Secretary is that of a shadchan, being careful always to mate the right people in order to produce the offspring we need--comment on the White Paper, and Zionists. It is a long grind--not a job for three months or three years, but a continuous job which will become easier as we succeed because we will have so many more to help us.

The only meeting of the Intellectual Mobilization Committee was held on November 4 before I was connected with the organization. I append the minutes of that meeting. The following is a list of members of the Committee on Intellectual Mobilization.

Prof. Salo Baron  
Dr. Abram L. Sacher  
Prof. Oscar Janowsky  
Dr. Horace M. Kallen  
Dr. Solomon Goldman  
Dr. Maurice L. Perlzweig  
Mr. Louis Untermeyer  
Mr. Marvin Lowenthal  
Mr. Reuben Rubin  
Mr. Arthur Szyk

Columbia University or Canaan, Conn.  
Hillel Foundation, Champaign, Ill.  
31 W. Moshulu Parkway, Bronx, N. Y.  
New School of Social Research, N.Y.C.  
3800 Lake Shore Drive, Chicago, Ill.  
American Jewish Congress, N.Y.C.  
595 Madison Avenue, N. Y.C.  
389 Bleecker Street, N. Y.C.  
40 E. 58 St., New York City  
323 W. 74 Street, N. Y. C.

*Samuel S. Baron*



[1943.]

STATEMENT OF DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER, CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE  
COMMITTEE, AMERICAN ZIONIST EMERGENCY COUNCIL

I am deeply grateful to the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee for the privilege afforded me to appear here and speak in approval of the Resolutions #418 and #419 which have been introduced in the House. These Resolutions reflect the spirit of a similar resolution adopted unanimously by both Houses of Congress in 1922. They evidence again the profound interest of the American people, speaking through their chosen representatives in Congress, in the great historic cause of the rebuilding of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

May I say, at the outset, that nothing is further from the minds of those for whom I speak -- and I believe I speak for millions of Jewish citizens of the United States -- who through the representatives of their national organizations and the elected delegates of their respective communities gathered at the great American Jewish Conference last September and voiced overwhelmingly their endorsement of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine and called for the abrogation of the White Paper than to embarrass our great and gallant ally Great Britain, whose heroic defense of civilization against Nazi barbarism in the dark days when she stood alone will remain an epic of high courage and spiritual grandeur to inspire all future generations. We have no quarrel with Great Britain. We can never forget that it was Great Britain which, first among the nations, gave recognition to the national aspirations of the Jewish people in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration. But a wrong and unjustifiable political policy affecting the Jewish national home which this very declaration welcomed and committed His Majesty's Government to its achievement, is about to be consummated. It would to all intents and purposes liquidate the Jewish national home. It is this policy, which has been sharply criticized by the foremost statesmen of Great Britain herself, that we ask to be rescinded. We retain our strong confidence in the integrity and the abiding goodwill of Great Britain that this will be done.



We feel that this very resolution when adopted will, as was pointed out here a moment ago, strengthen the hands of our many friends in Great Britain who wish to see this wrong, unwise, and illegal policy abrogated.

May I also be permitted to give a brief historical background to the movement to reconstitute the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine, perhaps a subject which will not be covered by the other people who will speak here? It is not a recent movement. It did not begin with modern Zionism, nor with the first Zionist colonies which were established in Palestine 65 years ago. The ideal of national restoration dates from the year of the destruction of Jerusalem and of the Temple in the year 70 A.D., and from the beginning of the widespread dispersion of the Jewish people.

Throughout the following centuries the hope of rebuilding their national home was never absent from among our people. Modern Zionism is only the latest expression of that undeviating will to national restoration which has persisted throughout the ages.

For fifteen centuries and more prior to the time of the great Dispersion, the Jewish people lived in Palestine as a nation, undergoing all the changing political vicissitudes which all nations, large or small, are bound to experience over a long period of time.

During some of those centuries they made their greatest contribution to civilization in the religious field. They gave the Bible to the world and formulated the great spiritual and ethical ideals of mankind. In Palestine and from the Jewish Nation came both Judaism and Christianity.

Whenever disaster threatened their national existence, they found strength to surmount it. The destruction of the first temple in the sixth century B.C., and the exile of the best part of Israel to Babylonia did not result in the death of the nation. By the rivers of Babylon they sat down and wept as they remembered Zion, and in their exile they vowed: "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget her cunning."



In the second pre-Christian century, the Jews revolted against their Syrian overlords and regained their political independence. A century later they lost it again to the Romans. When the oppression of the Romans became too great, they revolted again. This great revolt lasted for 6 years, until 70 A.D., when Jerusalem and the temple was destroyed. But the Jewish Nations did not perish then. In 115 the Jewish people revolted again. And in 135 they revolted a third time. Determinedly they resisted the greatest empire of the earth in defense of their national life and liberties.

In the following centuries and as a result of persecution, Jewish life in Palestine sharply declined from its high levels, but it continued in a relatively large scale up to the seventh century, when we again hear of Jews fighting for their freedom. Jews clung to Palestine all through Roman, Byzantine, Arab, Christian, and Turkish domination, to this very day. "Throughout the ages, even in the darkest periods of the Crusades, the protracted wars of the Middle Ages, and in modern times, the Jews never entirely left the soil of Palestine." They never surrendered the hope that some day they would rebuild their national life there. The bitter experiences of 2,000 years of exile, outlawry, ghettos, and massacres only served to reinforce that hope.

The effort to return to Palestine was unremitting through the ages. The living bond with Palestine was never broken. The hope of return became part of the Jews' creed. It echoed through the pages of his prayer book. His festivals were redolent of memories and hopes of Palestine. The Messianic hope which sustained the spirits of our people throughout the bleak centuries was essentially the hope of Israel's return to Palestine. All through the Middle Ages, when traveling was most difficult and dangerous, Jews found ways singly or in groups, to return to Palestine.

In the nineteenth century this age-old national aspiration finally entered the phase of political organization and practical action.



Orthodox rabbis and lay leaders, moved by convictions both religious and national, were among the first to advocate planned and concerted colonization projects to Palestine.

A strong urge towards political action for national emancipation came also from the circles of Jews of western Europe who had become disillusioned with the results of the nineteenth century enlightenment and emancipation. Sudden and violent outbursts of anti-Semitism in unexpected places forced upon these Jews who had so sanguinely awaited the early liquidation of the Jewish problems, the necessity of taking stock of their position anew.

They realized that the problem of the national homelessness of the Jewish people was the principal source of the Jewish millennial tragedy and that it remained as stark and as menacing as ever. It simply could not be circumvented by wishful thinking or pleasant daydreaming.

These Jews began to look for the basic solution of the problem and they soon discovered it. Fundamentally the root of all the trouble was that the Jewish people was a national homeless people in the world and the only solution for national homelessness is a national home.

Great thinkers from among the intellectual circles of westernized Europe Jewry formulated this new insight and conviction. The theme common to all was emancipation through national restoration. Not that all Jews should return to Palestine any more than that all Englishmen in all parts of the world should return to England, or all Frenchmen to France, or all Germans to Germany. Every nation today has many of its former nationals, citizens of other countries. The Jews in other parts of the world will remain as heretofore loyal citizens of the country which will permit them to remain equal citizens of those countries, and the American Jews who have served their country so faithfully both in peace and in war, intend to remain citizens of the United States, and their relationship with the Jewish commonwealth will be no different from that of other American citizens with



respect to their ancestral homes. But, just as there is an England, a France, and a Germany, so must there be a Land of Israel in order that the status of the Jewish people might be normalized throughout the world. Politically the Jewish people as a people must become, like every other people, possessed of an independent life in a national home.

In 1897, Theodore Herzl convoked the first Zionist Congress at Basle, Switzerland. There the official Zionist platform was adopted; "The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."

Within 20 years of the organization of modern political Zionism, the movement received formal approval at the hands of the greatest empire on earth -- Great Britain.

On November 2, 1917, Arthur James Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, issued the famous declaration in the name of the British Government:

"His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home --

Note the term "national" --

for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

The Balfour Declaration, which represents a turning point in the history of the Jewish people, was not, as has sometimes been represented, a purely British formulation of policy. It was for many months the subject of long and earnest negotiation between the principal Allied Powers. In February and March of 1918 the French and Italian Governments, respectively, issued parallel statements in support of the Balfour Declaration. President Wilson had followed the negotiations and had encouraged the issuance of that declaration, and our Government insisted on having a hand in the drafting of the mandate.

At a meeting of the Supreme Council of the Allied Powers, held at San Remo in April 1920, the Balfour Declaration was unanimously adopted and embodied in the



Mandate for Palestine which was offered to Great Britain.

On July 24, 1922, the Council of the League of Nations unanimously ratified the British mandate, with the incorporated declaration as an integral part. That same year the Congress of the United States adopted the resolution which has been read to you this morning:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done, etc. --

And then occurs the rest of the Balfour Declaration.

The preamble to the mandate contains this significant clause, and I would like to call it to your attention:

"Whereas recognition has hereby been given to the historical connections of the Jewish people with Palestine and the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country \* \* \* ,

These are the words of the preamble of the mandate. In other words, the creation, or reconstitution, of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was thus accepted as a world policy. It was also regarded as an act of restitution. It was a recognition both of the present need of the Jewish people and of the continuity of its claim to its homeland, a continuity unbroken by the vicissitudes of 2,000 years of history.

What did the framers of the Balfour Declaration and the Palestine mandate have in mind when they spoke of the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine? Their utterances leave no doubt as to their clear intent. They meant a Jewish state, a Jewish commonwealth.

Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain at the time of the issuance of the Balfour Declaration, writes in his memoirs:

"It was not their (the British Cabinet's) 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 homeland 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 head 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.

General Smuts, still one of Great Britain's foremost statesmen, perhaps next to Churchill the most powerful political figure in the British Empire, who, in 1919 was a member of the Imperial War Cabinet, declared that he envisaged an increasing stream of Jewish immigration into Palestine and in generations to come a great Jewish state rising there once more, and that he is convinced today, no less than he was in 1917, of the necessity of establishing a Jewish State in Palestine; and he expressed the hope and confidence that there could and would be peace and cooperation between the Jewish State and other neighboring states.

Winston Churchill, when he was Secretary of State in 1920, declared:

"If, as may well happen, there should be created in our lifetime by the banks of the Jordan a Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise 3,000,000 or 4,000,000 Jews, an event will have occurred in the history of the world which would from every point of view be beneficial and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire."

President Wilson, in 1919, declared:

"I am persuaded that the Allied nations, with the fullest concurrence of our Government and our people, are agreed that in Palestine shall be laid the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth."

Our then Secretary of State, Charles E. Hughes, writing to Lord Balfour in January 1922, concerning the mandate for Palestine, which was a subject of extensive negotiation between our Government and Great Britain, and which negotiations resulted in substantial modifications in the draft of the mandate, assumes that what was being planned in Palestine was a Jewish State. There were three or four drafts. (See p. 60, Mandate for Palestine -- prepared in the Division of Near Eastern Affairs -- publication of the Department of State, Washington, 1931.)



It is, therefore, historically accurate, and in view of what has transpired since those years, politically sound, for the resolutions which have been introduced in the House, to speak of a free and democratic Jewish commonwealth. It is not a new concept. It is exactly what was originally contemplated. Attempts have been made to whittle down the meaning of the terms, "a national home," employed in the Balfour Declaration and the mandate. It has been asserted that a Jewish national home already exists in Palestine and that a permanent Jewish minority within a Palestine state, such as the White Paper envisages, is quite consistent with the avowed purposes of the mandate. This, of course, is not the case. It is well, therefore, to stress the true objective of the mandate which was the reconstitution of the Jewish commonwealth, which presupposes a Jewish majority in the country, as Mr. Lloyd George correctly points out. The experiences of the last 25 years indicate that no such majority will ever be attained unless the control of immigration is vested with the Jewish agency, which alone is interested in the creation of absorptive capacity and in the intensive agricultural and industrial development of the land in order to absorb rapidly large numbers of immigrants and provide them with the means of earning a livelihood.

It was not contemplated to set up two states in Palestine, or to set up a Palestine state in which Jews would be a permanent minority. The mandate made Great Britain "responsible for putting into effect the declaration officially made on November 2, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty," i.e., the Balfour Declaration. The mandatory was charged with the responsibility "for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home" (art. 2). The mandate nowhere speaks of the establishment of an Arab national home in Palestine.

The mandate calls for the recognition of "an appropriate Jewish agency as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment



of the Jewish national home \* \* \* and to assist and take part in the development of the country." The mandate nowhere speaks of the recognition of an Arab agency, for it was not required, inasmuch as it was not contemplated to set up in Palestine an Arab national state.

Under the terms of the mandate the Zionist organization of the world was invited "to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home" (art. 4).

The mandatory was charged with the duty of "facilitating Jewish immigration" into Palestine and of encouraging "in cooperation with the Jewish agency" close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes (art. 6).

It was called upon to enact a nationality law -- "so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine (art. 7).

There are no provisions in the mandate for facilitating Arab immigration into Palestine or their close settlement on the land.

The administration of Palestine was asked to -- "arrange with the Jewish agency to construct or operate any public works, services, and utilities, and to develop any of the national resources of the country (article 11).

What do all those clear provisions mount up to? That Palestine was to be built up as a Jewish national state -- and that for the transition period, until a Jewish majority is achieved and the country is ready for self-governing institutions, Great Britain was entrusted by the principal Allied Powers with a mandate to administer the country upon terms and powers clearly defined in the mandate by the Council of the League of Nations.

Was the proposed reestablishment of the Jewish commonwealth in Palestine unfair to the Arabs? May I be permitted to quote the words of the Right Honorable



Alfred Duff Cooper, former First Lord of the British Admiralty, spoken here in Washington in the spring of 1940:

"In 1914 there was hardly any territory which the Arabs could call their own. They were almost throughout the Near East subject to Turkish suzerainty. Since 1914, they have acquired vast tracts of territory where they are independent; the whole of Arabia; Transjordan, which was taken away from the original conception of Palestine; Syria, where again they exercise semi-independent rights. No nation in the world has so little ground for complaining of what the Germans call lack of lebenstraum as the Arab race. They have vast spaces in which to expand. They have been amongst the greatest beneficiaries of the World War, and now they are subject to no particular evils."

Realizing that the Arabs would have their national aspirations satisfied after the war by the establishment of a number of Arab national states, and that these states would have land areas so large that it would take them centuries to develop them, and realizing also that the Jews stood in desperate need of a place of refuge, for their people, the Allies reserved "the tiny notch" of Palestine, as Balfour called it -- just 10,000 square miles for the Jewish people. The Arab lands cover more than a million square miles and they are underpopulated and largely undeveloped.

Provision, of course, was made in the Balfour Declaration and in the mandate for the political equality of all citizens and for the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities. These rights have been fully protected. The Palestine Arab has not been exploited. In fact, there are no Arabs on the face of the earth today more prosperous than the Arabs of Palestine.

The establishment of the Jewish National Home in Palestine will, we believe, be a great boon to the entire Near East and to all the Arab peoples. Jews are bringing scientific skill, technical knowledge, material resources, and high enthusiasm to the upbuilding of Palestine. Palestine is destined to become the hub of a great and rapid economic development of the entire Near East. The prosperity of Palestine will stimulate, and, in the course of time will come to depend upon the prosperity of all adjacent Arab countries.



It has been alleged that promises were also made to the Arabs during the last war to the effect that Palestine was to be included in the area in which Arab independence would be established. Sir Henry McMahon, then His Majesty's High Commissioner in Egypt, who negotiated with the Sherif of Mecca, later King Hussein, is alleged to have made such a promise. The British Government has consistently maintained that Palestine was definitely excluded from McMahon's pledge.

McMahon, himself, in a letter to the Times, London, July 23, 1937, stated:

"I feel it my duty to state, and I do so definitely and emphatically, that it was not intended by me in giving this pledge to King Hussein, to include Palestine in the area in which Arab independence was promised.

I also had every reason to believe at the time that the fact that Palestine was not included in my pledge was well understood by King Hussein."

During the years 1917 to 1921 no claims to Palestine were raised by the Arab representatives. Indeed, they did in various ways explicitly agree to Palestine being treated differently from Arab territories.

Emir Feisal, son of Hussein, afterward King of Iraq, the leader of the Arabs in the crucial war years, stated in December 1918:

"The two main branches of the Semitic family, Arabs and Jews, understand one another, and I hope that as a result of interchange of ideas at the Peace Conference, which will be guided by ideals of self-determination and nationality, each nation will make definite progress toward the realization of its aspirations. Arabs are not jealous of Zionist Jews and intend to give them fair play, and the Zionist Jews have assured the Nationalist Arabs of their intention to see that they too have fair play in their respective areas."

And in January 1919, Emir Feisal, for the Arab Kingdom of Hedjaz, and Dr. Chaim Weizmann, on behalf of the Zionist Organization, signed a treaty of friendship which clearly shows that Feisal regarded Palestine as a land reserved for Jewish national settlement. He also submitted to the Peace Conference a memorandum on the Arab claims in which he asked for the independence of a number of Arabic areas with the explicit exception of Palestine.

If I may be permitted, Mr. Chairman, I should like to read into the record the documents to which I have referred.



The record, then, of what was intended for Palestine and what was undertaken is quite clear. The civilized world recognized the right of the Jewish people to rebuild their national home in Palestine. Great Britain accepted a mandate to facilitate its consumption. The Jews of the world set themselves to the task of upbuilding.

Thus a new era in Jewish history was ushered in. The Jewish people threw themselves into the work of upbuilding with incomparable zeal and enthusiasm. The task was enormous -- untrained hands, inadequate means, overwhelming difficulties. The land was stripped and poor -- neglected through the centuries. European Jewry was shattered and impoverished by the war and could not be quickly rallied to the work of reconstruction. Plans had to be improvised and carried through piecemeal. Nevertheless, the record of pioneering achievement of the Jewish people in Palestine in the 20 years between two world wars, the story of their heroic labors and sacrifices and their courageous experimentation have received the acclaim of the entire world. A veritable miracle of colonization was performed. The Jewish population increased from 55,000 to 600,000. Close to 300 colonies have been established. Social vision and high human idealism went into the planning and structure of many of them. Some 2,000 factories and 4,000 small workshops were opened. The waters of the Jordan were harnessed for electric power. The Dead Sea was made to yield up its vast chemical resources. Barren hills and valleys were reforested. Marshes were drained. A splendid educational system was developed, crowned by the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. A modern health service was established throughout the country, available to Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians alike.

I hope you will have the privilege of hearing later on one of the great experts of our country, Dr. Lowdermilk tell you of what has been accomplished in Palestine.



It was fortunate indeed that Palestine was available, readied and prepared by the labor of these Jewish pioneers, when the horrible Hitler persecutions swept over European Jewry. For that little country was able to absorb more than 300,000 refugees from Germany and Central Europe, a country so small that it could hide itself in one of the great States that you represent. Today Jewish Palestine is again vindicating its claim to full life and national freedom by the extraordinary contributions which it is making to the war effort of the United Nations, have fought bravely, many of them with rare distinction. The civilian population is engaged in an all-out effort to back up the fighting armies in the Near East by providing them with many vital supplies and services; 50,000 Palestinian Jews are engaged in defense work.

And here we come to the point back of this resolution. The administration of Palestine has unfortunately not always been conducted on a plane corresponding to the high intentions of the framers of the Balfour Declaration, nor did it reflect the good will and unflagging sympathy of the English people whose historic freindship the Jewish people will never forget. Local British officials, though of high integrity, have shown little understanding of the processes involved in the building of the Jewish homeland, and there are always great difficulties associated with the upbuilding of a new homeland. They have not grasped the implications of the organic relationship between the Jewish people outside of Palestine, to whom the Balfour Declaration was issued, and the land which they administered. The rebuilding of the Jewish homeland implies a dynamic outlook. The outlook of British officials has been in the main static, based on the tacit assumption that Palestine alone, and not the integration of large numbers of immigrants with an evolving Jewish homeland, was their concern.

They have, therefore, tended to look upon the local difficulties associated with the upbuilding of the Jewish homeland as unnecessary disturbances of the status quo, instead of a natural part of the task assigned to them. No corrective



to this attitude was applied by the home government in London. No consistent attempt was made to bring home to the Arabs of Palestine the fact that the Balfour Declaration was an interallied policy, and later, that the mandate was international law, and the first evidence of recalcitrance on their part -- namely, the riots of May 1921 -- was rewarded by a temporary suspension of Jewish immigration.

Concession led to concession. The White Paper issued in 1922 declared that--  
"the terms of the Balfour Declaration do not contemplate that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish national home, but that such a home should be established in Palestine."

This was the beginning of reinterpretation. It introduced an element of ambiguity into what had been quite clear till then.

The Palestine contemplated in the mandate had consisted of Transjordan and cis-Jordan. In the year 1922, Transjordan--three times the area of cis-Jordan--was closed to Jewish immigration.

In subsequent years, Palestine's British officials took the view that they were not primarily concerned with the facilitation of the creation of a Jewish homeland, but with the administration of the country in its existing condition.

This view has dominated the policies and actions of the Palestine administration ever since. The national rights of the Jewish people in relation to Palestine which had been internationally acknowledged and which alone gave legal basis for the mandatory presence there at all were progressively and consistently sacrificed.

Following the disturbances of 1936, a Palestine Royal Commission was sent to Palestine to investigate. Its report proposed to partition the country, to create an Arab and a Jewish state, and an area reserved for British administration.

A technical commission was then set up to work out the details of a partition plan. It finally declared that the partition plan was unworkable.

Following discussions in London in 1939, to which representatives of Arabs and Jews were invited and which brought no positive results, the British Government of the late Mr. Chamberlain prepared the White Paper of May 17, 1939. The House of



Commons reluctantly consented to it during a tense period of international complications, only after the Government insisted on acceptance as a vote of confidence. The White Paper was formally disapproved by the Permanent Mandates Commission. It was never submitted for approval to the Council of the League of Nations, although article 27 of the mandate clearly states that--

"the consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modifications of the terms of the mandate."

It was thus denied legal validity. However, despite all this, it was put into effect.

Under the terms of this White Paper, Jewish immigration was limited to 10,000 a year for the next 5 years. A bonus immigration of an additional 25,000 was allowed in consideration of the plight of Jewish refugees. However, after March of this year, 1944, Jewish immigration is to be discontinued entirely "unless the Arabs of Palestine are prepared to acquiesce in it."

The White Paper likewise grants the High Commissioner of Palestine general powers to prohibit and regulate transfers of land. Regulations have been issued according to which Jews are allowed the right of free purchase in only 2.6 percent of the total area of Palestine -- 260 square miles! A total prohibition on transfer of land to Jews was imposed in about two-thirds of the country, in the remaining area transfer is permissible only under severe restriction and subject to the consent of the High Commissioner. Thus discriminatory laws against Jews were introduced in their own national home!

Thus the Jews were left to build their national home without men and without land, just as their ancestors in Egypt were expected to make brick without straw.

The White Paper is by no stretch of the imagination the fulfillment of the national aspirations of the Jewish people recognized in the mandate. It is their total liquidation. This White Paper when it was issued in 1939, in the disastrous Munich appeasement era and as part of that tragic political and spiritual debacle



of those days, aroused the bitterest opposition. It was denounced both at home and abroad. It was violently opposed by some of the foremost statesmen of Great Britain. I would just like to quote this sentence from the great statement of Winston Churchill which he made in the House of Commons when the policy of the White Paper was being discussed. He said:

"We are now asked to submit, and this rankles most with me, to an agitation which is fed with foreign money and ceaselessly inflamed by Nazi and by Fascist propaganda."

If the White Paper was found odious and morally unjustifiable in 1939, before the Second World War and before the appalling disasters swept over the Jewish communities of Europe, driving hundreds of thousands of Jews helpless and impoverished from their homes to wander over the face of the earth, how utterly insupportable and insufferable it is today!

The last 5 years have been the blackest in Jewish history. They climaxed 5 other years which the Nazi regime ushered in, during which one Jewish community after another in central and eastern Europe was broken and myriads of Jews were driven into exile from countries and homes where they had known dignity, honor, and where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries. Myriads of them crowded the highways of the world in quest of refuge and sanctuary and finding most doors barred against them. But a worse fate awaited those who could not escape in time. For them Hitler has decreed total extermination -- systematic, ruthless annihilation -- in gas chambers, by machine guns, in human slaughter pens. Two million perished. Some who managed to escape, and after months of wandering finally reached the shores of Palestine -- the shores of the Jewish national home -- were turned away. They were refused admission. They had no certificates. The last door of hope was shut to them. Many tried to enter illegally. Hundreds of them were apprehended, sent to concentration camps, and later forcibly evacuated to the island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean where they are rotting to this day. Many perished in Haifa Bay; 760 souls perished in the Black Sea on the ill-fated STRUMA,



because permission to enter Palestine was refused to them. But for this infamous White Paper they might have been saved. Had the doors of Palestine been wide open these last years of Nazi terror and had the mandatory government fully cooperated in the task, tens of thousands of additional refugees might have been saved from Hitler's mass execution.

In March of this year, the pitifully restricted immigration schedule permitted under the White Paper will come to an end. Only the 30,000 unused visas -- unushed, principally because of the administrative difficulties put in the way by Palestine officials -- remain. Thereafter no more Jews will be permitted to Palestine except on Arab sufferance and consent. This confronts the Jewish people and the whole civilized world with an appalling prospect. It is self-evident that Jewish homelessness will be widespread after the war. There will be hundreds of thousands of Jews, perhaps millions, who will seek new homes in a world which will be inhospitable to immigration. The struggle for existence in a ravaged post-war Europe will be harsh and bitter. Famine, poverty, and misery will stalk over the fact of that war-riven continent. There will be ruined economies, worthless currencies, social collapse and revolutions in every defeated country -- just as after the last war. The youth of half of half the world which has been indoctrinated with the racial and nationalistic mythologies of Nazi-Fascist dictatorship will be spiritually lost and unsuited to a democratic way of life which they have been taught to hate and despise -- and they will be virulent Jew haters. Jews will again be eyed sullenly as unwelcome economic competitors by millions of job-hungry and career-hungry men. Economic hostility will once again be rationalized into the well-known and quite serviceable anti-Semitic thesis.

No doubt the Jews of Europe, following an Allied victory, will be restored to their political rights and to equality of citizenship. But they possessed these rights after the last war -- even minority rights in some of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe; and anti-Semitism was never so rampant and so vicious as after the last war.



Can Europe, can the world, can America, which is for all time to come so inextricably bound up with the rest of the world, permit this menacing situation to continue indefinitely after the war?

The Jewish people must be permitted and helped to develop their homeland in Palestine in such a way as to be able to drain off, in a relatively short time, two or three million Jews from the crowded and economically tensioned centers of central and eastern Europe. This will ease the pressures upon the Jews who will remain there, who will then cease to be foci of irritation, conflict, and unrest.

And this brings me back to what Mr. Hamilton Fish said. He told you a fine story of what he tried to do and earnestly tried to do about the establishment of other colonies, but you heard the conclusion of it. Nothing was done. We have had experience with other colonies. There was one recently founded in Santo Domingo in which we placed very high hopes but which perhaps will take care of only a few thousand souls, perhaps of only a few hundred souls.

There are no other opportunities for mass emigration of Jews anywhere else in the world. There will be none. We wish it were otherwise, but wishes are not horses. Feeble trickles of immigration will be permitted in this or that country, but waves will be fiercely resisted; but it is with waves and not with trickles that we must concern ourselves. We Zionists are not opposed to Jewish immigration to any country in the world. Quite the contrary. We hope and pray all countries will open their doors to refugees. But those things do not happen.

We must not forget the experience of Jewish refugees in the last 10 years. These experiences will be no different after the war. They may be even more difficult; for nations will then be in the grip of vast economic dislocations and they will be thinking in terms of helping their own people over the extremely formidable transition period when their national economies will be passing from a wartime to a peacetime footing. They will refuse to complicate their lives with large influxes



of impoverished immigrants. The Jewish colonies are ready to expand and take in Jewish immigrants.

A free and open Palestine is the indispensable condition not only for a peaceful solution of this most obdurate problem of Europe, but also for the pacification of Europe and the world.

Statesmen should clearly understand this. If the problem of mass Jewish emigration and of the national homelessness of the Jewish people is not clearly faced and solved after the war, it will return over and over again to harass and unsettle the world. Reaction will exploit the situation again and again. The defenseless position of the Jews was exploited by the Nazis to rise to power. They employed it as a weapon to achieve the disintegration of Europe. Fascist adventurers after the war will continue to exploit it. The Jewish problem is quite as much the world's problem as it is that of the Jews.

What the world will do concerning the Jewish people and concerning the restoration of its national life in Palestine after the war will be the true index of the nature and character of the entire program of world reconstruction. The world patterns of reconstruction will unerringly reflect the decisions which will be made concerning the Jewish people and its national status. If in the case of the Jewish people, which possesses no armies or navies, and which will emerge from the World War the most shattered of all peoples, the United Nations will act in a spirit of justice, vision, and true statesmanship, then there is hope that by the same spirit the entire world will be healed and saved.

Surely, the Jewish people are no less deserving than other peoples whose national independence and freedom have been guaranteed by the United Nations. They have been the worst victims of Nazi brutality, and their casualties have been proportionately the heaviest. The Jewish people desperately needs Palestine for its homeless millions now and after the war, and for its national security, dignity, and normalcy. Jews have shown a remarkable capacity for pioneering, for labor and



sacrifice. They have built worthily and well in Palestine. They have made Palestine their own again by their heroic labor, by their blood and sweat. Nearly all that is hopeful, promising, and progressive in that country today, the Jews have created.

What has been called the noblest enterprise of our time must not now be cruelly sapped and undermined.

These resolutions which have been introduced in the House and in the Senate, and which have received the endorsement of the leaders of both political parties, ask our Government to use its good offices, as it did once before, to assist a sorely tried and harazzed people in accomplishing the task of rebuilding its national life in its ancestral home -- a task approved of by our Government and our people and by 52 other nations at the close of the last war -- a task, however, which cannot be accomplished without the free entry of Jews into the country and without the fullest opportunities for colonization and economic development. The reconstitution of Palestine as a Jewish commonwealth would be to us men of faith a fulfillment of prophecy and to all an act of historic justice to an ancient and long-martyred people.



[1943]

DRAFT OF STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL CHAIRMEN

on 1943 United Jewish Appeal

The reconstitution of the United Jewish Appeal for 1943 occurred at a time of great historic moment. A week <sup>(?)</sup> prior to the signing of the agreement which continued the U.J.A. as the single fund-raising channel for the Joint Distribution Committee, United Palestine Appeal and National Refugee Service, the United Nations issued a formal declaration officially denouncing Hitler's "bestial policy of cold-blooded extermination" of Jews. The governments of the United States, Great Britain and Russia and other Allied nations solemnly resolved to fight all the more vigorously for the destruction of Nazism and warned Hitler that retribution for the crimes committed against the Jews would be severe and inescapable.

After a decade of suffering and tragedy which no human heart or mind can fully comprehend, the plight of millions of Jews imprisoned in a concentration camp of continental proportions stirred the free world to raise its voice in their behalf. It is not difficult to imagine what renewed strength that declaration has given to the ebbing spirits and waning morale of our fellow-Jews over there. But far more significant is the fact that the official condemnation by the United Nations of Hitler's anti-Jewish policies is a resounding clarion call to the Jews in the free lands. It is a summons to us to rush to the aid of the tortured and homeless Jews, whose bodies and spirits bear the lacerations of relentless persecution. The world has been shocked to hear that 2,000,000 Jews perished as a result of Hitler's cruel attacks and announced plan of extermination; but that number would have been far greater if American Jews had not acted through the agencies of the United Jewish Appeal, to bind the wounds, restore hope and find homes for the wandering victims.

It is in the light of this historic declaration that we must weigh the significance of the 1943 campaign of the United Jewish Appeal for Refugees, Overseas Needs



and Palestine. The scope of our planning must be broadened to encompass the challenge which the immediate future holds for us. In the past we have had to face a situation characterized by an increasing deterioration in the Jewish position throughout the world.

The world situation has substantially changed since the 1942 campaign just ended was inaugurated under the dark and ominous shadow of Pearl Harbor and the defeats which the Allies had sustained in many sectors. The United Nations have seized the initiative. The armies of liberation are on the march. We can no longer think and act in terms of a static condition of need. We must think and act in terms of an arena of rescue enlarged by Allied victories. Reoccupation and liberation are the two words which hold the key to the expanded horizon of the programs supported through the United Jewish Appeal. 1943 will assuredly be a year of far greater opportunities and responsibilities than ever before.

It is to the credit of Jews of the United States that they have recognized the fundamental importance of the United Jewish Appeal from its very inception in 1939. The fact that more than \$50,000,000 in cash has been collected during the four year period and distributed for the support of the programs of its participating agencies is the most concrete testimony of the paramount position which the United Jewish Appeal occupies in Jewish communities throughout the nation.

Governmental action of vast proportions on the part of the United Nations will be required to further post-war reconstruction, but the agencies of the United Jewish Appeal are called upon to minister to the specific needs of Jewish communities abroad not included in an over-all economic rehabilitation program. We recall with appreciation the words of President Roosevelt in endorsing the United Jewish Appeal, words which perhaps most dramatically sum up its significance in wartime. The President said: "In supporting organizations such as the United Jewish Appeal, we are reinforcing the humanitarian front as a vital sector in our war effort." That vital sector we must continue to hold in 1943.

In accordance with the formula adopted in previous years, the 1943 agreement calls for the distribution of an initial sum of \$9,100,000 among the participating



agencies, as follows: Joint Distribution Committee\_\_\_\_\_; United Palestine Appeal, \_\_\_\_\_; National Refugee Service,\_\_\_\_\_. These sums are to provide for the continuation of the programs of these agencies until an Allotment Committee meets and votes on the allocation of the balance of the funds contributed in excess of \$9,100,000 to be contributed to the 1943 campaign.

The United Jewish Appeal is again asking the Jewish communities in the United States to raise a minimum of \$25,000,000 in 1943 for the overseas war relief work of the Joint Distribution Committee, for the rebuilding of the Jewish homeland in Palestine carried on by the United Palestine Appeal and for the program of assistance to refugees in the United States of the National Refugee Service.

We regard \$25,000,000 as a minimum goal on the basis of the following major aspects of the work of the constituent agencies of the United Jewish Appeal:

The Joint Distribution Committee, which helped 795,000 persons in many lands in 1942, is required to (1) give increased aid to the 350,000 Jews in North Africa, who have been liberated from Nazi-dictated oppression by the American armies. (2) Help 12,000 refugees who fled to Spain when Hitler seized the unoccupied zone in France and assist 6,000 others who found a haven in Switzerland. (3) Continue providing concentrated food and medical supplies on a non-sectarian basis to 600,000 Jews who are among the 2,000,000 Polish refugees now in a desperate condition in Siberia. (4) Provide the resources for the emigration of refugees from Portugal to the Western Hemisphere and Palestine. (5) Extend its readjustment aid to the 125,000 refugees settled in Latin America to create opportunities for the admission of other refugees. (6) Set aside funds for the repayment of loans made in occupied lands by local committees to make possible the continuation of relief work. These loans are to be repaid when the Nazis are expelled from those countries.

The Joint Distribution Committee must carry on its far-flung relief and rehabilitation program in scores of lands in Europe, Asia, Africa and Latin America. As in the last war it is required to answer distress calls from any point on the compass and meet opportunities for large-scale help and reconstruction created by the forward



progress of the Allied armies of liberation.

The United Palestine Appeal, which has been the bulwark of support for the war effort of Palestine's 584,000 Jews, has the following tasks in furthering the defense and rebuilding of the Jewish homeland in 1943: (1) Aiding the mobilization of the manpower and industry of the Jewish homeland for full support of the Allied armies in the Middle East, which has been a strategic center for the United Nations offensive against the Axis. (2) Enlarging the possibilities of food production of the 271 agricultural settlements established through the Palestine Foundation Fund and Jewish National Fund, which are combined in the United Palestine Appeal. (3) Purchasing land and building new colonies for the settlement of newly-arrived refugees from North Africa, Persia and Russia. (4) Maintain welfare services for Jewish soldiers and their families and provide for educational, health and other social services for maintaining the continued progress of the development of the Jewish homeland. (5) Promote the recruitment of a maximum number of Jewish men and women in the British armed forces and Home Guard in which more than 50,000 are already enrolled. (6) Increasing the absorptive capacity of the Jewish homeland so that it may receive the hundreds of thousands of homeless Jews who will clamor at its gates for admission at the end of the war.

In 1943 it will be the responsibility of the National Refugee Service to carry on its extensive adjustment and aid program to refugees in the United States in order to make secure the position of the 208,000 newcomers who have found a haven in our country since the rise of Hitler and to integrate those who will continue to reach our shores in the months to come. (1) Under war conditions this agency has served as the liaison between the Government and the refugees, providing assistance in the fulfillment of new wartime regulations. (2) It has also been required to provide direct financial relief to an average of 5000 individuals monthly. (3) to place refugees in jobs and professions in war-allied industries short of manpower. (4) Retrain refugees in skills required by the war effort and to grant loans to facilitate the economic adjustment of others. (5) Provide opportunities for social adjustment and speed the Americanization of refugees as well as promote the placement of doctors in posts essential to civilian health. (6) To perform



migration services for relatives and friends of refugees and in general to advance the integration of the newcomers so that they will continue to be an asset to the Jewish community and to the United States in a year of increasing problems brought on by war.

The foregoing is merely an outline of the needs of the United Jewish Appeal agencies as of this date. As in the past, the developments of war will have their direct effect on these programs, opening up new avenues of help, creating new emergencies for prompt remedial action. In an hour when the world stands on the threshold of events which will shape civilization for many decades to come, we must be prepared to render the type of service and leadership in behalf of the United Jewish Appeal that will assure the constructive solution of the Jewish problem and the fulfillment of responsibilities upon which the destiny of the House of Israel so largely depends.



WILLIAM ROSENWALD  
AMERICAN JEWISH  
RABBI ABBA HILLEL SILVER  
RABBI JONAH B. WISE  
National Chairmen



C O P Y

CLEVELAND OHIO

CHAIM WEIZMANN  
77 GREAT RUSSELL WCI  
LONDON

I AM DEEPLY MOVED BY YOUR MESSAGE OF CONGRATULATIONS  
AND EXPRESSION OF CONFIDENCE STOP FOR MYSELF AND MY  
COLLEAGUES IN THE LEADERSHIP AS WELL AS FOR THE WHOLE  
OF AMERICAN ZIONISM ~~XXX~~ 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 MY WARMEST THANKS AND BEST WISHES

ABBA HILLEL SILVER



[1943]

C  
O  
P  
Y

TB CAML 123

LONDON 40 6

NLT HILLEL SILVER MEYER WEISGAL  
SUITE 709 FORTYONE EAST FORTYSECOND NEWYORKCITY

DEEPLY TOUCHED BY YOUR KIND TELEGRAM AND ENCOURAGED  
BY SUCCESSFUL OUTCOME GREAT CONFERENCE STOP MY  
WARMEST CONGRATULATIONS AND THANKS TO YOU BOTH  
AND TO ALL FRIENDS AFFECTIONATELY



CHAIM WEIZMANN





[1943?]

Release:

TO MOBILIZE AMERICAN JEWS AGAINST PALESTINE WHITE PAPER

Dr. Silver Announces Program During Next Seven Months To Aim at Suspension  
of British Exclusion Policy in Holy Land

- - -

During the next seven months, the Jews of the United States will be mobilized "to prevent what would be the greatest miscarriage of justice in our day and the most brazen repudiation of the sanctity of covenants," through the ~~execution~~<sup>execution</sup> of the Chamberlain White Paper policy for Palestine, due to go into effect in May, 1944, it was announced here by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, of Cleveland, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Zionist Emergency Committee, which represents the organized Zionist movement in the United States.

Dr. Silver has been summoned to New York to assume the political leadership of the Zionist movement. He is Rabbi of The Temple, Cleveland, Chairman of the United Jewish Appeal and Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal.

Announcing the immediate policy to be followed under his leadership, Dr. Silver pointed out that the United States government has an ~~important stake in the effectuation of the White Paper~~, saying that "by international covenant Great Britain can make no changes in the status of Palestine without the consent of the United States government. The White Paper on Palestine is a complete reversal of the country's status."

Describing the three-point basis on which the Zionist Emergency Committee will carry its battle against the Palestine White Paper to the country, Dr. Silver declared "that it would be repugnant to the concept of the Four Freedoms that, outside of the Axis-dominated nations, Palestine should become the one land on earth where by specific legislation, Jews are debarred from admission."



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

"The first and major objective at this time of the Zionist Emergency Committee is to secure the ~~suspension~~<sup>✓</sup> of the White Paper policy, due to go into effect in May, 1944. So manifestly unjust and illegal is that document that I feel confident that we shall have the wholehearted cooperation of all Jews, <sup>✓</sup> whether Zionist or non-Zionist, in appealing for its termination.

"The White Paper was issued in May, 1939 as the climax of the <sup>disaster</sup> appeasement program of the Chamberlain government. ~~After five years~~, it contemplated the complete stoppage of Jewish immigration into Palestine, the prohibition of the sale of land to Jews and the revision of the governmental structure designed to freeze the Jews into a permanent minority.

"The most effective condemnation of the White Paper was voiced by Mr. Winston Churchill in the House of Commons when it was first issued. The Permanent Mandates Commission, the international body which alone was ~~in a position~~<sup>✓</sup> to judge the ~~facts~~ objectively, has described the White Paper as <sup>a</sup> violation of the Mandate under which Great Britain administers Palestine as the Jewish National Home.

"The era of appeasement was ended when it was recognized that submission to injustice could only lead to further ~~extensive~~<sup>might</sup> injustice. This war is being fought so that justice rather than expediency ~~may~~<sup>might</sup> determine the fate of peoples.

"We shall appeal to our own government to seek the suspension of the White Paper. Our claims are based on these grounds: (1) that by international covenant Great Britain can make no changes in the status of Palestine without the consent of the United States government. The White Paper on Palestine is a complete reversal of ~~the country's status~~<sup>is</sup>; (2) that it ~~would be~~<sup>is</sup> repugnant to the concept of the Four Freedoms that, outside of the Axis-dominated nations, Palestine should become the one land on earth where, by specific legislation, Jews are debarred from admission. ~~The White Paper contemplates exactly that~~; (3) that in the face of the



disasters that have befallen the Jews of Europe under Hitler they should be deprived of the hope of eventually finding peace and freedom in the Jewish homeland.

"The Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs intends to mobilize all the energies and resources of American Jewry during the next seven months to prevent what would be the greatest miscarriage of justice in our day and the most brazen repudiation of the sanctity of covenants.

"The United Nations, led by our own government, have continuously expressed their sympathy for the Jewish people in its intolerable plight under Hitler. That sympathy has not been -- it has been said, could not be -- translated into action through the rescue of the Jews who are being steadily exterminated. To implement the White Paper on Palestine at this time would be to mock at the dead and to scorn the living.

"We have every hope that under the inspiration of President Roosevelt and with the sympathetic understanding of Prime Minister Churchill this blow to the Jewish people and to the very name of idealism will not fall."

.....



DRAFT

## REPORT OF

DRAFTTHE PALESTINE COMMISSIONK. The Conference Resolution

The adoption of the Palestine Resolution by the American Jewish Conference on September 1, 1943 was the first in a series of events which projected the issues of Palestine into the forefront of discussion both in this country and abroad. The significance of the Conference decision can now be evaluated in the light of the action which followed the Conference and which was stimulated and reinforced by it.

The gathering in New York in September, 1943, and its clear and decisive pronouncement on the subject of Jewish rights to Palestine, must be regarded as a turning point in the fight for the assertion of those rights. It gave the signal for advance and action - for a nation-wide program of education and enlightenment on the Jewish position, which was climaxed on October 15th by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's historic declaration identifying the American people with the Conference Resolution on Palestine and pledging his efforts for its realization.

The Palestine Resolution itself was neither new nor revolutionary. The declaration in favor of the Jewish Commonwealth was, in fact, a reaffirmation of the resolution adopted a quarter of a century ago, when American Jews had assembled in the American Jewish Congress to prepare for the peace that was to follow the first World War. The phrase "Jewish Commonwealth" was one that had been employed by President Wilson on March 3, 1919. That reaffirmation of a past resolve was necessitated by the deterioration of the Jewish position. In the twenty-five years between the two wars, the implementation of the first resolution had been defeated by a continuous abridgment of the rights promised in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine.

On the eve of the first session of the American Jewish Conference, Palestine was in the hands of unfriendly administrators determined to arrest the progress of the Jewish development, to congeal the Jewish population into a permanent minority, a policy which would transform the Jewish National Home into a ghetto. The White Paper issued by the Chamberlain government in the 1939 era of appeasement was being severely enforced. The local authorities had launched a propaganda war to discredit the Jewish people in an effort to alienate the sympathies of the United Nations from the Jews. Jewish contribution to the war effort had been discouraged and later its magnitude and significance had been minimized. Under discussion in the Near East was a proposal that a



statement be issued by the leading powers commanding silence on the future of Palestine until the end of the war. This would have silenced protests and permitted the White Paper to become effective without challenge. It had even been suggested in some quarters that the Conference itself refrain from action on Palestine, on the ground of military necessity.

These aggressions against Jewish hopes for reconstruction in the post-war world dictated the reaffirmation which issued from the American Jewish Conference. But that reaffirmation was more than a reaction to external stimuli. It was a clarification and a crystallization of the viewpoint of American Jewry.

That millions of American Jews were interested in the development of Palestine was an accepted fact, but the extent of that interest was not always clear. Some had been moved by sentimental considerations and by philanthropic impulses, by an interest in Jewish education and culture and religion and the need for a Jewish center in which these might have a foundation; and some by a desire to open up new avenues of self-expression for a people whose economic opportunities had been severely restricted in a hazardous existence on the periphery of a contracting economy in Europe. And in the years which followed Hitler's advent to power, there was growing concern over the plight of Jewish refugees and their need for sanctuary.

But there appeared to be a differentiation between those whose interest in Palestine was purely philanthropic, cultural and economic, and those who accepted the classical Zionist position. This apparent gulf between those who were concerned solely with Jewish needs and those who were concerned with Jewish rights was exploited by forces antagonistic to both. The great significance of the action of the Conference was its recognition that the satisfaction of Jewish needs was predicated on the assertion and establishment of Jewish rights and that the two could not be separated in logic-tight compartments.

Implicit, moreover, in the Conference resolution, was the recognition that conciliatory tactics had been unavailing in the past and that there was a call for a more aggressive approach, not only to the Mandatory Power, but to the United Nations.



## II. Reaction to the Resolution

The Conference declaration marked the beginning of the mobilization of American Jewry in support of Jewish aspirations to Palestine. It was, on the whole, warmly received by the Jews of this country and abroad and while, in the debate which ensued, there were inevitably released forces of dissent, these expressions cannot begin to compare in significance with the nation-wide affirmations of approval stimulated on a vast scale throughout the country.

All but a few of the 64 organizations affiliated with the Conference adopted resolutions ratifying the Palestine Resolution. The American Jewish Committee was the only one to withdraw, giving as one of its reasons, its disagreement with the timeliness of the resolution. The Interim Committee, in a statement made public on November 7th, replied to the Committee, and it is unnecessary to elaborate on the differences in this report. It should be noted, however, that the American Jewish Committee was severely criticized in many communities for its withdrawal from the Conference, and a number of its constituent organizations withdrew, including the Rabbinical Assembly of America, the United Synagogue of America, Hadassah, the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, the Free Sons of Israel, the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the National Women's League of the United Synagogue of America, and the Grand Lodge of Brith Sholom, a charter member of the Committee. In addition, more than a score of Committee members resigned, including Rabbi B.L. Levinthal, dean of American rabbis and one of the five founding members of the Committee in 1906.

At the Conference, delegates of the Jewish Labor Committee and the National Council of Jewish Women had abstained from voting on the Palestine Resolution, and subsequent to the Conference, the Jewish Labor Committee, while continuing in the Conference and cooperating "in all matters which are within the scope of the Jewish Labor Committee and in accordance with its decisions", did not participate in the Interim Committee or the Palestine Commission.

The National Council of Jewish Women considered the subject of Palestine for the first time in more than a half a century at its 17th triennial convention in Chicago in November. It adopted a resolution calling for the abrogation of the White Paper, favoring unrestricted immigration of Jews into Palestine and the "uninterrupted and continued upbuilding of Palestine in the spirit of the Balfour Declaration." (See Appendix A for text)

The governing bodies of four organizations, the B'nai B'rith, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Council of Temple Sisterhoods and the Central Conference of American Rabbis, refrained as organizations from action on the Palestine Resolution and reaffirmed neutrality. (See Appendix A for text)



### III. The Beginning of Implementation

Immediately after the Conference recessed, a delegation representing the Conference formally submitted the resolutions adopted by the delegates to Secretary of State Cordell Hull. In Washington, a short time later, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Chairman of the Palestine Commission, announced the opening of a fight for the abrogation of the White Paper.

Spearhead of that attack was the American Zionist Emergency Council, political and public relations instrumentality for the four major Zionist bodies, the Zionist Organization of America, the Hadassah, Women's Zionist Organization of America, the Mizrachi Organization of America, and the Poale-Zion Zeire-Zion. Under the auspices of the Council, which is headed by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Co-Chairman of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference, and Dr. Silver, there were formed Emergency Committees for Palestine in many cities of the United States. The number of local committees grew rapidly and by the Spring of this year, it totalled 215. In addition, many communities were represented in borough, county and state organizations, so that contact was eventually established with 311 communities in 42 states.

These committees consisted not only of Zionist leaders, but also of many community leaders who were in sympathy with the Zionist program, but who had not hitherto been engaged in Zionist activity. Some 2000 persons in all were enrolled in advancing the program.

But before the struggle against the White Paper policy had even begun, and as if to anticipate it, the Mandatory Power announced a modification of its policy on November 10th. The March 31st deadline of the White Paper was postponed. It was announced that inasmuch as the full 75,000 certificates had not been used during the five year period, the effective date on the ban of Jewish immigration into Palestine would be postponed until the quota was filled. The land restrictions remained unchanged. As of that date, the number of certificates outstanding was 31,078. Basically, while this was the first major concession on the part of the Mandatory since 1939, the White Paper policy had not been changed and the action merely resulted in an intensification of effort against that policy.

At a meeting of the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference on November 23rd, the following resolution was adopted:

"The Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference directs its Palestine Commission to undertake immediately a program for the mobilization of American public opinion, against



the British White Paper of 1939 on Palestine. The Palestine Commission is authorized to set up such machinery and to take such steps as will reflect the decision of the American Jewish Conference as expressed in its Palestine Resolution, to use its utmost resources to bring about the withdrawal of the White Paper."

Previously, however, on October 17th, the Interim Committee had determined that the Commissions might "utilize the services and seek the co-operation of existing agencies." Accordingly, at the first meeting of the Palestine Commission held on December 1st, the Chair was authorized to advise the delegates of the action of the Interim Committee of November 23rd endorsing the work of the Council with respect to the White Paper, and a communication was then sent by the Chairman of the Commission to the Conference delegates, requesting them to serve on their local Emergency Committees for Palestine, and detailing the work to be carried forward.

During this period there was considerable discussion as to the direction of the campaign. There were some who argued that efforts should be concentrated on the fight against the White Paper per se and that for the time being discussion on the ultimate political objective, a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine, should be deferred. In support of this view, it was contended that there was no conflict in opinion on this issue, that all segments of American Jewry could unite without a dissenting voice to disturb unanimity. It was suggested in addition that this was the immediate question which called for a concentrated attack. Thus, within the Conference, although there was only one Conference resolution and it did not separate the issues, there were some who felt that two commissions should be established, one to concern itself with the White Paper fight and the other to devote its attention to ultimate political objectives. On the other hand, it was pointed out that an attack against the White Paper was purely negative and of greater concern was the nature of the policy which would be substituted for the White Paper. It was not the White Paper itself, for there had been many White Papers, but the White Paper policy which was under attack, and that attack, it was pointed out, should carry with it the affirmation of a positive policy lest in the absence of such a statement there should be substituted for the current White Paper another document differing from it only in degree.

These issues came to a head at a meeting called by the American Zionist Emergency Council in Cleveland in November attended by the leaders of more than 100 Emergency Committees for Palestine, and during the course of a two-day discussion, it was determined by an overwhelming vote to be guided by



the position of the American Jewish Conference. It was agreed that only those who subscribed to the Conference resolution would be invited to serve on these committees.

At the meeting of the Palestine Commission held on January 3rd in New York, the Commission voted:

"The Palestine Commission shall not do the day-by-day work, but shall do the political and educational work in order to mobilize American Jewry for the support of the Conference program in relation to Palestine. To that end, the American Jewish Conference shall be fully utilized for the organization of mass activities in support of legislative action deemed necessary to implement the Palestine Resolution."

Such legislative action was soon to begin.





Simultaneously, the Conference addressed a plea to all members of Congress in which it was pointed out that the resolutions expressed in essence the resolution adopted by the Conference last September and with this communication went the text of the original Palestine Resolution of the Conference. At the same time, communications were addressed to the editors of six hundred leading American newspapers urging editorial endorsement. Letters were sent to the organizations affiliated with the Conference and to the Conference delegates requesting them to join in the drive.

Hearings on the resolution were scheduled in the House Committee on Foreign Affairs for February 7th and in advance of this session, the Conference sent telegrams to its affiliated organizations urging them to give expression to their support.

Many organizations and individuals responded and seldom has Congress witnessed an emphatic expression of such volume. Representative Sol Bloom, Chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, asserted that of the thousands of communications and telegrams received, only ten registered opposition.

In the hearings of the House Committee, which were held February 7th and 8th and which were resumed the following week, the position of American Jewry as recorded by the Conference resolution was given special attention. While the issues involved were discussed and debated on their merits, members of Congress were naturally interested in ascertaining the viewpoint of the majority of American Jews, particularly in view of the presentation of the dissenting viewpoints by the American Council for Judaism and the American Jewish Committee. In opening the debate, Dr. Silver declared that he was speaking for the millions of Jews represented in the Conference. The Conference resolution was read into the record by Dr. Israel Goldstein, Co-Chairman of the Conference Interim Committee, who described in detail the action of the Conference and its representative character.



-7-9

"If there are among American Jews some voices of dissent, be they ever so loud, or so often repeated or emanating from men of wealth and high social position, they must always be evaluated in their true proportion, as representing less than 10 per cent of American Jewry," Dr. Goldstein said.

Others who spoke of the Conference position during the hearing were Dr. Wise, Dr. James G. Heller of Cincinnati, Mr. Herman Shulman and Mr. Louis Lipsky, all members of the Interim Committee of the Conference.

Mr. Lipsky was the concluding spokesman. Meeting the arguments which had been presented in behalf of the American Council for Judaism by Mr. Lessing Rosenwald, Mr. Lipsky said:

"I happen to be an official of the American Jewish Conference that conducted the elections. We devised a system of democratic representation, of proportional group representation within the Conference. We created a Conference which gave an opportunity to every group to express its opinion. We represented, according to our calculations - two and a half million Jews. All the national organizations with the exception of two were included. It was the most impressive ceremonial act on the part of the Jewish people when they voted on the Palestine Resolution. And the vote on the Palestine Resolution was taken after there had been three days' deliberation in a sub-committee in which some of these men, who subsequently did not vote, participated in the debate. They participated on the floor by making statements and declarations...

"Mr. Rosenwald testified here that he represented, after an effort, after an expenditure of quite a good deal of money, the achievements of 2,500 Jews who had registered with the American Council for Judaism - 2,500 as against the 2,500,000 Jews who were in the American Jewish Conference.

"If that is dissension, then the United States is a seething maelstrom of dissension. If that is dissension, England today, in the midst of the war, is a turbulent revolutionary country. If that is dissension, where a very insignificant minority refuses to abide by a majority rule, then of course we have dissension. In any well-ordered democracy that would be regarded as disorderliness, not dissension, and that is the refusal on the part of eccentric persons to abide by the majority rule."

The witnesses in behalf of the resolution based their arguments for its adoption on the need for a reaffirmation of the historic American policy on Palestine. Its necessity, they argued, was commanded by the tragedy of the Jews of Europe, its wisdom vindicated by the great development of Palestine in the quarter of a century following the Balfour Declaration, its timeliness emphasized by the threatened repudiation of the promise implicit in the White Paper policy.

The opposition to the resolution came mainly from two sources, the American Council for Judaism and the spokesmen for Arab groups. Mr. Rosenwald proposed to eliminate from the resolution references to the "Jewish people." He accepted the first part of the resolution calling for the opening of Palestine's doors to Jews. He was willing to have Palestine constituted as a free and democratic commonwealth, but not as a "Jewish" commonwealth and not by the



"Jewish people." His advocacy of Jewish immigration into Palestine was based solely on the proposition that the White Paper was a discrimination against the Jews as such.

Mr. Rosenwald conceded that he represented a minority viewpoint. He estimated the membership of the Council at that time at only 2,500. But Rabbi Louis Wolsey of Philadelphia, who followed him the next day, was not so frank. No one, he maintained, could say where the majority of American Jews stood. He had not taken a "statistic" of American Jewish opinion. Like Mr. Rosenwald, Rabbi Wolsey was fearful of the consequences of Jewish nationhood in Palestine. "Jews," he said, "would be subject to suspicion and prejudice and," he continued, "my position in America becomes equivocal."

The American Jewish Committee did not make an appearance before the Congressional Committee, but submitted a memorandum in which it urged abrogation of the British White Paper and free Jewish immigration under an international trusteeship. It proposed an amendment to provide "for an international trusteeship responsible to the United Nations," and it asked that "final determination of the controversial question of the Jewish Commonwealth be deferred."

At the concluding sessions of the House Committee on February 15th and 16th, spokesmen for the Arab position made it clear that Arab opposition to the resolution was directed against not only the declaration in favor of a Jewish Commonwealth, but against relaxation of curbs against Jewish immigration. This testimony and the belligerently-couched protests from the Arab states which came later, rendered untenable the arguments of those who, in urging deletion of the Commonwealth clause from the resolution, had contended that relinquishment of political objectives would induce the Arabs to accept Jewish immigration into Palestine. On the contrary, it strengthened the position of those who asserted that Jewish immigration into Palestine could be predicated logically only on the creation of the requisite political conditions, on the assertion that Palestine must in the future become a Jewish Commonwealth and that admission of Jews into that country must be granted as of political right and not vouchsafed as a philanthropic or humanitarian gesture.



Thus the debate on the resolutions before the Congressional Committee clarified an issue on which many had been confused. While the Commonwealth in Palestine followed Jewish immigration in time, it preceded it in logic, for mass Jewish immigration into Palestine presupposed acceptance of the principle that Palestine was to become the Jewish National Home.

At the conclusion of the hearings, it was indicated that a great majority of Congressmen favored the adoption of the resolution, judging from the expressions which many made to the Conference, to other advocates of the resolution and to their constituents. Only in a few isolated cases was there any suggestion that the resolutions be amended to eliminate the words "Jewish Commonwealth", in accordance with the proposal made by representatives of the American Council for Judaism.

Before acting on the resolutions, Congressional leaders moved to ascertain the position of the Executive Branch of the Government. The Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee wrote to the War and State Departments soliciting their opinion. At an executive session of the Senate Committee on February 23rd, Gen. George C. Marshall, Chief of Staff, presented military objections to action at this time. His testimony was preceded on February 7th by a communication from Secretary of War Henry Stimson and one from Secretary of State Cordell Hull. Secretary Hull's letter, it was reported, was itself non-committal, referring merely to the position of the War Department. However, this occasioned some surprise, inasmuch as he had not offered any objections to the introduction of the resolution when his advice was sought by its proponents in advance of the resolution's introduction. The objections of these officials, it was learned on good authority, did not go to the merits of the resolution, but were concerned solely with the question of timeliness.

Gen. Marshall's position as Chief of Staff carries with it the grave responsibility for the prosecution of the war to the end that victory may be attained with the greatest speed and with a minimum of sacrifice. The doctrine of military necessity, therefore, is eloquent and irrefutable. However, there were some observers,



particularly in the liberal and progressive press, who were quick to register their conviction that a familiar pattern was being followed, that, in reality, political considerations were the compelling factors and that arguments of military necessity were a mask for political opposition.

Critics of the War Department's intervention were skeptical of its necessity. It was recalled that when the Giraud Administration in North Africa failed to reinstate the Cremieux Law, it was then argued that reinstatement of citizenship rights for Jews in North Africa would affront the Arabs. In that instance, military expedience had been invoked to justify the denial of one of the rights for which the United Nations were fighting. When the Cremieux Law finally was reinstated after many months of unnecessary delay, it was found that there was no basis for the fears of disturbance and it then became known that the opposition flowed not from Arabs, but from reactionary French leaders who had sought for many years to drive a wedge between the Arab and Jewish populations in North Africa.

After the War Department had recorded its objections, there suddenly came a barrage of protests against the Congressional resolutions from the Arab States. Although the Arabs in Palestine were silent and, according to some newspaper dispatches from that country, appeared to be indifferent to political developments, the neighboring Arab states, which owed their independence to the first World War and which were perhaps the greatest beneficiaries of the peace that followed that war, were now engaged in a determined effort to deny fulfillment of the pledges which were made to the Jewish people in the 1914-18 conflict.

These communications were reminiscent of the intimidations of the period between 1936 and 1939, when Arab agitators, inspired by the paid propagandists of the Nazi-Fascist machine, succeeded in terrorizing the Mandatory Power into a breach of its trusteeship of Palestine, forcing the issuance of the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939. Their disposition so boldly to threaten the United Nations at this time, in the face of the assured victory of the United Nations, led many to inquire whether they had not been encouraged to pursue this course by those who favored perpetuation of the White Paper.



The intervention of the Arab States on this issue provoked resentment in the Halls of Congress. Senator Wagner met a request to withdraw his resolution with the pointed declaration that "Congress which for more than a century has been able to reach its own conclusions without advice from officials of foreign nations, is fully able to reach a wise conclusion in this matter which will be in accord with the wishes of the American people."

Congressman Ranulf Compton of Connecticut, co-sponsor of the resolution, concurring with Senator Wagner's rejection of the Iraqi protest, observed that "My first thought upon learning of the protests of the Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian and Lebanon Governments, was that these protests may well have been inspired by the British Government, which is in control in those countries."

This was the situation early in March and the March 31st deadline of the White Paper was fast approaching. There was a clear necessity for some word which would at once reassure the Jewish people that their hopes were not to be crushed and which would, at the same time, disabuse the leaders of the Arab States of the notion that the last word had been spoken on Palestine in 1939. The suggestion that this word might now be delayed might in itself be interpreted as a declaration of policy inimical to the Jews. Continued silence on the part of the United Nations on the subject of Palestine might be construed in some quarters, as acquiescence in the status quo. Thus, silence itself would become a political act and the forces which were urging it in the name of military expediency were, perhaps, unwittingly, forging political policy.

There was a clear analogy between the present situation and that of 1939, when the threat of military disturbance had forced political surrender. Many now turned to President Roosevelt, who had been for millions of oppressed peoples the symbol and standard-bearer for their hopes of post-war reconstruction. From all parts of the United States went pleas to the President for a clarification of United States policy on the promises of the past and the hopes of the future. That policy had become obscure and ambiguous within the last year, by reason of a silence too long continued.



V. The President's Statement of March 9th

It was following this wide-spread public expression that President Roosevelt received Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver on March 9th and authorized them to issue, on his behalf, a statement in which the United States Government formally asserted its non-concurrence with the Chamberlain White Paper of 1939 and of greater significance, renewed hope that Jewish aspirations to Palestine would be realized in the post-war reconstruction. The statement follows:

"The President authorized us to say that the American Government has never given its approval to the White Paper of 1939.

"The President is happy that the doors of Palestine are today open to Jewish refugees and that when future decisions are reached, full justice will be done to those who seek a Jewish National Home, for which our Government and the American people have always had the deepest sympathy and today more than ever, in view of the tragic plight of hundreds of thousands of homeless Jewish refugees."

The President's statement broke a long silence, averted its prejudicial consequences and opened the door to a clarification of American policy. At no time since the issuance of the White Paper of 1939 had our Government formally registered any objection to it. In recent years, there had been a tendency on the part of officials of our Government to avoid any reference to the Jewish National Home. Accordingly, the President's statement, which came after all the Arab protests had been received, dispelled the illusion fostered by Near East propagandists that the United States had abandoned the interest it affirmed in 1922, when Congress unanimously approved the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. It served notice that the liquidation of Jewish rights to Palestine contemplated in the White Paper must be arrested. It strengthened the position of that section of British leadership and public opinion which concurred with Prime Minister Churchill's condemnation of the White Paper as a "breach and repudiation" of the Balfour Declaration of 1917. It relaxed tensions created by the intervention of the Departments of War and State.

It should be noted that news of the President's statement was censored in the Near East for six days and publication was withheld in the Jewish press, although Arab papers were permitted to print criticism of it.

A number of Congressmen felt that if the President felt free to make such a statement, the ban on Congressional action was unjustified. However, on March 17th, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs formally announced that it would take no action "at this time" on the Wright-Compton resolution. "Advice and information given to us by those responsible for the conduct of the war, have convinced the Committee that action upon the Palestine resolution at this time would be unwise," the Committee stated. This action followed the receipt of a letter from



Secretary of War Stimson, dated March 17th, which stated:

"Concerning our conversation with respect to House Resolutions 418 and 419, it is the considered judgment of the War Department that without reference to the merits of these resolutions, further action on them at this time would be prejudicial to the successful prosecution of the war."

Commenting on this action, Representative Wright, co-sponsor of the resolution, said:

"We are not military strategists and we cannot oppose our judgment on military matters to the judgment of our military leaders.

"But this must not be considered a judgment upon the merits. Eventually - and I hope soon - we must decide whether or not we wish to maintain the position we took in the resolution of 1922 and in the convention of 1925. The claim to Palestine is a just one and any objection which the Arabs make to it are invalid. As soon as the military position improves, it is the obligation of the House to take affirmative action on the Palestine resolution."

This, in essence, was the position taken on March 21st by the Interim Committee of the American Jewish Conference. The previous day the Palestine Commission adopted a resolution welcoming the President's March 9th statement and expressing the hope that the military authorities would soon, consistent with the realities of the situation, withdraw their objections so that Congress could act on the resolutions. The resolution was adopted by the Interim Committee on March 21st. (See Appendix )

At a White House press conference on March 28th, the President asserted that his views on Palestine, as given to Dr. Wise and Dr. Silver on March 9th, conformed to the position of the War Department and did not conflict with it. He accepted the military objection to action at this time as a temporary bar. The political question was one to be worked out in the future in connection with the peace.

The military bar did not continue long. Following inquiries made to the War Department by representatives of the American Zionist Emergency Council and by Senators Wagner and Taft, Secretary Stimson wrote to Senator Taft on October 10th:

"I do feel that the military considerations which led to my previous action opposing the passage of this resolution are not as strong a factor now as they were then. In my judgment, political considerations now outweigh the military, and the issues should be determined upon the political rather than the military."

Thus, favorable action on the resolutions may be expected in the not too distant future.



## VI. The Development of Public Opinion

The introduction of the Palestine resolutions and the discussion which followed served to create throughout the country an awareness of Jewish achievement in Palestine and a sympathetic understanding of Jewish aspirations there. They focused attention on the problem and brought it to the fore. They evoked a mass demonstration on the part of American public opinion. Editorials endorsing the resolutions were printed in hundreds of American newspapers. Many Congressmen became the vigorous advocates of Jewish Palestine and their expressions of support, given to the Conference, to the American Zionist Emergency Council and to local Emergency Committees for Palestine, demonstrate that the resolutions would have been adopted by an overwhelming majority in both Houses had they come to a vote. The volume, "America and Palestine", published by the Council on October 12th, discloses that more than 400 Congressmen, 77 per cent of the 78th Congress, are on record in favor of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

During the past year, the American Palestine Committee, the vehicle for the expression of the sympathy and good will of Christian America for the movement to re-establish the Jewish National Home in Palestine, tripled its membership and its activities have expanded. The Committee is headed by Senator Robert F. Wagner, Chairman, and Senator Charles L. McNary, Co-Chairman (Deceased). The Executive Council includes Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, Chairman, Professor William F. Albright, Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, Mr. J. M. Blalock, Mrs. Walker Ferguson, Dr. Carl J. Friedrich, Hon. William Green, Hon. Eric A. Johnston, Hon. William H. King, Hon. John W. McCormack, Mr. Philip Murray, Hon. Claude Pepper, Judge Frank A. Picard, Dr. Daniel A. Poling, Miss Daphne Robert, Monsignor John A. Ryan, Hon. Elbert D. Thomas, Hon. Arthur H. Vandenberg, Dr. Carl Hermann Voss and Dr. Mary E. Woolley. Director of the Committee is Dean Howard M. Le Sourd.

Local chapters of the American Palestine Committee have been formed in a number of cities. The Christian Council on Palestine, which is headed by Dr. Henry A. Atkinson, has doubled its membership and many outstanding American clergymen are now actively enlisted in its ranks, all over the United States.

Particularly gratifying has been the extent to which persons in liberal and progressive ranks in the United States, who had previously been aloof, have become interested in Palestine. On March 9th, there was convened in Washington a National Conference on Palestine, which was sponsored by the American Palestine Committee, in cooperation with the American Federation of Labor, the Christian Council on Palestine, the Congress of Industrial Organization, the Free World Association, the Union for Democratic Action, the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice and the United Christian Council for Democracy.



The National Conference identified itself with the program of the Palestine Resolution of the American Jewish Conference. It declared:

"We reaffirm our faith in the spirit as well as the letter of the Balfour Declaration and ask for a maximum Jewish immigration into Palestine and full opportunity for colonization and economic development.

"We reaffirm the traditional policy of our Government and ask for all effective measures to the end that Palestine may be reconstituted by the Jewish people as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth."

Adoption of the Congressional resolutions was urged "at the earliest opportunity."

Nearly 150 prominent Christians, who came from 75 communities in 38 states, attended the Conference, to study economic and political problems in Palestine. The dinner, that evening, was attended by some 800 persons, including many government officials, and was addressed, among others, by Vice-President Henry A. Wallace. A continuing committee, headed by Dr. Daniel L. March of Boston, was created to carry on the Conference's work. Guests of the Conference reported back to their local communities. They have become ambassadors of good will for Jewish Palestine.

Thanks to the efforts of local Emergency Committees for Palestine, there have been hundreds of radio programs, meetings and forums on Palestine. More than 3,000 organizations have adopted sympathetic resolutions of one kind or another.

Their activities may be gauged by the fact that in one city alone, Detroit, more than 22,000 postcards, and 19,000 letters are known to have been sent to Congressmen on the Palestine resolution, in addition to some 3,000 telegrams to the President. In the small community of Meriden, Conn., there were 12,000 letters.

As in England, where the British Labor Party recently issued a most vigorous pronouncement in favor of the Jewish position, American labor leaders have come to the front in the battle for Jewish rights.

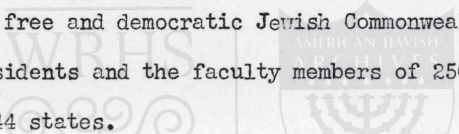
Shortly after the American Jewish Conference recessed, the American Federation of Labor Council, meeting in Boston in October, adopted a resolution urging that the restrictions on Jewish immigration and settlement contained in the British White Paper of 1939 be withdrawn and that the Balfour Declaration be so implemented that the hopes and aspirations of the Jewish people to build their own Commonwealth in Palestine be realized.



The CIO in its national convention in Philadelphia last November assailed the White Paper as "discriminatory, unfair, unjust and a hindrance to the war effort" and gave its "wholehearted support" to the American Jewish Conference. The United Automobile Workers, the largest union in the world, also condemned the White Paper at its convention, and many other CIO and A.F. of L. inter-nations have declared themselves emphatically on the question.

In the Spring, there was formed the American Jewish Trade Union Committee for Palestine, which is headed by Max Zaritzky, and which supports the demand for a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine. Mr. Green and Mr. Murray are its honorary chairmen. This committee is growing rapidly all over the country.

Much progress has been made in the country's colleges and universities and one of the most impressive demonstrations of sentiment came on May 17th, the anniversary of the promulgation of the White Paper, when 1700 American university professors joined in a petition urging President Roosevelt to act in behalf of free entry of Jews into Palestine "so that the Jewish people may ultimately constitute Palestine as a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth." The signers included 150 college presidents and the faculty members of 250 universities and colleges, situated in 44 states.





## VII. Opposition Forces

Major opposition to Jewish national aspirations in Palestine has come, during the year, from the isolationist American Council for Judaism, which, it will be recalled, used disruptive tactics during the session of the Conference in September, 1943, issuing a statement attacking Jewish nationalism in an apparent effort to distract attention from the Conference and discredit its proceedings. The Council's position on Palestine has been referred to in the report on the Congressional hearing. It bases its antagonism to the White Paper solely on the ground that it is discriminatory. But its position is purely negative. It seeks no affirmative rights for the Jewish people, for it does not recognize its existence as a people. It has carried on an anti-Zionist propaganda campaign among Jews and non-Jews, and its spokesmen in the communities have been hostile to the Conference.

More blatantly disruptive were the tactics of the small group who recently identified themselves as the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation. This group, led by Peter Bergson and an off-shoot of the undisciplined Irgun Zevai Leumi, in Palestine, have been responsible in recent years for the creation of a series of paper organizations, the American Friends of Jewish Palestine, the Committee for a Jewish Army, the Emergency Committee to Save the Jewish People of Europe, and the American League for a Free Palestine. The nature and identity of this group was first brought to light in a statement issued by the Interim Committee of the Conference in December. In May, the Hebrew Committee opened an "Embassy" in Washington, acting as "trustees" for the "Hebrew Nation". This action was condemned by responsible Jewish organizations in this country.

The Administrative Committee of the Conference issued the following statement:

"The so-called 'Hebrew Committee of National Liberation' is an irresponsible adventurer which comes to the American public without credentials and menaces the cause it presumes to espouse.



"The committee pretends to speak in the name of the 'Hebrew nation' in Palestine, but it has no mandate from the Jewish National Assembly, which is the authorized and democratically-elected spokesman of the Jews of Palestine. On the contrary, the leaders of this committee are linked with an extremist clique in Palestine, which amounts to less than one per cent of the Jews of that country, and which has been outlawed by the Jews of Palestine because of its anti-democratic and terroristic tactics. It pretends to see a distinction between 'Jews' and 'Hebrews,' which no Jew would be able to appreciate or understand, but which is intended to divide and disrupt the Jewish people. The real object of the Hebrew Committee is to destroy the Jewish Agency for Palestine, the official and internationally recognized body created by the League of Nations to act with the Mandatory Power 'to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home.'

"The great majority of the Jews of the United States favor the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine as the one positive solution for Jewish homelessness in the post-war world. This was made clear at the American Jewish Conference last September.

"The bizarre ideology of the 'Hebrew Committee of National Liberation' would fragmentize the Jewish people instead of uniting them. Its separatist and undisciplined tactics aim to undermine established Jewish agencies and institutions. The Jewish cause is prejudiced and humiliated by such irresponsible enterprises on the part of a group that pretends to speak for Jews."

The Jewish Agency for Palestine branded the appearance of the Hebrew Committee of National Liberation as an "unscrupulous piece of political charlatanism," and addressed a warning to "all serious-minded people not to let themselves be misled and confused by freak bodies assuming high-sounding titles and enunciating policies for which none but their unrepresentative authors are responsible."

More than 40 rabbis protested against the use of their names in literature distributed by the League and denounced the League as "a denial of Jewish history and a perversion of the fundamental concept of the unity of the Jewish people and of Zionist aims."

The Histadruth, the General Federation of Jewish Labor in Palestine, condemned the "usurpatory aspirations of the Committee of Peter Bergson and its friends." Pointing to its connection with the Irgun "the anti-labor scourge of the Palestine Jewish community," William Green, R.J. Thomas and other American labor leaders forbade the committee from using their names.

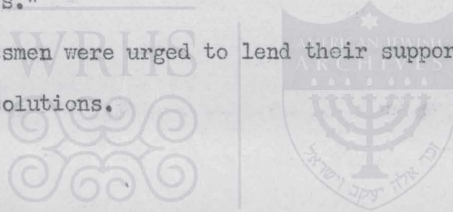
The opportunistic gyrations of the Bergson bloc served only to confuse the American public. The line changed frequently and accomodatingly. At one time aggressive and militant in their espousal of Jewish statehood in Palestine, they suddenly became antagonistic to these purposes in the Spring of this year, when Congress was considering the Palestine resolutions. They deprecated all such discussion. Then they launched into their latest enterprise, the establishment of the "Hebrew nation" in a "Hebrew state" in Palestine, at the same time seeking to dissociate the Hebrew nation from "Americans of Jewish descent." ~~Always eager to~~



Their next action was to sponsor in Congress resolutions calling for the establishment of emergency refugee shelters in Palestine similar to the free port in Oswego, New York. These resolutions, embracing a humiliating compromise, inasmuch as refugees brought to Palestine under such a proposal could be deported at the conclusion of the war, were not only at variance with the Rescue Resolution of the American Jewish Conference but were held by the Palestine Commission and the Interim Committee to be inimical to Jewish rights in Palestine. The Interim Committee authorized this advice to be communicated to the Congressional sponsors. The statement of the Conference to the Congressmen declared in part:

"We share your conviction that Palestine must be opened at once to all Jewish refugees who can be brought there. Like yourself, we are emphatically opposed to the appeasement-conceived White Paper which erects a wholly untenable political barrier to Jewish immigration into Palestine. We fear, however, that a suggestion that Jewish refugees now admitted into Palestine shall later be deported is a political concession to that policy, and its espousal by the Congress of the United States may prejudice Jewish rights to and in Palestine both now and in the post-war period, without, under present circumstances, alleviating the position of the Jewish people of Europe. Moreover, we would like to point out that even under the White Paper, there are some 14,000 certificates still available which could and should be used for the rescue of Jewish refugees."

The Congressmen were urged to lend their support to the Wagner-Taft and Wright-Compton resolutions.





### VIII. Inside Palestine

Within Palestine during the past year, the Yishuv has continued to build resolutely for the future. The Jewish population has increased, industrial and agricultural production has mounted, new colonies have been established and Jews have continued to play a significant and decisive part in the winning of the war.

But progress has been marred by conflict between the Palestine Administration and the Jewish community. In the summer of 1943, there had emanated from Palestine exaggerated reports picturing a state of extreme tension between Arabs and Jews. These reports had apparently been fostered by propagandists seeking to put a quietus on all political discussion. According to these dispatches, Jews were arming for some future struggle and Jewish eagerness to establish a fighting force was distorted and impugned, for it was attributed to a desire to acquire arms and facility in their use for a revolt in their own national interest. Their interest in victory for the United Nations was alleged to be "secondary".

As if to give color to these reports, the authorities in Palestine began a series of trials in a palpable effort to create the impression that Jews were engaged in a military conspiracy against the United Nations. Two deserters from the British Army were arrested on charges of trafficking in arms. Reporters were specially summoned to Jerusalem to witness what normally would have been a routine prosecution but which was exaggerated beyond all proportion. A military courtroom was transformed into a propaganda forum for outrageous slander and defamation against the Jewish Agency in Palestine.

The soldiers, who had a past record of smuggling and theft, were described as victims of an organization "so powerful and so ruthless that once its tentacles had closed on them, there was virtually no escape."

That the authorities clearly intended this to be a trial of the Yishuv rather than two deserters was made clear when the prosecutor asserted "that Palestinian Jewish soldiers, under influence of this organization, were no longer working for the interests of the United Nations." The presiding judge asserted that "the safety and defense of Palestine" was being threatened by a "vast and dangerous organization with vast resources behind it."

Government officials in England and Palestine had long known of the existence of the Haganah, a Jewish defense organization, and that the Haganah had arms and ammunitions; they were also aware that this organization was created only for self-defense. When the Nazi invasion of Palestine was threatened,



government forces had actually trained the Hagannah for guerilla warfare.

On the other hand, it was known that the Arabs were buying and smuggling arms and storing them away for the future. Some of these Arabs were brought to trial without publicity in civil courts, where they escaped with light punishment. However, when the government brought to trial the two British deserters and two Jews to whom they had sold arms, an extraordinary effort was made to involve the Jewish Agency in what David Ben Gurion characterized as a "crude frame-up" against the Jewish people.

There were a number of such trials and in contrast with the treatment accorded the Arabs, Jews were brought before military tribunals and their sentences ranged from seven to ten years in prison. The Yishuv was subjected to a series of armed searches. On November 16th, a group of Palestinian and Polish police, under the pretext of searching for Polish deserters, surrounded Ramath Hakovesh and instituted a thorough search for arms, arresting 35 settlers. One of the members of the colony, Samuel Vilinetz, was killed in the altercation. Protest demonstrations broke out in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and in many other parts of the country. The government suspended nine Jewish dailies for eleven days because their account of the incident differed from the government communique. The Yishuv's protest resulted on December 14th in the release of those arrested. But on December 8th, there was an armed search of the village of Hulda, where 17 Jewish settlers had been killed in the disturbances between 1936 and 1939. On December 20th, seven settlers from this village were sentenced from two to six years in prison and in spite of the protest and an appeal to the military commander, the sentence was confirmed. As a result of this incident, the Jewish village heads notified the authorities that they were no longer able to continue their duties.

Early this year, with the approach of the March 31st deadline of the White Paper, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, an extremist gang, instituted a series of terroristic acts seeking to intimidate the government into revising the White Paper policy. In February, bombs exploded in the government immigration offices in Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa. A few days later, two British constables were shot. The Vaad Leumi, executive committee of the Assefath Hanivcharim (Jewish National Assembly), bitterly repudiated these outrages, characterizing them as the acts of "a gang of lunatics endeavoring to establish a reign of terror." The Jewish Agency for Palestine declared that "the destructive hand which committed these crimes is unwittingly or maliciously helping the enemies of the Jewish people." In this country, the American Zionist Emergency Council joined in this condemnation.

All persons in the Yishuv were called upon to help apprehend the culprits.



A few days before the Jewish Passover terror flared again, the Lt. Commissioner of the Palestine Police and a Jewish policeman were killed in Jerusalem and a number of policemen injured in Haifa and Tel Aviv. In August, Sir Harold MacMichael, retiring High Commissioner, was slightly injured when he was shot from ambush two miles from Jerusalem. In October, the Commander in Chief of the middle eastern forces and the Officer Administering the Palestine Government issued a joint statement alleging that those responsible for the acts of terror have "active and passive sympathizers....directly impeding the war effort....and assisting the enemy." They called on the Jewish community in Palestine "to recognize and discharge their responsibilities - an implied accusation against the Yishuv which was deeply resented in view of the reiterated condemnation of the terrors. Subsequently on October 20th, the Palestine government ordered the deportation of 251 suspected terrors.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate incidents, and the tensions they produced, Jewish Palestine continued to play a major role in the war effort of the United Nations. Up to the end of January, 1944, it was reported from Jerusalem that 33,000 Jewish men and women served in the various armed forces of the British Government and 15,000 Jews were in the local Military Police. In September, the persistent demand of the Jewish Agency for the establishment of a Jewish Army finally won from British authorities the creation of a Jewish Brigade, based on the Jewish Battalions of the Palestine regiment, a belated recognition of the principle for which the Jewish Agency had long contended.

Agricultural and industrial production mounted to new heights as Palestine furnished a supply base for the armies of the United Nations. Figures for the last year are not yet available, but the extent of industrial advance is evidenced by the fact that from 1939 to the end of 1942, the annual



value of industrial production increased from £ 12,000,000 to nearly £ 40,000,000, while the number of workers engaged in industry rose from 19,000 to 40,000. The total value of military orders rose from £ 1,000,000 in 1940 to £ 10,000,000 in 1943.

The chief political problem confronting the Yishuv during the year was that of Jewish immigration. Although there were 31,078 certificates available at the time the government extended the March 31st deadline of the White Paper, the government was reluctant to grant these certificates to the Jewish Agency for immigrants in liberated countries, in Spain and in Portugal. It contended that these must be reserved for victims of Hitlerism, to be rescued from the Axis countries. The Jewish Agency, which played an important part in effecting the speedy rescue of Jews from Axis territory, maintained that those who had already escaped the Nazi yoke must be brought to Palestine. After continued negotiation by Dr. Chaim Weizmann and Moshe Shertok with the Colonial Office, a number of certificates were granted to Jews outside of Axis territory. The total entering Palestine in the eleven months from October 1, 1943 to September 1, 1944 was 14,500. During the year ending October 1, 1944, the Jewish National Fund acquired 60,000 dunam of land - the equivalent of 15,000 acres - and many new colonies were established.

The war had transformed Palestine economy from that of an agricultural country into a semi-industrial one. The country's productivity and the demands upon it had mounted to such an extent that Palestine suffered from manpower shortages. Continued industrialization of the country was a striking contradiction of the contention that the country's absorptive capacity would not permit additional settlers. But



the reconstruction plan of the Palestine Administration, announced in March, 1943, by the High Commissioner and by Sir Douglas Harris, Commissioner of Reconstruction, was predicated upon a continuation of the White Paper, for it proposed to freeze the country's future and it visualized a virtual curtailment of all industrial development. It implied that certain of the new industries would not survive, for it indicated that future development was to be subject to foreign competition and conditioned on the fortuitous bounty of international finance. The emphasis for the future was to be placed on agricultural development in presumably Arab areas. The social welfare plans of the future were designed to assist the Arabs with the Jews underwriting the cost. The Yishuv vigorously reacted to this plan and it pointed out that the industrial development should have been the primary concern of the government and that Palestine industry, primarily Jewish, has displayed an extraordinary ability to supply not only the needs of Palestine, but also the military needs of the Middle East. With the improvement of the military situation in the Middle East, the Middle East Supply Center reduced its orders on Palestine industry by more than 50%. Despite this curtailment of military orders, Palestine industries are operating to capacity and there is no unemployment in the country.

The Jewish Agency has its own reconstruction plan for the future, embracing agriculture, industry and commerce, in preparation of the necessary economic conditions for absorbing a mass Jewish immigration after the war. The plans include an international loan, an intensive agricultural development of the country through artificial irrigation and mechanization of agriculture, exploitation of natural resources, development of marine industry, and the rehabilitation of the citrus industry. There is a marked contrast between the post-war planning of the Jews and the local authorities. One calls for dynamic development, the other for static reconstruction.

As the war receded from the Near East, Palestine Jewry went to the polls on August 5, 1944 to elect its Representative Assembly. No elections had been held because of the disturbances between 1936 and 1939 and the outbreak of war. All major parties included a Jewish Commonwealth Plank in their programs. More than 70% of the registered voters participated in the elections and of these, more than 85% voted for the Jewish Commonwealth program. A week later, the Histadruth (Palestine Federation of Labor) held elections for its council and again more than 85% of



the votes were recorded in favor of the Commonwealth.

The development of new agricultural techniques and the growth of new industries made possible by the mobilization of the productive genius of Jewish workers, farmers, technicians and scientists, have rendered obsolete past estimates of Palestine's capacity for growth. The country has now broken political straight-jackets. Its potentialities as the Jewish National Home must be appraised in the light of its proven capacity for performance now demonstrated in meeting the demands imposed by the war. But only a beginning has been made. The publication, during the year, of "Palestine, Land of Promise," written by Dr. Walter Clay Lowdermilk, noted authority on soil conservation, discloses how Palestine's soil may be reclaimed, large areas opened for settlement, and its industrial plant expanded, if the waters of Palestine are diverted for irrigation purposes, and if hydro-electric power is developed along the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority. The implementation of Dr. Lowdermilk's plan has already begun; the Commission on Palestine Surveys has been at work on the project for more than a year, using the most able American engineers as its consultants and advisers.

That Palestine will be in a position, physically, to accept millions of settlers after the war, is now accepted by men who have examined the problem from an economic and scientific point of view. That Palestine will be in a position to do so, politically, is a question that can be answered by the United Nations if they recognize anew the historical connection between the Jewish people and their ancestral home.



Draft.

107

[1943?]

## THE ECONOMIC ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY OF PALESTINE

### Comparative Estimates.

Palestine, west of the Jordan, comprises an area of 10,000 square miles. Its population at the end of the last war was about 750,000; its population today is 1,500,000. One-third are Jews and the population as a whole <sup>now</sup> enjoys a far higher standard of life than in Turkish times. Sicily, in area similar to Palestine, mountainous and without important industries, has a population of about 4,000,000; Belgium, also about 10,000 square miles in area, has a population of about 7,000,000. It is clear that area is only one element in determining the absorptive capacity of a country. Account must be taken of many factors including not only its material resources but the energy and the creative ability of its inhabitants. Lord Samuel, speaking in 1930 on the basis of his intimate experience as High Commissioner as High Commissioner of Palestine for more than five years, said that there was no reason to doubt that Palestine could support a population of 3,000,000. This is supported also by critical estimates of the population of Palestine in biblical times which indicate a figure then of 3,000,000 to 4,000,000. Present prospects of development in industry and agriculture are considered in what follows. It is reasonable to suppose that with modern technical advantages and with a hard working and intelligent population, the above figure of 3,000,000 may be substantially exceeded.

### Agricultural Developments.

Mark Twain, sixty years ago, said of Palestine that it "sits in sackcloth and ashes. Over it broods the spell of a curse that has withered its fields and fettered its energies." This may be compared with the statement in 1930 of British Prime Minister MacDonald after he had visited Palestine: "It is impossible for anyone who saw what I saw to be too extravagant in tribute to the Jewish colonizers in Palestine. I saw what was beg being turned into cultivable land. I saw the historical and very barren sides of the mountain Jerboa being planted with olive



trees. I saw the morass... being drained and recovered." Further drainage of the marsh lands and scientific irrigation of the dry areas will make possible a vastly increased agricultural population. At present less than  $1\frac{1}{2}\%$  of the total area of the country (3,500,000 metric dunams out of 26,300,000) is irrigated. For lack of water the entire southern half of Palestine is almost unpopulated. Experts who have investigated conditions in Palestine including the late Dr. Elwood Mead, Commissioner of Reclamation in the Department of Interior, Dr. Walter Lowdermilk, Assistant Chief of the U. S. Soil Conservation Service, and others, estimate that the present area under irrigation can be increased tenfold from existing sources. By thus turning over land now used mostly for a precarious crop of cereals, to mixed farming, poultry, dairy products, vegetables, fruits and honey, an increase in the farm population from the present figure of about 800,000 to at least 2,000,000 will be made possible.

Palestine as a center of commerce and industry.

Palestine's industry before the last world war comprised nothing but a few handicrafts. Today it produces an astonishing range of articles including textiles, leatherware, clothing, chemicals, electric equipment, metalware, glassware, cement, and a great range of specialized products. In 1933 industrial production was valued at \$20,000,000; by 1942 this had risen to \$80,000,000. The primary reason for this development is the specialized skill of many of the immigrants. There is no coal in Palestine but in its place are available fuel oil brought by pipe-line from Iraq and hydro-electric power which can be generated as a result of the Jordan's drop from 3000 feet above to 1300 feet below sea level. Moreover, due to its geographical location on the cross roads between <sup>three</sup> ~~these~~ continents, Palestine is becoming in increasing measure a center of commerce between the countries of Europe and Asia. In the words of Professor Arnold J. Toynbee, it has "a position in the twentieth century world... not incomparable to the position of Great Britain as an entrepot between Europe and the Americas." The new harbor at Haifa is already the third largest in the eastern Mediterranean and may well



develop into a city of one half or three quarters of a million people. A wholly Jewish port, further, has been built in Tel Aviv, a city of 200,000 were thirty years ago there were merely sand dunes. On the basis of an agricultural population of 2,000,000 there should be no difficulty in maintaining an urban population of at least that number.

#### Increase in Arab population.

The Palestine Royal Commission in 1937 paid striking tribute to the economic benefits derived by the Arab population of Palestine as the result of Jewish colonization there. In 1938 the Secretary of State for the Colonies, (Mr. Malcolm MacDonald) stated in the House of Commons that

"The Arabs cannot say that the Jews are driving them out of their country. If not a single Jew had come to Palestine after 1918, I believe that the Arab population of Palestine today would still have been round about the 600,000 figure (instead of over 1,000,000 as at present) at which it had been stable under the Turkish rule. It is because the Jews who have come to Palestine bring modern health services and other advantages, that Arab men and women who would have been dead are alive today, that Arab children who would never have drawn breath have been born and grow strong."

#### Conclusion.

A large increase in the Jewish population is possible without displacing the native population. On the contrary, experience has shown that the increase in Jewish immigration and the resulting economic activity is paralleled by an increase in the Arab population. Assuming a continuation of Palestine's agricultural and industrial development by an energetic, determined and devoted population there is every reason to hope that the country may, within a relatively brief period, maintain on a reasonable standard of living not less than four or five million inhabitants.